

G. TSERETELI INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES – 60

**Selected Papers
1960-2020**



ILIA STATE UNIVERSITY
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G. TSERETELI INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES – 60

SELECTED PAPERS

1960-2020

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G. TSERETELI INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES – 60

In the presented volume are included selected papers of the members of the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies published in different countries on European languages from 1960 till 2020.*

The Institute of Oriental Studies was founded in 1960 on the initiative of Academician George Tsereteli and was named after him in 1973. Till 2005, the Institute functioned in the system of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. In 2010, the Institute became affiliated with the Ilia State University.

The following are the key areas of research done at the Institute of Oriental Studies: oriental linguistics; history, literature and culture of oriental peoples; Georgia's centuries-old cultural relations with Eastern countries; current political, social, economic, cultural and religious processes in the countries of the Near East and the Middle East; study of Islam and inter-confessional relations; geopolitical problems in the Middle East; Caucasus and Central Asia in the regional and global contexts; different aspects of East-West interactions.

The founder of the Institute Academician George V. Tsereteli (1904-1973) was an outstanding Georgian scholar and one of the founders of Georgian Oriental Studies, an Arabist of world renown and an acknowledged pioneer of Semitic studies. The scope of Tsereteli's scholarly interests was immeasurably broad, including Arabic linguistics and folklore, Hebrew and Aramaic studies, ancient languages of the Near East and the history of writing systems, Kartvelology, problems of Georgian and comparative versification, and theoretical linguistics. In 1967-1970, Academician George V. Tsereteli was the Vice-President of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He was also elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of the Great Britain and Ireland, and Honorary Member of the Society of Orientalists of Poland. Among his research works published on different languages in several countries it should be mentioned *The Urartean Monuments in the Georgian Museum* (1939, reprinted 2004); *The Bilingual Inscription from Armazi near Mtskheta* (1941); *Arabic Dialects of Central Asia* (1956); *The Ancient Georgian Inscriptions from Palestine* (1960); *The Meter and Rhyme in Shota Rustaveli's Poem 'The Man in the Panther's Skin'* (1973). The building of the Institute is situated on the street named after Academician George Tsereteli. (For more details about the life and works of Academician George V. Tsereteli, see Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze's paper published here).

After George Tsereteli, from 1973 till 1995 the Institute was directed by Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze. From 1995 till now he is the head of the Academic Council of the Institute. In 2005-2013 Academician Gamkrelidze was the President of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences. He is a Foreign Associate of the United States National Academy of Sciences, Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, Fellow of the European Society of Linguistics (in 1986-1988 President of this Society), Corresponding Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science; a Fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science, Doctor honoris causa of the Bonn University and the University of Chicago, Honorary Member of the Linguistic Society of America; Member of the Academia Europaea (London); Fellow of the World Academy of Art & Science (WAAS); Honorary Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Foreign Member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences; Foreign Member of Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig; Ordinary Member of Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea, Salzburg; Honorary Member of «Académie Internationale de Philosophie des Sciences» (AIPS), Bruxelles. He has received the Lenin Prize (1988), the Humboldt International Prize (1989). Academician Gamkrelidze is the author of many outstanding works in the fields of Indo-European linguistics, Ancient languages, Theoretical linguistics, Structural and Applied Linguistics and Kartvelology. He is a leading proponent of the glottalic theory of Proto-Indo-European consonants. Among his major works it is worth to mention: *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: A reconstruction and historical analysis of a proto-language and a proto-culture*, 2 vols (with V.V. Ivanov, 1984, English translation 1994-1995); *Alphabetic writing and the old Georgian script. A typology and Provenance of Alphabetic Writing System* (New York: Caravan Books, 1994); *Selected Writings in Kartvelology* (Tbilisi, 2000); *Selected writings: Linguistic sign, typology and language reconstruction* (Innsbruck 2006). (For more details about the works of Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, see Prof Rüdiger Schmitt's paper published here).

* All articles in the presented volume are reprinted in original form.

Academician Sergi Jikia (1898-1993) was one of the founders of the Institute of Oriental Studies and the head of the Department of Turkish studies. Sergi Jikia's research activities were multifaceted. He studied Turkish philology, dialects of Turkic languages, history of the Turkish language, Turkish-Georgian linguistic contacts; He published several Ottoman-Turkish documents and primary sources. Among his fundamental works it is worth to mention: *The Great Davtar of the Gurjistan vilayet*, I-III (1941-1958); *Information of Ibrahim Pechevi about Georgia and the Caucasus* (1964), *Turkish Reader* (1971), He actively participated in the preparation of Georgian-Turkish and Turkish-Georgian dictionaries, Georgian textbooks for Azerbaijani schools. There is street in Tbilisi named after him.

Academician Konstantin Tsereteli (1921-2004) was one of the founders of the Institute of Oriental Studies and the head of the Department of Semitic studies. He directed the Center of the coordination of the study of Oriental languages managed by the Ministry of Education. His works in Aramaic dialectology created the groundwork for the academic investigation in this field in oriental studies worldwide. He was also well-known Hebraist. An important part of his scholarly works is dedicated to the study of Georgian-Middle Eastern linguistic, cultural and historical interactions. He was awarded by the prize of Acad. G. Tsereteli of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences and by the medal of the Helsinki University (1979). He was the member of several international scientific associations. He has published several works in Georgia and abroad on different languages. His publications include: *Aramaic language* (1982); *Remarks concerning the Text of the Armazi Bilingual Inscription* (2001); *Semitic and Kartvelological Studies* (2001); *The Biblical Hebrew* (2001). There is a street named after him and his son, well-known painter Soso Tsedereli. Since 2017 a memorial museum operates in the Tsereteli family house.

Academician Simon Qaukhchishvili (1895-1981) was the head of the Department of Byzantine studies from the establishment of the Institute till 1981. He was one of the founders of the Classical philology in Georgia and founder of the Georgian school of Byzantine studies. He composed Latin-Georgian-Latin dictionary. He studied and edited works of Ioane Petritsi (two volumes, 1937-1940); His studies of 'Balavariani' and the history the Medieval Georgian Monastery of Petritsoni (in Bulgaria) are of particular scientific importance. He is the author of the unique Georgian textbook of the Byzantine history. He was the editor of *Kartlis Tskhovreba (Life of Georgia)*.

Prof. Vladimer Puturidze (1893-1966) directed the department of the Persian Philology (1960-1966). He studied Iranian-Georgian historical, cultural and linguistic relations. His main works are *Georgian-Persian Historical Documents* (1955); *Persian Historical Documents in the Archives of Georgia*, I-IV (1961-77); *Information of Isqandar Munshi about Georgia* (Persian text with Georgian translation, introduction and commentaries) (1969).

Academician Valerian Gabashvili (1911-1985) was the founder of the school of Georgian historian-orientalists. He was the head of the Department of the medieval history of the Middle East from 1960 till 1985. He studied different aspects of the genesis of Middle Eastern feudalism, cities and city life of Georgia and the Middle East during Middle ages, historical and cultural interactions of Georgia with Middle Eastern countries, Georgian primary sources, history of diplomacy, law etc. His publications include: *Georgian Feudal System (an attempt of the comparative study)* (1959); *Vakhushti Bagrationi* (1969); *Collection of Articles*, I-III (2008-2017). He is also the author of well-known historical novel *The City with Balconies*.

Prof. Vladimer Akhvlediani (1924-1996) was the deputy director of the Institute (1960-1974) and the head of the Laboratory for the study of general phonetics and typology of Oriental languages. His research topics were history of the Arabic Grammar; problems connected with phonetics and phonology of Semitic (first of all Arabic) languages; Arabic dialects of the Central Asia. His publications include *Phonetic Treatise of Avicenna* (1966); *Arabic Dialect of Bukhara* (1985).

Prof. Otar Gigineishvili (1916-1990) was the deputy director of the Institute (1974-1990) and the head of the Department of the Modern and Contemporary History of the Middle Eastern Countries. He was the President of the Federation of Georgian Alpinists (1963-1983); Chairman of the Georgian society of friendship and cultural interactions with compatriots living abroad (1968-1990). He studied Social, economic and political history of Modern Turkey; politics of Turkey, Iran and Russia towards Georgia; ethno-religious processes in Turkey. His publications include: *Turkism and Foreign Policy of Turkey* (1963); *Studies in Ottoman History* (1982).

Prof. Jemshid Giunashvili (1931-2017) was the head of the Department of Indo-Iranian Languages (1961-1994) and the deputy director of the Institute (1974-1994). He was the first Ambassador of Georgia in Islamic Republic of Iran (1994-2004); founder and chairman of the Association of Georgian-Iranian Scientific and Cultural relations and cooperation; honorary Member of the Academy of Persian Language and Literature (Iran); He was awarded by the prestigious academic award of Iran (Book of the year). His research topics included: Iranian linguistics, Georgian-Iranian linguistic, cultural and historical interactions. Among his publications reference shold be made on *The phonetics of Persian Language* (1964); *Selected papers in Iranian Linguistics and Iranian-Georgian Historical-Cultural Interactions* (2012).

Prof. Nodar Lomouri (1926-2016) was the head of the Department of Byzantine studies (1981-1992). He was the director of the Georgian Museum of Fine Arts (1992-2004); His research topics included history of Georgia, history of Byzantine Empire and Byzantine-Georgian relations in early medieval times. Among his several publications it is worth to mention: *History of the Kingdom of Egrisi* (1968); *Georgian-Byzantine Relations in 5th C.* (1989); *Abkhazia in the Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (1998).

Prof. Magali Todua (1927-2016) was the head of the Department of Persian Philology (1968-2016). In 1991-1995 He was the rector of the A. Tsereteli State University of Kutaisi. His research interests concerned Persian and Georgian literature, Persian-Georgian literary contacts; Persian-Georgian cultural and historical relations. He was the founder of the Academy of Sciences of Gelati. He was awarded by the prestigious academic award of Iran (Book of the year). Among his several publications it should be mentionned: *The Version of Saba of 'Qilila and Damana'* (1967), *Georgian-Persian Studies*, I-III (1971-79); *Firdowsi and his 'Shah-Nameh'* (1995).

Prof. Otar Tskitishvili (1927-1993) was the Head of the Department of medieval history of the Middle East (1985-1993). He studied History of the Georgian-Arab interactions during the middle ages and history of medieval Arab cities; His publications include: *Materials about the emergency and development of Feudal cities in the Middle East* (1968); *Baghdad in Early Medieval Times* (1986).

Prof. Mikheil Svanidze (1927-2013) was the Head of the Department of Medieval History of the Middle East (1993-2000). Main topic of his research activities were History of Turkey, history of Georgian-Middle eastern interactions (with the focus on Ottoman Empire, history of diplomacy etc. He was awarded by the prize of Acad. G. Tsereteli of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences. Among his several works published in Georgia and abroad it is worth to mention: *Studies in History of Ottoman-Georgian Interactions (14th – 18th Centuries)* (1990); *History of Turkey* (2007).

Prof. Zurab Sharashenidze (1927-1987) was the head of the Department of study and elaboration of scientific information (1974-1987). His research topics were history of Iran in 18th end early 19th cc; Georgian-Iranian relations and Georgian diasporas in Iran. Among his research works are: *Iran in the Second half of the 18th Century* (1970); *'Gurjis' of Fereidun* (1979).

Prof. Vazha Gvakharia (1925-1991) was the head of the Department of Ancient Oriental languages (1985-1991). He studied ancient oriental languages and the history of music. In 1967 he was awarded the Hendel prize. Among his major works are *Verb and Noun in Urartian* (1982), *Bask Folk Songs* (1983).

Prof. Teo Chkheidze (1928-2013) was the head of the Department of Indo-Iranian Studies (1994-2000). She studied different aspects of Iranian linguistics, Iranian onomastics, Iranian-Georgian linguistic and cultural contacts. Among her publications are: *Noun word-formation in Persian language* (1969); *The System of Education in the Sassanian Iran* (1979); *Studies in Iranian Onomastics* (1984).

Academician Irine Melikishvili (1943-2012) was the head of the Laboratory for the study of general phonetics and typology of Oriental languages (1996-2004). She was specialized in theoretical and comparative linguistics. Her publications include: *The Correspondence of Marking in the Phonology* (1976); *The Typology of Structures of Root and the Common Kartvelian Root* (2009).

Prof. Giorgi Shakulashvili (1931-2018) was the head of the Department of Turkish Studies (1992-2000). He studied Georgian-Turkish literary contacts, city's poetry and folklore. Among his publications the reference should be made on *From the History of the Poetry of Old Tbilisi* (1987); *Studies of the Old Tbilisi's Vocabulary* (2009).

Prof. Giorgi Chipashvili (1927-1996) was the head of the Department of the New and Newest History of the Middle Eastern Countries (1994-1996). His research topics were Modern history of Iran and Georgians in

Iran. His publications include: *Sergo Gamdlishvili and His Iranian 'Diaries'* (1983); *State System of Iran* (1990); *Georgian Population of Iran* (1990).

Dr. Nodar Komakhidze (1932-1997) was historian-Turkologist, the first Ambassador of Georgia in Turkey (1994-1997). He headed the Department of the Modern and Contemporary history of the Middle Eastern countries.

Academician Alexander Gvakharia (1929-2002) studied Persian and Georgian poetry, Persian-Georgian literary contacts. He was the head of the Department of Iranian philology in Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. He was awarded by the prize of Acad. G. Tsereteli of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences. His publications include: *From the History of Persian Folk Prose: Dastans* (1973); *Persian Versions of 'Balavariani'* (1975); *Studies in History of Georgian-Persian Literary contacts*, I-II (1995).

Academician Mzia Andronikashvili (1920-2006) studied different aspects of Iranian linguistics. She is the author of *Studies of the History of Georgian-Iranian Linguistic Interactions*, I-II (1966, 1996).

Prof. Karlo Kutsia (1933-2010) studied Georgian-Persian Historical interactions; activities of Georgians in Iran; cities and city life in medieval and early modern Persia and the South Caucasus; His publications include: *Cities and City Life in Safavid Persia* (1966), *Eastern Transcaucasian Cities in 16th-18th Centuries* (1976).

Prof. Tinatin Chavchavadze (1928-1997) – linguist, Iranologist and Indologist. Among her Publications are: *Materials for Yuri Marr's Persian-Russian Dictionary* (1974); *Kalidas's "Maghaduta"* (Translation from Sanskrit, with introduction, commentaries and Sanscrit-Georgian dictionary) (1977); *Noun word-formation in modern Persian* (1981).

Prof. Olgha Tedeev (1921-1999) studied Georgian-Ossetian cultural and linguistic interaction. Her main works are *Studies of the History of Georgian-Ossetian Interactions* (1983), *Essays on Ossetian-Georgian Linguistic Interactions* (1988). She also translated well-known monument of Ossetian folklore *Epic of Narts*.

Prof. Gocha Japaridze (1942-2020) was historian, Arabist; former head of the Department of the Modern and Contemporary History of the Middle Eastern Countries; former director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Faculty of Humanities at the Tbilisi State University; former Ambassador of Georgia in Kuwait, Gulf Arab Countries, Egypt and Syria. Publications: *Georgia and the Muslim World of the Middle East (XII c. first third of the XIII c.)* (1995); *Researches into the History of Georgia and the Middle East* (2012); *Georgia and Mamluks of Egypt* (2016); *The Georgian Monasteries and Monastic Community in the Holy Land in 11th-18th Centuries* (2018).

Among the late members of the Institute it is worth also to mention:

Dr. Eter Alexidze – Indologist. Publications: *Savitri, an Episode from "Mahabharata". Translation with Introduction and commentaries* (1986); (co-author) *The Hindi Language (Phonetics, Morphology, Word-making, Syntax)* (2005).

Dr. Nisan Babalikashvili – Hebraist. Publications: *Jewish Inscription in Georgia (18th-19th cc.)* (1971); *About traditions of Reading of Old Hebrew Texts by the Georgian Jews* (1988).

Dr. Nunu Berozashvili – Arabist. Publications: *Arabic-Georgian Political-Diplomatic Dictionary* (2007); 'Der Geist der arabischen mathematischen Terminologie bei Nasir Ad-Din at-Tusi'.

Dr. Lia Chlaidze – Turkologist. Publications: *Georgian Version of 'Koroghli' Epic* (1978); (editor) *Turkish-Georgian Dictionary*, I-II (2001).

Dr. Mary Damenia – linguist. Publications: *Structural Models of the morphemes of the Georgian Verbs* (1982); 'The Category of Voice in the Georgian Verb' (2001).

Dr. Nugzar Dundua – historian, Iranist. Publications: 'Seals of the Bilingual (Georgian-Persian) Royal Deeds (1986); *The Persian Documents of East Georgian kings, Princes and Khans* (2010).

Dr. Dito Gocholeishvili – historian, Arabist. Publications: *Information of Arab Historians about Georgia (XIV-XV cc.)* (1984); 'From the History of Georgia-Egypt Relations in the XVI c.' (2003).

Dr. Manana Gotsiridze – Hebraist. Publications: *The Vocabulary of the Jewish Translation of 'Man in Panther's Skin'* (1985); 'Morphological and Lexical Causatives in Modern Hebrew' (2003).

Dr. Otar Gvilava – historian, Iranist. Publications: *Iranian Turkmens* (1968); *The Policy of Centralization of the Iranian Government and the Problem of Nomadic Tribes* (1983).

Dr. Tsitsia Kakhiani – Arabist, epigraphist. Publications: *Arabic Inscriptions from Dmanisi* (1965); 'A Bi-lingual Epitaph of Svetitskhoveli' (1997).

Dr. Mikheil Chkhaidze – linguist. Publications: ‘Paired Verbs in some East Uralic and other Oriental Languages’ (1968); ‘In the Search of the Formalization of Georgian Verbs’ (1979)

Dr. Nikoloz Kenchoshvili – historian, Indologist. Publications: *India in Georgian Primary Sources* (1999); *Georgia – India. Historical and Philological Studies* (2010).

Dr. Liana Kvirikashvili – Byzatinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *The Composition of the Hymnographical Canon* (1982); *Greek-Georgian Documented Dictionary*, I-V, (2002-2007).

Dr. Vladimer Lekashvili – linguist, Arabist. Publications: ‘Linguistic System and the Mode of Thinking’ (2000); ‘Linguistic Institution and Backward Causation’ (2013).

Dr. Levan Nadiradze – historian, Arabist. Publications: *Reader of the History of Caliphate*, (1968); ‘For the Interpretation of the term Ahl al-Kitab in the Deed of Protection of Habib ibn Maslama’ (2002).

Dr. Mariam Nedospasova – Semitologist. Publication: *Precious Stones in the Arabic Bible* (1991); ‘On the Typology of Week Days in the Saturday’s Calendar System’ (2008).

Dr. Luiza Shengelia – historian, Iranist. Publications: *Iran during the Kerim Khan Zand Rule* (1973); *Transcaucasia and Iran-Russia Interrelations in the First Third of the 19th Century* (1979).

Dr. Lali Tsotskhadze – linguist, Semitologist. Publications: ‘Peculiarities of the Semantic Structure of the Action nouns with *o*-prefix in Modern Arabic and Hebrew Languages’ (1982); ‘Some Semantic Characteristics of Verbs of Physical Coercion in Modern Literary Arabic’ (1996).

Among other late members of the Institute it can be cited: Prof. Alexandre Alexidze, Kerim Ankosi, Lia Asatiani, Anna Bit-Babik, Lia Bodzashvili, Dr. Neli Bostashvili, Dr. Roland Burchuladze, Academician Bachana Bregvadze, Anduqapar Cheishvili, Dr. Ilia Datunashvili, Gulnara Dzneladze, Dr. Nana Eremidze, Dr. Nana Gigasvili, David Gudiasvili, Guram Gudushauri, Anna Gventsadze, Dr. Morteza Fatemi, Dr. Mzia Ivanishvili, Dr. Venera Jangidze, Dr. Natela Kechaghmadze, Giorgi Khmiadashvili, Dr. Lia Kobaliani, Dr. Shorena Kopaliani, Dr. Lia Kotashvili, Dr. Shota Kurdghelashvili, Dr. Rusudan Kvizhinadze, Amiran Lomtadze, Gia Machavariani, Dr. Eter Mamulia, Dr. Lia Mamulia, Prof. Albert Menteshashvili, Rezo Mikelaze, Dr. Irine Nodia, Zurab Pachuashvili, Dr. Nunu Robakidze, Rusudan Saginadze, Dr. Edisher Sarishvili, Mary Shaduri, Dr. Ivane Shervashidze, Dr. Eter Sikharulidze, Dr. Ineza Sulakadze, Dr. Nani Tsakadze, Alexander Tsibulevsky, Dr. Gaiane Tushmalishvili, Giorgi Zaldastanishvili.

Today organizational structure of the Institute is following:

- Administration;
- Department of Ancient Oriental Languages;
- Department of Semitic Studies;
- Department of the Indo-Iranian Languages;
- Department of Persian Philology;
- Department of Turkish Studies;
- Department of Byzantine Studies;
- Department of New and Newest History of the Middle East;
- Department of Medieval History of the Middle East;
- Japan Center;
- Department for Yezidi Studies;
- Rich Library of scholarly literature and periodicals.

Administration:

Prof. George Sanikidze – director, researcher, historian; co-head of the Program of Oriental Studies and of the Program of International Relations at the Ilia State University. Publications: *Islam and Muslim in Georgia Nowadays* (1999); *Shi'ism and State in Iran* (2005); (co-author and editor) *History of the Middle East* (2011); ‘Tbilisi as a Bridge between Iran and Europe, from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries’ (2018).

Dr. Tamaz Abashidze – deputy director, researcher, historian. Publications: ‘Georgian-Persian Bilingual Documents as a Diplomatic Phenomenon’ (1984); ‘Georgian-Persian Documents issued to the Clergy’ (2017); ‘Materials for the Study of Georgian-Persian Documents’ (2018).

Dr. Grigol Beradze – former deputy director of the Institute (1990-2008), senior consultant, researcher, historian. Publications: *Georgian Seals of the 17th-18th Centuries with Bilingual and Multilingual Inscriptions* (1985); ‘Among the Chosen Cities: Tbilisi in the Shi‘i Tradition’ (2008); (co-author) *Oriental Collection of the Georgian National Museum* (2012); (co-author) *Arfa‘ ad-Dowle and Georgia* (2017).

Dr. Tamar Lekveishvili – assistant of the director (Public relations), researcher, historian. Publications: *Information of Mohammad Qazem about Georgia* (translation with introduction and commentaries) (2016); ‘Peculiarities of Nader Shah’s Caucasian Policy According to Georgian Primary Sources’ (2017); ‘Concerning the Causes of the Decline of Safavid State’ (2018).

Prof. Tamar Mosiashvili – assistant of the director (Relations with foreign research centers), Arabist; associate professor at the Ilia State University. Publications: ‘Surrealistic Elements in Idwār Al – Kharrāt’s *City of Saffron*’ (2012). ‘Surrealistic Group In Egypt: the Association of Art and Freedom’ (2016); ‘Mahraganat: From Weddings to Revolution’ (2018).

Department of Ancient Oriental Languages

Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze – the head of the Department.

Dr. Helen Giunashvili – Iranist. Publications: (co-author) “*Man in Panter’s Skin*” in Iran (2013); (co-author) ‘Georgian and Persian Historical Documents of the Nadir Shah’s Period’ (2016); ‘Issues of the Study of the Pre-Islamic Iran in Georgia’ (2017).

Nino Kvashali – Assistant of the Head of the Academic Council.

Department of Semitic Studies

Dr. Darejan Svani – the head of the Department; Semitologist. Publications: ‘Syrische Linguistik und griechisches Erbe’ (2010); ‘Peculiarities of Gender Formation in Syriac Grammar’ (2018); ‘The Treatise of Arsenius (Faris) Fakhuri and its Place in Syriac Grammatical Literature’ (2019).

Dr. Ether Ghviniashvili – epigraphist, Arabist. Publications: ‘Some Issues of the History and Epigraphy of Arabic Script’ (2016); ‘Regarding the Tomb Stones of the Oriental Countries’ (2014); (co-author) *Epitaphs of the Old Muslim Cemetery of Tbilisi* (2017).

Dr. Murman Kutelia – Arabist. Publications: *Arab Romanticism*, 2009. ‘Egyptian enlightener Rifa‘a at-Tahtawi’ (2011); ‘Woman and Love in Georgian and Arabic Romanticism’ (2019);

Dr. Marina Meparishvili – Semitologist. Publications: *The Historical Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (2007); ‘Comparison of Proto-Semitic Phonological System with Modified Systems in Different Semitic Languages’ (2014); ‘On One Phonetic Change in Modern South-Arabian Languages’ (2019);

Dr. Alex Zhordania – Arabist. Publications: ‘The designation of verb in Georgia and Arabic’, 2005; ‘Synonyms in Arabic’, 2010; ‘The Typology of Language Environment in Egypt, Austria and Georgia’, 2016.

Dr. Natela Zhvania – Semitologist. Publications: *From the History of Georgian-Ethiopian Interactions* (2000); ‘Paradigmatics and Syntagmatics of the Ethiopian Writing System’, 2014; ‘Prepositions in Old Ethiopic’ (2018).

Department of the Indo-Iranian Languages

Dr. Maia Sakhokia – the head of the Department; Iranist. Publications: ‘Diachronic typology and Deep-Reconstructions in Morphosyntax’ (1998); *Old Persian Achaemenid Inscriptions*. (Translation and Commentaries) (2014); *Syntax and Morphosyntax of Modern Persian Language* (2020).

Dr. Mary Chikobava – Iranist. Publications: ‘For the Interpretation of *Side* in Georgian (2010); ‘Regarding One Lexical Parallel in Kartvelian and Indo-European’ (2018); ‘Information about Pearl in the Work of Abou-l Qasem Kashani (2016);

Dr. Eleonora Chubinidze – Iranist. Publications: ‘From the History of the Development of the Lexicology in Iran in 1930s’ (1988); ‘Regarding the Peculiarities of Dynamics of the Study of State Language Politics and Linguistics in 1970-90ies’ (2005); ‘State Language Policy in Iran (End of the 20th c. – beginning of the 21st c.)’ (2016).

Dr. Tamar Demet rashvili – Iranist. Publications: ‘Patterns of Marking in Old, Middle and Modern Persian: A Diachronic Analysis (2014); ‘From the History of the Georgian-Iranian Linguistic Interactions:

Parsadan Gorgijanidze and His Lexicographic Legacy' (2017); 'Gorji – Marker of Georgian Identity in Iran' (2018).

Department of Persian Philology

Dr. Nikoloz Nakhutsrishvili – the head of the Department; Iranist; former counselor at the Embassy of Georgia in Iran. Publications: 'Mazandarani Writer of the Georgian Origin Abdolali Heydari-Gorji' (2014); (co-author) 'Georgians in Iran – Aspects of Cultural and Linguistic Re-Integration' (2017); (co-author) *Corpus Based Dictionary of Fereydanian Dialect*, (2018); *Georgian Language Lost settlements in Iran* (2020).

Dr. Natia Dundua – Iranist, bibliologist. Publications: 'The Main Rules of Foreign Lexic Transmission in Medieval Georgian Translations' (2010); 'The Textual Value of the Old Georgian Version of Ecclesiastes' (2016); 'Tobit, Georgian' (2019).

Dr. Inga Kaladze – Iranist. Publications: *The Epic Legacy of 'Unsuri* (1983); 'The 'Georgian Translation of Vis and Rāmin: an Old Specimen of Hermeneutics' (2009); 'The Fate of Two Ancient Manuscripts on the Crossroads of Cultures' (2011).

Dr. Tamta Parulava – Iranist. Publications: 'For Understanding Sufi Knowledge-Wisdom' (2004); On East-West Parallels (2005); 'The Problem of the Eastern Renaissance an Gurgani's Vis o Ramin' (2017).

Department of Turkish Studies

Prof. Helene Javelidze – the head of the Department; Turkologist. Publications: *For the History of Turkish Symbolism* (2006); 'Poetics of Historicism in the work of Yahia Kemal' (2016); 'Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil: the Creative Axiology' (2018).

Dr. Victor Chikaidze – Turkologist; former counselor at the Embassy of Georgia in Turkey. Publications: *Phonematic Analysis of the One-Syllable Words in the Modern Turkish Literary Language* (1984); (co-author) 'Turkisms in Georgian and Armenian' (2017); (co-author) 'Common Words of Turkish Origin in Georgian and Armenian' (2018).

Dr. Ramaz Gorgadze – Armenologist; former counselor at the Embassy of Georgia in Armenia. Publications: *Georgian-Armenian Dictionary* (2005, 2010); 'The Sketch from the Historical Toponymy of Armenia' (2014); 'On the Origin of the Word Samare' (2015).

Dr. Nunu Gurgenidze – Turkologist. Publications: 'Composed Names of Turkish Origin in the Georgian Anthroponomy' (2010); Lexical Elements of the Oriental Origin in the Georgian Mountain Dialects (2015); *Dialectological Invstigations (Problems of the interrelationships of Turkish and Georgian Dialects)* (2016).

Dr. Luiza Rukhadze – Turkologist. Publications: 'Concerning Some Turkish Loan Words in Georgian' (2009); *Common Vocabulary of Modern Georgian and Turkish Languages*, 2016; Regarding Georgian-Turkish Linguistic Contacts (2016).

Dr. Marine Shonia – Turkologist. Publications: 'Georgian-Turkish Relations at the Turn of XX-XXI Centuries according to the Publications in the Journal Chveneburi' (2010); 'Images-Symbols of Adam and Eva in the Short-Stories of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar' (2013); 'Views of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar about Turkish-Islamic Civilisation' (2017).

Department of Byzantine Studies

Dr. Neli Makharadze – head of the Department; Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Issues of Byzantine Greek Pronunciation* (1979); 'The Data of the Old Georgian Written Sources and the Material depicting the Peculiarities of the Greek Pronunciation of the North-Western and the South-Eastern regions of Byzantium' (2010); 'Le manuscrit bilingue Gréco-Géorgien Du Liban' (2013);

Dr. Olga Beridze – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Byzantine Treatise about the Construction of The Hagia Sophia and its Medieval Georgian Translation* (1982); *Byzantine Epigrams, Paulus Silentiarius* (translation with introduction and commentaries) (2005); 'On the Origins of the Terms Kozmid and Kozimit in Georgian' (2016).

Dr. Eliso Elizbarashvili – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: 'The Formation of a Hero in Diogenes Akrites' (2010); Peculiarities of the Phenomenon of Overcoming Death by Hero and Saint (2014);

Digenes Akritas (translation, study and commentaries) (2018).

Dr. Tamar Meskhi – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Regarding the Composition of the Door of the Khakhuli Icon of Virgin* (2010). *Sinai-Georgia. New Pages for the Centuries-long History* (2013); *For the Meaning and History of the Icon of Okoni* (2015).

Dr. Giorgi Macharashvili – historian (religious studies). Publications: ‘Regarding the Confessional Affiliation of Benedictines from Athos’ (2013); ‘Two Monuments of the Georgian Hagiography about Eastern Christians’ (2014); ‘Life and Ordeal of the St. Thomas, Patriarch of Jerusalem (and the Issue of Insertion of *filioque* in ‘Creed’)’ (2019).

Dr. Nana Mirashvili – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: ‘Les pècheresses repenties et les saintes travesties dans l’hagiographie Géorgienne’ (2012); *Prostituées repenties et femmes travesties dans l'hagiographies Géorgienne* (2014); *Vie de saint Marc l'ascète (Ve s.)*’ (2015).

Dr. Julieta Shoshiashvili – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Byzantine Epistolography and Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite* (Study, Translation and Commentaries) (1992); ‘Principles of the Composition of Words in Greek and Georgian (according the Materials of the Greek-Georgian Dictionary)’ (2019).

Dr. David Tinikashvili – historian (religious studies). Publications: (co-author) *World Religions*, 2013; ‘Apocatastasis: (‘Eastern Fathers Regarding the Return to God of All who have Fallen’)’ (2018); ‘The Orthodox Church of Georgia and the Ecumenical Movement (before and after 1997)’ (2019).

Department of Medieval History of the Middle Eastern Countries

Dr. Manana Gabashvili – the head of the Department; Iranist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Georgian Cities in the 11th-12th Centuries* (1981); ‘Politique de la reine Thamar envers la Perse et l’Occident’ (2009); ‘Political Aspects of the Connection of Georgia with Persian-Islamic Culture’ (2013).

Dr. Kakha Demetrishvili – Iranist. Publications: “Iran and Kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti at the End of 1740s” (2003); ‘The Issue of Baku in Russian-Iranian Relations (2018); ‘Relations of Georgian Kings with Seekers of Iran’s Supreme Power, based on Papuna Orbeliani References’ (2020).

Dr. Nino Javelidze – Turkologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Abkhazeti and Abkhazs* (2016); ‘The Last Years of the Life and Activities of Giorgi Saakadze’ (2018); ‘The Issue of Caravan Roads in the Foreign Policy of Georgian Kings’ (2019).

Dr. Irakli Paghava – historian, numismatist; co-founder of the Georgian Numismatic Society. Publications: ‘K’ak’i (Kākhed, Kākhetābād): One More Georgian Coin-Minting Urban Center’ (2016); ‘The Georgian City of Bazari (Zagam) According to Numismatic Data’ (2016); *The Numismatic Past of Dagestan and Georgia* (2018).

Dr. Pavle Topuria – Iranist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Political Unities of Eastern Transcaucasia in the 11th-12th CC.* (1975); *Cities of Transcaucasia (X c. – first quarter of XIII c.)* (1985); ‘The North Caucasus and the Second Ottoman-Iran War’ (2008).

Department of Modern and Contemporary History of the Middle East

Dr. Irine Nachkhebia – the head of the Department; Iranist. Publications: *Les relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Perse au début du XIXe siècle* (2002); *Napoleons’s Diplomatic Missions in Iran and the Georgian Question (the first decade of the 19th c.)* (2018); ‘French Diplomats Information about Georgia in the Context of Napoleon’s Eastern Policy (the First Decade of the 19th Century)’ (2018).

Miranda Basheleishvili – Iranist (PhD student). Publications: ‘Formation and Characteristics of Iran’s Current Political System’ (2018); ‘Caspian Sea Summit and Interest of Iran’ (2018); ‘South Caucasus in the Iran’s current politics – an analysis of Iranian academic works’ (2020).

Tamta Bokuchava – Turkologist (PhD student). Publications: ‘Changes in the System of Education of Turkey’ (2018); ‘Turkey – from Secular to Islamic Democracy’ (2018); ‘Understanding Erdoganism’ (2020).

Mariam Gureshidze – Arabist (PhD student). Publications: ‘Fighters of the Islamic State from CIS Countries (2018); ‘The Immigration of Chechens to the Ottoman Empire (1865)’ (2018); ‘The Future of Lebanon and Perspectives of the Balance of Interests of the Regional External Actors’ (2020).

Simon Gureshidze – Arabist (PhD student). Publications: ‘The Jordan Triangle’ (2016); ‘The Civil War in Syria – Main Actors and the Causes of Conflict’ (2018); ‘The Model of the Regional Great Powers’ Governance

in Syria on the Example of Turkey-Iran Relations' (2020).

Inga Inasaridze – Arabist (PhD student). Publications: 'Confessional Factors of the Confrontation in the Middle East' (2018); 'The Diplomatic Crisis of Qatar' (2018); 'Saudi-Iranian Confrontation for the Regional Dominance: the Case of Qatar' (2020).

Nodar Khonelidze – Hebraist. Publications: 'The Declaration of the Independence of Israel – May 14, 1948 (for the history of the creation of the Document)' (2003); 'Diplomatic Struggle in the UN about the Question of Palestine in 1947–48' (2011); 'The Middle East Conflict – For the Understanding and Clarifying of Essential Aspects of the Term' (2013).

Tinatin Kupatadze – Iranist (PhD student). Publications: 'Cyber feminism in Iran' (2017); 'The Image of Woman in Iranian Cinema or the Feminist Cinema?' (2017); 'Feminism in Iran' (2018).

Dr. Irakli Topuridze – Arabist. *The Epoch of Mamluks in Irak* (2015); 'Relations of Daud Pasha with the Shi'a Population of Irak' (2017); 'Relations of Iraqi Mamluks with Jalil family, the Governors of Mosul' (2020).

Japan Center

Dr. Jaba Meskhishvili – the head of the Center, historian. Publications: 'The Annexation of Georgia by Russia – the Reconsideration of the Theory of The Russia's Expansion in the Black Sea Coastal Area' (2017); 'Reports about the First Republic of Georgia in the Japanese Press (1918-1921)' (2018); 'The Russo-Japanese War in Georgian Poetry' (2020).

Department for Yezidi Studies

Dimitri Pirbari – the head of the Department, historian. Publications: *The Secret of the Pearl. Yezidi Sacred Poetry* (2017). (co-author) 'A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišūr of P'ır Sīnī Bahri/P'ır Sīnī Dārānī, Its Study and Critical Analysis' (2019). 'The Death of Mir Tahsin Beg and the Future of the Yezidi Community', 2019.

Dr. Kerim Amoev – historian, economist. Publications: *Sacred Books of Yezids*, (1999); *Kurds: History, Economy* (2008); *Yezids and their Religion* (2016).

The library of the Institute (the Head of the library – Manana Sabashvili; the chief librarian – Medea Kajaia) possesses valuable and rich collections of old books and manuscripts on Oriental languages, archives of the late members of the Institute, ancient and new academic publications on Eastern and Western languages.

Nino Karkuzashvili is the head of the chancellery.

Among prominent Georgian orientalists who worked in the Institute and who still cooperate with the Institute (participation in the Institute's projects, presentation of papers on the conferences organized by the Institute, publication of papers in the Institute's journals and collections of articles etc.) it can be cited:

Prof. Guram Chikovani – linguist, Arabist; former vice-director of the Institute and head of the Department of Semitic studies; founder of the Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa; former rector of the Free University of Tbilisi; currently director of the Center for the Study of Arab Countries and Islamic World at the Free University of Tbilisi. He was awarded by the prize of Acad. G. Tsereteli of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences. Publications: *Central Asian Arabic dialects* (2002); 'Some Peculiarities of Central Asian Arabic from the Perspective of History of Arabic Language' (2006-2007); *Bukhara Dialect of Arabic Language* (2009);

Academician Elizbar Javelidze – Turkologist; former head of the Department of Turkish Studies. Publications: *At the Origins of Turkish Literature*, I-II (1979, 1985). 'Futuvet' – Spiritual-Chivalric Brotherhood (2010); *At the Beginnings of Turkish Literature* (2013).

Prof. George Antelava – Turkologist; former head of the Department of Turkish Studies. Publications: *Turkish-Russian Dictionary: Neologisms* (1985). *The Modern Europe and Turkish Migration* (2004).

Prof. Nana Gelashvili – historian; former head of the Department of Medieval History of the Middle Eastern Countries. Publications: *From the History of Iranian Georgian Relations (XVI c.)* (1995); *Japan in the Labyrinths of Centuries* (2012).

Prof. Marika Jikia – linguist, Turkologist; former head of the Laboratory for the study of general phonetics and typology of Oriental languages, editor-in-chief of the Journal of the Institute *Typological Studies*. Publications: *Turkisms in the Georgian Anthroponomy*, 2008; 'The Non-Suffixal Derivation of Intensive Forms in Turkish' (2014).

Prof. Gia Jorjoliani – historian, political scientist; former head of the Department of the Modern and Contemporary History of the Middle Eastern Countries.

Prof. Eter Soselia – linguist; former head of the Laboratory for the study of general phonetics and typology of Oriental languages. Publications: *On the Specification of Basic Colour Terms in Georgian* (2008); *Semantical Universals and Kartvelian Languages* (2009).

Prof. Marina Alexidze – Iranist; Publications: *Georgia and the Muslim East in the Nineteenth Century* (2011); *Georgia in Persian Sources of the Qajar Period. Travelogues and Memoires (compilation, translation, introduction and commentaries)* (2016).

Dr. Gulbad Amiranashvili – historian, Iranist, kartvelologist. Publications: ‘*Martyrdom of the Holy Queen Shushanik* of Jakob Khutsesi: Chronological Researches’ (2010); ‘Some Remarks about Four-line Inscription of the Bolnisi’s Sioni’ (2013).

Dr. Mary Asatiani – linguist, Indologist. Publications: *Lexicological Issues of the Modern Literary Hindi Language* (1980); (co-author) *The Hindi Language (Phonetics, Morphology, Word-making, Syntax)* (2005).

Prof. Rusudan Asatiani – linguist. Publications: ‘The Proto-Kartvelian and Proto-Indo-European Common Typological Feature: an Active Alignment (?)’ (2013); ‘The Morphological Structure of Laz Verb and the Functional Analysis of Verbal Vowel prefixes’ (2014).

Prof. Tsate Batsashi – historian, Turkologist. Publications: *Ethno-Religious Processes in North-Eastern Anatolia* (1988); ‘Historical Toponyms, Hydronyms and Geographical Name Changes in Turkish Ottoman Empire and in the Republic of Turkey’ (2019).

Prof. Mzia Burjanadze – Iranist. Publications: *History of the Modern Persian Literature* (2016); ‘Iraj Mirza’s Poem *The Story of Zohreh and Moanouchehr* – Conversation between Passion and Chasity’ (2009).

Prof. Shalva Gabeskiria – Turkologist, Kartvelologist. Publications: *Vocabulary of Yunus Emre’s Works* (1983); ‘On the Prototypes of Rustaveli’s Epic Poem *The Knight in the Panther’s Skin*’ (2018).

Dr. Latavra Ghvaladze – Semitologist, Kartvelologist. Publication: *Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Arabic Versions of the ‘Martirdom of Babyla’* (1992).

Prof. Nani Gelovani – historian, Arabist. Publications: *Woman in Islam: (VII-X cc.)* (2005); *Contemporary Arab Countries* (2008).

Prof. Lali Guledani – Hebraist. Publications: ‘The Judaic Phenomenon according to Ancient Georgian Sources’ (2016); *Georgian Version of the ‘Life’ and ‘Fables’ of Aesop* (2018).

Prof. Marina Ivanishvili – linguist. Publications: *Plant names in the Georgian Gospel* (2014); ‘Lexical Exceptions in the Comparative Reconstruction of the Kartvelian Languages: Words for Oak’ (2014).

Prof. Tinatin Karosanidze – historian, Arabist. Publications: *Islamic Fundamentalism in Contemporary Egypt: Strategy of ‘Muslim Brothers’ and of Radical Islamic Organizations* (2009); ‘Social Media Language During the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia’ (2018).

Prof. George Katsiadze – historian, Iranist. Publications: *From the History of Iran-Germany Relations* (2007); ‘Relations of Iran with the US after September 11’ (2011).

Prof. Ana Kharanauli – Byzantinologist, Kartvelologist, bibliologist. Publications: ‘History of the Study of Origins of the Georgian Bible and Methodological Issues’ (2007); ‘Battling the Myths: What Language was the Georgian Amos translated from?’ (2013).

Prof. Zurab Kiknadze – Assyriologist, bibliologist, folklorist; currently emeritus professor at the Ilia State University. Publications: *Ancient Mesopotamian Epic of Gilgamesh* (2009); *Georgian Mythology* (2018).

Dr. Megi Metreveli – historian, Arabist. Publications: *The Community of Druzes* (1987); ‘The Problem of Re-Islamization in the Middle East’ (1999).

Dr. Davar Omiadze – Iranist. Publications: *The Comparative-Typological Analysis of the Folk Fairy Tale* (1991); ‘The Methods of the Artistic and Functional Analysis of Folk Tale’ (2014).

Dr. Tamaz Natroshvili – historian. Publications: *From Mashriq to Maghrib* (1991); *A Friend from the Distant City of Rome* (2004).

Dr. Nana Nozadze – linguist. Publications: *The Structure of Hurrian Verb* (1978); *Vocabulary of Hurrian Language* (2007).

Prof. Tamaz Revia – Iranist. Publications: ‘Principles of Construction and Semantics of the Past Times in the Old Indo-European Languages’ (2006); *Diachrony and typology of the Middle Persian Past Tenses* (2007).

Prof. Tea Shurgaia – Iranist. Publications: *Levin Warner and his ‘A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms’* (2014); ‘The Proverbial Wisdom of a Georgian Language Island in Iran’ (2020).

Prof. Marina Tkhinvali – Arabist. Publication: ‘The Genre of Travel in Modern Arab Literature’ (1991).

Among the scholars, who have worked at the Institute in various years, it should be mentioned: Irine Abashidze, Dr. Irine Abuladze, Tsisana Akhaladze, Levan Akhvlediani, Vakhtang Andguladze, Dr. Tamaz Avalishvili, Dr. Tamar Baakashvili, Dr. Eleonora Babashvili, Nunu Babukhadia, Nino Baramidze, Ali Batuashvili, Maia Beliashvili, Nunu Bendukidze, Marab Chachua, Lika Cheishvili, Dr. Nana Chkheidze, Tamaz Chincharauli, Merab Chkhidiashvili, Gia Chumburidze, Dr. Kote Dumbadze, Rusudan Dzagnidze, Manana Dzneladze, Mariam Gabashvili, Dr. Maya Chelidze, Dr. Tea Gagnidze, Dr. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Tariel Gelenava, Marika Giorgobiani, Dr. Ludmila Giunashvili, Nino Gogitidze, Prof. Izolda Grdzelidze, Donara Grigorashvili, Dr. Manana Gudava, Tamara Fradkina, Tamar Jibladze, Prof. Lili Jorjoriani, Ia Kajaia, Makvala Kharebava, Marina Kiknadze, Maia Khechinashvili, Dr. Tsiala Khelasvili, Ketevan Khutsisvili, Dr. Manana Kvachadze, Ketevan Laskhi, Dr. Mariana Lelashvili, Dr. Marina Mikashavidze, Dr. Natela Mikeladze, Maia Miminoshvili, Ruben Morgoshia, Dr. Maka Natadze, Maia Nakhutsrishvili, Tamar Napetvaridze, Dr. Mana Nutsubidze, Marina Palavandishvili, Nana Pantsulaia, Dr. Tamar Pashalishvili, Dr. Anna Pavlova, Irina Porchkhidze, Maia Puturidze, Dr. Zaira Qolbaia, Nino Razmadze, Dr. Lia Rukhadze, Pati Sebua, Acad. Mzekala Shanidze, Nino Sokhadze, Olgha Suladze, Dr. Alexander Svanidze, Dr. Anna Tabatadze, Dr. Ketevan Tomaradze, Khatuna Todua, Irina Topuria, Dr. Aigul Tsalkalamndze, Leila Tsereteli, Maya Tsereteli, Dr. Marina Tsintsadze, Dr. Marina Tushisvili, Revaz Urushadze, Dr. Maya Vakhtangadze, Boris Znamenski, Dr. Emzar Zenaishvili.

Former members of the Institute, who live now abroad and actively participate in the academic life of the Institute as associated members, it can be cited: Dr. Nino Amiridze – linguist (affiliated with the University of Maryland); Dr. Nugzar Ter-Oganov – Iranist, historian (University of Tel Aviv); Dr. Iago Gocheleishvili – Iranist, historian (Cornell University); Dr. Ketevan Gadilia – Iranist, linguist (Russian State University of Humanities); Dr. Lili Baazova – Hebraist, historian (Israel, independent scholar); Dr. Manana Gnolidze-Swanson (George Mason University).

The Institute closely collaborates with the leading foreign universities and research centers, including the University in California, Berkeley; University of Montana; the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (France); Research Unity “Iranian and Indian worlds” (France); Ca ‘Foscari University of Venice; the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam; the Hokkaido and Tokyo Metropolitan University (Japan); the University of Göttingen; The Ibero-American University (Mexico); the Universities of Tehran, Isfahan and Guilan (Iran); Pembroke college of the Cambridge University; French Institute of Anatolian Studies; Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Korea); Institute of Iranian Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Austria; Tel Aviv University; the universities and institutes of oriental studies of Yerevan, Baku, Moscow and St. Petersburg. The researchers of the Institute have collaborated with foreign colleagues under numerous joint projects and are members of various international societies. In the Institute is functioning the Regional branch of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies (Director of the Branch – G. Sanikidze).

The members of the Institute received several fellowships and awards: INTAS grant (team leader – G. Sanikidze; participants – T. Abashidze, G. Beradze, I. Gocholeishvili, Kh. Todua, G. Shakulashvili); Volkswagen grant (participants: T. Abashidze, Kh. Todua); DAAD stipend (K. Amoev, H. Giunashvili, T. Demetrashevili, D. Tinikashvili, N. Dundua); Utrecht University grant (G. Beradze, G. Sanikidze); ASCN scholarship (D. Tinikashvili, T. Mosiashvili); Erasmus Mundus Scholarship (D. Tinikashvili); Qatar University stipend (I. Inasaridze); Grant of Onasis Foundation (N. Makharadze, T. Meskhi); NATO Research grant, Greece (T. Meskhi); State grant of Greece (T. Meskhi); Carnegie Foundation stipend (T. Mosiashvili; G. Sanikidze); Chevening international scholarship (T. Mosiashvili); Diderot stipend (I. Nachkhebia, G. Sanikidze); Fulbright stipend (G. Sanikidze); Central European University CDC program stipend (G. Sanikidze); Hokkaido University stipend (G. Sanikidze); Grant of Japan Foundation (G. Sanikidze); Grant of the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa (G. Sanikidze); Rustaveli Foundation stipend (T. Mosiashvili; G. Sanikidze; N. Dundua); Grant of the Project of the Alikante University, Spain (G. Beradze).

It is worth to mention prizes received by the Members of the Institute in recent years: Charles and Margaret Diehl Prize, Académie des inscriptions et des Belle Lettres, Paris, France – N. Mirachvili (2015). Farabi International Prize, Iran, supported by UNESCO – G. Sanikidze (2012); G. Beradze (2020).

As visiting scholars members and PhD students of the Institute worked in several foreign Universities: University of Oxford (T. Mosiashvili, D. Tinikashvili), University of California, Berkeley (G. Sanikidze); Paris-Sorbonne-III and Paris-Sorbonne-IV Universities (N. Mirashvili, I. Nachkhebia, G. Sanikidze, H. Giunashvili); University of Kobe (J. Meschishvili); Universities of Hokkaido and Osaka (G. Sanikidze); Goethe University of Frankfurt (N. Dundua); St. George Theological-Philosophical College, Frankfurt (D. Tinikashvili); University of Jerusalem (H. Giunashvili); University of Gent (D. Tinikashvili); Qatar University (I. Inasaridze); Universities of Athens and Thesaloniki (T. Meskhi).

The Institute has hosted a large number of international conferences. Among the International conferences, organized by the Institute in recent years, it can be cited ‘*The Arab Spring – Causes and Effects (with Tel Aviv University)*’ (2013); “*Great Game* and Georgia: East-West Political, Cultural and Economic Interactions during the first half of the 19th C.” (with Pembroke college of the Cambridge University) (2014); “*Looking back and Ahead: An Insight of the Iranian Influence in the Caucasus*” (with French Institute of Anatolian Studies) (2015); 6th International Conference of the European Association for the Study of Iranian Languages (2015); 8th International Conference on Popular Cultures of the Middle East and North Africa – ‘*Popular Cultures Between Site and Flow*’ (with Al Akhawayn University (Morocco) and University of Vienna) (2017); 3rd and 8th Biennial Conventions of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies (2007, 2018); “*East and West: Linguistic, Cultural, Historical Interactions*” (dedicated to the 90th anniversary of Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze) (2019).

Researchers of the Institute take an active part in the educational process at the Ilia State University. They lead the Program of Oriental studies and the module of the Middle Eastern studies of the Program of International relations of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences on BA level, deliver courses on all levels, supervise MA and PhD students.

The Institute hosted several foreign scholars and PhD students: Prof. Hirotake Maeda (Tokyo Metropolitan University); Prof. Giorgio Rota (Austrian Academy of Sciences); Prof. Goodarz Rashtiani (University of Tehran); Dr. Katarzyna W. Sidlo (Center for Social and Economic Research, Warsaw); Lina Tsimova and Artur Clesh (PhD students, EHESS, France), Yasono Takemura (PhD student, University of Hokkaido), Prof. Javad Morshedloo (Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran); Prof. Rayya El Zein (University of Pennsylvania) etc.

Ongoing projects in the frame of the research program of the Institute:

- Georgian-Iranian Relations (History, Politics, Culture, Science) (team leader: N. Nakhutrishvili).
- Kurds and Yezids in Russian Empire, Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Countries (team leader: D. Pirbari).
- The Middle East Today (E-journal) (team leaders: N. Nakhutrsihvili, G. Sanikidze).
- Byzantine-Georgian Relations (team leader: N. Makharadze).
- Interactions of Georgia with the Middle Eastern Countries in Mediaeval and Early Modern Times (team leader: M. Gabashvili).
- The fundamental landmarks and sources of the bases of Persian language (team leader: M. Sakhokia).
- Aspects of Turkish-Georgian linguistic relations and literary studies (team leader: E. Javelidze)
- Semitic Philology matters in the Georgian cultural and historical context (team leader: D. Svani)
- Aramaic inscriptions in Georgia (individual – H. Giunashvili).
- Between East and West: French and Iranian Authors about Georgia (team leader: G. Sanikidze).

Ongoing Projects supported by the Shota Rustaveli National Scientific Foundation presented by the Institute and with the participation of the Institute members:

- Documents about Georgia in the Archives and Libraries of Iran (principal investigator: N. Nakhutrishvili; coordinator: G. Sanikidze; researchers: T. Abashidze, G. Beradze, T. Lekveishvili).
- The Cult and the Worship in the Byzantine Historical Narrative (8th-13th cc.) (principal investigator: E. Elizbarashvili).
- Iranian Influence on the Clothing of Georgian Nobility: the Evidence from 16th-17th Centuries Frescoes in Western Georgia (principal investigator: T. Demetashvili, coordinator: T. Lekveishvili).

- Georgian Language Island in the Transethnical Area (GLITEA) – The Feriduni Dialect in Iran (researcher: N. Nakhutrishvili).
- Publication of the Bilingual Annotated Parallel Corpus of “The Book of Tobi” (indivuadal: N. Dundua).
- An Important Georgia Treatise (18th c.) about the Western Christianity in the Context of Georgian-European Relations (indivuadal: D. Tinikashvili).
- Ancient Georgian Translated and Original Historical Writing (Bibliography) (principal investigator: G. Macharashvili).

Currently the Institute, represented by George Sanikidze, participates in the joint Project of the Ilia State University and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea – ‘Georgia and Korea: Parallels in the Historical Experience of Colonialism, Struggle for Independence, Liberation and State Building’.

Selected past projects implemented in the frame of the research program of the Institute (2011-2019):

- The importance of Georgian “Qalila va Dimna” in the establishment of the original academic text.
- Sinai – Georgia, new pages in the centuries-old history.
- Shaping of Roman epos in medieval Persian literature.
- Ancient Indian History.
- Georgian-Persian Bilingual Documents.
- Issues related to commonly used vocabulary in the Georgian and Armenian languages. Lexico-logical-semantic analysis of lexical units of Semitic origin in Georgian
- Arabic and European literary influences.
- Medieval Iranian trade, economic and political relations with the countries of Western Europe and the South Caucasus.
- Typological study of the Turkish language and literature.

Projects implemented by the support of the Shota Rustaveli National Scientific Foundation (2011-2019):

- The History of the Middle East and its Relations with the South Caucasus (19th-beginning of the 21st c.).
- Georgian, Western and Eastern Historical Writing: Comparative Studies.
- Byzantine-Georgian Documentary Dictionary.
- Arabic Epitaphs of the Old Muslim Cemetery in Tbilisi.
- Between East and West (French and Iranian Authors about 19th c. Georgia)
- The Language, Everyday Life and Culture of the population of the Georgian Origin of Mazandarani Province (Iran).
- Georgian Sector of the Christian Cemeteries Complex in Tehran (Historical-Cultural Study, Fixation of Problems of Conservation and Outlining ways of Their Resolution).

Selected collections of articles and proceedings of conferences:

- *Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Tehran.* (Ed. by N. Nakhutsrishvili, and G. Sanikidze). Tbilisi: Ilia State University Press, 2019.
- *East and West: Linguistic, Cultural, Historical Interactions.* Abstracts of the International Conference dedicated to the 90th Anniversary of Acad. Thomas V. Gamkrelidze. (Ed. by G. Sanikidze,). Tbilisi: Academia, 2019.
- *Between East and West. Iranian and French Authors about 19th Century Georgia.* (Ed. by G. Sanikidze,). Tbilisi: Ilia State University Press, 2018.
- *8th International Conference on Popular Cultures of the Middle East and North Africa. Popular Cultures between Site and Flow (Abstracts).* (Ed. by G. Sanikidze,). Tbilisi: Academia, 2017.
- *Georgian, Western and Oriental Historiographical Tradition* (Ed. by N. Kighuradze,). Tbilisi: Ilia State University Press, 2014.
- *Byzantium in the Georgian Primary Sources* (Ed. by N. Makharadze,). Tbilisi: Logos, 2010.

- *La Géorgie entre la Perse et l'Europe* (sous la dir. de Irène Natchkhebia et Florence Hellot-Bellier) Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009.
- *International Relations in the Middle East during the Ottoman-Iranian Wars and Georgia, XVI c.* (Ed. by M. Svanidze,). Tbilisi: Nekeri, 2008.

Current periodicals published by the Institute:

- *The Near East And Georgia* (bilingual) (ed. G. Sanikidze).
- *Typological Studies* (ed. M. Jikia).
- *The Middle East Today* (e-journal) (Ed. N. Nakhutsrishvili, and G. Sanikidze).

Past periodicals published by the Institute:

- *Philologia orientalis*
- *Oriental Records on Georgian History*
- *Modern and Contemporary History of the Middle East*
- *Semitic Studies*
- *Persian-Georgian Studies*
- *Jevanmardi*
- *Orientalist*
- *Perspective – XXI*

In the presented volume are summarized academic activities of the Institute members during the last 60 years. Today new generations of the Institute members are actively pursuing research work in the different fields of oriental studies and are studying the place of Georgia in the global context of East-West linguistic, historical, cultural interactions.

George Sanikidze

ACADEMICIAN GEORGE V. TSERETELI*

George V. Tsereteli, an outstanding Georgian scholar and one of the founders of Georgian Oriental Studies, an Arabist of world renown and an acknowledged pioneer of Semitic studies was born in the village of Tianeti on October 21, 1904, in the family of Vasili Tsereteli, a well known public figure and physician.

In his early childhood Tsereteli showed an exceptional gift for languages. On entering the Kutaisi gymnasium, he already knew several foreign languages. This interest in languages eventually brought him to the linguistics department of the Faculty of Philosophy of Tbilisi University. Here, under the guidance of the well known Georgian scholars I.A. Javakhishvili, A.G. Shanidze and G.S. Akhvlediani, he prepared for work in the field of linguistics and Oriental Studies. In 1928 he was enrolled as a graduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. Taking his graduate work under the guidance of such eminent scholars as I.Yu. Krachkovski, P. Kokovtsov, and V. Barthold, Tsereteli specialized in various branches of Semitic Studies. Later, he was invited to join the faculty of the State Institute of Living Oriental Languages as an assistant professor of Arabic.

In 1933 Tsereteli returned to Tbilisi and engaged vigorously in the training of local specialists in various branches of Semitics. He headed the newly formed Oriental Department at the Institute of Language, History and Material Culture:

In 1942 Tsereteli successfully defended his doctoral thesis and received the title of professor in the same year.

In 1944 he was elected a Corresponding member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, and in 1946 – a full member. About the same time he was elected a Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

From 1957 to 1967 Tsereteli headed the Department of Social Sciences of the GSSR Academy of Sciences; in 1967-1970 he was Vice-President of the same Academy. He was a life member of the Presidium of the GSSR Academy of Sciences.

In 1968, Tsereteli – by then a world-famed scholar – was elected a member of the All-Union Academy of Sciences for his outstanding contribution to scholarship. This fact was viewed by the scientific and scholarly community as a just recognition of his versatile scholarly activities.

Tsereteli's talent for scholarship and organization of research were fully manifested after the 1940's. On his initiative a faculty of Oriental Studies was established at Tbilisi State University, as well as the Institute of Oriental Studies of the GSSR Academy of Sciences. Under Tsereteli's direction, the Institute, which today bears the name of its founder, has become a major world centre of Oriental Studies. Tsereteli also set up the Commission for the Publication of Foreign Sources on Georgia. This Commission has prepared for publication nearly a hundred works of Arab, Persian, Greek, Armenian, Russian and West-European authors. Over thirty studies, furnished with detailed commentaries, have already come out.

The Commission for the Establishment of an Academic Text of Shota Rustaveli's "The Man in the Panther's Skin" was set up under Tsereteli's direct guidance and active participation. He was a member of the editorial board of the eight-volume "Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language" and "the Georgian Soviet Encyclopaedia."

The scope of Tsereteli's scholarly interests was immeasurably broad, including Arabic linguistics and folklore, Hebrew and Aramaic studies, ancient languages of the Near East and the history of writing systems, Kartvelology, problems of Georgian and comparative versification, and theoretical linguistics. To every one of these branches he made a significant contribution, and his studies occupy a place of honor in the treasure house of the humanities. Special note should be made of Tsereteli's study of the hitherto unknown Arabic dialects of Central Asia, an important page in the history of Arabic philology.

Those dialects constitute an invaluable source of evidence for Arabic comparative dialectology, shedding light on important problems in the history of the Arabic language. As a result of philological analysis of a vast linguistic corpus, Tsereteli established the existence of two independent Arabic dialects, Bukharan and Kash-

* First published in: Academician George V. Tsereteli, *Selected Writings*, v. I. Tbilisi: Language and Culture, 2004, pp. VII-XVI.

kadaryan; Bykharan is close to the Mesopotamian dialect and the Kashkadaryan to the speech of the Bedouins. This research met with universal recognition Tsereteli's dialectological studies in this direction opened up new prospects for modern Arabic philology. Academician I.Yu. Krachkovski wrote about these studies: "The discovery and study of Arabic dialects in Central Asia bring fame to our scholarship and to our country, and clearly constitute a breakthrough in world scholarship." Tsereteli's contribution to the study of Caucasian traditions is also a major one: He published Shamil's letters with excellent historico-philological commentaries.

In his "Arabic Chrestomathy" (1949), compiled for the training of national specialists, Tsereteli introduced for the first time – along with texts on Georgia and the Caucasus – passages from the autograph of Makarios of Antioch (17th century) and of a historical treatise by al-Fariki (12th century). The "Chrestomathy" was followed by the first "Arabic-Georgian Dictionary" (1951), an essential reference work for Georgian Arabists.

To the end of his life, Tsereteli worked on the compilation of a "Classical Arabic Grammar," which he largely completed. He directed the work of a team of Arabists on the compilation of a large Arabic – Georgian dictionary which – it was envisaged – was to reflect the vocabulary of almost all the major monuments of the classical period. He also prepared for publication "The Journey of Makarios of Antioch" (the Arabic text and a translation with commentaries), which is of major importance for the history of Russia and Georgia.

Tsereteli did not neglect the realm of Arabic literature. For many years he taught a course in Arabic poetry in the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Tbilisi State University. The subject evoked exceptional interest among students. Immersed as he was in intensive scholarly work, Tsereteli still found time to make a splendid translation of the poetry of Amin Reihani, an outstanding representative of modern Arabic literature; he also edited the translation (done by his students) into Georgian of "The Thousand and One Nights" (two of the planned eight volumes of this work came out during his lifetime). Tsereteli's collaboration with A. G. Shanidze in collecting specimens of Khevsurian poetry serves to demonstrate his literary-folkloristic interests; the texts recorded by Tsereteli were published in 1931 in "Georgian Folk Poetry" (vol. I, Khevsurian).

Tsereteli's work on the decipherment and analysis of the inscriptions discovered at Armazi is considered an event of special significance in Semitic studies. To this problem he devoted two brilliant studies: "The Bilingual Inscription from Armazi Near Mtskheta" (1941) and "The Armazi Inscription of the Period of Mithridates the Iberian" (1961).

The Aramaic inscriptions from Armazi are of special significance not only as a new source for the study of eastern Aramaic writing and its ramifications; they also shed light on a number of cultural-historical problems of Iberia (the classical name for Eastern Georgia). In the studies cited above, apart from discussing the key problems of the state system of Georgia, Tsereteli also gave attention to the origin of the Georgian alphabet. These studies acquire special significance for the history of the Semitic script. While studying the Armazi inscriptions, Tsereteli identified a new, hitherto unknown, variety of Aramaic script which, entering scholarship under the name of Armazi Aramaic, gained currency in subsequent publications of Aramaic inscriptions.

Of no less significance for the history of Georgian culture is Tsereteli's monograph "The Ancient Georgian Inscriptions from Palestine" (1960). In this study the author – on the basis of a philological analysis and drawing on vast historical material – suggests that the Palestinian inscriptions date from the fifth century A. D.

Tsereteli's study "A Greek Inscription from Mtskheta of the Time of Vespasian" (1958) belongs to the same sphere of problems.

This study gives a radically new interpretation of the entire text, the result of Tsereteli's reading of certain passages of the Greek text in a novel way. Mention should be made here of his studies devoted to Iranian epigraphy (Shapur I and the inscriptions of Kartir from Persepolis) and to Manichaean documents of the same period. The book of Iranian Manichaeans deals with the missionary activity of the adherents of Mani in Western and Eastern countries aimed at the propagation of the Manichaean religion during the lifetime of their teacher. Only separate fragments of that book are extant in the Parthian Pahlavi and Sogdian languages.

An original interpretation of Iranian language texts and new identification of the proper names found in them – accepted by such scholars as W. Henning (who has published these very materials) – brought to light hitherto unknown facts of the cultural life of Georgia in the mid-third century A.D. Tsereteli ascertained that in ca. 260 an adherent of Mani appeared in Iberia to preach the doctrine of his teacher: He "worked wonders"

and set up a Manichaean community. This became known to the Iberian king Amazasp. As stated by Kartir in the inscription from Persepolis, in the same period; Kartir, himself Magupat and the originator of the Manichaean church in Iran, joined the punitive units sent by Shapur, fought the Christians, Manichaeans, heretics, and heathens, and set up Zoroastrian institutions in countries subject to Shapur, including Iberia and Armenia.

Thus, these documents help reconstruct the religious situation by shedding light on the tension that existed among different faiths in Iberia before Christianity was proclaimed the official religion. In these studies, which demonstrate his exceptional historical and philological erudition, Tsereteli emerges not only as a Semitist and Kartvelologist but also as a brilliant Iranist, able to make use of both Iranian and Indo-European evidence to solve purely Iranian problems.

In the sphere of Semitic philology, the Hebrew epigraphic inscriptions found in the territory of Georgia and published by Tsereteli are noteworthy. The speech of Georgian Jews also came within the scope of his attention. His observations in this area are of considerable interest.

In the last years of his life, Tsereteli studied with considerable interest a Hebrew manuscript preserved at the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Georgian Academy of Sciences. This unique manuscript is of great importance to the study of the vocalization of Hebrew texts. It was discovered in Lailashi (Lechkhumi), and conventionally referred to as the Lailashi or Svan Bible (since according to local tradition it was brought from Svaneti). A paleographic analysis of the text led Tsereteli to the conclusion that the MS dates from the tenth century. In its consonantism the Tbilisi MS is one of the best available to date, and in some respects it is even superior to the Aleppo Codex. Tsereteli believed that the Tbilisi MS could serve as one of the basic sources for a new critical edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible.

Tsereteli's contribution to research on the languages of the Ancient Near East is invaluable. His study "The Urartean Inscriptions in the State Museum of Georgia" (1939) is a model example of publication of ancient written documents. A detailed study of the structure of the Urartean language permitted him to view the functions and interdependences of nominal and verbal affixes of Urartean in a new light, as well as enabling him to work out the system of conjugation and declension. The result was a point of view that materially differed from the generally accepted one. He pointed out structural-typological similarity between Urartean and the Caucasian languages, thus paving the way for inquiry into their possible genetic connections. Tsereteli's studies in this field gave rise to the study of languages with cuneiform script. Academician Meshchaninov called this study "a point of reference for everyone dealing with the language of ancient Van."

Tsereteli, a scholar of versatile and broad interests, was a first-rate linguist whose studies of theoretical nature made a significant contribution to modern linguistics: His theory of allogenetic interrelations deserves prominent mention here. Research into Semitic and Hamitic languages led Tsereteli to the conclusion that, apart from relations of genetic affinity; there exist between languages links due to "secondary relatedness" (his "allogenetic relations"), links, which obtain among unrelated languages under conditions of areal convergence.

From this same angle Tsereteli examined the structural – typological affinity of the Kartvelian and Indo-European languages. His work on problems of language relations and allogenetic interrelations was an innovative contribution to theoretical linguistics, and his principles for classification of Semitic languages are of major importance not only for Semitic studies but for structural-typological linguistics in general.

Shota Rustaveli's "The Man in the Panther's Skin" held a special place in Tsereteli's scholarly activity. His contribution to establishing the critical text of the poem and its preparation for printing was invaluable. As the editor-in-chief of the future edition he studied diverse problems related to the text of the poem with his habitual enthusiasm and profundity. Of his published works in this field, his last monograph, "Meter and Rhythm in Vepkhvadze's Poetry" (1973) is especially significant. In this work Tsereteli did not limit himself to the study of Rustaveli's verse alone; the proposals he makes are equally applicable to both Georgian and comparative versification. Tsereteli demonstrated that Rustaveli's "shairi" is a regulated syllabic rather than syllabotonic verse, as had been believed earlier, and that the shairi is structured according to the principle of absolute proportion (high shairi) and the "golden section" (low shairi). This syllabic structure of the Rustaveli's shairi, and of Georgian verse in general, proved to be typical of common Kartvelian versification; furthermore, in its inner structure Kartvelian versification coincides with its Indo-European counterpart. As evidenced by

recent studies in Indo-European comparative-historical metrics, the Common Indo-European verse is built on the principle of absolute symmetry.

The ideas advanced by Tsereteli in this monograph will undoubtedly stimulate comparative-historical research into Kartvelian and Indo-European metrics and will make possible the reconstruction of their archetypes. This in turn will naturally play a major role in the development of comparative-historical versification and typological linguistics. Notably enough, soon after the decease of the scholar, work was begun on the identification of structures built according to the “golden section” in Indo-European verse. Tsereteli’s original theory that the structure of Kartvelian verse coincides with that of Indo-European, raises new problems both for comparative poetics and for the interrelation of particular areas.

The existence of the “golden section” as a principle of proportion in Georgian syllabic metrics is significant from the methodological standpoint as well, since it has implications for the typological study of various art forms. The “golden section” turns out to be used not only in spatial art, as was believed in traditional theories; the same proportion proves to be no less significant in art forms of primarily temporal dimension, such as music, poetry, cinematography, etc. Notably enough, in the recently published six volume selected works of the outstanding contemporary linguist and cultural historian Roman Jakobson, the volume of his studies in versification and general poetics is dedicated to George V. Tsereteli – “Man, Fighter, Researcher”. This represents an international recognition of Tsereteli’s outstanding contribution to general and Georgian versification.

Throughout his long educational activity, Tsereteli trained many Orientalists who are now successfully carrying on scholarly work at research, educational and other Institutions of this country.

Tsereteli’s versatile and profound erudition and the high quality of his published work, coupled with an exceptional talent for organization, earned him and his school well-deserved fame in world scholarship. Tsereteli’s election as an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as well as an Honorary Member of the Society of Polish Orientalists are acknowledgments of his outstanding contribution to scholarship.

In one of his speeches M. Keldysh, former President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said: “The Academy of Sciences of the Georgian Republic has grown into a major scientific Institution. It should be stressed that it has a number of schools known the world over – schools of world importance. These are: the mathematical school initiated by Academician Muskelishvili, a school in physiology originated by Beritashvili, a school of Oriental studies headed by Tsereteli, member of the Academy.”

Tsereteli’s style and manner of work were very distinctive.

Before giving the final shape to a new idea, he usually presented it to his closest pupils and collaborators for criticism. In the ensuing discussions the idea underwent refinement and was enriched with new suggestions, while the participants of the discussion received splendid schooling in debating scholarly problems. This method of scholarly work was responsible for the emergence of many disciples and like-minded scholars who subsequently carried on research along the lines mapped out by their teacher. And such lines and fields of research were indeed numerous. Tsereteli did not belong to the class of researchers who spend their lives engaged only in one narrow field of scholarship and who write necessary, yet not always highly interesting, works in which one can hardly feel a wide scope of thought or an abundance of new ideas. It is safe to say that all the studies published by Tsereteli represent innovative contributions to their various fields in philology and linguistics.

More often than not Tsereteli would not return to a discovery he had made in some field, but instead would subsequently transfer his attention to entirely different problems which seemed at the time more important and interesting to him. Here, too, he produced brilliant investigations in which his erudition and statement of fresh problems evoked the admiration of world scholarship.

The eminence of Tsereteli lies not in the number of works he published but in the character of his studies, every one of which constitutes an original discovery of lasting value for the relevant fields of world scholarship. This was his hallmark as a scholar.

Tsereteli combined in himself a specialist and expert in several academic fields, a fact which enabled him to go deep into each of them with characteristic insight. He was a world-famed Semitist, a matchless

Iranist and Kartvelologist, he was a brilliant philologist and linguist who always stood at the level of the latest achievements of world philology and linguistics, often determining that level with his own investigations.

Academician Tsereteli died at the age of 69 as the result of a brief but grave illness, when his mind was still full of new and sweeping scholarly plans. Much of what he had dreamed of remained unfulfilled, but what he did leave behind will always occupy the pride of place in Georgian scholarship.

Thomas V. Gamkrelidze

ÜBER THOMAS V. GAMKRELDZE UND SEIN OEUVRE

Es mag dahinstehen, ob ein Kausalzusammenhang gegeben ist oder nur zufällige zeitliche Koinzidenz, – der Zeitpunkt, als die Endredaktion dieser einleitenden Würdigung¹ erbeten wurde, lag jedenfalls unübersehbar nahe bei dem Tag (dem 23. Oktober 2004), an dem Thomas V. Gamkrelidze seinen 75. Geburtstag feiern konnte. Ausgehend vom Studium der Schriften und Sprachen des Alten Vorderasien (des indogermanischen Hethitischen ebenso wie semitischer Sprachen und des Urartäischen) und dann von der Beschäftigung mit sprachwissenschaftlichen Fragen seiner georgischen Muttersprache und ihrer Verwandten, hat Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, seit 1964 Professor der Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft an der Iwane-Dshawachischwili-Universität Tbilisi und seit 1973 Direktor des Giorgi-Tsereteli-Instituts für Orientalistik der Georgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, sich immer stärker der Vergleichenden Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft und der Allgemeinen und Theoretischen Sprachwissenschaft zugewandt und dabei insbesondere Fragen der Phonologie und der Sprachtypologie.

Will man das ganz spezifische Charakteristikum seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten knapp und schlagwortartig formulieren, so kann man es darin sehen, daß er konsequent versucht, die Ergebnisse von Sprachtypologie und sprachwissenschaftlicher Universalienforschung zur Lösung von Problemen der historischen Sprachwissenschaft und der sprachlichen Rekonstruktion (insbesondere der indogermanischen Grundsprache und des Gemeinkartvelischen) heranzuziehen und nutzbar zu machen. Durch bahnbrechende Arbeiten, von denen eine Auswahl in diesem Band wiederabgedruckt ist und über welche die beigegebene Auswahlbibliographie Auskunft gibt (auf die durch die entsprechenden Nummern und zusätzlich durch Jahreszahlen verwiesen wird), sind ihm weltweit Anerkennung und akademische Ehrungen zuteil geworden: Thomas V. Gamkrelidze ist nicht nur Mitglied der Georgischen und der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, er ist darüber hinaus auch Honorary Member der American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Corresponding Fellow der British Academy, korrespondierendes Mitglied der Österreichischen und auswärtiges Mitglied der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Die Linguistic Society of America und die Indogermanische Gesellschaft haben ihn zu ihrem Ehrenmitglied gewählt, die Universitäten in Bonn und Chicago haben ihm die Ehrendoktorwürde verliehen. Er war 1986/87 Präsident der Societas Linguistica Eutopaea und 1987 Präsident des 11. Internationalen Kongresses für Phonetik in Tallinn/Estland. Seit 1988 ist er Herausgeber der führenden russischen Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, der *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*; darüber hinaus gehört er den wissenschaftlichen Beiräten verschiedener internationaler Zeitschriften und Publikationsreihen an.

Daß er in der Heimat mindestens ebenso hohes Ansehen genießt, spiegelt sich darin, daß er in den letzten Jahren vor dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion als von der Akademie der Wissenschaften delegiertes Mitglied des Volksdeputiertenkongresses die georgische Wissenschaft repräsentierte. Bei den Wahlen von 1992 wurde er dann als Abgeordneter in das Parlament der Republik Georgien gewählt, dessen Ausschuß für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten er zeitweise leitete. Seit vielen Jahren ist Thomas Gamkrelidze auch Mitglied des Wissenschaftlichen Rates der Universität Tbilisi. Die sozusagen *in absentia* dekretierte Ernennung zu deren Rektor im Herbst 1991 hat er allerdings abgelehnt, da sie nicht aufgrund freier Wahlen in der Universität selbst erfolgt war.

Thomas Gamkrelidze ist am 23. Oktober 1929 in Kutaisi geboren. Er hat an der Universität Tbilisi orientalische Sprachen studiert und als Spezialgebiet die Semitistik gewählt; zu seinen Lehrern zählen vor allem Giorgi Achwlediani (1887-1973) und Giorgi Tsereteli (1904-1973). Die frühesten Arbeiten (die größtenteils nicht leicht zugänglich sind) beschäftigen sich in der Hauptsache mit Problemen der Sprachen des Alten Orients, speziell Kleinasiens, etwa mit dem Deklinationssystem und überhaupt der grammatischen Struktur des Urartäischen. Den Grad

eines Kandidaten der Wissenschaften erwarb er 1956 mit einer Untersuchung über die nicht-indogermanischen Elemente des in Zentralanatolien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. in Keilschrifttexten überlieferten

1 Die folgenden Seiten fußen auf dem früheren Aufsatz „Tamaz Gamqrelize 65 Jahre alt“ (Georgica 17, 1994, 100-108) und versuchen, was damals geschrieben wurde, auf den neuesten Stand zu bringen.

Hethitischen. Aufgrund einer Dissertation über „Das Hethitische und die Laryngaltheorie“ (vgl. Nr. 9/1960; resümierend Nr. 20/1968) wurde er 1962 zum Doktor der Philologischen Wissenschaften promoviert.

In Zusammenhang mit dieser größeren Arbeit, bei der es um die hethitische Vertretung einer bestimmten Phonemklasse des Indogermanischen, der sogenannten Laryngale geht, stehen andere Untersuchungen: Da die hethitische Keilschrift nicht nur Ähnlichkeiten mit dem von den (weder indogermanischen noch semitischen) Hurritern verwendeten System aufweist, sondern auch charakteristische Unterschiede, spricht sich Gamkrelidze (v.a. Nr. 10/1961) gegen die These einer Schriftübernahme von den Hurritern aus und für eine direkte Herleitung (der hethitischen wie der hurritischen Schrift) aus der um und nach 2000 v. Chr. in Nordsyrien verbreiteten altakkadischen Schrift. Schriftgeschichtliche Konsequenzen hat auch die detaillierte Analyse des hethitischen Schriftsystems (Nr. 10/1961, Nr. 12/1961, Nr. 78/1982), mittels der er versucht, insbesondere das hethitische Konsonantsystem festzustellen und die Lautentsprechungen mit den verwandten indogermanischen Sprachen zu erkennen. Das Ziel ist es also, die Regeln für die Wiedergabe hethitischer Laute durch Keilschriftzeichen festzulegen; dabei spielt das sogenannte Sturtevantsche Gesetz eine große Rolle, wonach stimmlose Verschlußlaute durch Doppelschreibung, stimmhafte durch Einfachschreibung des Konsonanten bezeichnet werden. Wegen der zahlreichen Gegenbeispiele sucht Gamkrelidze nach einer anderen Lösung des Dilemmas, und er sieht in der Doppelschreibung vielmehr die Wiedergabe aspirierter Laute. Dies bedeutet, daß im hethitischen Phonemsystem zwei Reihen von Verschlußlauten (aspirierte und nicht-aspirierte) nebeneinander standen, und impliziert dann weiter, daß das dreigliedrige System der indogermanischen Grundsprache – seinerzeit operierte Gamkrelidze noch mit der traditionellen Triade stummlos vs. stimmhaft versus stimmhaft – aspiriert – entsprechend umgestaltet worden ist. Diese frühe schwerpunktmaßige Beschäftigung mit dem Hethitischen führte ihn aber auch schon auf die Frage der Einwanderung indogermanischer Völker nach Kleinasien und ihrer Ansiedlung dort, eine Frage, die er später in viel umfassenderer Weise wiederholt erneut aufgreifen sollte.

Während der fünfziger und sechziger Jahre trat Gamkrelidze wiederholt auch mit strukturalistisch orientierten Arbeiten zu den kartvelischen (südkaukasischen) Sprachen hervor. In der Schrift von 1960 (Nr. 9/1960) stehen zwar die Sibilanten im Vordergrund. Aber seine Forschungen führen von hier direkt zu der gemeinsam mit Giwi Matschawariani (1927-1968) verfaßten Monographie über Sonantensystem und Ablaut in den Kartvelsprachen (Nr. 17 /1965) – später erschien eine Bearbeitung in deutscher Sprache (Nn 77 /1982) – , die auch für die Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft große Bedeutung erlangt und Gamkrelidzes Namen weithin bekannt gemacht hat. Durch interne Rekonstruktion im Bereich der Kartvelsprachen und mittels der sprachvergleichenden Methode wird hier der Beweis dafür erbracht, daß das vorgeschichtliche, zu rekonstruierende Gemeinkartvelische eine Reihe von Phonemen gekannt hat, die je nach der lautlichen Umgebung silbisch (sozusagen „vokalisch“) bzw. unsilbisch („konsonantisch“) realisiert werden konnten, die sogenannten Sonanten */i, u, r, l, m, n/ (mit den Allophen *i, u, ɿ, l, m, n/). Dies entspricht genau dem Befund, der in einzelnen alten indogermanischen Sprachen bezeugt ist und für deren gemeinsame Grundsprache rekonstruiert wird. In enger Verbindung mit diesen Phänomenen steht, ähnlich wiederum wie im indogermanischen Bereich, ein morphologisch relevanter Ablaut, der ebenfalls als gemeinkartvelisch postuliert wird.

Diese an Anregungen überreiche Schrift wendet bei der diachronischen Erforschung der Kartvelsprachen die in der Indogermanistik so gut bewährte historisch-vergleichende Methode an und rechnet auch für diese Sprachgruppe mit Lautgesetzen und überhaupt mit regelmäßigen Lautentsprechungen in den Wurzeln der Wörter und in deren morphologischen Einzelementen, obwohl angesichts der kaum vorhandenen historischen Perspektive – abgesehen von dem seit dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bezeugten Georgischen sind all diese Sprachen ja erst im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert aufgezeichnet worden – eine solche Übertragung der indogermanistischen Methode eigentlich keine Selbstverständlichkeit darstellt. Über die speziellere Thematik hinaus wird praktisch die gesamte sprachliche Struktur des Gemeinkartvelischen insbesondere unter typologischen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet. Ganz stark in den Vordergrund gerückt werden dabei die strukturellen Ähnlichkeiten zum Indogermanischen, wenngleich deren Erklärung, sei es durch gemeinsamen Ursprung, sei es infolge nachbarschaftlicher Beeinflussung oder wie auch immer, zunächst noch offenbleibt.

Derartige Beziehungen zwischen diesen beiden Sprachfamilien treten dann Anfang der siebziger Jahre immer stärker in das Blickfeld von Gamkrelidzes Forschungen: Zusammen mit dem Moskauer

Sprachwissenschaftler und Semiotiker Vjačeslav V. Ivanov hat Thomas Gamkrelidze eine neue Theorie über das zu rekonstruierende Verschlußlautsystem der indogermanischen Grundsprache initiiert (zuerst Nr. 28/1972, Nr. 30/1973; vgl. Nr. 85/1984, 5-80 bzw. Nr. 142/1995, vol. I, 5-70), die sogenannte Glottaltheorie, die darüber hinaus Konsequenzen hat für das gesamte Phonemsystem, die Wurzelstruktur und überhaupt die Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Grundsprache und hierzu somit einen in der Tat revolutionierenden Beitrag darstellt. Gegenüber dem traditionellen Rekonstruktionsmodell der sogenannten Junggrammatiker wenden die beiden Verfasser ein, daß dieses typologische Kriterien nicht berücksichtige. Speziell werden bei diesem Modell, das für die Grundsprache mit je einer Reihe von (I) stimmhaften ($*/b$, d , g^2 ²), (II) stimmhaftaspirierten ($*/b^h$, d^h , g^h) und (III) stimmlosen Verschlußlauten ($*/p$, t , k) rechnet, zwei Schwachpunkte beanstandet: zum einen, daß stimmhafte Aspiraten angesetzt werden bei gleichzeitigem Fehlen von stimmlosen Aspiraten ($*/p^h$, t^h , k^h), zum anderen, daß der stimmhafte Labial $*/b$ äußerst selten in grundsprachlichen Rekonstrukturen nachzuweisen ist, obwohl nach sprachtypologischen Untersuchungen bei den Labialen der stimmlose Verschlußlaut, also $*/p$, „markiert“ sein müßte und andererseits bei den Stimmhaften der Velar $*/g$. Dieser Begriff der „Markiertheit“, der letztlich von den Strukturalisten der Prager Schule stammt, spielt für Gamkrelidze auch sonst eine große Rolle und ist wiederholt von ihm diskutiert worden (vgl. eingehend Nr. 62/1980; Nr. 118/1989): „markiert“ heißen solche Phoneme, die charakterisiert sind durch Merkmaibündel, die weniger geläufig (also selten) und weniger natürliche (also ungewöhnlich) sind. Die vorgebrachten sprachtypologischen Einwände, die hier zur Falsifizierung des junggrammatischen Rekonstruktionsmodells dienen, waren zuerst von Roman Jakobson 1957 in seinem vielbeachteten Vortrag auf dem 8. Internationalen Linguistikkongreß in Oslo³ artikuliert worden. Gamkrelidzes Forschungen zeichnen sich aber nicht nur hier, sondern überhaupt – zahlreiche der in diesem Band wiederabgedruckten Beiträge bezeugen dies – in ganz charakteristischer Weise dadurch aus, daß sie neue Erkenntnisse der theoretischen Sprachwissenschaft und speziell der Sprachtypologie für die historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft nutzbar zu machen versuchen, so wie Jakobson dies damals gefordert hat.

Das Problem, das sich aus der funktionalen Schwäche bzw. der Seltenheit, also der scheinbaren „Markiertheit“ von $*/b$ ergibt, meinen Gamkrelidze und Ivanov durch eine Uminterpretation von dessen distinktiven Merkmalen lösen zu können. Sie setzen, ganz deutlich beeinflußt durch das Kartvelische, statt des stimmhaften $*/b$ ein wesentlich stärker „markiertes“ Phonem an, nämlich einen glottalisierten (oder: ejektiven) Labial $*/p'$. Solche durch (zu der Hauptartikulation hinzukommende) Schließung der Stimmritze (Glottis) hervorgebrachte Laute sind nicht zuletzt in den kaukasischen Sprachen ziemlich verbreitet. Für die anderen beiden Reihen führt der Systemumbau zu (II) Stimmhaften und (III) Stimmlosen, jeweils mit Aspiration als fakultativem, phonologisch redundantem Merkmal. Und was sich bei den Labialen hat feststellen lassen, wird dann aus systematischen Gründen auf die Verschlußlautreihen mit anderer Artikulationsstelle, auf Dentale, Velare usw. übertragen. So ergibt sich, alles in allem, eine Veränderung des Rekonstruktionsmodells folgendermaßen:

	Junggrammatiker	Glottaltheorie
I:	$*/b$, d , g /	$*/p'$, t' , k' /
II.	$*/b^h$, d^h , g^h /	$*/g^h$, d^h , g^h /
III.	$*/p$, t , k /	$*/p^h$, t^h , k^h /

Abgesehen davon, daß es dann die lautgeschichtliche Entwicklung der indogermanischen Einzelsprachen aus dem Blickfeld dieser neuen Theorie genau zu betrachten galt – was auch in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen geschah –, waren sodann viele andere Konsequenzen zu überprüfen, etwa die Vereinbarkeit mit speziellen Lautgesetzen wie Grassmanns Hauchdissimilationsgesetz, Bartholomaes Aspiratengesetz oder mit den Lautverschiebungen des Germanischen und Armenischen. Hier stellen sich nun im Lichte der Glottaltheorie die Dinge so dar, daß diese Sprachen, für welche die traditionelle Lehre mit einer Lautverschiebung und mit besonders großen Unterschieden gegenüber der Grundsprache rechnete, mit einemmal der Grundsprache viel

2 Zur Demonstration genügt es hier, nur eine „Gutturalreihe“ anzugeben.

3 Roman Jakobson, Typological Studies and Their Contribution to Historical Comparative Linguistics, in: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists, Oslo 1958, 17..25; wieder abgedruckt in: Roman Jakobson, Selected Writings. I, The Hague-Paris 1962, 523-532.

näher stehen urid umgekehrt jene Sprachen, die als eher konservativ galten (wie für das Verschlußlautsystem etwa das Altindoarische), kompliziertere Lautveränderungen durchgeführt haben müssen. Insbesondere hat man für diese Sprachen anzunehmen, daß die glottalisierten Laute der Reihe I zu Stimmhaften geworden sind. Als glottalisierte Laute sind sie im übrigen sowieso in keiner einzigen indogermanischen Einzelsprache erhalten geblieben.

Angesichts der umwälzenden Neuerungen und solcher weitreichender Konsequenzen, die damit verbunden sind, darf es nicht wundernehmen, daß sich dieses neue Modell nicht auf Anhieb hat durchsetzen können. Aber die Mitforscher sind dadurch, auch wenn sie noch nicht überzeugt sein mögen, in vielfacher Hinsicht zu genauerem Überdenken ihrer Positionen veranlaßt; und auch dies kann für den wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisfortschritt nur förderlich sein.

Die Uminterpretation des indogermanischen Verschlußlautsystems ließ Gamkrelidze und Ivanov deutliche Ähnlichkeiten mit dem gemeinkartvelischen und dem ursemitischen System erkennen. Gamkrelidze ist hier also auf jenem Weg weitergegangen, den er, wie oben bereits angedeutet, schon vorher bei der Feststellung typologischer Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Indogermanisch und Kartvelisch hinsichtlich der Existenz von Sonanten und des Ablauts als Wortbildungsmittel sowie hinsichtlich der Wurzelstruktur eingeschlagen hatte. Neben solchen typologischen hat Gamkrelidze aber auch lexikalische Zusammenhänge zwischen diesen Sprachfamilien zu erkennen gemeint, die eine Erklärung für diese Beziehungen verlangen und die ihn an weit in die Vorgeschichte zurückreichende Kontakte zwischen den Trägern dieser drei Grundsprachen in Vorderasien denken lassen.

Diese Forschungen, die von der historischen Betrachtung nur der Sprachen unmittelbar hinüberführen in den Bereich der Kulturgeschichte und der Vorgeschichte, haben ihre sichtbarste Gestalt angenommen in dem großen zweibändigen Indogermanen – Werk der beiden Autoren (Nr. 85/1984), das durch die 1995 erschienene englische Übersetzung (Nr. 142/1995) den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs erneut befruchtet hat, das außer einer umfassenden Rekonstruktion aller Ebenen des gesamten Sprachsystems (auf der Basis der Glottaltheorie) auch eine nach Sachgruppen geordnete Darstellung des grundsprachlichen Wortschatzes enthält, zum Teil völlig neue Wege beschreitet und ohne jeden Zweifel als eine der bedeutsamsten indogermanistischen Publikationen der neueren Zeit zu gelten hat, auch wenn es gelegentlich vielleicht – so sehen es manche Mitforscher – etwas provokative Positionen vertritt. Für alte Probleme wagen Gamkrelidze und Ivanov ganz neue Lösungsansätze: Indem sie sich auf lexikalische Beziehungen unter den genannten Sprachen, aber auch mit anderen Sprachen des Alten Orients stützen, indem sie weiterhin aus dem Vorhandensein von gemeinindogermanischen Wörtern für „Berg“, „Hügel“ usw. auf Wohnsitze in einem Bergland schließen und wegen mancher Tier – und Pflanzennamen ein Wohngebiet annehmen, das weiter südlich liegen muß als bislang vermutet, gelangen sie zu der Anschauung, daß das Ausstrahlungsgebiet der indogermanischen Völker und Sprachen im 5. oder 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. im Südwesten Asiens gesucht werden muß.

Diese sogenannte „Urheimat“ der Indogermanen, in der sie seßhafte Ackerbauern geworden sein sollen, wird ganz in den Osten Anatoliens, in das Bergland zwischen Transkaukasien und dem oberen Zweistromland verlegt. Von dort seien nur die Hethito-Luwier und die Griechen nach Westen gewandert, während die Hauptmasse der Stämme nach Osten gezogen sei und die übrigen „Europäer“ sich dann in weitem Bogen um das Kaspische und das Schwarze Meer herum westwärts gewandt hätten (vgL die schematische Karte Nr. 85/1984, 956 bzw. Nr. 142/1995, vol. I 850f.).⁴ Diese Sicht von der „Welt“ der vorgeschichtlichen Indogermanen – seit Adalbert Kuhn versucht man bekanntlich aus einer Analyse des indogermanischen Lexikons Aufschluß über Lebensart und Lebensraum dieses Volkes zu gewinnen – zwingt zu einer vollständigen Revision der traditionellen Anschauungen über die Heimat der Indogermanen und die Wanderungen der indogermanischen Einzelsprachen bis zu ihren Wohnsitzen in historischer Zeit, und sie ist demzufolge äußerst umstritten und von kaum einem Mitforscher akzeptiert worden. Ob die Gemeinsamkeiten insbesondere mit dem Kartvelischen in der Sprachstruktur, die durch nachbarschaftliche Beeinflussung im Sinne eines „Sprachbundes“ zu erklären sind, für eine Lokalisierung ausreichen, bleibt unsicher. Und gegenüber Schlußfolgerungen aus dem Wortschatz der indogermanischen Grundsprache

4 Diese schematische Karte vermittelt mißlicherweise den Eindruck, diese Völker hätten dabei den Aralsee durchquert – wie weiland die Israeliten unter Moses das Rote Meer.

selbst – aber Gamkrelidze und Ivanov beziehen nicht nur den Wortschatz, sondern auch phonologische, morphologische und andere Kriterien in ihre Argumentation mit ein – ist jedenfalls bei solchen Wörtern Vorsicht geboten, bei denen aus unterschiedlichen Gründen (etwa wegen ihrer beschränkten Verbreitung oder wegen eines unverbindlichen bzw. ungenauen Bedeutungsansatzes) Zweifel daran bestehen, ob sie überhaupt als gemeinindogermanisch betrachtet und für die Grundsprache angenommen werden dürfen. Dies gilt beispielsweise für Bezeichnungen von „Affe“, „Elefant“ und „Panther“, die als Beweisstücke gegen nördlichere Gebiete natürlich nur dann taugen, wenn sie zu Recht für die Grundsprache postuliert werden.

Wie revolutionierend und stimulierend diese in Buch – und Aufsatzform immer wieder vorgetragenen Thesen von Thomas Gamkrelidze und Vjačeslav V. Ivanov über das Indogermanische und die Indogermanen gewesen sind und welche Wirkung von ihnen in den letzten Jahren ausgegangen ist, lässt sich deutlich auch daraus ablesen, daß diesen Themen spezielle wissenschaftliche Tagungen gewidmet waren oder Sammelpublikationen mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Mitforscher, die diese Fragen von den unterschiedlichsten Standpunkten aus diskutierten. Dem Inhalt, den Konsequenzen und der Geschichte der Glottaltheorie (in ihren verschiedenen Varianten) – und der Kritik an ihr (samt der Antikritik) – ist auch schon eine spezielle Monographie gewidmet⁵.

Ganz andere Fragen behandelt dagegen das in der Erstfassung letzterschienene Buch Gamkrelidzes (Nr. 113/1989; englische Übersetzung 141/1994): nämlich allgemeine und theoretische Aspekte der Grammatologie (Schriftforschung) sowie typologische Probleme von Schriften. Im Mittelpunkt stehen Herkunft und Entwicklung der Spezies Alphabetschrift (besser spräche man von Einzellautschrift) – bekanntlich einer epochemachenden „Erfindung“ der Griechen – aus der semitischen Konsonanten – bzw. Silbenschrift. Im besonderen wendet sich Gamkrelidze (naheliegenderweise) der (alt)georgischen Schrift zu, an deren Charakter als Einzellautschrift griechischen Typs ein Zweifel ja nicht aufkommen kann. Er betrachtet sie allerdings ganz parallel zu und gemeinsam mit anderen Schriftschöpfungen gleichen Ursprungs aus der Frühzeit des Christentums, den Schriftsystemen von Kopten, Goten, Armeniern und Slaven. So konsequent, wie Gamkrelidze dies tut, war man früher meines Wissens niemals an die Betrachtung dieser Schriften und ihrer typologisch weitgehend ähnlich gelagerten Probleme herangetreten. Was die theoretische Seite angeht – und ich habe den hohen theoretischen Anspruch seiner Forschungen schon wiederholt hervorgehoben –, so fordert er ganz entschieden

und mit vollem Recht, auch in die Grammatologie Begriffe einzuführen wie „Inhaltsseite“ und „Ausdrucksseite“ sowie „Paradigmatik“ und „Syntagmatik“. Darüber hinaus tritt er dann folgerichtig energisch dafür ein, daß Fragen wie die nach der Struktur oder dem Typus eines Schriftsystems, nach historischen Beziehungen zwischen Schriftsystemen, deren Entstehung usw. nicht allein von der „Ausdrucksseite“ her, also mittels der graphischen Zeichen selbst angegangen werden dürfen, sondern von der „Inhaltsseite“ her, von der Struktur des Zeichensystems und von der Funktion der einzelnen Zeichen aus.

Theoretische und methodische Probleme ebenso wie spezifische Fragen auf allen sprachlichen Ebenen von der Schrift – und Lautlehre bis zum Lexikon und in einem weiten Kreis von Sprachen unterschiedlichster Herkunft haben Thomas Gamkrelidze während seiner bisherigen Forschertätigkeit beschäftigt. Und doch ist, was hier darzustellen war, – erfreulicherweise! – nur eine Zwischenbilanz. Von Thomas Gamkrelidze darf die internationale Sprachwissenschaft, wie der trotz aller äußerlicher Schwierigkeiten und zahlreicher extralinguistischer Verpflichtungen auch in den letzten Jahren ungebrochene Fluß der Publikationen zeigt, noch vielfältige Förderung erwarten.

Rüdiger Schmitt

⁵ Joseph C. Salmons, *The Glottalic Theory: Survey and Synthesis*, Washington, D.C. 1993.

THE PROBLEM OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES*

The problem of the identification of Semitic languages has attracted the attention of specialists for a long time. Nearly every investigator of Semitic languages is concerned with this problem to a certain extent. Great attention has been paid to it in general reviews and compendiums on Semitic languages as well as in monographs and works on general and theoretical linguistics. [1] Moreover, this problem has been discussed twice at International Congresses of Orientalists.

In 1894 H. Reckendorf devoted a special paper to this problem at the X International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva. [2]

Finally, E. Ullendorff, the distinguished English Orientalist and student of Ethiopic languages, touched this problem once again in his paper at the XXIV Congress of Orientalists in Munich. [3]

The question at issue is the criteria which can or must serve as a basis for deciding whether a given language belongs to the Semitic family of languages or not. "It has become a commonplace – says Ullendorff, that the most characteristic trait of the Semitic languages lies in the special relationship between consonant and vowel." But the general assertion that meaning in these languages repose entirely on consonants has, on the face of it, according to Ullendorff, a good deal to commend it, although it is not quite exact. The author infers that "meaning" in this context stands for primary semantic distinctions, for modifications, most often of a grammatical nature, brought about by vowels conveying meaning-variants and are thus at least of secondary semantic significance. [3, 69]

Yet we have parallels to this phenomenon in other language groups, though probably on a less massive scale. Internal vowels change, indicative of purely grammatical rather than lexical distinctions, occur in Indo-European languages as, for instance, in English sing, sang, sung, song or speak, spoke – give, gave etc. There are even types of "Internal plurals" as, for instance, goose-geese or mouse-mice, etc., where vowel modifications are responsible for changes in grammatical category. [3, 69]

In connection with the specific relationship between consonant and vowel by which Semitic languages are characterized G. Bergsträsser had already pointed out that "hier ist ein alterer Zustand deutlich erkennbar in dem das Verhältnis von Konsonant und Vokal nicht wesentlich von dem in anderen Sprachen üblichen abwich, in dem also schon die 'Wurzel' aus Konsonant und Vokal in intrennbarer Einheit bestand." [4, 6]

The same applies to another of those alleged marks of Semitic identity, one that is closely bound up with the relation between consonant and vowel, i.e. triliterality. Even this much canvassed characteristic cannot be accepted, in the opinion of Ullendorff, as a safe and unequivocal indication in the Semitic identity card since triconsonantal morphemes are apparently quite wide spread in Indo-European (and probably other) languages and besides, while it is true to say that tri-consonantal elements are predominant in most Semitic languages, there are significant exceptions which upset any attempt at discovering a uniform pattern. Not only is there a predominance of bi-radicals in the Cushitic languages as Akkadian, Amharic, modern South-Arabian, etc. Moreover, it is probably generally accepted nowadays, what must be considered cogent evidence, that historically many tri-consonantal words represent, in fact, extensions of originally bi-consonantal elements. [3, 70]

In the geminate type of the Semitic verb, such as Arabic madd, farr etc., gemination, as it has very often been asserted, was employed to create tri-consonantalts from original bi-consonantalts.

The same applies to the phonological system which has also been claimed to be one of the most characteristic features of the Semitic languages. There are Semitic laringals, especially 'ayn and h, but the former occurs also in Cushitic and some Caucasian languages, while the letter appears in Berber languages and also seems to have been part of the old Indo-European sound structure. [3, 72]

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The so-called emphatic sounds were almost certainly originally pronounced as glottalized ejectives, as already suggested by Bergsträsser. They are very widespread and frequent in the Cushitic languages.

The same applies to syntax too. Parataxis was considered to be the guiding principle in Semitic syntax, yet intricately subordinate clauses are the rule in Amharic and many modern Ethiopian tongues. [3, 72]

From what has been said it follows that those peculiarities which have been considered traditionally as characteristic of Semitic languages are not specific for them but occur in other language systems of the world as well.

In other words the problem is put in the same way with regard to Semitic languages as it has been with regard to Indo-European languages.

As is well-known, N. S. Trubetskoy, when confronted with the question “by what signs do linguists determine whether a given language is Indo-European?”, in his article “Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem”, gave the following answer:

“Of course, for this it is necessary that in the given language there should be a certain quantity of ‘material coincidences’, i. e. of roots, derivative suffixes and endings coinciding both in function (meaning) and in sound (taking into account, of course, the regular sound correspondences), with the same elements of other Indo-European languages. However, it is impossible to say how large the number of such coincidences should be in order that the given language may be admitted to be Indo-European. It is also impossible to say exactly what lexical and grammatical elements must necessarily be present in every Indo-European language.”

Enumerating the difficulties which arise in establishing the regular correspondences between phonemes and words of two Indo-European languages, N. Trubetskoy concludes: “Taking into consideration all these circumstances, it must be admitted that in deciding whether a given language belongs to the Indo-European language family or not, too much importance must not be attached to ‘material coincidences’. Of course, ‘material coincidences’ must be present, and a complete absence of them is proof that the given language does not belong to the Indo-European family. But the number of these coincidences does not make much difference, and there is not a single one the presence of which is absolutely necessary to testify to the Indo-European character of the given language.” [5]

Thus, in order to prove that a given language belongs to the Indo-European family, besides an indefinite number of ‘material coincidences’ it is necessary, according to Trubetskoy, that there should be present some structure signs (for the Indo-European languages there are six of them), already well-known in science, which are characteristic of Indo-European languages.

It was not difficult for E. Benvenist to find among the American Indian languages an example (the Takelma language, from the state of Oregon) in which all the six structural signs, suggested by Trubetskoy for the Indo-European languages, have been established but which, nevertheless, is not an Indo-European language. [6]

Now the problem with respect to Semitic languages is put in the same aspect.

In this connection the question arises: are we really not in a position to point out structural signs which would be specific for these very languages (i. e. Semitic)? If we are obliged to answer this question in the negative, then we must decline in general from any attempts to decide, on the basis of structural signs, whether any language belongs to this or that language group, since it is doubtful whether there is to be found a language family with strictly definite structural patterns, beginning with the phonemic system and ending with the structure of root morphemes. Certain sketchiness in the structure of root morphemes in their relation to affixal morphemes, i. e. the morphological structure as a whole, and the originality in the phonological system and in the structure of phrases is so clearly expressed in Semitic languages that the specific character of the structure of these languages has long ago been recognized in science as an established fact. It is no mere chance that the distinguished investigator of Semitic languages Hans Bauer begins his well-known article “Zur Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus” with the words: “Es ist bekannt, dass die semitischen Sprachen eine Reihe von Eigentümlichkeiten aufweisen, die sich in dieser Weise in keiner anderen Sprache wiederfinden.” [7, 81]

It is difficult to agree with the assertion that the phonological system of the Semitic languages occurs again elsewhere. The important thing is not only the presence of some sounds which occur in other languages, but their phonological function and behaviour in different surroundings. Indeed, it would not be quite correct to affirm that the emphasis of consonants is not a specific feature of Semitic languages and that emphatic

consonants come from glottalized ejectives which occur in other languages too (Caucasian, Cushitic etc.).

In the first place, it has not been proved yet that emphatic consonants come from glottalized ones. [8, 297, 301] The presence in the Semitic Languages of Abyssinia and in the eastern new Aramaic dialects of glottalized consonants instead of emphatics perhaps testifies to the fact that in this case we are dealing with the result of the contact of these Semitic dialects with languages of different linguistic areas rather than to the preservation in marginal dialects of a more ancient system of consonants. [9, 047]

But this is not the main point. Even if it is assumed that the Semitic emphatic consonants come from glottalized ones, the question arises: for what level of language development can we suppose the existence of such a system of consonantism: for a remote past or for that stage of development of the language which immediately preceded historically testified Semitic languages? If this is postulated for a more ancient level preceding the ancestral proto-Semitic putative common language, is it at all possible to talk about the characteristic features of the Semitic languages of that epoch?

This question is of great significance with respect to methodology. In elucidating problems relating to the origin of some linguistic phenomena, the expression “in a most ancient epoch” is often resorted to in works on Semitic linguistics and chronologically irrelevant phenomena are attributed to such an epoch, and problems of relative chronology, i. e. in substance the fundamental principles of modern diachronic linguistics, are ignored.

And now about one of the most characteristic features of the Semitic languages, internal flexion. This feature of the Semitic languages is often compared with the Indo-European ablaut. But apophony for the Indo-European languages is, as shown by J. Kurylovich, a phenomenon of morphological redundancy, while in a Semitic language it has a pertinent morphological character. [10, 195] The most important thing is that in Semitic change of vowels we usually have not apophonic alternation of vowels [II] but various distributions of discontinuous affixes among the consonantal phonemes of the root morpheme so that one of the most striking peculiarities of the Semitic languages is the use of a large or predominant quantity of such interdigitated morphemes. [12]

Of course, there is no doubt that the system of vocalism and maybe even the interrelation between the vocals and consonants at an earlier stage of development of the language were different from those in historically attested Semitic idioma, but already in the ancestral common language, which served as a basis for the later language systems, definite types of root morphemes were worked out, among the elements of which discontinuous affixes began to be distributed. Therefore, when dealing with the characteristic features of Semitic languages, the main thing is not so much the triliterality or biliterality of a root, but the presence of definite, specifically Semitic patterns of root morphemes, not occurring anywhere else, and their behaviour in relation to inflectional and derivative morphological elements.

With the formation of these structural patterns of roots, be they bi-radical or tri-radical, and of their definite mutual relations, and with the appearance of laws governing their behaviour in different paradigmatic and syntactic form-classes, begins the formation of a Semitic language. All that preceded this does not apply to the Semitic type of language.

Scientists of different countries and of different times have often pointed out these or other linguistic signs, characterizing the Semitic languages. For instance, besides those mentioned above, attention also has been drawn to prefixal and suffixal formations depending on different paradigmatic classes of the verb, etc.

These signs can be enumerated in different quantities. The characteristics will be more or less exact depending on the quantity of these signs, but at present we are interested not in this and even not so much in the establishment of a minimum quantity of signs necessary to identify a Semitic language, but in the way the problem should be put. Can we, in general, talk about characteristic signs of the Semitic languages? What do we mean by “Semitic languages”? It is a purely conventional nomination and means a group of languages of Asia and Africa, which are supposed to be related to one another and originate from one common ancestor. In other words, it is a diachronic notion and indicates origin. But genetical relationship does not necessarily presuppose typological resemblance. Therefore we cannot speak about characteristic features of the Semitic languages. It is only possible to speak of characteristic features of the common Semitic and of the degree of resemblance to it of separate Semitic languages. Therefore it would perhaps be more correct not to ask, “what is a Semitic language”, but “what was the Semitic language like”.

It will be possible to answer this question if after synchronic analysis of related languages, a set of correspondences between them at different structural levels is determined, and the original linguistic patterns, which served as a basis for the historically attested language systems, are received, in a first approximation, by the method of triangulation (i.e. the comparative method) and internal reconstruction. The postulated form of the reconstructed common-Semitic system can then be regarded as a model from which historically attested corresponding forms may be derived on the assumption of a set of typologically plausible and consistent transformations as a result of which the common Semitic system yields different cognate idioms. Otherwise we cannot speak of characteristic features of Semitic languages, because, if we agree with the opinion that through long contact and mutual interference languages of genetically different systems may become so close that they form similar typological models in the structure of the root morphemes and, in general, in the whole phonological and morphological system, then it follows that as a result of different conditions of development languages, related to one another in origin, may belong to different structural-typological groups.

Indeed, in the Semitic languages we have a large number of examples in proof of this thesis. This was well shown by Ullendorff in the article of his mentioned above. Thus, for example, in Amharic and Soqotri we observe an almost complete disappearance of the Semitic phonological system, the disintegration of Semitic syntax and considerable deviations in the morphological system. We have the same in modern Eastern New-Aramaic dialects: not only the phonological but the morphological system as well has here departed so far from the type which is usually called Semitic that with respect to structural typology these dialects can scarcely be claimed to belong to the Semitic group.

Even within the limits of one and the same language we observe great variations of the structural and typological point of view. Arabic serves as an example of this where the analytic structure of the dialects is opposed to the synthetic forms of the literary language. (13, 55]

Hence follows the conclusion: purely typological features do not allow us to decide that a given language, from the genetic point of view, belongs to this or that family of languages. The chief means of identifying a language, in spite of the doubts expressed recently on this account, still remain the regular correspondences in "material items", though some difficulties arise in connection with this. Thus, for instance, we pointed out above the considerable deviation of the New-Aramaic dialects from the Semitic structural-typological model. Therefore if there were no such lexical elements in this language as dimä < dm "blood", libä < lbb "heart" bēta < byt "house" bāhi < bky "he cries" birča < brk "knee", älpä < 'lp "thousand" and others, we should hardly be able to identify this language as Semitic, and some similarities in structure, which are found between these and other Semitic languages, we should have put down to contact, affinity, isomorphism, etc.

Thus, the presence of these very coincidences and the regular correspondence between structural units of two languages under comparison remain the chief criteria for establishing the fact that a language belongs to this or that group.

But in this connection the question arises: how far should these coincidences in the material part of a language go? I think, it is not difficult to define those spheres of the structural items of a language in which, in case of relationship, coincidence is inevitable, they are, for instance, words of relationship, pronouns, some verbs and so on. [14, 44]

Here not the quantity of cognate items is important, but their character. And if the language has already departed so far from its ancestor as well as from other related languages that cognition in the "material items" has completely disappeared, then it ceases to belong to its ancestral tongue and no structural and typological comparison can help to establish its original relationship.

This does not mean that for solving problems of linguistic identification comparative structural-typological studies are less important. On the contrary, comparative typology can help to a great extent in clarifying a diachronic relationship and sometimes even in revealing cognition too where otherwise it might be unnoticed. After the publication of R. Jacobson's well-known paper on the contribution of typological studies to historical comparative linguistics, [15] investigation of these problems has acquired particular significance. But in such research the area of comparison should not be confined to genetically related languages. The establishment of resemblances or divergences (i.e. of isomorphism or allomorphism) not only between Semitic languages related to one another, but also between them and the non-Semitic languages of the relevant linguistic areas, acquires exceptional importance for the solution of problems connected with the

character of the relationship between related languages. Thus, for instance, in order to ascertain the relation between the New-Aramaic languages of the Caucasus and the Near East, or the Semitic languages of Africa and other Semitic languages, a comparative historical or typological study of them is not sufficient. It is necessary to take into account the problems of Caucasian or Near Eastern and African linguistics areals.

These problems in Semitology have remained up to the present without due attention and our task at the modern stage of science is to pay more heed to this little studied field of science.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAJIK LANGUAGE ON THE VOCALISM OF CENTRAL ASIAN ARABIC DIALECTS*

The Arabs in Central Asia occupied in the past, as is well known, considerable territory, especially in the lower parts of the basins of the Zarafshān¹ and Qashqa-daryā² rivers, and also in Khojend and the south-eastern regions of Tajikistan.³

In the course of centuries the majority of the Central Asian Arabs have lost their language and only small groups of them continue to speak Arabic up to the present time in the villages of Jōgarī, Čardarī (Gijduwān⁴ district) and 'Arab-Xōna (Wobkend⁵ district) of the Bukhārā region and in the village of Jeinau in the Qashqa-daryā region.⁶

As our investigations have shown, the language of the Central Asian Arabs at the present time consists of two independent dialects, one of which we call the Bukhārā dialect (henceforth B) and the other the Qashqa-daryā dialect (henceforth Q) of Arabic.⁷

These dialects differ from one another to such a degree that the Bukhārā and Qashqa-daryā Arabs do not understand one another and prefer to talk among themselves in the Tajik or Uzbek languages. Differences are noticed not only in vocabulary but in phonology and morphology as well.

All these dialects have been strongly influenced by the surrounding languages Tajik, Turkman, Uzbek, and others.

The Tajik language has had a particularly strong influence on the vocalism of Central Asian Arabic. In

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1 In the Samarcand and Bukhārā regions.

2 In the vicinity of the town Karshi.

3 cf. A. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*. Wien, 1875-7, II, 143; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und seine Sturz*. Berlin, 1902, 247 f.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*. London, 1928, *passim*; idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*. St. Petersburg, 1914; idem, *Istoriya kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana*. 1927, 22 f.; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden, 1952, *passim*; idem, 'al-'Arab'. *El*, second ed., I, 527 f.

4 Now a small town near Bukhārā, already mentioned by Arab geographers (Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.) in the forms Gijduwān, Ğujduwān, Ğujduwān as a *qaryatun min qurā buxārā 'ala sittati farāsixa minhā wabihā sūqun fī kulli usbū'in yawman yajtami'u fīhā ahlū l-qurā li l-bay'i wa l-śirā'i* (Sam'ānī); cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 119, n. 14.

5 Mentioned by Sam'ānī as *wābkana* (s.v.) and by Yāqūt as *wābakna*, iv, 872 ; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 132.

6 See our articles: 'The Arabic dialects of Central Asia (preliminary account)' (in Georgian). *Izvestiya Instituta Istorii, Yazyka i Materialnoy Kultury Gruzinskogo Filiala AN SSSR*, I, 1937, 295 f.; "Nestan-Darejan" in Central Asian Arabic folklore' (in Russian and Georgian), *Sbornik Rustaveli, k 750-letiyu 'Vepkhistkaosani'*. Tbilisi, 1938; 'Materials for the study of Arabic dialects in Central Asia. An Arabic tale from kishlak Jāgarī of the Gijduwān district of the Uzbek SSR' (in Russian). *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, VII, 1939, 254 f.; 'On the characteristics of the language of the Central Asian Arabs' (in Russian). *Trudy vtoroy sessii Assotsiatsii Arabistov*, 1937, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, 133 f.; 'On the formation of some basic verbal forms in the Bukhārā Arabic dialect' (in Georgian), *Trudy Tbilisskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, XXX/I, 6, 1947, 461 f.; 'The Arabic dialects in Central Asia, *Papers presented by the Soviet delegation at the xxiii International Congress of Orientalists. Semitic studies*, Moscow, 1954; 'On the study of the language of the Central Asian Arabs. Specimens of the language of the Qashqa-daryā Arabs' (in Russian). *Trudy Instituta Yazykoznanija Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR*, Seriya Vostochnykh Yazykov, I, 1954, 251 f.; *The Arabic dialects of Central Asia*, I, *Bukhara Arabic dialect*. Tbilisi, 1956.

See also: N. N. Burykina and M. M. Izmaylova, 'Nekotorye dannye po yazyku arabov kishlaka Dzhugary Bukharskogo okruga i kishlaka Dzheyneau Kashka-Dar'inskogo okruga Uzbekskoy SSR'. *Zapiski Kollegii Vostochedovedov*, V, 1930, 527 f.; N. V. Yushmanov, 'Arabskoe narechie Sovetskogo Vostoka'. *Kul'tura i Pis'mennost' Vostoka*, X, 1935, 76 f.; S. L. Volin, 'K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov'. *Trudy vtoroy sessii Assotsiatsii Arabistov*, 1937, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, 111 f.; I. N. Vinnikov, 'Araby v SSSR'. *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, IV, 1940, 3 f.; idem, 'Materialy po yazyku i fol'kloru bukharskikh arabov'. *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, VI, 1949, 120 f.; idem, 'Fol'klor bukharskikh arabov'. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, VI, 1-3, 1956, 181 f.; I. Krachkovskiy, 'Arabistika v SSSR za 20 let'. *Trudy vtoroy sessii Assotsiatsii Arabistov*, 1937, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, 28 f.; idem, 'Arabistika i istoriya narodov SSSR'. *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1938, No. 5, pp. 56 f.; idem, *Ocherki po istorii russkoy arabistiki*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, 252 f.; H. S. Nyberg in *Le Monde Oriental*, XXIV, 1-2, 1930, 126 f.; Muhammād Maḥmūd Jumā, 'al-'Arab fī ăsiyā 'l-wusta', *Mustamī' al-'Arabi* (London), v. 13, 1944, 11 f.

7 cf. 'The Arabic dialects of Central Asia', 1937, 301 ; also *Bukhara Arabic dialect*, 1956, XVI f.

this respect the reflexes of Common Arabic⁸ (henceforth CA) /ā/ are characteristic. In both dialects of Central Asian Arabic (henceforth CAD) CA /ā/ is in some cases represented by an open low non-labial /ā/, qualitatively close to the Tajik short /a/: *nām* 'he slept', *šāfu* 'he saw him'; *šālu* 'he lifted it', *jābu* 'he brought it', *šaddāha*⁹ 'he tied her *imbān* (<*inbān*) 'it appeared', *sār* 'he was going', *māl* 'property', *nās* 'people', *šibān* 'wealthy' (literally 'replete'), *kalbāt*¹⁰ (pl. of *kalba*) 'dogs' *štā* 'winter', *təffāh* 'apple', *salās* 'three'*bāki* participle of the verb *baka* 'to cry', *giddām* 'in front of', etc.

In Q we have: *gāl* 'he said', *māt* 'he died', *šāfa*¹¹ 'he saw him', *ḥahhāha* 'he put it (fem.) down', *addāha* 'he counted it', *itārak* 'he quarrelled', *rakabān*¹² 'riding', *lamzāt* 'words', *darbāt* 'roads', *solās* 'three', etc.

Sometimes there occur traces of imāle: *kān*, *kāyin* (B, a dialect of the village of 'Arab-Xōna in Wobkend district) in the form of front /ā/.

But most frequently CA /a/ in CAD changes to /ō/¹³, a labial mid back vowel, close to Tajik /ō/¹⁴ in such words as *dōdar* 'brother', *tōqat* 'patience'.

This sound is met with in B not only in borrowed words (*bōğ* 'garden', *bōğbōn* 'gardener', *bōzōr* 'bazaar', *pōšō* 'pasha', *buxōrō* 'Bukhara', *tōjik* 'Tājik', etc.), but in many Arabic words as *kōn* 'he was', *kōyin* (part, of the verb *kōn*), *qōm* 'he got up', *qōl* 'he said', *xōf* 'he was afraid', *ṣōr* 'it became', *istağōz*¹⁵ 'he was angry', *əhmōr* 'ass', *ta'ōm* 'food', *nəhōr* 'day', *mərōd* 'wish', *sōhib* 'master', *dawō* 'medicine', *sarmō* 'sky', *'asō* 'stick', *zinō* 'adultery', *salō* 'prayer', *tillō* 'gold'.

We have the same picture in Q: *sōr* 'he was', *ōxusa* (<*āxudha*) 'I shall take it', *mōxusa* (<*mā āxudha*) 'I shall not take it', *tōkul* 'you eat', *sōhib* 'master', *jə'ōn* 'hungry', *ša'ar-rōs* 'hair' (lit. 'hair of the head'), *rōsi* 'my head', *xōzi* participle of the verb *xaza* 'to take', *gōzi* 'judge', *əhmōr* 'ass', *zōk* pron 'that', etc.

It is characteristic that in some cases one and the same word is pronounced differently in different dialects. On the one hand we have in Bukhārā Arabic *mōt*, *qōl*, but *rās*, *ras* (*ša'ar-ras*). On the other hand in Q we meet the forms: *māt*, *gāl*, but *rōs*, *ros* (*ša'ar - ros*). Besides there occur parallel forms: *kōn*, and *kān* (with imāle, in B), even in the speech of one and the same person (e.g. in the village 'Arab-Xōna in the Wobkend district).

The pronunciation of original /ā/ as /ō/ in Central Asian Arabic cannot be explained otherwise than by the influence of the Tajik language. In the latter, as is well known, Middle Persian and New Persian /ā/ is represented by /ō/ with which the Central Asian Arabic /ō/ is identical (in modern Tajik orthography, based on the Russian alphabet, it is written o).¹⁶ The CAD, as already mentioned, have become almost completely dissolved in the Tajik dialects, and in those few places where they have been preserved, the influence of this language is very considerable. At the same time it must be noticed that these Arabs are bilingual, sometimes even trilingual, and in their social life along with Arabic they use Tajik and sometimes Uzbek as well. In the Tajik language itself, as is well known, many Arabic words are used which have been preserved in Arabic dialects too, and it is natural that Arabs when speaking Arabic, should pronounce them in the same way as when they speak Tajik and in the same manner as Tajiks themselves pronounce them. Therefore there can be no doubt that the pronunciation of /ō/ in the words *dawō*, *sarmō*, *'asō*, *zinō*, *salō*, *tillō*, etc., is due to Tajik influence.

The shift /ā/ > /ō/ in some cases was hindered by the fact that in CAD there is a strong tendency for long

8 Common Arabic is used here to denote the putative ancestral common language from which the present dialects are derived. Cf. Haim Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, Mass., 1964, p.183, n.8; see also Charles Ferguson, 'The Arabic koine', *Language*, XXXV, 4, 1959, 616 f.

9 And in all cases of analogous character.

10 Also in all forms of the plural with a feminine ending.

11 In Q the pronominal suffix of the 3rd person masc. sing., as in 'Irāqī Arabic, is represented by the particle *a*. Cf. 'The Arabic dialects in Central Asia', 1954, 15, 30 ; cf. also B. Meissner, 'Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq', *BASS*, 1903, p. xxviii; H. Blanc, op. cit., 64.

12 Also in analogical forms of *maṣdar*.

13 In the texts we have published we use for this phoneme the sign *ā*, but in the present article, for convenience, we represent it simply by *ō*; however, it must be remembered that it is a more open sound than 'cardinal' *o*.

14 See V. S. Sokolova, *Fonetika tadzhikskogo yazyka*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, 26.

15 See *The Arabic dialects of Centred Asia*, 1956, 77. At the same time in B there occurs a parallelform *istawgaz*, see 'The Arabic dialects in Central Asia', 1954, 15, 30.

16 cf. V. S. Sokolova, op. cit., 79 f

vowels to be shortened in a closed syllable. Thus, for instance, instead of [ā] we often have [a]: *ras* 'head', *raski* 'thy (fem.) head', but *rāsi* 'my head', *rāsu* 'his head'. Even in those cases where *a* is lengthened under stress, length is no longer a phonological feature since the 'short : long' contrast disappears, at any rate in some cases. Final long vowels usually lose length, so that we have *mata* instead of *matā*.

In those cases in which the shortening of long vowels (in a closed syllable or in a final position) preceded the change /ā/ > /ō/, the original /ā/, [ā] was preserved, while in other cases it was changed to /ō/. Finally imāle also served, evidently, as an obstacle to the shift /ā/ > /ō/.

Vacillation in pronunciation *mōt/māt*, *qōl/gāl*, *kōn/kān/kān*, etc., testifies to the fact that in the forms *māt*, *gāl*, and also in the words *śibān*, *sāl*, *nām*, we have traces of the old pronunciation of /ā/, which in general in our dialect has a tendency to a shift to /ō/.

After the shift /ā/ > /ō/ this phoneme merged with another phoneme, /ō/, originating from /aw/, for instance *zōj* <*zawj* 'husband', *nōm* <*nawm* 'sleep', *dōla* 'fortune', from Tajik, Arabic *dawlat*, etc.

But in spite of this /ō/ </aw/ in its turn also shifted to ü. This is a labial mixed vowel, lower than ū and higher than ö, with an original fronted timbre. At the same time it stands closer to ū than to ö. Acoustically it is identical with Tajik ü in the words *rū* 'face', *rūzi* 'diurnal' (in modern Tajik orthography written pȳ, рӯзи), under the influence of which it arose.¹⁷ In the Tajik language this phoneme historically goes back to long /ō/ </aw/ or /ū/, /u/.

We have the same in CAD. As a rule the original /aw/ gives ü: *zūj* (<*zawj*) 'husband' *nūm* (<*nawm*) 'sleep', *süb* (<*taivb*) 'dress', *yūm* (<*yawm*) 'day', *fūq* (<*fawqa*) 'on, upon, above, over'. Often ü becomes ū because of a tendency towards shortening in a closed syllable: *zūjki* [*züčki*] 'thy husband', but *zūja* 'her husband'. Sometimes in a closed syllable ü derives from ū, with which it is in complementary distribution: *zarabūh* (with latent *h* at the end of the word)¹⁸ 'they struck him' but *zarabūha* 'they struck her', *abūh* 'his father' but *abūha* 'her father'.

Thus instead of the original quantitative contrast /a:/ : /ā/ in CAD we have a contrast /a/ : /ō ~ o/. On the other hand the contrast /ā/ : /ō/ </aw/ gives /ō ~ o/ : /ü ~ ū/. In all these cases length becomes a redundant feature with a minimal functional load.

Some investigators have expressed the opinion that in such forms of CAD as *qōm*, *kōn*, *mōt*, etc., we can recognize /ō/ as an indication of a Proto-Arabic */ō/, and in the treatment given in Central Asia to forms that end in /āh/, /ā/, that is in such words as *asō*, *salō*, *rizō*, *dawō*, *samō*, *zinō*, *tillō*, and so on, we seem to have further evidence¹⁹ for the change Proto-Semitic */awa/ > Proto-Arabic */ō/, derived from *fa'awa*-type forms, as was suggested by C. Rabin.²⁰

As is shown by a comparative analysis of the vocal systems of the CAD and the Tajik language, the shift /ā/ > /ō ~ o/ and (/aw/ >) /ō/ > //ü ~ ū/ is a result of Tajik influence and has no connexion with Proto-Arabic */ō/.

From this example it can be seen what difficulties are involved in the reconstruction of the phonological system of the ancestral common language by means of a comparative-historical analysis without taking into account problems of language contacts and areal linguistics.

17 cf. V. S. Sokolova, op. cit., 29 f.

18 With respect to latent *h* see C. A. Ferguson, 'Two problems of Arabic phonology', *Word*, XIII, 3, 1957, 472.

19 William Cowan, 'Arabic evidence Proto-Semitic */awa/ and */ō/' *Language*, XXXVI, 1, 1960, 60 f.

20 C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London, 1951, 106.

ZUR FRAGE DER BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DEN SEMITISCHEN UND HAMITISCHEN SPRACHEN*

In seiner bekannten Arbeit „Gibt es einen hamitischen Sprachstamm“¹ kommt C. Brockelmann, indem er die Frage der Beziehung zwischen den semitischen und sogenannten hamitischen (wie Lepsius sie bezeichnete) Sprachen berührt, zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den genannten Sprachgruppen nicht durch gemeinsame Herkunft bedingt ist, sondern das Ergebnis von Kontakten zwischen ursprünglich gar nicht verwandten Sprachen darstellt, die ähnliche Wesenszüge im gegenseitigen Austausch untereinander und mit Substratvölkern entwickelt haben. Er weist darauf hin, daß, so wie in Amerika gänzlich unverwandte Sprachen, deren Gebiete aneinanderstoßen, nicht nur Wörter austauschen, sondern auch Laute und Formen, es ebenso auch in Afrika gewesen sein wird. Brockelmann meint deshalb, daß es richtig wäre, für die Bezeichnung von Beziehungen der semitischen Sprachen zu denen Nord – und Ostafrikas den von Trubezkoy für solche Verhältnisse vorgeschlagenen Namen „Sprachenbund“ zu benutzen.²

Dieser Gesichtspunkt C. Brockelmanns fand in der Wissenschaft weder Anklang noch Beachtung. Gegenwärtig besteht die allgemein anerkannte Meinung, daß die semitischen Sprachen zusammen mit einer Reihe Sprachen Afrikas eine Gruppe verwandter Sprachen bilden, die sogenannte hamito – semitische oder semito-hamitische, afroasiatische (Greenberg), hamitische (Murdock) und eryträische (Tucker) Gruppe.³

In dem bekannten modernen Lehrbuch für vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen⁴ heißt es, daß „semitic is not an isolated group but forms part of a larger complex of languages, conventionally called Hamito – Semitic“, und daß „the relationship between the various units of the Hamito-Semitic group cannot be explained as a secondary development, and this makes the concept of an original Hamito-Semitic linguistic body one of great eogeneity. We have to aim at the reconstruction of Proto-Hamito – Semitic forms, though naturally with all the reservations called for by such a conjectural reconstruction. Semitic is, of course, the group that is more fully attested and generally also the most replete with ancient forms.“

Die von M. Cohen⁵ vorgeschlagene Klassifikation der Sprachen dieser hamito-semitischen Gruppe ist gegenwärtig überall anerkannt; danach besteht diese Gruppe aus vier oder fünf selbständigen Zweigen: dem semitischen, ägyptischen, libyisch-berberischen und kuschitischen, ebenso auch dem Haussa und den mit diesen verwandten Sprachen. Aber eingehende Untersuchungen von M. Cohen⁶ selbst und anderen Forschern zeigten, wie unbedeutend die regelmäßigen Übereinstimmungen zwischen den semitischen und anderen Sprachen dieser Gruppe sind, so daß kein Grund besteht, hier von irgendeiner Verwandtschaft in gewöhnlichem Sinne zu sprechen. So kann z. B. kaum eine gemeinsame Herkunft vorausgesetzt werden bei Zahlwörtern für sem. „3“ (akkad. *šalāšat*, *šalaš*, arab. *talāt* usw.) und bedauye *emháy*, sem. „5“ (akkad. *hamsat*, *hamis*, arab. *hamsat*, *hams* usw.) und bed. *ay*(<a>s); sem. „8“ (akkad. *samānīt*, *samāne*, arab. *tamāniyat*, *tamānin*) und bed. *asemháy*. In der Bedauyesprache, wie auch in einigen anderen kuschitischen Sprachen, beruht die Bildung der Zahlwörter nach „fünf“ auf folgendem Modell: „fünf + eins“ = 6, „fünf + zwei“ = 7,

* First published in: *Sonderdruck aus der Zeitschrift*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Band XVI. Heft 2. Akademie-verlag, Berlin 1970, S. 271-280.

1 C. Brockelmann, Gibt es einen hamitischen Sprachstamm? *Anthropos*, XXVII, 1932, S. 797ff.

2 Ibid., S. 817.

3 Tucker and Bryan, Linguistic analyses: the non-Bantu languages of north – eastern Africa. OTTP, 1966. S. 2.

4 S. Moscati, A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorf, W. V. Soden, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the semitic Languages*. Wiesbaden 1964. S. 16.

5 Vgl. M. Cohen: Les résultats acquis de la grammaire comparée hamito-sémitique. *Conférences de l'Institut de linguistique de l'Université de Paris*, 1933; ders.: *Langues hamito-sémitiques et linguistique historique*, 1951; ders.: Sémitique, égyptien, libico-berbère, couchitique et méthode comparative. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 10. 1953; ders.: *Cinquante années de recherches*. Paris, 1955; G. Garbini, La semitica; definizione e prospettive di una disciplina. *Annali dell'Istituto universitario Orientale di Napoli*. Nuova Serie XV, 1965.

6 M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique de hamito – sémitique*. Paris, 1947.

„fünf + drei“ = 8, in einigen Sprachen sogar „eins + Hand“ = 6, „zwei 4 – Hand“ = 7, usw.⁷

Ein derartiges Modell für die Bildung von Zahlwörtern ist den semitischen Sprachen fremd. Außerdem haben die Zahlwörter einiger kuschitischen Sprachen hinsichtlich des Sprachguts selbst in genetischer Hinsicht nichts gemeinsam mit den semitischen Zahlwörtern.

Dasselbe trifft sogar für solche kuschitischen Sprachen wie das Bedauye zu, die zu den sogenannten „Orthodox“⁸ Cushitic gehören, d. h. die in der Konjugation der Verben und hinsichtlich der Pronomina eine sichtbare Ähnlichkeit mit den semitischen aufweisen (z. B. Bedauye *šbb* – „sehen“: *išbib*, *tišbib*, *tišbiba*, *tišbibi*, *ašbib* pl. *išbibna*, *tišbibna*, *nišbib*).

Vieler der kuschitischen Sprachen haben aber nichts gemeinsam mit den semitischen außer einzelnen Elementen dessen, was A. N. Tucker *Bloch pattern* bzw. *Interlocking pattern* nennt.

So ist z. B. die Konjugation in der Ma'a Sprache (Mbugu) typisch für die Bantu-Sprachen:⁹

ku-ma „schlagen“

Sg. 1. *ni-ne-m-ma* „ich werde ihn schlagen“

2. *u-*

3. *é-*

Pl. 1. – *tu-*

2. *mu-*

3. *ve-*

Es gibt viele solcher Fälle in den sogenannten „Fringe Cushitic Languages“ (nach der Terminologie von A. N. Tucker), und von einer gemeinsamen Herkunft der semitischen und kuschitischen Sprachen kann hinsichtlich dieser Komponenten kaum die Rede sein.

Andererseits ist es schwer, C. Brockelmann in seiner Meinung beizupflichten, die semitischen und hamitischen Sprachen als einen gewöhnlichen Sprachenbund zu kennzeichnen, der als Ergebnis gegenseitiger Einwirkung ursprünglich unverwandter Sprachen entstanden sei. So kann man sich z. B. nicht leicht vorstellen, daß das oben angeführte System der Konjugation der Bedauye-Sprache aus dem semitischen entlehnt ist; denn es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß die Konjugation des Verbs und des Personalpronomens aus anderen Sprachen entlehnt worden waren, während die übrigen Sprachgebiete (Lexik und dergleichen) nicht beeinflußt wurden. Unserer Meinung nach hatte C. Brockelmann recht, als er die Existenz einer einheitlichen hamito-semitischen Sprachfamilie bestritt; die Beziehungen dieser Sprachen zueinander als Sprachenbund in gewöhnlichem Sinne zu betrachten, scheint jedoch nicht möglich zu sein.

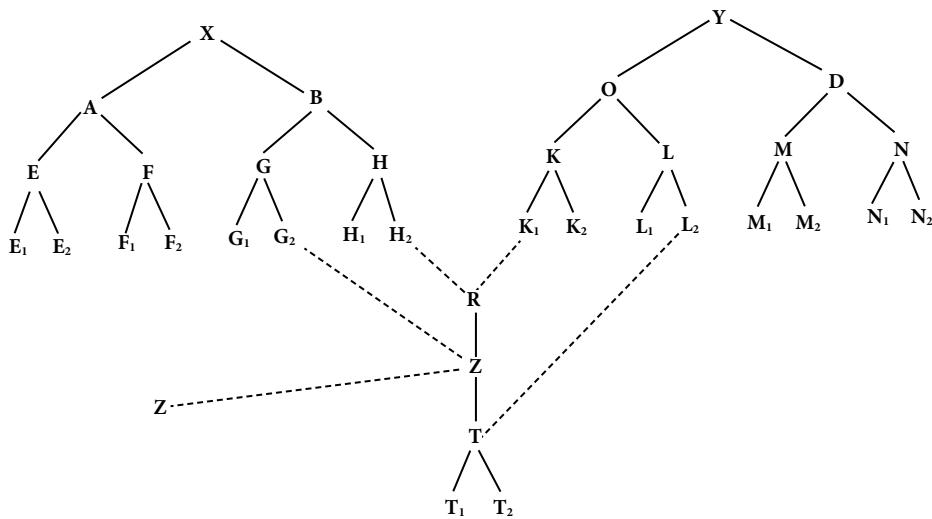
Unseres Erachtens wäre es am besten, das Problem der Beziehungen zwischen den semitischen und hamitischen Sprachen im Lichte der allo – genetischen Theorie zu betrachten, deren Grundsätze wir in der Zeitschrift „Voprosy Jazykoznanija“ dargelegt haben (1968/3, S. 3ff.).

Man kann sich die Existenz zweier verschiedener Sprachen x und y (s. Abb.) vorstellen, die, außer einzelnen isomorphen Formen, nichts gemeinsam miteinander haben. Jede von ihnen kann während des Divergenz – Prozesses in zwei verschiedene Gruppen, z. B. x > A, B und y > C, D zerfallen. Diese letzteren zerfallen ihrerseits in E, F; G, H und weiter in E₁; E₂; F₁; F₂; G₁; G₂; H₁, H₂ usw., und andererseits zerfällt die Sprachgruppe y durch C, D in K, L, M, N und dann entsprechend in K₁; K₂; L₁ L₂; M₁, M₂; N₁, N₂.

7 Vgl. H. Plazikowsky-Brauner: Zahlen und Zahlensysteme in den sogenannten kuschitischen Sprachen. MIO VIII. 1963. S. 466f.

8 A. N. Tucker: Fringe Cushitic: an experiment in typological comparison. BSOAS XXX. 1967. S. 655f

9 A. N. Tucker: ibid., S. 659



Auf einer gewissen Stufe des Entwicklungsprozesses kann die Sprache H₂ die Abzweigung der Sprache Kt– R stark beeinflussen. Somit kann die Sprache R, als Ergebnis einer direkten Entwicklung Y > C > K > Kt gleichzeitig von dem Inventar H₂ überschichtet werden, welches über H₂, H und B zur Sprache X geht.

Diese Sprache (R) wird im Ergebnis teilweise oder vielleicht überwiegend regelmäßige Entsprechungen zu den Sprachen der Gruppe Y aufweisen, andererseits befindet sie sich in einem bestimmten gesetzmäßigen Zusammenhang¹⁰ mit den Sprachen der Gruppe X. Auf dieser Entwicklungsstufe der Sprache kann trotz zweiseitiger Beziehungen noch von keiner zweiseitigen Verwandtschaft dieser Sprache die Rede sein. Späteren Überschichtungen, entlehnt aus der Sprache H₂, können leicht vom ursprünglichen Inventargetrennt werden, das zu Y führt und sich in bestimmten regulären Beziehungen zu den Sprachen dieser Gruppe befindet.

Auf dieser Entwicklungsstufe sehen wir einige vom Arabischen stark beeinflußte türkische und iranische Sprachen, in denen die Zahl arabischer Elemente eine enorme Höhe erreicht; eine längere und unmittelbare Einwirkung beeinflußte ebenfalls die Morphologie und Phonologie beispielsweise einiger tadshikischer und turkmenischer Mundarten.

Aber schon die nächste Abzweigung der Sprache R in der zweiten (S) und besonders der dritten (T) und den nachfolgenden (T₁; T₂) Generationen wird ebenfalls bestimmte reguläre Beziehungen zu den Sprachen der Gruppe X an den Tag legen, wenn der von der Sprache R entlehnte Stoff in ihr erhalten blieb und nicht während des Entwicklungsprozesses verschwunden war. Diese Übereinstimmungen aber werden einen einigermaßen diffusen und zugleich sporadischen Charakter aufweisen im Vergleich zu dem Teil der Sprache, der zur Gruppe Y führt. Das Bild kann noch komplizierter werden, wenn die Zwischenstufen der Entwicklung zwischen R – S – T und Tt T₂ von seiten einer dritten Sprachgruppe, z. B. Z, beeinflußt werden oder auch von seiten einer verwandten Sprache derselben Gruppe, z. B. L₂.

Der so erhaltene Isomorphismus und die für beide Sprachen bezeichnenden Isoglossen bilden gerade die Verwandtschaft der Seitenlinie nach zwischen den Sprachen T₁, T₂ und den Sprachen der Gruppe X.

Somit werden bei Sprachen, die direkt von einer bestimmten Gruppe abstammen, mit Hilfe einer konvergenten Entwicklung mit einer oder mehreren anderen Sprachengruppen ebensolche oder fast dieselben gesetzmäßigen Beziehungen entstehen wie auch mit der verwandten Gruppe. Diese Sprachen erhalten somit vielfältige genetische Beziehungen, die wir allogenetische (franz. allogenetique, engl. allogenetic) nennen.¹¹

Selbstverständlich kann ein Teil des Inventars von Sprachen, die allogenetische Beziehungen zu zwei verschiedenen Sprachgruppen aufweisen, einer Quelle entstammen, ein anderer Teil einer anderen Quelle.

¹⁰ Vgl. N. Trubekoy, *Gedanken über die indo-europäischen Probleme*. 1928; U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*. New York, 1953, S. 14ff; E. M. Vereschagin, Psicholingvističeskaja problematika teorii jazykovych kontaktov. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 1967; T. B. Tsivjan, Issledovaniya Z. Golomba po balkanistike. *Strukturnaja tipologija jazykov*. Moskau, 1966; H. M. Hoenigswald, Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction. Chicago, 1960; W. P. Lehmann, *Historical linguistics*. New York, 1962.

¹¹ Da die verwandten Sprachen und Mundarten infolge gegenseitiger Kontakte ebenfalls Spraehbünde bilden, so können in ein und derselben Gruppe allogenetische Beziehungen entstehen: einerseits direkte Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen, andererseits sekundäre Beziehungen, die mittels konvergenter Entwicklung nichtverwandter Sprachen entstanden sind (wie z. B. die englische Sprache, die modernen aramäischen Dialekte, die balkanischen Sprachen u. a.)

Manchmal können sogar ein und dieselben Elemente zu verschiedenen Quellen gehen. So stehen z. B. die englischen Zahlwörter (z. B. twentyfour usw.) gleichzeitig in allogenetischen Beziehungen sowohl zu den germani-sehen Zahlwörtern (die Wörter *twenty* und *four*), als auch zu den romanischen (Struktur des Zahlwortes).¹²

Dabei muß gesagt werden, daß beim Studium jeder Komponente im Vergleich mit der entsprechenden Sprache sehr oft Sprachgut übrigbleibt., das zu keiner der angenommenen Quellen gerechnet werden kann. Der Rest, der auf Grund zweier Komponenten nicht gedeutet werden kann, muß als Innovation erklärt werden, als das Ergebnis einer selbständigen Entwicklung oder als dritter Bestandteil, der einer unbekannten Quelle angehört.

Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Sprachbünde, die als Ergebnis von Kontakten und gegenseitiger Einwirkung in bestimmten linguistischen Arealen entstehen, es nicht immer zu allogenetischen Beziehungen bringen können. Von allogenetischen Beziehungen kann nur dann die Rede sein, wenn in einem bestimmten Entwicklungsstadium zwischen den Sprachen T_1 und T_2 und den Sprachen der Gruppe X in einem Teil des Sprachguts ein regelmäßiger Zusammenhang auf verschiedenen Stufen linguistischer Hierarchie stattfindet und wir gleichzeitig damit in einem anderen Teil ebensolche regulären Beziehungen zu einer anderen Sprachgruppe (Y) haben. Ohne diese Bedingungen können wir sogar beim Vorhandensein bestimmter Ähnlichkeiten, entstanden als Ergebnis von Kontakten, von Beziehungen sprechen, die Sprachbünde verschiedenen Grades bilden. Die Sprachbünde können zu allogenetischen Beziehungen führen, sie können aber auch existieren oder zerfallen, ohne daß dabei Sprachen mit zwei – oder vielseitigen Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen gebildet werden können.

So kann z. B. kaum von allogenetischen Beziehungen die Rede sein bei Sprachen der Völker, die die osteuropäische Niederung vom Weißen Meer bis zum Kaukasischen Gebirge und die westsibirische und die turkestanische Ebene bewohnen, d. h. Sprachen, die nach R. Jakobson einen eurasischen Sprachenbund bilden.¹³

Schließlich taucht die Frage auf: welcher Sprachgruppe kann die Sprache, die in allogenetischen Beziehungen zu zwei verschiedenen Gruppen steht, zugeordnet werden, der Gruppe Y oder der Gruppe X?

Unserer Meinung nach muß hier in jedem Einzelfall eine besondere Entscheidung getroffen werden. Es ist sehr wichtig zu klären, inwieweit sich die Struktur einer Sprache, die lexischen Elemente miteinbezogen, infolge der Kontakte verändert hat. Um den Charakter dieser Veränderung zu bestimmen, könnte die quantitative Einstellung eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Je nach den erhaltenen Ergebnissen der Untersuchung könnte man die eine oder andere Sprache der entsprechenden Gruppe beiordnen. Vielleicht wäre es aber richtiger, diesen Sprachen, die eine besondere Stellung zwischen verschiedenen Sprachen einnehmen, eine spezielle Bezeichnung zu geben, z. B. indo-europäisch-kaukasisch oder kaukasisch-indoeuropäisch, semito-hamiti – tisch (nicht aber im gewöhnlichen Sinne dieses Terminus) oder auch hamito – semitisches, und in der genealogischen Klassifikation für sie eine Sonderstellung festzulegen.

Auf Grund des hier dargelegten Gesichtspunktes kann man sich die Beziehungen der Sprachen folgendermaßen vorstellen: 1. Rein genetische Beziehungen der Sprachen in der Gruppe X oder Y, und eine direkte Entwicklung im Rahmen der entsprechenden Gruppe. 2. Allogenetische Beziehungen der Sprachen, die einerseits direkt zu den Sprachen der Gruppe X führen, die aber andererseits in einem bestimmten Teil ebenfalls reguläre Beziehungen aufweisen als Ergebnis der Verwandtschaft mit Sprachen einer anderen Gruppe (Y). 3. Reine Bundesbeziehungen, die dem Charakter nach verschiedenartige Sprachbünde bilden, die aber

12 Wenn die Hypothese, daß in den rheinländischen Mundarten der nord – und südwestlichen Peripherie des westdeutschen Sprachgebietes, in den Niederlanden, im Elsaß und der südlichen Schweiz die Lautverschiebung der germanischen ü > Ú (u > ü) oder die Verschiebung der lateinischen u > ü in dem gallisch-romanischen (französischen) und dem benachbarten piemontesischen Dialekt der italienischen Sprachen das Ergebnis einer Erscheinung von substrater Herkunft sei (Vgl. V. M. Jirmunskij, *Vvedenie v sravnitelno-istoričeskoe izuchenije germanskich jazykov*. Moskau-Leningrad 1964. S. 191), richtig ist, so hätten wir den Fall zweiseitiger Beziehungen mit verschiedenen Quellen ein und desselben Elements (ü ü, ü u) des phonologischen Systems der entscheidenden Sprache.

Dasselbe kann von der deutschen Konsonantenverschiebung gesagt werden, wenn die Annahme von der Substratherkunft dieser Erscheinung richtig wäre. Vgl. aber: E. A. Makajev, System der Konsonanten und sonoranten Phoneme in den germanischen Sprachen, in: *Vergleichende Grammatik der germanischen Sprachen*. Moskau, 1962, S. 31 ff.

13 R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings*. s-Gravenhage, 1962, S. 144ff.

gleichzeitig (parallel dazu) keine genetischen Beziehungen zu irgenwelchen bekannten Sprachen zeigen oder deren Inventar keine regulären Beziehungen zu anderen Sprachgruppen aufweist.

Die Anerkennung der Konzeption einer Allogenese der Sprachen bietet eine Erklärung dafür, weshalb ein und dieselben Sprachen in einem Teil eine reguläre Ähnlichkeit an den Tag legen, im anderen Teil aber so verschieden sind, daß die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer gemeinsamen Herkunft fast ausgeschlossen ist.

So ist z. B. schon seit langem der zweigliedrige Charakter der armenischen Sprache bekannt, der in gewisser Hinsicht einen echten indoeuropäischen Charakter aufweist,¹⁴ dessen ungeachtet aber nicht frei ist von vielen Charakterzügen der Sprachen des kaukasischen und vorderasiatischen linguistischen Areals.

Damit kann auch der Umstand erklärt werden, daß die hethitische Sprache, in der noch solche archaischen Züge wie Reflexe indoeuropäischer Laringale vorkommen, in vielen Fällen sich viel weiter entfernt vom proto-indoeuropäischen Zustand befand als die früher bekannten indoeuropäischen Sprachen.¹⁵ Dasselbe gilt auch für andere anatolische Sprachen indoeuropäischer Herkunft. In eben dieser Weise stellen wir uns die Wechselbeziehungen der semitischen und sogenannten hamitischen Sprachen vor.

Die Notwendigkeit der Anerkennung von Tatsachen einer direkten Sprachentwicklung einerseits und das Vorhandensein von Sprachenbünden bei teilweiser Erhaltung verwandter Beziehungen andererseits bestimmt den Charakter der Einstellung zum historisch-vergleichenden Studium der Sprachen. Dieser Standpunkt ermöglicht eine genaue Wiederherstellung eines realen Bildes vom früheren Zustand der Sprache, um die Wege des Werdens und der Entwicklung von historisch bezeugten Sprachsystemen festzustellen.

Das Verfahren der Rekonstruktion verschiedener sprachlicher Zustände in verschiedenen Variationen wurde mehrfach mit mehr oder weniger großem Erfolg von vielen Generationen von Wissenschaftlern hinsichtlich vieler Sprachen der Welt angewandt. Gewöhnlich aber wurde die Arbeit nur in einer Richtung geführt, und zwar zur Feststellung regulärer Beziehungen der untersuchten Sprachen zu anderen verwandten Sprachen derselben Gruppe. Eine andere Komponente, die zur nichtverwandten Sprachgruppe (in unserer Tabelle X) führt, blieb überhaupt unbeachtet oder wurde als fremder, entlehnter Teil des Inventars abgesondert. Indessen liegt kein Grund vor anzunehmen, daß wir in jedem Falle beim Studium irgend einer Sprache diese im Zustand der ersten Entlehnung fremden Stoffes antreffen. In Fällen, da diese Komponente im zweiten und nachfolgenden Stadium der Entwicklung der Sprache dargestellt ist, ist das Studium mit derselben Methode der vergleichenden und inneren Rekonstruktion unter Berücksichtigung von Angaben der vergleichenden Typologie und arealen Linguistik ebenso unumgänglich wie das des aus direkter Linie kommenden Stoffes. Andernfalls werden wir nie imstande sein, ein wirkliches Bild der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sprache zu bekommen.

Deshalb sind wir der Meinung, daß alle Versuche z. B. der Feststellung von Beziehungen der kuschitischen Sprachen (oder der hamitischen überhaupt) zu semitischen und anderen Sprachen kaum erfolgreich sein können, solange wir keine Charakteristik ihrer Struktur haben. Aus diesem Grunde müssen vor allem die typologischen Beziehungen dieser Sprachen – Isomorphismus und Allomorphismus –, die typologischen Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede, sowohl mit den verwandten semitischen Sprachen, als auch mit anderen Sprachen des afrikanischen linguistischen Areals festgestellt werden, und erst nach Absonderung ihrer Bestandteile können die Beziehungen zu verschiedenen Sprachen der Welt bestimmt werden.

In dieser Hinsicht wird dem strukturell-typologischen Studium der Sprache eine besondere Bedeutung beigemessen.¹⁶ Dieses Studium ist wichtig nicht nur, um die Wahrscheinlichkeit der rekonstruierten Modelle

14 Vgl. A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, 2. éd. Vienne 1936; H. Pedersen, *Armenier. Ebert's Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 1. 1924; G. R. Solta, *Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Wien 1960; ders.: Die armenische Sprache. *Handbuch der Orientalistik I. Abteilung. 7. Armenische und kaukasische Sprachen*. Leiden-Köln 1963; G. Deeters, Armenian and Südkaufatisch. *Caucasica* 3. 1926, 4. 1927; H. Vogt, *Arménien et Caucasicus du Sud. NTS IX*. 1938; E. B. Agajan, *Istorija armjanskogo jazykoznanija* I. Jerewan 1958 (armenisch).

15 H. Hendriksen, Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung des Hethitischen für die Laryngaltheorie. Det Kgl. Danske Viedenskabernes Selskab. *Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser* XXVIII, 2. Kopenhagen 1941; J. Kurylowicz, *Etudes indo-européennes* I. Krakau 1935; ders.: *L'Apophonie en indo-européen*; L. Zgusta, *La théorie laringale*. AO XIX, 3. 1951; Vjač. V. Ivanov, Problema laryngalnych v svete drevnih indoeuropejskich jazykov Maloj Azii. *Vestnik MGU* 2. 1957; T. V. Gamkrelidze, *Chetitskij jazyk i laryngalnaja teorija*. Tbilisi 1960.

16 Vgl. R. Jakobson, Typological studies and their contribution to historical comparative linguistics. *Proceedings of the VIII. International Congress of linguists*. Oslo 1958; E. A. Makaev, *Problemy i metody sovremennoj sravnitelno-istoričeskogo jazykoznanija*. VY 1965. 4. S. 3ff.

verschiedener Zustände der Sprache festzustellen; die vergleichende Typologie hat ebenfalls große Bedeutung für die Festlegung struktureller Besonderheiten, die für verschiedene Sprachsysteme kennzeichnend sind, unabhängig von Zeit und Raum. Die vergleichende Typologie gibt uns die Möglichkeit, die isomorphen und allomorphen Erscheinungen in verschiedenen Sprachgruppen und – systemen zu zeigen und die Berührungs punkte zwischen verschiedenen verwandten und nicht verwandten Sprachen festzustellen.

Gegenwärtig unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß die Typologie der Sprache eine unumgängliche Voraussetzung für jede Rekonstruktion der Sprache und der diachronischen Linguistik überhaupt ist. Es wäre aber ein Irrtum zu glauben, daß man mit typologisch-vergleichenden Untersuchungen allein verwandte Beziehungen unter den Sprachen feststellen kann. Solche Versuche führten stets zu verhängnisvollen Ergebnissen beim Studium einzelner Sprachgruppen. Deshalb besteht unserer Meinung nach gegenwärtig eine der ersten Aufgaben der linguistischen Wissenschaft gerade in der strengen Abgrenzung der Fälle mit einfacherem Isomorphismus, unabhängig von Zeit und Raum, von Erscheinungen, die infolge sprachlicher Kontakte entstanden sind, und insbesondere von Tatsachen, die von verwandten Beziehungen der Sprachen zeugen.

George V. Tsereteli

QUESTIONS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEMITIC AND HAMITIC LANGUAGES

Summary

At the present time the Classification recognized as generally accepted is the one proposed by M. Cohen according to which the Semito-Hamitic (in the usual sense of the word) group of languages consists of four or five independent branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Libyco-Berber, Cushitic and also Hausa and the languages related to it. Special investigations carried out by M. Cohen showed however that regular correspondences established for Semitic and the so-called Hamitic languages are so meagre that there are hardly grounds for talking of relationship in the usual sense of the word.

On the other hand it is impossible not to admit that there exist definite spheres of correspondences both in vocabulary and also, what is more important, in the phonological and morphological systems. This phenomenon is explained in the article in the light of the allogenetic theory, according to which in such cases we have bilateral genetic relations with different language families.

THE AKKADO-HITTITE SYLLABARY AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HITTITE SCRIPT*

One of the basic problems of Hittite studies is the question as to the origin of the Hittite cuneiform writing. The solution of this problem has a great importance for the early history of the Hittites, as well as for establishing the ways in which the cuneiform writing system of Ancient Mesopotamia spread in the Near East.

It has been suggested by a number of scholars that the Hittites borrowed the syllabic cuneiform script from the Hurrians and adapted it to the needs of the I.-E. Hittite language.

This theory which is now fairly current among Hittitologists involves, however, certain difficulties of orthographic-phonetic and chronological character. Some features of the Hittite syllabary cannot be accounted for, if we assume the Hurrian origin of the Hittite script. This compels us to re-examine the idea of a Hurrian origin for Hittite cuneiform.

It is a well established fact that the Hittite writing goes back to a form of cuneiform script which antedates the Old Babylonian writing.¹

This poses the question as to whether the Hittite system of writing was derived directly from Old Akkadian script or from an intermediate source which goes back to Old Akkadian syllabary.

Every attempt at determining the ways of provenience of the Hittite writing must proceed from the combined evidence of similar systems of the cuneiform syllabary of corresponding and earlier dates.

Some orthographic features of the Boghazkoy cuneiform system are shared by the Akkadian syllabary from Nuzi² which dates from the middle of the second millennium B. C. In the cuneiform tablets from Nuzi the sign PI is used with the value [wa], [wi], [wu], whilst the syllable [pi] is represented by the sign BI (=pi). The cuneiform script from Nuzi lacks special signs for Semitic emphatic consonants, the sign QA being a mere homophone of KA and GA.

The Nuzi syllabary, as that of Boghazkoy, fails to distinguish consistently between corresponding voiced and voiceless consonants. The script of Nuzi differs from Akkadian cuneiform contemporary with it also in the representation of the set of Akkadian sibilants. The phonemes [z], [s] and [š] are denoted by the z-signs: cf. *e-zi-ib*, *e-zi-ib-šu* from *ezēbu* “leave, abandon”; Sem. *'zb); *al-zi*, *li-il-zi* (from *šasū* “call, invoke”; ú-uz-zi, *uš-te-zi* (from *waṣū* “go out”), etc.

Akkadian [š] resulting from the Semitic interdental spirant [t] (Arab. [t], Hebr. [š] is represented in the Tuzi syllabary by the š-signs, whilst the Akk. [š] resulting from the Semitic sibilants [*š] and [*š̄] (Arab. [s] and [š], Hebr. [š] and [š̄] can be indicated by the symbols for s = or z =: cf. *ša-ṭi-ir* besides *sa-ṭi-ir* (from *šaṭāru* “write”, Sem. *š̄tr); *i-za-az-zi*, *a-za-az-zi* (from *šasū*), etc.³

The lack of signs for the emphatics, the indiscriminate use of signs for corresponding voiced and voiceless plosives, as well as the peculiarities in the representation of Akkadian sibilants, may be accounted for on the assumption that the Nuzi system of writing is a direct descendant of Old Akkadian syllabary.⁴

In the Sumerian cuneiform system of writing adapted for Akkadian there were special signs for the sibilants š, s and z. The Akkadian phoneme resulting from the Semitic interclental [*t] (Arab. [t], Hebr. [š] was represented in Old Akkadian syllabary by the š-signs, whilst the s-signs were used to denote the Akkadian descendant of the primitive Semitic * š/s (Arab. [s] and [š]; Hebr. [š] and [š̄]). The remaining Sumerian signs

* First published in: *Archiv Orientální*, 29, 1961, pp. 406-418.

1 E. Forrer, BoTU I, p. 3; A. Götze, Die Entsprechungen der neuassyrischen Zeichen PIŠ und KA+ŠU in der Boghazkōi-Schrift (ZANF VI 1/2, 1931, p. 72 ff.); B. Landsberger und H. Güterbock, Das Icteogramm für simmiltu (“Treppe, Leiter”) (AfO. XII, 1/2, 1937, p. 55ff.).

2 For the name see E. A. Speiser, Nuzi or Nuzu? (JAOS, v. 75, 1955, p. 52 ff.).

3 On the orthography of the Akkadian documents from Nuzi see M. Berkooz, Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian (Language Dissertations. Philadelphia, 1937, n. 23). Cf. E. A. Speiser, Notes on Hurrian phonology (JAOS, LVIII, 1938, n. 1, p. 184 ff.).

4 On the Old Akkadian dialect see A. Ungnad, MVAeG, XX, 1916, № 2. A careful study of Old Akkadian writing is to be found in I. J. Gelb, Old Akkadian writing and grammar, Chicago, 1952.

with the initial *z*-value were used to denote the rest of Akkadian sibilants, i. e. [s], [z] and [ʃ]. The use of the ʃ-signs to indicate Akkadian [ʃ] resulting from Semitic [*t̪] and of the ʂ-signs to indicate Akkadian [ʃ] resulting from Semitic [*š/*s̪] points to the fact that in Old Akkadian dialect [ʃ] corresponding to Arab. [t̪], Hebr. [ʃ] was distinguished from [ʃ] corresponding to Arab. [s] and [ʃ], Hebr. [ʃ] and [s̪]. These two varieties of Akkadian [ʃ] began, however, gradually to coalesce still in Old Akkadian times. This is immediately apparent from the interchange of ʃ with s occurring in Old Akkadian texts; cf. *dam-ši-il-su* alongside *dam-si-il-su* (Sem. **mtl*), *u-ša-bu* alongside *tu-sa-bu* (Sem. **wtb*).⁵

As a result of the coincidence of these series Akk. [ʃ] coming from the primitive Semitic [*t̪] and *ʃ/*s̪ began gradually to be denoted exclusively by the ʃ-signs, the s-signs being set free to differentiate the etymological Samekh from [z] and [s̪] which were previously indicated solely by the z-signs. The use of the s-signs for etymological [s] is characteristic already of Old Babylonian script.⁶ The Nuzi syllabary has preserved the s-signs in their archaic usage as mere variants of the ʃ-signs denoting the Akkadian descendant of Semitic *ʃ/*s̪. All these peculiarities of the Nuzi system of writing must be traced back to Old Akkadian syllabary.⁷

These features of the Nuzi syllabary are paralleled in the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter dating from ca. 1400 B. C. The lack of signs for the emphatics, the peculiar writing of sibilants, the value of the sign PI – all this indicates a close relationship between the Nuzi syllabary and the Hurrian syllabic script.⁸

These varieties of cuneiform including those from Boghazkoy and Amarna which share a number of similar features may be regarded as a special group of cuneiform writing under the name of the “Akkado-Hittite syllabary”⁹.

There are many significant correspondences between the Hittite writing and the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter. For a proper evaluation of the relationship between these varieties of cuneiform it is necessary to analyze the common and the differing features of these two systems of writing.

The Hittite writing agrees with the Hurrian and Nuzi syllabary in the lack of special signs for the emphatics. The sign QA is used as a mere variant of the signs KA and GA.¹⁰ The sign PI represents [wa], the syllable [pi] being rendered by the sign BI. Hittite cuneiform, like Hurrian and Nuzi, fails to distinguish between the signs for corresponding voiced and voiceless plosives.

The most striking similarity between the Hittite script and the Hurrian consists in double writing of consonants. In Hittite orthography double writing is used to indicate phonemes resulting from Indo-European voiceless plosives. Double writing of a consonant has phonemic value in Hurrian writing too and is used to indicate lack of voice.

All these peculiarities in Hittite cuneiform give some scholars grounds for the assumption that the Hittites borrowed their system of writing from the Hurrians and modified it to suit the requirements of the I.-E. Hittite language. The method of indicating lack of voice by double writing of consonants which originated in Hurrian cuneiform was transferred, according to these scholars, into the Hittite system of writing to mark the difference between voiceless and corresponding voiced plosives written single.¹¹

Alongside such similarities which indicate a close relationship between the two systems of writing there are, however, some characteristic differences which prevent us from deriving the Hittite script directly from the Hurrian syllabary.

5 F. Thureau-Dangin, Une lettre de l'époque de la dynastie d'Agadé. (RAss. XXIII, 1926, n. 1, p. 28 ff.), cf. I. J. Gelb, Old Akkadian, p. 48 ff.

6 Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin; Observations sur la graphie des sifflantes dans l'écriture cuneiforme (RAss. XXX, 1933, n. 2, p. 93 f.). Th. J. Meek, Notes on the early texts from Nuzi (RAss. XXXIV, 1937, n. 2, p. 64 ff.). On the distribution of the signs for sibilants in Old Babylonian see also A. Goetze, The sibilants of Old Babylonian (RAss. III, n. 3, 1958, p. 137 ff.). Prof. A. Goetze posits for Proto-Semitic a special sibilant *s which in later Akkadian fell together with the reflex of PS *s. Cf., however, J. Aro, Die semitischen Zischlaute (t̪), ʃ, ʂ und s und ihre Vertretung im Akkadischen (Orientalia, 28, fasc. 4, 1959, p. 330 f.).

7 Cf. A. Goetze, Some observations on Nuzu Akkadian (Language XIV, 1938, n. 2, p. 134 ff.).

8 Cf. E. A. Speiser, JAOS, LVII, 1938, n. 1, p. 175 ff.

9 F. Thureau-Dangin, Le syllabaire Akkadien. Paris, 1926, p. IV f.

10 On the use of the signs QA, GA and KA in Hittite see A. Götze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAeG, XXXIII, 1933), p. 267 ff.

11 E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, XX, 1940-1941, New Haven), p. 13 f.; E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, A comparative grammar of the Hittite language, I. rev. ed., New Haven, 1951, p. 2 f.; cf. also J. Friedrich, Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen, Heidelberg 1954, p. 40 f.

These differences are apparent first of all from the specific use of the Akkadian signs for sibilants in Hittite cuneiform and the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter respectively.

In Hittite writing there are no symbols for s. I.-E. [*s] is usually represented by the š-signs. The š-signs denoted Hitt. [s] as is clearly seen from the Egyptian transliteration of Hittite names.¹² The phonetic value [ts] for the z-signs in Hittite is immediately apparent from the instances where the clusters of *t/d+s* are represented by the z-signs.¹³

Consequently we have to posit in the phonemic system of Hittite the phonemes [s] and [c] [ts] which were indicated by the š- and z-signs respectively.

Professor E. A. Speiser assumes for the Hurrian phonemic system for distinct phonemes within the sibilant range transcribed as *s*, *z*, *š* and *ž*.¹⁴

The phoneme [s] was met comparatively rare. However its existence is revealed by such forms as *psm*, *usgr* in the Hurrian alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra, and the forms *i-si*, *i-su-di-iš* and *ma-ru-sa* in the syllabic texts from Mari executed in the same variety of cuneiform script as the local Akkadian documents of corresponding date (Hammurapi time), where the *s*-signs were already used to denote etymological [s].¹⁵ This gives a basis for defining the phonemic value of the *s*-signs occurring in the syllabic script of the Mitanni letter¹⁶ as [s].

The *z*-signs of the Hurrian syllabic script denoted apparently a phoneme corresponding to Sem. [z].

The *s*-signs were used to indicate a Hurrian phoneme represented in the alphabetic texts by the interdental spirant *t*: e. g. RSh. *tu(w)tk* = Mit. Ša-uš-ka-; RSh. *t̪b-t-Mit.* ^dTe-e-eš-šu-pa-aš. This Turanian phoneme, transcribed by the symbol *š*, was apparently realized as a sound intermediate between [t] and [š].

In some cases š alternates with *z* in Hurrian syllabic script: *I-š/z-i-b-ħa-lu*. The underlying phoneme is transcribed by E. A. Speiser as *z* and regarded as a voiced counterpart of š.¹⁷

A comparison of the Hurrian sibilant system with the sibilant phonemes in Hittite and the mode of their representation in the Hurrian syllabic script and the Hittite writing respectively reveals certain inconsistencies which cannot be accounted for, if one assumes the Hurrian provenience of the Hittite system of writing.

Thus, on such an assumption it remains incomprehensible that the *s*-signs which were current in Hurrian syllabic cuneiform and represented obviously the phoneme [s] were not borrowed to denote Hitt. [s]. The same assumption leaves unexplained the use in Hittite of the š-signs to represent the phoneme [s], since in Hurrian the *s*-signs indicated the phonemes [š] and [ž], which differ considerably from [s] phonetically. It is, further, difficult to admit that the Hittites should represent their affricate [ts] by the Hurrian *z*-signs which in the Hurrian syllabic script denoted the phoneme [z] or, in alternation with š, the phoneme ž.

On the other hand, the use of the š- and z-signs in Hittite syllabary to indicate [s] and [ts] respectively is

12 E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, A comparative grammar, p. 25. J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementenrbuch, I. Heidelberg, 1960, p. 32; cf. also H. Kronasser, Vergleichende Laut und Formenlehre des Hethitischen, Heidelberg 1955, p. 68 f.

13 E. H. Sturtevant, The sources of Hittite *z* (Language IV, №4, 1928, p. 227 ff.); A. Götze, Madduwattaš (MVAeG, 32. I. 1928), p. 126; E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, A comparative grammar, p. 25.

In a number of non Indo-European Hittite forms *s* interchanges with *z*: ^{URU} *Lth̪sina-* || ^{URU} *Lihsina-, naħsis* || *naħzis* || *zash̪i-* || *zazħi* (H. Ehelolf, Hethitisch-akkadische Wortgleichungen. ZA NF IX, 1/4. 1936, p. 186, fn. 1). This phenomenon which is attested also in Luvian and Palaic (cf. A. Kammenhuber, Zu den altanatolischen Sprachen: Luvisch und Palilisch. OLZ. L., 1955, N9 8/12, 371 f.) probably arose through the influence of Hattie where the alternation of š/z is characteristic (E. Laroche, Études "proto-hittites". RAss. XLI, 1947, N2 1-4, p. 73). Some Hittite forms of Indo-European origin with instances of š/z alternation [zamankur "beard": *samankurwant-* "bearded", cf. Skr. śmaśru- < *smaśru "beard, chin" from 1.-E. *smokru-; *sakkar/n* "mud, filth; excrement": *zakkar/n*, cf. Gr. σκῶφ (σκάτος)] may reflect dialectal differences (E. Laroche; Études de vocabulaire III, HIM, XI, fasc. 52, 1950, p. 40 ff.). According to E. Benveniste, the š/z alternation in these forms should be explained by the simplification of the original affricate [ts] into the sibilant [s] (Études Hittites et Indo-Européennes, BSL, XXX, fasc. 1, 1954, p. 35 f.).

In some Hittite forms the phoneme indicated by the *z*-signs corresponds to (s) of other Indo-European languages. In such cases Hittite (z) along with (s) corresponding to it in other Indo-European languages must be traced back, according to the hypothesis advanced by E. Benveniste, to the primitive IA: affricate *c [ts], preserved in Hittite, but resulting in sibilant (s) in other Indo-European languages (loc. cit. p. 37 f.).

14 E. A. Speiser, Introduction, p. 30 ff.

15 Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mari (RAss. XXXVI, 1939, N2 1, pp. 1-28).

16 Cf. the fairly common verb *pis* = "rejoice" and *ħisuh* - "vex" written invariably with the *s*-signs. (On the phoneme [s] in Hurrian see also P. M. Purves, Hurrian consonantal pattern. AJSL, LVIII, 1941, N2 4, p. 397 ff.).

17 Cf. E. A. Speiser, Introduction, p. 30 ff.

easily accounted for on the assumption that the Hittite script is a direct adaptation of an Akkadian system of writing which goes back to Old Akkadian syllabary.

It was shown above that in the Old Akkadian dialect Akk. [š] resulting from the original Semitic [*t̪] was differentiated from [š] resulting from the original Semitic *š*š. This distinction was marked by the š - and s- signs respectively. When these two series gradually fused into one, the s-signs began to interchange irregularly with the š-signs. The s-signs were later on ultimately superseded by the š-signs to represent the common descendant of Sem. *t̪ and *š*š.

The s-signs were set free by this process to indicate the etymological Samekh which was denoted previously, alongside the phonemes [z] and [s], by the z-signs.

Hittite cuneiform must have been borrowed from Akkadian at a time when the z-signs indicated in the Akkadian syllabary the sibilants [s], [z] and [s]. The z-signs which denoted in Akkadian the phoneme [s] were used in Hittite to indicate the affricate [ts].¹⁸ Therefore the same signs were not used by the Hittites to denote their sibilant [s]. For this purpose the system of Akkadian writing afforded the fairly common š-signs and the rare s-signs which occurred sporadically as mere variants of the š-signs (as is shown above, the s-signs began to represent Akk. [s] only in Old Babylonian cuneiform). In such conditions it is quite natural that the Hittites used the š-signs to indicate their sibilant [s].¹⁹

The theory of the direct provenience of Hittite cuneiform from Akkadian is further supported by the extensive use of Sumero-Akkadian ideograms and determinatives in Hittite, this being a feature not characteristic of the Hurrian system of writing which is distinguished by its avoidance of ideograms and a sparing use of determinatives.²⁰

The theory of the Hurrian origin of Hittite script involves also certain difficulties of chronological character. The fact that the Hittites did not get their cuneiform system of writing from the Cappadocian syllabary which was current in Asia Minor about 1900 B. C.²¹ may be accounted for, if one admits that at the time of the introduction of Old Assyrian cuneiform into Asia Minor the local population was no longer in need of it possessing a cuneiform system of their own.²² On these grounds we have to push back the origin of the Hit-

18 Akkadian [s] was realized probably as an affricate [ts]. Such a conclusion may be inferred from the Old Persian rendering of the Babylonian name *Nabû-kudurri-ûsur* as *Nabukudracara*. The use of Old Persian *c* [t̪] as an equivalent of Akk. [s] points to the complex character of the Akkadian phoneme. Old Persian [c] is, however, only an approximate rendering of the underlying phonetic value of Akk. [s], as Old Persian [c] is represented in Akkadian not by [s], but by [š]. Akkadian [s], being realized as a complex sound, was rendered in Old Persian by a similar phoneme - an affricate [t̪] since the Old Persian phonemic system lacks the affricate [ts] (G. Hüsing, Zum Lautwerte des *s*. OLZ, X, 1907, N2 9, 467-470). But if, on the other hand, one admits the pronunciation of Akk. [s] not as an affricate [ts], but as an emphatic [s] similar to Arabic *س* (cf. W. Max Müller, Ägyptische und semitische Umschreibungsfragen. OLZ, X, 1907, N2 7, 358-360), it is nonetheless beyond doubt that Akk. [s] would be represented in other languages not as a sibilant, but as an affricate. This is true in general of the Semitic emphatic [s] which is rendered in non-Semitic languages as an affricate (cf. G. W. Tseretheli, Armazskoe pis'mo i problema proiskhoždenija gruzinskogo alfavita. Epigrafika Vostoka, III, 1949, p. 64 ff.). This cannot be, of course, refuted by a single instance of the correspondence: West-Semitic [s] - Hittite [s] attested in the divine name ^d*El-ku-ni-ir-ša-aš* occurring in a late myth of Canaanite origin and identified by H. Otten with Sem. *'lqn'rṣ* (H. Otten, Ein kanaanäischer Mythus aus Bogazkty. MIOF, I. L 1953, p. 135 ff.). Akkadian [s] produced apparently an acoustic impression close to the affricate [ts].

19 We need not enter the controversy as to the original phonetic value of the Akkadian phonemes indicated in Old Akkadian writing by the š- and s- signs respectively (cf. E. A. Speiser, Comments on Recent Studies in Akkadian Grammar. JAOS, LXXIII, 1953, N2 3, P- 131 ff.). Of decisive significance for us is the fact that the Akkadian emphatic [s] was represented by the z-signs which were therefore used in Hittite to denote the affricate [ts]. The remaining Akkadian š-signs (the s-signs occurring sporadically and indicating the same sibilant as the š-signs) were used to represent the Hittite sibilant [s].

20 Cf. E. A. Speiser, Introduction, p. 11.

21 It was natural to expect that the Hittites should borrow their system of writing from their nearest Akkadian neighbours, viz. the Assyrians from Kaniš and other colonies who wrote Old Assyrian dialect. But these two systems of cuneiform writing reveal such differences in the use of signs that the question as to the provenience of the Hittite system of writing from Old Assyrian syllabary of Kaniš must be answered negatively (cf. A. Goetze, Kleinasiens. Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients. Handbuch der Allertonswissenschaft, III, 1, München, 1957, p. 80 f.; E. Forrer, BoTU 2, p. 3; E. H. Sturtevant, A comparative grammar of the Hittite language, Philadelphia, 1933, p. 34 f.). On the language and script of the Cappadocian tablets see G. Contenau, Trente tablettes cappadociennes, Paris, 1919; L. J. Gelb, Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity, Chicago 1934. For the bibliography see A. Götze, Kleinasiens, p. 67 f.

22 Cf. A. Goetze, Kleinasiens, p. 81. Professor F. Sommer has advanced the view that the Hittites did not get their writing from the script of the Cappadocian tablets because they arrived in Asia Minor from the East in the middle of the 20th century B. C. already possessing their own system of writing (cf. F. Sommer, Hethiter und Hethitisches. Stuttgart, 1947, p. 8 f.). But this view

rite system of writing to a period prior to the introduction of the cuneiform script of the Assyrian merchants into Cappadocia. This excludes direct connections of the Hittite writing with the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter which originated apparently at a later period.

The inference of such an early date for the origin of the Hittite system of cuneiform writing is in full accord with the historical and archaeological evidence for the appearance of Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor. On the basis of the analysis of proper names occurring in Cappadocian tablets, the presence of tribes speaking I. = E. Hittite in eastern Asia Minor at the time of Assyrian colonization can be documentarily established.²³ The appearance of the Hittites in Asia Minor must be assigned to a period prior to the settlement of Assyrian merchants in Cappadocia, i. e. not later than the end of the third millennium B. C.²⁴

In 1952 the excavations at Boghazkoy at the bottom of the level Büyükkale IVc revealed in situ a fragmentary tablet with a cuneiform text in Hittite.²⁵ This find is of particular importance for the history of the Hittite writing, since in this case we have to do with an original inscription dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but not with a later copy of an original text as in the case of the overwhelming majority of the cuneiform material from Boghazkoy.²⁶

The discovery of an original Hittite tablet with the system of cuneiform writing identical with that of the rest of the material from Boghazkoy supplies further evidence to the fact that at the end of the eighteenth century B. C. the Hittites possessed a fully developed system of cuneiform writing which remained on the whole unchanged for several centuries.²⁷ Such a degree of stability of the Hittite cuneiform script becomes comprehensible on the assumption that already at the end of the 18th century B. C. the Hittites had already a long tradition of composing written documents in this variety of cuneiform. Consequently, the Hittite cuneiform writing must have originated at a period not later than the beginning of the second millennium B. C.

In view of these conclusions it is quite natural to assume that the archaic inscription of king Anittas, son of Pitjanas (20th-19th cent. B. C.), the text of which has come down to us in a later copy²⁸ was composed originally in I. = E. Hittite²⁹ and executed in the same variety of cuneiform as the latest Hittite documents from Boghazkoy.³⁰

raises serious objections since it is difficult to admit that the Hittites learned to write during their wanderings and migrations. It is fairly certain that writing originates among sedentary tribes along with the appearance of state organization.

23 A. Goetze, The theophorous elements of the Anatolian proper names from Cappadocia (Language XXIX, 1953, №23, p. 263 f.).

24 K. Bittel, Hethiter und Proto-Hattier (Historia I, 2, 1950, p. 270 ff.) (cf. also our article in Trudy Instituta Jazykoznanija Akademii Nauk Grusinskoj SSR. Serija Vostocnykh Jazykov, 1956, II, pp. 51, 54).

25 Cf. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1952 (MOOG, 1953, №2 86, p. 20 f.).

26 The cuneiform text of the inscription in H. Otten's autograph is published as KBo VII, 14. The photograph of the obverse is in MODG, 1953, N2 86, p. 60. The fragment with which it must be joined is published as KUB XXXVI 100. The duplicates of the text are KUB XXXVI 101 and 102. For the transliteration of KBo VII 14 see Orientalia, v. 25, fasc. 2, 1956, p. 1 68 f. The first linguistic and historical evaluation of the inscription is due to Professor H. Otten who gave its partial translation (H. Otten, Die inschriftlichen Funde. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1952, MDOG, 1955, №86, p. 59 ff.).

27 Cf. j. Friedrich, AfO, XVII, 2, 1956, p. 388.

28 2BoTU7+30 (cf. also E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes Hittites. RHA, XIV, 58, 1956, p. 34). The inscription was discussed by B. Hrozný (cf. L'invasion des Indo-Européens en Asie Mineure vers 200 av. J.C. ArOr I, 1929, №3, p. 273 ff.); cf. also H. G. Güterbock, ZA, NF X, 1/2, 1938, p. 139 ff. The latest translation of the text by H. Otten (MDOG, 1951, №83) is not available to me. For a historical evaluation of the inscription see R. S. Hardy, The Old Hittite kingdom (AJSL, LVIII, 1941, №9 2, p. 178 ff.).

29 The originality of the inscription of Anittas may be inferred from the occurrence in it of the divine name ^dŠi-i-uš-mi-iš (line 47), ^dŠi-ú-na-šum-miš (line 57). P. Kretschmer llas demonstrated that the name of this deity which is worshipped by Anittas must be analyzed as the cuneiform Hittite siu(na) -smi- "your god" (cf. P. Kretschmer, Zwei eigenlimliche hetitische Götternamen. ArOr XVII, 1949, 1, p. 413 f.; cf. also S. Alp, Die soziale Klasse der NAM. RA-Leute. JKF, I, 1950, N2 2, p. 126).

30 Profesor H. Otten seems to have arrived at the same conclusion in his discussion of the Anittas-text (cf. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites. Penguin books. London, 1954, p. XV). The view of K. Bittel, according to which the text of Anittas composed in Indo-European Hittite was originally written in Old Assyrian script of Cappadocia (K. Bittel, Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens. Tübingen, 1950, p. 45), is open to objections. It is difficult to admit that the Hittites, having once learnt to use Old Assyrian syllabary for writing texts in their own language, would later on have adopted a wholly different system of cuneiform writing. The Cappadocian script could have been in earlier periods used by the Hittites for inscribing texts in Akkadian. This may be inferred from the occurrence of an Akkadian inscription on a dagger of Anittas executed in Cappadocian writing (on the inscription see K. Balkan, Observations on the chronological problems of the KĀRUM KANIŠ. Türk Tarih Kurumu, VII, №28. Ankara 1955, p. 78 f.; cf. A. Goetze, Kleinasien, 172).

On grounds of the considerations expounded above we can conclude that the Hittites possessed a cuneiform writing system identical with that of the latest Boghazkoy texts as early as the beginning of the second millennium B. C.

It follows that the correspondences between the Hittite writing system and the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter are due not to the provenience of the Hittite system directly from the Hurrian, but to their common origin from an Akkadian system of writing which antedates the Old Babylonian cursive.

The cuneiform characters of the Akkadian script in the Old Akkadian period, being more archaic in shape, differ considerably from the corresponding characters of the Hittite script. This prevents us from deriving the Hittite writing system (and the other systems of Akkado-Hittite syllabary) directly from Old Akkadian cuneiform. We have therefore to admit that the Hittite writing was borrowed not immediately from the Old Akkadian script, but from a variety of the Akkadian system of writing, which goes back to Old Akkadian syllabary. The Hittite writing system must be traced back to Old Akkadian syllabary through the mediation of an Akkadian descendant of the latter.

The most probable source of the Hittite system of writing must be considered the Akkadian cuneiform current in Northern Syria in the beginning of the second millennium B. C.³¹ In the period concerned there existed in N. Syria a number of powerful kingdoms which maintained close cultural and economic relations with the states of Ancient Mesopotamia.³² The mightiest and most important among these kingdoms was Yamḥad (Ja-am-ḥa-ad^{KI}) which is often mentioned in the cuneiform tablets from Mari and is located in North Syria.³³ Yarim-Lim, king of Yamḥad, a contemporary of the great Babylonian King Hammurapi was considered one of the most powerful monarchs of his time. "Twenty kings follow Yarim-Lim, king of Yamḥad",³⁴ is reported in one of the letters addressed to Zimri-Lim of Mari. Of particular interest in this respect are the events narrated in the Old Hittite inscription referred to above which mentions "the man of Halap" who started from the city of Halap with his troops and war-chariots in a military coalition against the Hittite king. All this indicates close links between N. Syria and the Hittite world as early as the beginning of the second millennium B. C. These collisions between the two great powers put at last an end to the dynasty of Yarim-Lim during the reign of Mursili I who "went to Aleppo and destroyed Aleppo."³⁵

North-West of Aleppo was situated the ancient city of Alalakh (A-lala-aḥ^{KI}) which belonged at the time to the kingdom of Yamḥad.³⁶

During the excavations at 'Atshanah, on the site of ancient Alalakh in 1937-39 and 1946-49 by Sir Leonard Woolley one hundred and sixty inscribed tablets were discovered.³⁷ The cuneiform tablets from the Level VII are the oldest and belong to the 18th-17th century B. C.³⁸

The system of Akkadian cuneiform from Alalakh shows many significant correspondences with the cuneiform system of the Akkado-Hittite group.³⁹ The cuneiform characters of the Alalakh tablets are on the whole identical with those of the Boghazkoy material.

31 Cf. T. V. Gamkrelidze, Neindoevropskie elementy klinopisnogo khettskogo (nesitskogo) jasyka, Avtoreferat kandidatskoj dis-sertazii, Tbilisi, 1956, p. 16 f.; H. G. Güterbock, OLZ, 51, 1956, p. 513 ff.; A. Goetze, Kleinasien, p. 172.

32 G. Dossin, Les archives économiques du palais de Mari (Syria, XX, 1939, p. 97-113); W. F. Albright, New light on the history of Western Asia in the second millennium B. C. (BASOR №77, 1940, p. 20-32; №78, pp. 23-31).

33 The kingdom of Yamḥad is identified with the kingdom of Aleppo, one of the mightiest states in the Near East ruled by kings of Amorite origin. Yarimlim, king of Yamḥad (Ja-ri-im-li-im šar Ja-am-ḥa-ad^{KI}) and his successor Ḥammurapi (Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí šar Ja-am-ḥa-ad^{KI}) are referred to also as kings of Aleppo: Ja-ri-im-li-im šar Ḥa-la-ab^{KI}; Ḥa-mu-ra-pí šarrum ša Ḥa-la-ab^{KI} (cf. G. Dossin, Yamḥad et Qatanum. RAss. XXXVI, 1939, №21, p. 46 ff.).

34 *w[a-a]r-ki Ja-ri-im-li-im awil Ja-am- ḥ[a-a]d^{KI} XX šarrāni i-la-ku* (cf. G. Dossin, Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari (Syria, XIX, 1938, p. 117)).

35 [na-] as ^{URU}Hal-pa pa-it nu ^{URU}Hal-pa-an ḥar-ni-ik-ta (2BoTU 23 A 1 28); cf. R. S. Hardy, The Old Hittite Kingdom (AJSL, LVIII, 1941, №2, p. 203 ff.); S. Smith, Alalakh and Chronology, London 1940, p. 10 ff.

36 S. Smith, op. cit., p. 31 ff.; Sir L. Woolley, A forgotten kingdom (Penguin books). London, 1953, p. 66 ff.

37 D. J. Wiseman, The A(lalakh) T(ablets) (Published by Institute of Archaeology at Ankara). London, 1953; S(upplementary copies of) A(lalakh) T(ablets) (JCS, VIII, 1954, №21, pp. 1-30) .

38 Cf. E. A. Speiser, The Alalakh tablets (JAOS, LXXIV, 1954, №21, p. 19. ff.); B. Landsberger, Assyrische Königsliste und „Dunkles Zeitalter“ (JCS, V III , 1954, N22, p. 51 ff.) .

39 Cf. D. J. Wiseman, AT, p. 19 ff.; J. Aro, Remarks on the language of the Alalakh texts (AfO, XVII, 2, 1956, p. 361).

The cuneiform script of the Alalakh tablets does not distinguish between voiced and corresponding voiceless plosives. The signs for a voiced plosive and its voiceless counterpart are used indiscriminately; cf. *i-ba-tar* (AT 92.9), *i-ba-at-tar* (AT 92.14) from *paṭāru* “release” (Sem. **pṭr*); *ta-am-gu* (SAT 361.7) from *damāqu* “be favourable”; *i-mi-[i]t]t-ta-šu* (SAT 455.45) alongside *i-mi-id-da-šu* (AT 78.15) from *imittu* “right hand” (fem. to *imnu*. Sem. **jm̥n*); *i-ra-ag-gu-mu* (AT 7.38) alongside *i-ra-ak-ku-mu* (AT 4.1.16) from *ragāmu* “claim (in court), sue” (Sem. **rgm*), etc.

The sign BI denotes the syllable [pi] (cf. *pí-šu* SAT 455.35. from *pū*), while the sign PI is used to indicate the syllable [wa]: cf. *wa-aš-bu* (SAT. 21.7) from *wašābu* “settle, dwell”; *a-wa-tam* (SAT 455.9) from *awātum* “word; authority”.

The cuneiform system of Alalakh tablets lacks special signs for the emphatics. Akkadian emphatic consonants are denoted in this script by the signs for corresponding non-emphatics: cf. *ba-al-tu* (AT 42.8) from *balātu* “live”, *ip-tu-ur-šu-nu-ti* (SAT 29.8), *ip-tu-ur* (SAT 30.7) from *paṭāru* “release”; *pa-ti-šu-nu* (AT 56.4) from *pātu* “boundary, border”; *li-il-ki* (AT 7.21,23), *i-li-ig-gi* (SAT 94.17), *i-li-gi* (AT 92.9) from *leqū* “take, seize” (Sem. **lqh*); *i-šar-ra-ku* (AT 4.11) from *šarāqu* “steal, conceal”, etc. The sign QA is used with the value [ka] and [ga]: *i-ša-aq-qa-nu* (AT 2.53) from *šakānu* “put, place; appoint; do, perform”, *i-ma-qa-ru* (AT 2.29) from *magāru* “be favourable”, etc.

There is full correspondence with the cuneiform system of the Akkado-Hittite group also in the representation of Akkadian sibilants. The z-signs are used to denote the phonemes [z], [ṣ] and [s], as in Old Akkadian syllabary: [z]: *za-ku* (AT 2.35) = *zakū* “pure; free of obligations”; *za-a-zī-im* (AT 7.27) from *zāzum* “divide”; [ṣ]: *zi-ip-ta* (AT 50.4) from *ṣiptu* “interest” (*eṣepu* “combine, add”); *šu-zi-aš-šu-nu-ti-mi* (AT 113.9) from *waṣū* “go out”; [s]: *i-na-az-za-ḥu* (SAT 455.45), *in-na-az-za-ah* (AT 56.42) from *nasāḥu* “tear out, draw, remove” (Sem. **nsh*); *li-iz-zu-uq-ma* (AT 7.21), *iz-zu-uq-ma* (AT 7.29) from *nasāqu* “choose”, *a-zi-ri* (SAT 261.5), *a-zi-ra* (SAT 246 .21) from *asíru* “prisoner, captive” (*esēru* “capture, seize”, Sem. **sr*), etc.

The s-signs occur rarely and interchange with the š-signs: cf. *iš-al-šu* (AT 17.4), *ši-ta-i-il-šu-nu* (AT 116.17) alongside *sa-a-al* (AT 116.4) from *šāalu* “ask” (Sem. **šl*); *i-ša-ad-da-ad-ši* (AT 92.11) beside *i-sa-at-ta-at* (AT 16.16) from *šadādu* “pull”, etc. But alongside such a use of the s-signs there are a few occurrences of them with the etymological s-value as in *a-si-ri* (SAT 246.22; 251.14; 252.7) from *asírū* “captive, prisoner” (Sem. **sr*). This suggests the inference that the s-signs which were used in the Akkadian syllabary of North Syria in their old function as mere variants of the s-signs began in some cases to indicate, along with the usual z-signs; the etymological Samekh. This innovation in North Syrian writing must have occurred, to judge by the Alalakh tablets, not earlier than the end of the eighteenth century B. C. Such a use of the s-signs characterizes a comparatively late stage of development of Old Akkadian cuneiform.

A similar system of cuneiform has come to light in Northern Syria, south of Aleppo, in Mishrifé, on the right bank of the Orantes, in the territory of ancient Qatna.⁴⁰ The city of Qatna is identified with ancient Qatanum (alQa-ta-nim^{KI}) which is, frequently referred to in the tablets of Mari as the capital of a powerful kingdom at the time of the Hammurapi dynasty.⁴¹

The cuneiform tablets from Qatna belong to the middle of the second millennium B. C.⁴²

The cuneiform script of these tablets is identical with the writing of the Akkado-Hittite group. The distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives is not marked. The sign PI is used to denote the syllable [wa]: *Hu-wa-wa* I.163), the syllable [pi being indicated by the sign BI (*pí-i*. 54, 70, etc.). There are no special signs for Akkadian emphatics which are represented by the signs for corresponding non-emphatic consonants: cf. *un-ku* (I. 296) = *unqu* “ring”; *ár-ku* (I. 4,21) = *arqu* “green; verdure” (Sem. **wrq*). The Akkadian emphatic [ṣ] is indicated by the z-signs: *zi-nu* (I.51) = *ṣēnu* “small cattle” (Sem. **d'n*).

It is highly probable that a similar system of Akkadian writing was used at the beginning of the second millennium B. C. in the whole of North Syria, where at that time there were several powerful unions of states.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ch. Viroll eaud, Les tablettes cuneiformes de Mishrifé-Ḳatna (Syria, IX, 1928, pp. 90-96).

⁴¹ G. Dossin, Yamḥad et Qatanum (RAss. XXXVI, 1936, №21, p. 50 ff.).

⁴² J. Bottero, Les inventaires de Qatna (RAss. XLIII, 1949, N2 1-2, p. 32 ff.). For the autographed cuneiform text of the tablets, their transliteration and translation see J. Bottero, Les inventaires de Qatna (RAss. XLIII, 1949, №2 3-4, pp. 137-215); Autres textes de Qatna (RAss. XLIV, 1950, №23, pp. 105-118).

⁴³ Cf. W. F. Albright, New light on the history of Western Asia In the second millennium B. C. (BASOR, №2 77; 1940, p. 20

The Old Akkadian system of writing was introduced into these areas apparently at an early period as a result of close cultural and economic relations which existed between Syria and ancient Mesopotamia. Old Akkadian syllabary developed here independently and yielded a special variety of Akkadian cuneiform, from which the Hittite writing system (at the beginning of the second millennium B. C.) as well as the other cuneiform systems of the Akkado-Hittite group were derived.

The Hurrian tribes who in the Old Akkadian period dwelt east of the Tigrus began at the epoch of Hammurapi to penetrate gradually into Upper Mesopotamia and Syria.⁴⁴ A study of proper names occurring in the cuneiform tablets from Alalakh makes it dear that as early as the eighteenth century B. C. the Hurrians were settled in North Syria. The Hurrian element along with the Amorite-West Semitic constituted, at this period, the bulk of the population of N. Syria.⁴⁵ Here the Hurrians got probably familiar with the N. Syrian cuneiform writing and adopted it later on for inscribing records in their own language in this variety of Akkadian cuneiform. It was here that the Hurrians borrowed the syllabic cuneiform of the Mitannian script. Owing to its later origin from Old Akkadian syllabary of North Syria, as compared to the Hittite writing, the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter uses the *s*-signs to render the phoneme [s], this being a feature which must have originated in Old Akkadian syllabary of North Syria obviously not earlier than the end of the eighteenth century B. C.

Summing up all the facts discussed above we may conclude that the manifest correspondences which exist between the Hurrian syllabic script of the Mitanni letter and the Hittite writing system are due to their common origin from the Old Akkadian cuneiform of North Syria.

Some of the common graphic features peculiar only to Hittite and Hurrian cuneiform, being a result of specialized development of the two systems, may have different values. This is true of the double writing of plosives in the Hittite and Hurrian systems of writing. This peculiarity of both scripts originated to represent a set of phonemes which Old Akkadian syllabary failed to differentiate or which were wholly absent in the phonemic system of Akkadian.

In the Hurrian syllabic script double writing of a consonant indicated voiceless consonants, as opposed to their voiced counterparts which were written single.

Double writing of obstruents in the Hittite system was used to render aspirated plosives, as opposed to corresponding non-aspirates written single.⁴⁶

As the Akkadian syllabary of North Syria failed to distinguish between a voiced plosive and its voiceless counterpart, the two series of obstruents in Hittite (aspirates: non-aspirates) could not be differentiated by the signs for voiced and voiceless plosives respectively (or vice versa). In such conditions double writing of a plosive was used in the Hittite writing system as a means of rendering the aspirate which is characterized phonetically by a more intense and prolonged articulation as compared with the non-aspirate⁴⁷ indicated in the Hittite script by single writing of the corresponding consonant. This graphic pattern having originated in the Hittite writing system may have influenced the Hurrian syllabic script to differentiate the Hurrian pairs of obstruents (voiceless: voiced) by means of double and single writing of corresponding consonants.

ff; №78, p. 23 ff).

44 I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subareans*, Chicago 1944, p. 58 ff; 89 ff.

45 Cf. B. J. Wiseman, AT, p. 9 f.; H. G. Güterbock, *The Hurrian element in the Hittite Empire* (*Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*. Paris, II, 1954, №22, p. 303 ff.); E. A. Speiser, *The Alalakh tablets* (*JAOS*, LXXIV, 1954, №21, p. 19); E. A. Speiser, *The Hurrian participation in the civilization of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine* (*Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*. Paris, I, 1953, №22, p. 318 ff.).

46 I have tried elsewhere to show that as a result of the consonantal shift in Hittite the former correlation of Indo-European obstruents changed to the correlation aspirates: non-aspirates. A three-plosive system of Indo-European was reduced in Hittite to a two-plosive system in which the pairs of obstruents were differentiated by aspiration. This phonological distinction was marked by double (aspirates) and single (non-aspirates) writing of plosives (cf. *Peredvizenie soglasnykh v klinopisnom khettskom jazyke*. "Peredneaziatskij Sbornik". Akad. Nauk SSSR; printing)

47 Cf. F. Falc'hun, *La langue Bretonne et la linguistique moderne* (*Conférences Universitaires de Bretagne*, Paris, 1943, p. 24 ff).

NEUERES ZUM PROBLEM DER INDOGERMANISCHEN URSPRACHE UND DER INDOGERMANISCHEN URHEIMAT*

“What had seemed one of the most solid achievements of 19th century linguistics is now modified in every section.”

W. Ph. Lehmann

Die zweite Hälfte des 20. Jh. wird in der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft durch das Anwachsen des Interesses für historische Linguistik gekennzeichnet, durch eine gewisse Rückkehr zur Bearbeitung der Probleme, die in der klassischen, vergleichend-historischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft entstanden sind. Dazu führte die gesamte Entwicklung des linguistischen Denkens der letzten Jahrzehnte, indem es die für die vorangehende Stufe charakteristische Antynomie zwischen der synchronen und diachronen Linguistik (unter absolutem Primat der synchronen, systemhaften Sprachwissenschaft) überwindet. Bekanntlich ist die Rückkehr zu einem gewissen Historismus, der für die Wissenschaft des 19. Jh. kennzeichnend war, eine der allgemeinen Tendenzen der Entwicklung des wissenschaftlichen Denkens der zweiten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts, die an Stelle des streng synchronen Strukturalismus und Antihistorismus in der Wissenschaft der ersten Jahrzehnte des 20. Jh. getreten ist.

Und doch kehrt die linguistische Wissenschaft zur Lösung der alten, traditionellen Probleme, bereichert durch neue, schon im Schoße der systemhaften, synchronen Linguistik erarbeiteten Methoden der linguistischen Analyse, zurück. Die Neuheit dieser Methoden bei der Anwendung auf die traditionellen Ideen besteht nicht nur in der Benutzung des in der synchronen Linguistik erarbeiteten exakten Operationsverfahrens der linguistischen Analyse, sondern auch in dem globalen Herangehen an das Phänomen der sich ständig entwickelnden und mit der Zeit sich ändernden Sprache als an eine äußerst systemhafte Erscheinung, die einer folgerichtigen Analyse unterzogen werden kann. Das alles ermöglicht, für die Bearbeitung der traditionellen Probleme der vergleichend-historischen Sprachwissenschaft die Angaben der typologischen Linguistik und der Linguistik der Universalien anzuwenden, einer relativ neuen Richtung in der Sprachwissenschaft, die im Laufe der letzten dreißig Jahre sich erfolgreich entwickelt hat.

Die Anwendung dieser neuesten Ergebnisse der modernen Sprachwissenschaft bei der Erforschung der einzelnen Gruppen von verwandten Sprachen, insbesondere der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie, macht es unentbehrlich, die in der klassischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft eingebürgerten Anschauungen auf die historische Vergangenheit dieser Sprachen und die konkreten Wege ihrer vorgeschichtlichen Entwicklung, gründlich zu überprüfen.

Schon am Anfang der vergleichenden Studien im Bereich der indogermanischen Sprachen, d. h. tatsächlich zur Zeit der Begründung der vergleichend-historischen Sprachwissenschaft durch die hervorragenden Vertreter der linguistischen Wissenschaft des 19. Jh., wurde das gemeinindogermanische System des Konsonantismus, aus dem sich die Systeme aller historisch bezeugten indogermanischen Sprachen bildeten, in Form bestimmter phonematischer Reihen postuliert, die im Grunde mit dem Konsonantsystem der altindischen Sprache - des ältesten Vertreters der damals bekannten indogermanischen Sprachen - zusammenfielen.

Ein solches System des gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus, (insbesondere das Subsystem der Verschlußlaute), wird mit unbedeutenden, im Laufe der weiteren Forschung eingeführten, Änderungen in der modernen indogermanischen Komparativistik in Form von drei phonematischen Reihen postuliert, die als 1. *stimmhaft*, 2. *stimmhaft aspiriert*, 3. *stummlos* definiert werden.

Das auf diese Weise postulierte System des gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus bestimmt die Ableitung aller historisch bezeugten Systeme der indogermanischen Sprachen, unter Annahme von gewissen

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phonematischen Verwandlungen des Ausgangssystems, die zur Entstehung der konkreten indogermanischen Sprachen mit verschiedenen Konsonantsystemen geführt haben sollen.

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß bei einer solchen Postulierung des ursprünglichen gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus, der nach dem Muster des Altindischen modelliert worden ist, die altindische Sprache als ein System auftritt, in dem der ursprüngliche indogermanische Konsonantismus am besten bewahrt wird. Unbedeutende Änderungen werden für das Griechische und das Italische angenommen (Stimmloswerden und Spirantisierung der zweiten Reihe der indogermanischen Verschlußlaute), auch für das Slavische und das Keltische (Despiration der zweiten Reihe der indogermanischen Verschlußlaute).

Die bedeutendsten phonematischen Transformationen der Postulierung eines solchen indogermanischen für das Germanische und das Armenische angenommen, die sog. „Lautverschiebung“ postuliert wird, einer jeden der drei Reihen des gemeinindogermanischen Nantensystems um einen Schritt, um ein phonematisches die Reihe I (stimmhaft: (b), d, g) wird zu den stimmlosen (p), t, k verschoben; die Reihe II (stimmhaft aspirierte zu Laute bh, dh, gh) wird zu reinen Stimmhaften b, d, g verschoben; die Reihe III n(stimmlose) wird zu behauchten stimmlosen Lauten (ph, th, kh) verschoben, die im weiteren die Spiranten f, θ, x (h) ergeben.

Eine solche Konsonantenverschiebung in den germanischen Sprachen, bekannt in der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft „Grimms Gesetz“, wird traditionell als ein Muster Sprachwandels betrachtet und in allen Lehrbüchern eine gute Illustration dessen angeführt. Die Bildung und Entwicklung der konkreten indogermanischen Sprachen baut sich je nach dem Charakter und der Struktur des auf diese Weise postulierten ursprünglichen gemeinindogermanischen Systems auf; die umfangreiche Sammlung sprachlicher Angaben und Entdeckungen, die von der klassischen vergleichenden indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft im Laufe von mehr 150 Jahren zusammengestellt worden ist, wird in diachroner Sicht auf der Grundlage des traditionell postulierten Ausgangssystems des gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus interpretiert; alle vergleichenden Grammatiken und Wörterbücher der indogermanischen Sprachen werden ausnahmslos bis zur letzten Zeit nach dem traditionell aufgestellten System des gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus aufgebaut. Das postulierte Ausgangssystem bestimmt somit selbst den Charakter der vermuteten phonematischen Transformationen, die zur Bildung der historischen indogermanischen Sprachen geführt haben sollen, den ganzen Verlauf der vorgeschichtlichen phonematischen Entwicklung von diesen Sprachen.

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Eben zur Erklärung von bestimmten vorgeschichtlichen phonetischen schen Prozessen, die bei einer solchen Annahme des indogermanischen Ausgangssystems in den konkreten indogermanischen Dialekten stattgefunden haben sollten, waren in der klassischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft auch die sogenannten „phonetischen Gesetze“ formuliert, das oben erwähnte „Grimmssche Gesetz“ ebenso wie das „Grassmannsche Gesetz“, „Bartholomaes Gesetz“ u.ä.m.

Nach der funktionellen Stelle, die das ursprachliche Modell im System der vergleichend-historischen Grammatik der verwandten Sprachen einnimmt, kann es mit dem Axiomensystem in der logischdeduktiven

Theorie verglichen werden. Je nach dem Charakter der Axiome und dem Axiomenbestand ändert sich die darauf aufgebaute Theorie. Aber wenn hinsichtlich des Axiomensystems in der logischdeduktiven Theorie die Frage nach der Wahrhaftigkeit des Axiomensystems und dessen Beziehung zur empirischen Realität nicht gestellt wird, so spielt hinsichtlich des sprachlichen Ausgangssystems das Kriterium der Realität eine wesentliche Rolle, insofern es den Grad der Wahrscheinlichkeit und Plausibilität des postulierten AusgangsmodeLLS bestimmt, das das sprachliche System widerspiegeln muß, welches einstmaLS in Raum und Zeit existierte und als Ausgangspunkt für konkrete historisch bezeugte verwandte Sprachen diente.

Bei der Einschätzung des traditionell postulierten Systems der gemeinindogermanischen Ursprache unter Anwendung der Kriterien der empirischen Realität des Sprachsystems wird es deutlich, daß das indogermanische Konsonantsystem, das in der klassischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft als Ausgangspunkt für alle historisch bezeugten indogermanischen Sprachen angewandt wird, innerlich widersprüchlich ist und der synchronen Sprachtypologie nicht entspricht. Darüber hinaus widerspricht es den universalen sprachlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten, die in der Linguistik der Universalien festgestellt werden. Folglich kann ein solches theoretisch postulierteS linguistisches Modell nicht als ein Sprachsystem gelten, das die in Raum und Zeit real existierende Sprache widerspiegeln soll, die sich später in die Systeme der verwandten indogermanischen Sprachen umbildete. Dementsprechend können auch die phonetischen Veränderungen und Umwandlungen nicht für real gelten, die in der klassischen indogermanischen Grammatik bei der Erklärung und Beschreibung der Transformationen des Ausgangssystems zu Systemen der historisch bezeugten indogermanischen Sprachen angenommen wurden.

Die Aufgabe, das anhand der vergleichenden Rekonstruktion zu postulierende indogermanische Konsonantsystem in Einklang und Übereinstimmung mit den Angaben der sprachlichen Typologie - sowohl der synchronen als auch der diachronen - zu bringen, ernötigt es, das traditionell aufgestellte Konsonantsystem der indogermanischen Sprachen völlig zu überprüfen und es als ein System mit drei phonemischen Reihen zu reinterpretieren, die als I. glottalisierte (od. ejektive), II. stimmhafte (aspirierte), III. stummlose (aspirierte), mit stimmhaften und stimmlosen Verschlußlauten, die positionsgemäß als aspirierte und entsprechende nichtaspirierte Varianten manifestiert wurden:

Traditionelles System			→	Reinterpretiertes System		
I	II	III		I	II	III
(b)	b ^h	p		(p')	b ^h /b	p ^h /p
d	d ^h	t		t'	d ^h /d	t ^h /t
g	g ^h	k		k'	g ^h /g	k ^h /k
.
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Bei einer solchen Interpretation der drei Reihen der gemeinindogermanischen Verschlußlaute erhält eine ganze Reihe von sprachstrukturellen Tatsachen, die vom Standpunkt des traditionellen Modells des gemeinindogermanischen Konsonantismus typologisch unerklärt blieben, eine natürliche funktional-phonologische Erklärung (wie, z.B., die Lücke oder schwache Vertretung des Labialen *b im phonologischen System, das Nichtvorhandensein der stimmlosaspirierten gegenüber den stimmhaftaspirierten Phonemen, einige Beschränkungen, die der Wurzelstruktur a1Jferlegt werden – keine Wurzeln mit zwei stimmhaften Verschlußlauten vom Typus *deg-, *ged- u.ä. m.).

In der neuen Interpretation steht das indogermanische System der Verschlußlaute näher zu den Systemen, die nach der traditionellen Auffassung als Systeme mit „Lautverschiebung“ bezeichnet werden (also das Germanische, das Armenische, das Hethitische), während die Systeme, die hinsichtlich des Konsonantismus dem gemeinindogermanischen System nahestehend galten (und in erster Linie – das Altindische), sich als ein Resultat komplizierten phonematischen Wandels des Ausgangssystems erweisen. Damit entsteht ein Bild der vorhistorischen Entwicklung indogermanischer Dialekte, das völlig demjenigen entgegengesetzt ist, das in der klassischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft angenommen wird. Demgemäß ändern sich auch die traditionell festgelegten Trajektorien des Wandels der indogermanischen Verschlußlaute, indem sie bei der neuen Interpretation des gemeinindogermanischen Systems eine der traditionellen entgegengesetzte Rich-

tung einnehmen. Dementsprechend werden auch die fundamentalen „phonetischen Gesetze“ der klassischen indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft (und vor allem „Grimms Gesetz“) aufs neue interpretiert.

Die vorgenommene Reinterpretation des klassischen Systems der gemeinindogermanischen Verschlusslaute, die als „Indogermanische Glottaltheorie“ getauft worden ist, verlangt somit eine radikale Überprüfung von Ansichten betreffs der Entstehung und vorhistorischen Entwicklung der Konsonantensysteme einzelner indogermanischer Dialekte, was das ganze traditionelle indogermanische Sprachgebilde in ein neues Licht rückt und neuere Deutungen von Schemata der klassischen indogermanischen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft ergibt. Sie wird als ein neues Paradigma in der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft betrachtet.

Das indogermanische Konsonantensystem in solcher Interpretation kommt typologisch den Systemen von historisch benachbarten Arealen - Urkartwelisch (Südkaukasisch) und Ursemitisch - nahe, was neue Probleme betreffs der gegenseitigen Beziehungen von diesen Sprachsystemen im Rahmen eines gemeinsamen kulturellen Areals aufstellt.

Die Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Grundsprache als eines in Raum und Zeit existierenden realen sprachlichen Systems setzt sowohl das Vorhandensein bestimmter, diese Sprache tragender Volksstämme, die konventionell „Indogermanen“ genannt werden, als auch ihr ursprüngliches Siedlungsgebiet, die sog. „Urheimat“, von der aus diese Stämme zu verschiedenen Zeiten und in verschiedene Richtungen in ihre historisch- en Wohnstätten gewandert sein müssen, voraus. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt auch das traditionelle Problem der indogermanischen „Urheimat“ auf, das fast ebenso alt ist, wie die vergleichend-historische indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft selbst.

Eine adäquate Lösung dieses Problems ist nicht nur für die Klärung und Aufhellung der arealen Wechselbeziehungen der indogermanischen Dialekte im Rahmen der grundsprachlichen Einheit und einzelner Fragen ihrer historischen Entwicklung wesentlich, sondern auch für die Ethnogenese und die Entwicklungs geschichte der diese Dialekte tragenden Stämme selbst. Es ist ja leicht ersichtlich, daß in Abhängigkeit von der Lokalisierung der „Urheimat“ und der Festlegung von ungefahrene Grenzen des ursprünglichen Siedlungs gebietes der indogermanischen Stämme auch die Wanderwege der Träger von einzelnen indogermanischen Dialekt en zu den historischen Stätten ihrer Ansiedlung bestimmt werden.

Schon ziemlich früh wurde in der Indogermanistik die These von der zentraleuropäischen Urheimat der Indogermanen aufgestellt. Dagegen wurden aber später ernste Einwände erhoben, die viele Forscher dazu veranlaßten, die indogermanische Urheimat in östliche Richtung zu verschieben und sie im Gebiet der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste zu lokalisieren, im archäologischen Areal der sogenannten „Kurgankultur“.

Dieser Standpunkt, der gegenwärtig intensiv von der amerikanischen Archäologin M. Gimbutas und ihrer Schule vertreten wird, ist der meistverbreitete in der modernen Altertumswissenschaft.

Aber der ganze Komplex von den linguistischen und kulturhistorischen Angaben, die durch vorgenom mene Arealforschung der indogermanischen Grundsprache und ihrer ältesten Dialekte ans Licht getreten sind, wie auch die semantische Analyse des rekonstruierten gemeinindogermanischen Wortschatzes, legen es nahe, das Problem der indogermanischen Urheimat von neuem aufzustellen und eine neue regionale und kulturhistorische Lösung dafür vorzuschlagen. Im Lichte dieser neuesten Angaben müßte man die indogermanische „Urheimat“ ziemlich weiter nach Süd-Osten verschieben und sie in den Grenzen des vorderasiatischen Gebietes ansetzen.

Als ursprüngliches Siedlungsgebiet der Träger der indogermanischen Grundsprache müßte man eine Gegend ansehen, die zur Zeit des Bestehens der gemeinindogermanischen Sprache (d. h. im

IV. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. und früher) ihren ökologischen, geographischen und kultur-historischen Merkmale nach dem Bilde entspricht, das aufgrund der linguistischen Rekonstruktion und der semantischen Analyse des Wortschatzes der Grundsprache und ihrer ältesten Dialekte gewonnen wird.

Eben auf das vorderasiatische Areal der ursprünglichen Verbreitung der indogermanischen Grundsprache und ihrer ältesten Dialekte weist die Semantik des gesamten gemeinindogermanischen Wortschatzes hin, der das Wohnungsmilieu, die materielle und geistige Kultur der Träger der ältesten indogermanischen Dialekte widerspiegelt.

Die Analyse bestimmter semantischer Gruppen des rekonstruierten gemeinindogermanischen Wortschatzes legt es nahe, das ursprüngliche Siedlungsgebiet der Träger der indogermanischen Dialekte in eine Ge-

gend mit Berglandschaft zu verlegen (was zur selben Zeit die Möglichkeit ihrer Lokalisierung im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet und in südrussischen Steppen ausschließt). Die Angaben über die gemeinsprachlichen Benennungen für Bäume und Pflanzen (Eiche, Felseiche, Bergeiche, Eichel, Buche, Esche, Espe, Walnuß, Rebe, Weintraube u. ä. m.), die den Merkmalen einer Berglandschaft entsprechen, lokalisieren die indogermanische Urheimat eindeutig in relativ südlich liegenden Gegenden des Mittelmeergebiets im weitesten Sinne (einschließlich Balkan und des nördlichen Teils des Nahen Ostens). Ein solcher relativ südlicher Charakter des ökologischen Milieus der indogermanischen Urheimat, der aufgrund der Angaben über die Landschaft und die Pflanzenwelt angenommen wird, verstärkt sich durch die Analyse der gemeinindogermanischen Benennungen für Tiere (wie beispielsweise „Leopard“, „Löwe“, „Elephant“, „Elfenbein“, „Krabbe“ u.a.). Einige dieser Tiere, oder die Tatsache des Bekanntseins mit ihnen, sind gerade für den südlichen geographischen Bereich spezifisch, was übrigens Zentraleuropa als ein mögliches ursprüngliches Siedlungsgebiet der Träger dieser Dialekte ausschließt.

Für die gemeinindogermanische Ursprache gelingt es, eine entwickelte Terminologie für Viehzucht und Ackerbau zu rekonstruieren. Zum 4. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. und früher, d.h. während des Bestehens der gemeinindogermanischen Grundsprache vor ihrem Zerfall in einzelne unabhängige Dialekte, war die Viehzucht (ebenso wie der Ackerbau) in Zentraleuropa in einem Anfangszustand.

Mit Bestimmtheit sprechen für das vorderasiatische Areal der Verbreitung der indogermanischen Grundsprache die rekonstruierten Benennungen für die landwirtschaftlichen Pflanzen („Gerste“, „Weizen“, „Flachs“) und besonders die Benennungen für Obstbäume und Gesträuch („Apfelbaum“, „Kornel(ius) kirsche“, „Kirsche“, „Weintraube“ u. a.), sowie die Bezeichnungen für die Geräte und Tätigkeiten, die mit der Bearbeitung der Landwirtschaftsprodukte verbunden sind („Mühlstein“, „Korn verflachen, zerstoßen“, „mahlen“, „Gerstekörner rösten“). Ähnliche Geräte dringen nach Europa erst in der Eisenzeit (etwa im 1. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.). Die Terminologie des Acker- und Weinbaus ist ein ausgesprochener Beweis für die Lokalisierung der indogermanischen Gemeinschaft in den Gebieten mit dem höchst entwickelten Ackerbau (im 4. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. und früher), d. h. im südlichen Territorium, das sich vom Balkan bis zur iranischen Hochebene ausdehnt und dabei nördlichere Gebiete Europas ausschließt, wohin solche Gewächse wie Gerste, über Vorderasien und den Balkan vordringen und dort erst am Ende des 2. und Anfang des 1. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. zu den vorrangigen landwirtschaftlichen Kulturen werden. Was die Weintraube als

Kulturpflanze anbetrifft, so entsteht sie, wie es von dem Akad. Wawilow festgestellt wurde, aus den südkaukasisch-westasiatischen Zentren des Ackerbaus.

Einen besonderen Wert für die Feststellung des ursprünglichen Wohnmilieus der Altindogermanen und für die Lokalisierung der indogermanischen Urheimat im vorderasiatischen Gebiet hat die indogermanische Terminologie des Rädertransports - Benennungen für den Radwagen und seine Bestandteile („Rad“, „Achse“, „Gespann“, „Joch“, „Deichsel“), für Metalle („Bronze“), die unentbehrlich bei der Herstellung der Räderwagen aus dem harten Gestein des Bergwaldes sind, ebenso wie Benennungen für die Zugkraft - gezähmtes

Pferd, das allem Anschein nach von den Trägern der indogermanischen Grundsprache bereits für wirtschaftliche und kriegerische Zwecke verwendet wurde.

Als Beginn der Herstellung der Räderwagen wird etwa das 4. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. angesetzt. Als der ursprüngliche Herd ihrer Verbreitung muß, nach den Angaben des englischen Archäologen S. Pigott, das Gebiet von Südcaucasus bis Obermesopotamien (zwischen den Seen von Van und Urmia) betrachtet werden. Aus dem vorderasiatischen Gebiet der Frühbronzezeit verbreiten sich die Räderwagen nach dem Wolga-Ural Gebiet, dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet, dem Balkan und Zentraleuropa. Das gleiche Territorium gilt auch als eine der möglichen Gegenden der Zähmung oder jedenfalls der Verbreitung des bereits gezähmten Pferdes und seiner Verwendung als Zugkraft.

Dabei weist der gesamte Charakter der gemeinindogermanischen materiellen und geistigen Kultur und der sozialökonomischen Verhältnisse darauf hin, daß deren Träger dem altnahöstlichen Gebiet nahe standen. Die gemeinindogermanische Mythologie steht den altorientalischen mythologischen Traditionen nicht nur typologisch, sondern auch hinsichtlich der konkreten mythologischen Motive und Gestalten nahe (vgl. das Motiv der ursprünglichen Einheit des „Menschen“ und der „Erde“, die sich in ihren Benennungen widerspiegelt; Bezeichnung des Gottes als „Hirt der Verstorbenen“, mythologische Gestalten des Löwen, des Leoparden oder Panthers; das Motiv des Apfeldiebstahls u. ä. m.). Sie finden Analogien besonders in den

altorientalischen Traditionen, unter deren Mitwirkung sich die gemeinindogermanische Mythologie herausgebildet zu haben scheint. Im 5. und 4. Jahrtausend sind die Hauptzüge und Eigenschaften der gemeinindogermanischen Kultur und der sozialökonomischen Struktur, die für die gemeinindogermanische Gesellschaft durch den Wortschatz rekonstruiert werden, typologisch eben für archaische Zivilisationen des alten Vorderasien charakteristisch. Typologisch gehört die altindogermanische Kultur dem Kreis der archaischen orientalischen Zivilisationen an.

Die angeführten Argumente für die Lokalisierung der indogermanischen Urheimat im alten Vorderasien stehen mit Argumenten anderer Art im Einklang. Das urindogermanische Gebiet soll in einer Gegend angesetzt werden, wo die Wechselwirkungen und Kontakte der gemeinindogermanschen Sprache mit dem Semitischen und dem Kartwelischen (Südkaukasischen) möglich waren, in denen sich ganze lexikalische Schichten herausstellen, welche eine Sprache aus der anderen entlehnt hat. Besonders interessant in dieser Hinsicht sind Wortformen im Indogermanischen, die als Entlehnung aus dem Semitischen betrachtet werden können und die vorwiegend Lexeme repräsentieren, die Bezeichnungen für Haustiere, kultivierte Pflanzen, Werkzeuge und Waffen (Kampf äxte), für Numeralien sind, d. h. Wörter, die dank ihren semantischen Eigenschaften der Entlehnung besonders unterworfen sind. In ähnlicher Weise stellt sich in der kartwelischen Grundsprache eine Gruppe von Wörtern heraus, die aus dem Gemeinindogermanischen entlehnt zu sein scheinen. Das Indogermanische, das Kartwelische und das Semitische vereinigen sich typologisch auch durch ähnliche strukturelle Züge in Konsonantsystemen, für welche das Vorhandensein von drei Phonemreihen, definiert als „glottalisiert“, „stimmhaft“, „stummlos“, kennzeichnend ist.

Lexikalische und strukturtypologische Ähnlichkeiten des Indogermanischen, Kartwelischen (Südkaukasischen) und Semitischen zeugen eindeutig von Kontakten zwischen diesen drei ursprachlichen Systemen und ihren Trägern in einem bestimmten Gebiet des alten Vorderasiens. Dafür spricht auch eine Anzahl von lexikalischen Entlehnungen im Indogermanischen aus den altorientalischen Sprachen, und zwar, aus dem Sumerischen und Ägyptischen; es gibt auch Zeugnisse für Kontakte des Indogermanischen mit solchen älteren Sprachen Vorderasiens, wie das Hattische, das Elamische, das Hurritische . . .

Die These von der vorderasiatischen Urheimat der Indogermanen ändert vollkommen das in der Alttumswissenschaft angenommene traditionelle Bild der Ethnogenese und der Migrationen der Träger der altindogenpanischen Dialekte vom ursprünglichen Bereich der Ansiedlung in ihre historischen Wohnstätten.

Im Lichte der aufgestellten Hypothese von der indogermanischen Urheimat im alten Vorderasien ist eine unbedeutende Verschiebung der Träger der hethitisch-luwischen Dialekte und des Gemeingriechischen nach Westen anzunehmen, die sie in die zentralen und westlichen Teile Kleinasiens gebracht haben soll. Von da verbreiten sich die griechischen Dialekte später nach Kontinental-Griechenland und auf die Inseln des ägäischen Meeres.

Als Zeugnis für die Wandlung der Träger der „alteuropäischen“ Dialekte in einer anderen Richtung - nach Osten und weiter über Mittelasien nach Europa - können zahlreiche Entlehnungen indogermanischer Wörter in zentralasiatischen Sprachen (im Türkischen und Mongolischen, in Eniseisprachen und im Finno-Ugrischen) und umgekehrt, Entlehnungen aus diesen letztgenannten Sprachen in einzelne „alteuropäische“ Dialekte dienen. Eben einen solchen Migrationsweg aus dem ursprünglichen Siedlungsgebiet müßten die Träger jener Dialektgemeinschaft begangen haben, aus der sich später einzelne sprachliche Einheiten (das Italische, Keltische, Germanische, Baltisch-Slavische u. a.) herausbilden, die nach dem Gebiet, in dem sie in historischer Zeit verbreitet sind, konventionell „alteuropäische“ Sprachen genannt werden. Denselben Weg nach Europa scheinen auch einzelne fruhiranische Stämme begangen zu haben, die zahlreiche Entlehnungen in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen hinterlassen haben. Später wird derselbe Weg von den Trägern einzelner ostiranischer Dialekte (Skythen, Sarmaten) durchgemacht.

Die Träger der „alteuropäischen“ Dialekte begeben sich von ihren ursprünglichen Siedlungsgebieten in Vorderasien offensichtlich über Zentralasien und weiter nach Westen in wiederholten Migrationswellen und siedeln sich für eine Zeitlang im Schwarzmeer- und Volgagebiet an, wo sie während einer bestimmten Zeitspanne eine besondere Dialektgemeinschaft bilden.

Dieses hypothetische Siedlungsgebiet der Träger der „alteuropäischen“ Dialekte, die im 3. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. oder früher in der genannten Region erschienen sein müssen, ist für den erwähnten Zeitraum eben das

Gebiet der S̄ogenannten „Kurgankultur“ (d. h. die gemeinindogermanische „Urheimat“ nach der Hypothese von M. Gimbutas).

Nach solcher Auffassung erhält die Theorie, die die indogermanische Urheimat im erwähnten Gebiet lokalisiert, einen neuen Inhalt als Hypothese von einem gemeinsamen Territorium, das ausschließlich für die westliche Gruppe der indogermanischen Sprachen zutrifft, von einer „sekundären Urheimat“ für die Träger der „alteuro- päischen“ Dialekte.

Am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends verbreiten sich die Träger der „alteuropäischen“ Dialekte allmählich westlich im Europäischen Kontinent und drängen die einheimische „vorindogermanische“ Bevölkerung zurück, indem sie die letztere vollkommen assimilieren. Die Verbreitung der „alteuropäischen“ Dialekte aus diesem gemeinsamen Areal (im bestimmten Sinne von der „sekundären Urheimat“ der Stämme, die die entsprechenden Dialekte sprachen) auf das neue Territorium nach Westen (später schon in Zentral- und West- europa) kennzeichnet den Beginn einer allmählichen Entstehung einzelner sprachlicher Einheiten - des Italischen, Keltischen, Germanischen, Baltischen, Slavischen - und dementsprechend der Träger dieser sprachlichen Gemeinschaften.

Dieser sprachlichen Gemeinschaften. Dieser ganze Komplex der linguistischen, ethnogenetischen und kulturhistorischen Probleme, der mit der Postulierung eines besonderen Systems der indogermanischen Grundsprache und der Aufstellung der Hypothese von der vorderasiatischen Urheimat der Indogermanen verbunden ist, wird von uns ausführlich in einer gemeinsam mit Vjacheslav Ivanov veröffentlichten zweibändigen Untersuchung dargelegt unter dem Titel „*Indogermanisch und die Indogermanen*“. *Rekonstruktion und historisch typologische Analyse einer Ursprache und einer Proto-kultur*, Tbilisi 1984: Universitätsverlag. Die Untersuchung enthält auch ein nach dem neuen phonologischen Modell rekonstruiertes Glossar gemeinindogermanischer Lexeme, die nach semantischen Gruppen geordnet sind und die sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer Form, als auch des materiellen und kulturhistorischen Inhalts ihrer Designata analysiert werden. Dieser rekonstruierte gemeinindogermanische Wortschatz dient eben als faktische semantische Grundlage zur Erforschung der Fragen nach dem ursprünglichen Areal der indogermanischen Grundsprache, sowie zur Analyse der Probleme der Verbreitung und Migrationen der Träger altindogermanischer Dialekte.

**TYPOLOGY OF WRITING, GREEK ALPHABET,
AND THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETIC SCRIPTS OF THE CHRISTIAN ORIENT***

1. Writing as a semiotic system

Writing systems may be conceptualized in what follows as a set of interrelated signs of a special nature, forming a single integral structure. The conceptualization of writing as a semiotic system places it on a par with other analogous human systems. This defines the theory of writing, proposed in modern linguistic science to be named *grammatology*, as a division of the general theory of sign systems, viz. semiotics or semiology.

Thus we may apply to the writing system a number of operational concepts developed in other semiotic disciplines, primarily in linguistics. This is facilitated not only by the close historical relationship that exists between language and writing – the latter in a sense being superimposed on language – but also by the very nature of writing, which displays many of the common structural features of a language system. The conceptualization of writing as a sign system affords a better insight into its ontological nature. This conceptualization enables one to develop a general typology of writing and to determine its place in the development of human culture (cf. Gamkrelidze 1990).

2. The ‘Plane of content’ and the ‘Plane of expression’ of writing

As a semiotic system, writing consists of visual symbols of sign structure. This means that every written sign-symbol constitutes a two-sided entity, i.e., a systemic unit characterized by two sides: expression and content. The expression of a graphic symbol, or its signifier (*signans*) is that physical substance by means of which a visual representation of a sign is realized. This representation may be a drawing, a geometric sign, or a figure. The content of a graphic sign, or its signified (*signatum*) is all that is expressed by such a written symbol, all to which it is correlated. This may be a definite concept, idea, number, word, syllable, or an individual sound. The writing system, when seen as a sign system, is characterized by two planes – those of expression and content, to which, because of their dual nature, the graphic signs of a particular writing system are correlated.

Such a dual nature of the writing system gives grounds for a typological classification of writing according to the character of its “plane of expression”. This classification in turn permits a comparative analysis of various types of script in order to develop criteria for their assessment, necessary for the clarification of the question of the origin of writing and determination of the principal stages of its phylogenetic development.¹ Two principal typological classes may be identified with regard to the “plane of content”: (a) semasiography or ideography, and (b) phonography.

Semasiography is characteristic of the class of writing systems in which the graphic signs designate not the phonetic side of a particular language (individual words, syllables, or sounds of the given language), but instead denote concrete concepts or even whole situations. They correlate directly with the “plane of content” of language. In other words, in such writing systems the plane of content – expressed by the words and phrases of a particular language – is directly reflected in the signs, the latter performing the role of units which – along with the words and word combinations of a concrete language – designate universal conceptual categories of various levels of abstraction. Such signs in ideographic (semasiographic) systems, being correlated to definite concepts but devoid of the phonetic envelope of the words of concrete languages, are understood and read correctly by representatives of diverse languages who possess knowledge of these signs, i.e., knowledge

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1 The phylogenetic development (or phylogeny) of writing refers to the evolution of writing in general, with account of the consecutive stages of its development, beginning with semiography up to the alphabetic stage of phonography. The ontogenetic development (or ontogeny) of writing is the origin and development of the consecutive stages of an individual writing system, beginning with its creation and continuing up to the time of its study.

of the correlation of these signs with concepts. Such knowledge of the content of the signs and symbols of an ideographic system is based either on the identification of their signifiers with objects of the real world, whose iconic reflection they are, or on a conventionally adopted relation of the concrete signs of a writing system to corresponding semantic conceptual signifiers.² In this connection the question arises regarding the plane of expression of a writing system. The characters of an ideographic system may graphically resemble the objects of the real world to which they are correlated through their connection with corresponding concepts. This iconic resemblance of the signifiers of the signs of the system to the objects they reflect characterizes the writing system as pictographic, i.e., an iconic system of writing. When there is no external resemblance between the symbols of the ideographic system and the objects of the real world to which they are correlated by virtue of their link with corresponding conceptual categories (cf. for example, numerical designations) the writing system may be described as conventional.

Phonography refers to a class of writing systems in which the signifiers of the signs are correlated not to the universal conceptual categories of the language – essentially available to all language communities at a definite level of cultural development – but to the concrete phonetics of a particular language. In such systems it is not concepts that play the role of the signified of particular signs, but concrete words characterized by concrete sounding, or language units of a lower order – individual syllables and/or sounds. In the case of phonographic systems, knowledge of the writing system presupposes the preliminary knowledge of the relationship – often conventional – between the sign and the concrete phonetic word of the given language, or the sound segment of a lower order (syllable, sound).

Writing proper is believed – apparently without sufficient grounds – to be represented by phonographic systems, while ideography constitutes in its phylogenetic development a sort of precursor of writing.

Thus, in phonographic systems writing is already correlated to speech, and the phonetic form of a language serves as the plane of content of such systems – definite sound segments (phonetic word, syllables, or individual sounds) turn into the signified of the graphic signs of a writing system.

A writing system, related to phonography and possessing characters expressing individual lexemes of a concrete language, is defined as logographic. A separate sign of such a system is a logogram. A phonographic system with characters expressing separate syllables is defined as syllabography. The characters of such a system are syllabograms. A phonographic system with signs expressing individual sounds (sound units) is described as an alphabet. In the typology of writing, the alphabetic system occupies the highest rank. It is the most economical in terms of the number of signs needed for a complete recording of phonetic speech and for the transmission of information over a distance. Thereby the invention of alphabetic writing signified an outstanding achievement in the natural development of mankind. In the form of alphabetic writing mankind acquired a simple and effective means of graphic recording of speech and of its transmission over space and time.³ In its turn, the alphabetic system is subdivided into phonological and phonetic types. The phonological system of writing records graphically only the phonemic units of language, leaving out of consideration the sound variants of phonemes, no matter how they differ phonetically. Phonological writing is an artificial recording of the sound form of language in terms of the phonological (phonemic) units of language, employed in special linguistic studies. The phonetic system of writing expresses individual sound units of language, irrespective of their phonemic status in the language system. The historically evolved alphabetic systems of writing are phonetic systems, although an implicit realization is often observable of the phonological principle and the recording in script only of those phonetic differences that have a functional, distinctive meaning.

With regard to the plane of expression, phonographic systems may be characterized by both pictography and conventionality of the relation between the signified and the signifying of a sign. This makes sense with

2 Elements of ideography are present in many ancient and modern writing systems (cf., for example, the numerical designations in most writing systems, symbols of the type of &, e.g., cf., the system of mathematical signs, and so on). Uninterrupted ideographic writing systems are characteristic of the ancient stages of the phylogenetic development of writing.

3 Elements of ideography may be present in any alphabetic writing. Hence, one can speak only conventionally about the greater perfection of the alphabetic system of writing in comparison with ideography. The “perfection” of alphabetic writing should be taken in the sense that it is chronologically a further stage in the phylogenetic development of writing, consecutively passing the stages of ideography, logography, and syllabography, up to the emergence of the alphabetic system proper, although in the development of alphabetic writing cases may be observable of a reversion to principles of ideography and the emergence of separate ideographic scripts (cf. e.g. the elements of ideography in modern English writing).

respect to logography; whose signs may be either pictograms or conventional graphic symbols. With regard to syllabography and the alphabet one should speak of a full conventionality of writing, for in such systems the signified of the graphic symbols themselves are not signs and are devoid of any content. Therefore, the signifiers of such signs can by no means resemble their signified. In this case, one may speak of the pictography of graphic symbols only in the historical aspect, i.e., from the viewpoint of their probable graphic resemblance (if such is the case) to definite objects of the real world. Any such resemblance would reflect the primary origin of such symbols and their use in the semasiographic or logographic function in a writing typology of non-alphabetic origin.

Thus, the plane of content of a script as a semiotic system is the unity of the items of various levels of language (sound, syllable, word, number, etc.), denoted in various writing systems by relevant graphic symbols, the concrete aggregate of which forms the plane of expression of a particular writing system.⁴

Specific designations of the graphic symbols of a concrete system, as well as questions of the direction of writing, etc., are also related to the plane of expression.

3. 'Paradigmatics' and 'Syntagmatics' of writing

Along with the concepts of the plane of expression and the plane of content of a writing system, the concepts of the paradigmatics and syntagmatics of writing should also be transferred from linguistics to grammatology as a semiotic discipline.

The paradigmatics of writing presupposes the correlations of the elements of writing (graphic symbols) in a system, and their consecutive (linear) arrangement with respect to one another. Paradigmatics of writing is a structure governed by the rules of ordering of the set of graphic symbols in the system, and their representation in a definite linear sequence. Every writing has its special paradigmatic structure, i.e., its own specific order of elements in the system, its own special linear sequence of graphic symbols.⁵ The syntagmatics of writing presupposes correlations of the elements of writing (graphic symbols), represented in a definite sequence in the text, within individual words, word combinations, or larger units of the syntagmatic plane.

The explicit demarcation of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes of a system, introduced into linguistics by de Saussure, should become an obligatory principle also in the analysis of a writing system, in the general theory of writing or grammatology.

4. Ancient Greek as an earliest sample of alphabetic writing

To account for the origin and typology of alphabetic writing, represented by Classical Greek, one must refer to an analysis of Old Semitic.

The Old Semitic, or more precisely, proto-Semitic writing, from which the three principal varieties of writing – Phoenician, Canaanite, and Aramaic – originated, should be described as a consonantal syllabic system of writing (rather than consonantal proper). The reason for this is that Old Semitic writing appears simultaneously as consonantal (paradigmatically, i.e., within the system) and as syllabic (syntagmatically, i.e., in the text). In a way, this is a dual system, emerging in the typology of writing as a certain intermediate link between consistently syllabic, i.e., syllabic both in paradigmatics and syntagmatics (cf., e.g., the Greek Linear B writing and alphabetic proper systems of writing (of the type of classical Greek).

4 In this sense, traditional paleography emerges as a particular discipline of grammatology that studies primarily the “plane of expression” of a writing system, i.e., the specificity of the graphic expression of special meanings with the aid of definite graphic signs, and the questions of the graphic transformation of these signs in time. It is not accidental that in tackling such problems as historical correlations between various scripts, traditional paleography – largely concerned with the “plane of expression” of a writing system – based its conclusions mainly on the external aspects of graphic resemblance between the signs of these systems, without due account of their inner structural peculiarities determined by the interrelation of the “plane of content” and the “plane of expression” of the system.

5 Such a linear order of graphic signs in a system, determining its paradigmatic structure, may be motivated by various factors. A special place among them is held by the factor of graphic resemblance of the symbols and the phonetic likeness of the sounds expressed by these signs. The paradigmatics of the Old Semitic system of writing is largely determined precisely by these factors. In many derivative writing systems, borrowed from definite written sources and created on the pattern of the latter, the paradigmatics of the graphic symbols – unmotivated from the viewpoint of the given systems – may reflect the order of the characters of the prototype system (cf. the paradigmatics of the Greek system with respect to Old Semitic).

The Old Semitic consonantal-syllabic writing, consisting of twenty-two graphic signs of a linear character, has a definite paradigmatic structure and strict order of graphic elements within the system. It is in paradigmatics that the consonantal character of Old Semitic writing is manifested, defined by mutually uniform correspondence between the graphic symbols and consonantal phonemes of the language.

In the syntagmatics of writing the same symbols perform the function of syllabic signs. The symbols have the structure consonant plus any vowel of the language, or the absence of a vowel, depending on the morphological structure and character of the word or combination of words (or morphemes) expressed by a concrete syntagmatic sequence of graphic symbols. Unlike the properly syllabic system of writing with graphic symbols of the structure: consonant plus a definite vowel – characteristic of such a writing system both in paradigmatics and in syntagmatics – the consonantal-syllabic system is characterized by graphic signs of the structure: consonant plus any vowel of the language (or absence of a vowel) in syntagmatics, with the structure of pure consonant in paradigmatics.

In the typology of writing, consonantal-syllabic writing emerges as a more perfect writing system than syllabic or (even more so) the syllabo-logographic writing. It is paradigmatically more economical, permitting an adequate expression of the phonetic side of the language by means of a small number of graphic symbols – approximately corresponding to the number of consonant phonemes. Hence the invention of consonantal-syllabic writing was understandably an enormous achievement, marking a new stage in the development of writing and paving the way for the formation of a qualitatively new writing, viz. the alphabetic system of writing, presented originally in Classical Greek, where the graphic symbols (graphemes) deriving from the Old Semitic started to designate unitary sounds (both consonantal and vocalic) in paradigmatics as well as in syntagmatics. This was achieved in Archaic Greek by transforming some of the consonantal Semitic signs into vocalic, creating thus an essentially new writing system – the alphabet from which all the later known alphabetic scripts have been derived.

5. Alphabetic scripts of the Christian Orient

A special typological class of alphabetic writing systems is formed by a group of Christian alphabets, namely Coptic, Gothic, Classical Armenian, Old Georgian, and Old Slavonic. The Classical Greek writing system served as a prototype script, as a writing model to all of the aforementioned alphabets.

The Coptic and Gothic writing systems have in common with the Old Georgian script the principle of paradigmatic dependence on the Greek prototype system. In this respect these writing systems diverge from Classical Armenian writing, where such a dependence is consciously disrupted.

The entire paradigmatic series of the Greek system is fully reflected in the Old Georgian alphabet, as well as in Coptic and Gothic; all the $9 \times 3 = 27$ letters of Greek prototype, characterized by definite phonetic and numerical values, have been taken over into these alphabets in the same sequence, with corresponding phonetic and numerical values. Greek “episemons” are transferred in the same function (i.e., only as symbols expressing definite numerical values; cf. the Coptic letters with the values “6” and “900”, and Gothic letters with the numerical values “90” and “900”), or they acquire in the new systems specific phonetic values characteristic of the given language.

The paradigmatics of the initial writing system, taken as a writing model, is essentially preserved through “phonetic substitution” and retention at relevant places in the alphabetic series of the newly created writing of all the graphic symbols of the prototype system. The paradigmatics of the prototype system is thereby mapped, as it were, onto the alphabetic series of the newly developed writing.

In Gothic, such “mapping” of the paradigmatics of the Greek prototype system onto the alphabetic series was affected without the need of adding to it a number of characters with specifically Gothic phonetic values. Such specifically Gothic phonetic values found room fully in the paradigmatics of the Greek prototype as a result of effecting certain phonetic substitutions. Hence the Gothic alphabet contains the same number ($9 \times 3 = 27$) of graphic symbols as the Greek prototype. Of these the first nine symbols in the alphabetic sequence express digits, the next nine, tens, and the nine graphic symbols completing the alphabetic series, hundreds.

In Coptic and Old Georgian, following the mapping of the paradigmatics of the Greek prototype system onto the alphabetic series of the newly created system and the effecting of definite phonetic substitutions,

there still remained a certain number of specific sound units that had to be expressed in writing. These “specific” sounds and the graphic symbols designating them were added to the “principal” part of the alphabetic series by way of completing it, reflecting the paradigmatics of the initial prototype system with $9 \times 3 = 27$ graphic symbols. Such “additional” characters permitted the expression of numerical values of “thousands” also in the Old Georgian alphabet.

The Classical Armenian alphabet is based on an essentially different paradigmatic principle, typologically opposing it to the Coptic, Gothic, and Old Georgian writing systems. In drawing up the Classical Armenian alphabetic series, all the “episemons” (i.e., characters expressing in Greek only numerical values) were removed in advance from the paradigmatics of the Greek prototype system, as well as all the graphic symbols designating sounds specific to Greek but non-characteristic of Armenian. It appears that in drawing the Classical Armenian alphabet it was not a substitution of properly Armenian sounds for the specifically Greek phonetic values that was effected (as was the case in creating the Coptic, Gothic, and Old Georgian scripts), but a reduction of the Greek alphabetic series to a sequence containing only correlates of Armenian sound units that had to be expressed by special letters. The Greek paradigmatic sequence originating in this way (i.e., following the elimination of phonetic values alien to Armenian in the alphabetic series of the Greek prototype system) served as the initial nucleus of phonetic values on the basis of which the entire system of the Classical Armenian alphabet was shaped through adding specifically Armenian sound units expressed by special graphic symbols.

However, these specifically Armenian values do not constitute a continuation in the alphabetic series of the “principal” part, reflecting the Greek paradigmatics, although reduced in a special way, but are given in alternation with it. The symbols of the “additional” part are inserted at different places between the graphic symbols of the “principal” part, thus upsetting the original paradigmatics motivated by the Greek prototype, and accordingly the system of numerical values characteristic of the initial Greek model.

The principle of preserving the numerical values of the writing prototype in the newly created writing system – strictly observed in the Coptic, Gothic, and Old Georgian alphabets: is totally rejected by the Inventor of Classical Armenian writing who uses Greek writing only as a reference for the identification of corresponding Armenian sound units. This evidently also accounts for the fact that, in using Greek writing as a model, the inventor of the Classical Armenian alphabet does not take into account the graphic symbols in it that express specifically Greek sounds, superfluous from the Armenian point of view, or the characters-episemons devoid of any phonetic value whatsoever. For this reason, the nucleus of the Greek alphabet, underlying the Classical Armenian system, is made up of a sequence of symbols from A ἀλφα (Arm. ayb) to X χῖ (Arm. kʰē), excepting certain characters with specifically Greek values within this sequence. Between these extreme characters of the Classical Armenian alphabet are arranged – at different places and alternately with the graphemes of the “principal” part – all the additional symbols, forming, jointly with the graphemes of the “principal” part, an absolutely new paradigmatics of classical Armenian writing, differing from the system of the Greek prototype. As a result, the correspondence completely breaks down between the Greek writing prototype and the Classical Armenian alphabet with respect to expressing with correlate graphic symbols respective numerical values. This is why Classical Armenian writing drastically differs from the Coptic, Gothic, and Old Georgian writing systems, which in this sense all form a single typological class.

From the viewpoint of the historical interrelations of the alphabets of the Christian period based on the system of Greek writing – consideration also should be given to the Old Slavonic Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts which belong to the same typological group of ancient writing systems. The Old Slavonic Glagolitic writing is essentially based on the same principle of the paradigmatic dependence of the newly created writing on the Greek prototype system as in the Coptic, Gothic, and Old Georgian alphabets.

Besides the resemblance of the paradigmatic structure, Old Georgian writing and the Old Slavonic Glagolitic share the common principle of distancing the graphics of the newly created writing from that of the prototype system. This was accomplished in order that the emergent system be characterized by all the features of an “independent national writing” with no outward resemblance to other contemporary writing systems.

Classical Armenian writing, with its graphics totally differing from the Greek prototype, created by Mesrop Mashtots, proved an extreme manifestation of this principle. Fully basing himself on the Greek writ-

ing system in inventing Classical Armenian writing, Mashtots totally changed the graphics of the prototype system, resorting to different graphic techniques in shaping corresponding characters of the newly created writing. In this way all external links with the Greek prototype are severed and a semblance of the complete independence and originality of the newly created writing is created.

The Inventor of the Old Georgian alphabet deliberately modifies – with the same purpose the Greek prototype system. In the newly created system the Inventor does not break totally with the Greek graphics, but transforms it by a deliberate archaization of certain signs of the prototype system and by graphical modification of corresponding characters. In this way, the Creator of the Old Georgian alphabet achieves essentially the same result in inventing an original national writing as Mashtots did by creating an original Classical Armenian national writing on a graphic basis absolutely differing from the Greek prototype.

Such tendencies in the Eastern Christian Cultural World – dictated by political and religious considerations – led to the creation of several outwardly differing writing systems, resting on Greek writing but exhibiting outward graphic independence with respect to the Greek prototype system.

From this point of view the Old Georgian writing, the Classical Armenian, and Old Slavonic Glagolitic fall into a common typological class – opposed to Coptic and Gothic scripts, as well as to the Cyrillic, whose graphic expression reflects the graphics of their contemporary Greek writing system.

At the same time, however, Old Georgian writing (as well as the Old Slavonic Glagolitic) drastically differs from the Classical Armenian alphabet with respect to the internal, paradigmatic structure of writing. From the viewpoint of paradigmatic dependence on the system of the Greek prototype Old Georgian writing (as well as the Old Slavonic Glagolitic) is typologically closer to the oldest specimens of Christian scripts: Coptic and Gothic writing systems.

6. Alphabetic system- a final stage in the development of writing?

In many originally alphabetic writing systems, created for an adequate expression of the phonetic side of a language, the spelling of the words may no longer reflect fully their actual pronunciation, owing to more or less significant transformations of the phonetic system. The sound syntactics of the language may become ever more removed from the graphic syntactics that reflected the phonetic make-up of respective words at the time of the creation of the alphabetic writing system and at early stages of its development, when the ancient phonetic make-up of words was still preserved.

In such later alphabetic systems the graphic structure of individual words essentially represents a conventional sign for expressing their phonetic side. In such systems, individual graphic symbols may emerge, in syntactics, not as representatives of separate sounds and phonemes, but as graphic elements of a certain syntactic aggregate expressing the phonetic aspect of a whole word (cf., for instance, the spellings of individual words in modern English or French).

A logical sequel to such a disparity in the development of the phonetic aspect of a language and the ancient syntactics of writing may be the transformation of a writing of alphabetic origin into a quasi-ideographic system with individual letters or syntactic groups of letters expressing whole words (at a total disparity between the phonetic values of these letters and sounds that form these words). The writing breaks, as it were, all links with the phonetic side of the language, turning into a system independent of language, with a definite number of graphic symbols and special rules reflecting the ancient phonetic syntactics. It is only in this sense that one can speak of the “autonomic” character of writing.

The Georgian writing has evaded this process of distancing from a consistently alphabetic system due to the fact of a peculiar phonetic conservatism of Georgian preserving almost intact its syntactic phonetic shape for almost 1500 years of its recorded history.

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Semitic	Greek	Georgian
א a 1	Α α 1	ა a 1
ב b 2	Β β 2	ბ b 2
ג g 3	Γ γ 3	გ g 3
ד d 4	Δ δ 4	დ d 4
ה h 5	Ε ē 5	ჸ ი e 5
ו w 6	Ϛ - 6	უ ვ v 6
ז z 7	Ζ z 7	უ ს z 7
ח h 8	Η ē(ej) 8	ჩ ე, ej 8
ט t 9	Θ θ 9	თ ო θ 9
י j 10	Ι i 10	ი ი i 10
כ kh 20	Κ k 20	კ ჯ k' 20
ל l 30	Λ l 30	ლ მ l 30
מ m 40	Μ m 40	მ მ m 40
נ n 50	Ν n 50	ნ ნ n 50
ס s 60	Ξ ks 60	ჯ ჯ j 60
ע t 70	Օ օ 70	օ օ o 70
פ ph 80	Π p 80	უ ჟ p' 80
צ ts 90		
ק q 100	Ϛ - 90	ყ ჟ ž 90
ר r 200	Ρ r 100	რ რ r 100
ש š 300	Σ s 200	ს ხ s 200
ת th 400	Τ t 300	ტ ბ t' 300
	Υ ი, ω 400	ყ ჯ w(i, u)w 400
		ტ ი ი u
Փ ph 500		ფ ფ p' 500
Խ kh 600		խ ժ kh 600
Կ ps 700		կ զ ծ 700
Ծ օ 800		շ յ զ օ 800
Ց - 900		ց չ չ չ 900

Table 1: *Juxtaposition of Semitic, Greek and Georgian scripts*

TURKISH DOCUMENTS ON TURKISH-GEORGIAN HISTORICAL INTERRELATIONS*

The originals of the Turkish documentary texts published here are preserved at the Cyril and Methodius National Library of Sofia – HBKM, fond I, archival entry 3792, sheet I (Peoples Republic of Bulgaria). The Turkish text, with a translation, facsimile and brief commentaries, contains interesting evidence on historical personalities of Georgia and Turkey of the second half of the 18th century, as well as on the geography of both countries and on Ottoman-Georgian historical interrelations. As seen from the brief title of these texts, they constitute abstracts — *ḥulāṣa* — of the official reports apparently received by the Sublime Porte from the Çıldır vali Hasan Pasha. Notwithstanding the brevity of the texts that follow, the evidence contained in them is very interesting from the viewpoint of the ascertainment and clarification of certain questions of the interrelations of the two countries. The present writer has many documents of this character at his disposal. However, for reasons of poor health he is obliged for the present to limit himself to the publication of a few specimens.

Turkish Text

Hala Çıldır valisi vezir Hasan hazretleri tarafından gelen tahriratın hulasıldır, sene 177 fi gurre-i S.

- (1) Gürcü taifesinin kuvvetleri ne derecelerdedir ve Erzurum ve Çıldır eyaletlerinden tertip olunan asker ve mubayaası ferman olunan otuz günlük zahire kifayet eder mi keyfiyeti etrafiyle mülahaza ve hakikat-i hali Der-i Saadete ilâm eylemesi babında müşarileyhe hitaben ırsal olunan tahrirat asafi ve asıl olduğunu tahrir eylediğinden maade yanız kendüye ianet ile memuriyeti meşiyyet-i maslahata vafi idiğini bazı tabiratı ima ve işaret eder.
- (2) Bundan mukaddemisan eden Açıkbaba meliki Soloman'ın kuvvet ve kudreti olmadığına binaen Erzurum ve Çıldır eyaletlerinden tertip olunan asker egerçe kâfi olup ancak mesfur Soloman'ın Açıkbaba tarafında olan birkaç kulelerinin feth ve küşadına ve müceddiden nasb olunan Açıkbaba melikine kuvvet ve miknête vesile olmak için bir miktar piyade asker ve top ve cebehaneye muhtaç olduğu....
- (3) Tertip olunan askere göre otuz günlük zahire vafi olmamağa altmış günlük zahireye muhtaç olup ve Çıldır eyaletinde ol miktar zahirenin tedariki mümkün olmayıp Kars tarafında zahirenin kesreti olduğuna binaen olmiktan zahirenin bir miktarı Kars tarafından mubaya ve arabalar ile Ahışaya nakl ve bir miktarı dahi yılı tarafından mubaya olunmak ve Çıldır ahalisi dahî zahire-i mezbureyi Ahışa'dan Açıkbaba'ya nakleylemeleri babında emr-i ali isdar buyurulur ise bervechi sühulet zahire-i merkumenin mubaya ve naklolunacağı.
- (4) Faş kalesinden dört beş kîta top ve humbara ihraç ve mubaya olunacak zahire ile maa Odiş ve Guriel ülkeleri derununden kayıklar ile Kutatis Kalesine dört saat karip mahalle nakletmek için Gonia sancağı mutasarrîfi Mehmet Paşa ve Suhum beyi Süleyman Bey yalı askeri ile memur buyurulur ise menafe-i kesiresi müşahede oluna...
- (5) Gürcüstan tavadlarından bundan Akdem müşarileh tarafına meyil eden Odiş melikinin kardeşi Nikoloz nam tavadı bu defa müşarileh tarafına celpedip elyevm yanında olduğunu ve bundan sonra vaki olacak ahval ve keyfiyatı Der-i Saadete tahrir edeceğini tastır eder.

Translation

Now follow the written reports received from His Excellency the vali of Çıldır, vizier Hasan pasha, the year (1)177, first day of (the month) safar (=August 11, 1763).

* First published in: *Orientalist* II, 2033-204, pp. 16-18.

- (1) What is the level of the armed forces of the Georgian people, will the army being formed from the Erzurum and Çıldır vilayets and the thirty-day provisions, for the purchase of which a ferman has been issued, be adequate? Having considered these circumstances thoroughly in order to inform the Sublime Porte on the actual state of affairs and, addressing it (the Sublime Porte), he (Hasan Pasha) writes that the dispatches being sent are well founded and trustworthy. However, apart from this, in some expressions he hints and suggests that, with assistance, his post enables him to cope fully with advancing the (given) business.
- (2) In view of the fact that the king of the Açıkbash¹ Solomon,² who recently raised a rebellion, lacks force and might, although the army being mustered from the Erzurum and Çıldır vilayets is sufficient, there still is a need in a definite number of troops, guns and ammunition in order to have the means to conquer several fortresses³ situated on the Açıkbash side and to oppose the newly appointed king of the Açıkbash...
- (3) Since, judging by the army being mustered, the thirty-day provisions will not be sufficient, provisions for sixty days will have to be procured. But, inasmuch as provisions of the indicated quantity cannot be procured in the Çıldır vilayet, whereas provisions are in abundance in the Kars region, a definite quantity should be procured in the Kars region, and these provisions should be transported on carts and delivered at Akhaltsikh.⁴ A certain quantity (of provisions) should be purchased in coastal localities, so that the residents of Çıldır should transport the aforesaid provisions from Akhaltsikh to Açıkbash. If an imperial edict will be issued concerning this, the purchase and transportation of the indicated provisions will be effected without any difficulty.
- (4) We shall be witnesses of many (great) useful events if the governor of the Gonio⁵ sanjak Mehmed Pasha and the Sukhumı beg Suleiman Bey are charged by order with bringing, together with coastal forces, four or five guns and projectiles from the Fash⁶ fortress and, together with the provisions to be purchased, delivering them in boats through the regions of Odish⁷ and Guriel⁸ at a place located within four hours journey from the Kutatis fortress.⁹
- (5) One of the princes of Georgia,¹⁰ recently showing a leaning towards the abovementioned (Georgia), brother of the king of Odishi,¹¹ a prince called Nikoloz,¹² has this time been won over by the above-named (Georgia) and is at present there (in Georgia). The Sublime Porte will be informed in written form about the further developments and circumstances.

1 Turkish name of Imereti, a country of Western Georgia.

2 King of Imereti.

3 Presumably in place of قلعة “tower” here should be قلعة “fortress.”

4 In Turkish Ahisha // Akiska – the Georgian designation Akhaltsikhe – ‘New Fortress,’ a city in Southern Georgia.

5 An area in Ajaria, westward of Batumi.

6 Turkish designation of Poti.

7 Historical name of modern Megrelia (mingrelia).

8 Guria, former principality in Western Gerorgia.

9 Modern city of Kutaisi in Western Georgia.

10 More precisely “One of the princes of Megrelia,” for Megrelia was then a self-dependent country.

11 Odishi (Megrelia was not a kingdom but a principality).

12 Megrelian prince Niko Dadiani.

ON ONE SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEME IN MODERN SEMITIC *

Emphatic consonants do not occur frequently in modern Semitic languages (Aramaic, Arabic). Researchers point to the existence of “empathetic words” in which emphasis is characteristic not of a single sound but of the entire word, expressed in the velarization of the latter. The phonemic value of the indicated emphasis is clearly discernible: it permits the differentiation of the minimal pair of words (and not of separate sounds!). When this is the case, the emphasis is outside of the segmental chain, thus constituting a suprasegmental phoneme. Special analysis indicates that this is a new development replacing the segmental phoneme. If this can be proven for most modern Semitic dialects, it can be a relevant feature of present-day Semitic.

1. In surveying the phonological system of modern Semitic languages (Aramaic, Arabic), we do not often meet sounds which are typical of common (i.e., classical) Semitic consonantism. This statement refers primarily to pharyngeal ('and \hbar) and pharyngealized (emphatic) consonant. This is the case with modern Eastern and Central Aramaic dialects as well as with the Aramaic dialect of Anatolia. Here it is difficult to find a minimal pair where the above-mentioned sounds can be distinguished as phonemes. Only an historical analysis of the existing system reveals the pharyngeal of emphatic nature of the consonants.

In the dialects just cited, the number of old Semitic consonantal phonemes has diminished. They may be said to have fallen out the sequence of phonemes in speech. Thus, the different phonemes which once existed in speech have lost their distinctive relevant feature which made them members of an opposition. Their specific character required a definite additional articulation in relation to the “main” articulation, thus creating the so-called emphasis; hence the “emphatic consonants,” e.g., the sounds s and $\$$ (the former of which requires only oral articulation whereas the latter implies articulation of $s +$ emphasis) results from additional (pharyngeal) articulation. Thus, in Classical Semitic the sounds s and $\$$ formed the opposition through emphasis, s being a non-emphatic consonant, while $\$$ which has emphasis, is empathetic. The latter / $\$/$ in relation to the former / s / is marked, for it has the additional feature of templatization. Hence, the pair creates the following opposition: “emphatic”:“non-emphatic.” The number of “non-emphatic” consonants was much higher than that of “emphatic” ones, but the existence of the opposition according to the above-mentioned features is attested only in relation to s , t , z , d , d , t , r , l , but, of course, not in all languages or dialects):

- (1) $s : \$$ (in all Semitic languages),
- (2) $t : t$ (in all Semitic languages),
- (3) $d : d$ (in South-West Semitic),
- (4) $z : z$ (Epigraphic South Arabian, Arabic),
- (5) $t : \ddot{t}$ (Ugaritic, Epigraphic South Arabian),
- (6) $d : \ddot{d}$ (Epigraphic South Arabian),
- (7) $I : \dot{I}$ (Arabic,¹ Aramaic),
- (8) $r : r$ (Arabic, Aramaic).

2. As noted above, in some of the modern Semitic dialects in which we are interested, the opposition “emphatic”: non-emphatic” has disappeared due to the “simplification” (loss of emphasis) of consonants.

2.1. In one of the Arabic dialects, namely Mhallamiye, which is spoken in the Mardin province, we find the following phonemic series: stops, spirants, affricates, sonants – 35 segmental phonemes in all, without a single emphatic consonant among them.²

* First published in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102/2, 1982, pp. 343-348.

¹ Ferguson Ch. A., “The Arabic Koine,” *Language*, 35 (1959), 616-30.

² H.-J. Sasse, *Linguistische Analyse des arabischen Dialekts der Mhallamiye in der Provinz Mardin* (Südosstürkei) (München, 1971), p. 23.

However, in the same dialect “emphatic words” (*emphatische Wörter*) are recorded, such as /+amma/ “but,” /+ăra / “he saw,” /+mərr / “bitter,” /+ăgam / “bowl,” etc.³ (Since the emphasis, manifested in sound velarization, involves the whole word, it is marked before the word with the + sign.) As Sasse rightly notes, every vowel and consonant of such words is velarized. This is reflected in their phonetic transcriptions (by indicating the allophones), where these emphatic (= velarized) sounds are denoted. But such sounds, as allophones, occur only in ‘emphatic words’ and not outside of them.

Thus, although emphatic consonants are attested in the above dialect, there are a number of words which have emphasis that is manifested in the velarization of the whole word. Apart from “emphatic words,” there are “non-emphatic words” (words without emphasis) as well. A comparative analysis of “emphatic” and “non-emphatic” words yields emphatic and non-emphatic variants of vowels and consonants. Thus Sasse, allowing for the position of the dialect in question, notes the following allophones of the vowel /ə/ both in emphatic and in non-emphatic words:

- [ʊ] : [ʊ] in the neighborhood of /w/,
- [i] : [i] in the neighborhood of /y/,
- [ə] : [ə] in all other positions.⁴

Such is the case with all the other vowel phonemes.⁵ In the Mhallamiye are recorded twelve vowels which are realization of 7 vowel phonemes. Here we have three series of allophones: front, central and back⁶ (cf. three series of vowels in modern Aramaic⁷). As for consonants, according to Sasse, when receiving emphasis, they all undergo velarization (designated by a special sign, ~, across the letter, e.g. l – t̄, etc.).

Sasse is unaware of any living Arabic dialect in which emphatic phonemes occur.⁸ He notes, however, that emphasis cannot be regarded as the “long component” (i.e., involving the whole word) in all the modern Arabic dialects. In this connection he refers to Tsiapera.⁹

There are other authors as well (e.g., Harrel, Lehn¹⁰) who point out that the emphasis (either velarization or pharyngealization) in modern Arabic can involve the entire word, thus serving as a total phonological marker.

2.2 The view that some modern Aramaic dialects have lost emphatic consonants, but that emphasis itself remains as the hard timbre of the word, was advanced long ago. This theory was applied in particular to the Urmia dialect (N. Yushmanov).¹¹ As far back as 1946 the present author noted that in the Urmia dialect of that time, there existed words with “hard,” “medium” and “soft” timbre (he later extended this view to all the modern Eastern dialects);¹² e.g., sr̄jā “thirsty,” sr̄jhā “mad,” t̄ərā “bird,” m̄t̄rā “rain,” etc. All these words have hard timbre, i.e., they are emphatic words. Non-hard-timbre words are: sāra “moon,” pt̄iha “open,” sīmā “silver,” jätüimā “orphan,” etc. Some of these words have medium (sāra, pt̄iha) and some soft timbre (sīmā, jätüimā). Interestingly enough, earlier studies, with the exception of the ones just cited, made no reference to the total velarization of words in modern Aramaic.

Recent reference to this fact is due to the descriptive phonological analysis of language. For example, H. Jacobi points to the existence of emphatic words in one of the eastern dialects, namely Thumi. He considers “emphasis” to be a long emphatic component which may or may not be in individual words, e.g. +dēle “he knew,” +xulāsa “finally; in short,” +turāne “mountains,” +xətte “wheat,” and the like; cf.: tēlan “we shall

3 Ibid., pp. 32-33.

4 Ibid., pp. 29-30.

5 Ibid., pp. 28-9.

6 Ibid., p. 27.

7 K. Tsereteli, *An Essay on the Comparative Phonetics of Modern, Assyrian Dialects* (Tbilisi, 1958), pp. 68-74 [in Georgian].

8 Sasse, *ibid.*, p. 209.

9 M. Tsiaperam, *A Descriptive Analysis of Cypriot Maronite Arabic* (The Hague, 1969).

10 R. S. Harrel, *The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic* (New York, 1957); W. Lehn, Emphasis in Cairo Arabic, *Language* 39 (1963), pp. 29-39.

11 N. V. Yushmanov, ‘Singarmonizm urmiyskogo narechiya,’ *Pamyati akad. N.Y. Marra* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1938), pp. 292-314.

12 K. Tsereteli, “Urmiyskiy singarmonizm,” *Bull. Acad.Sci. Georgian SSR*, 7/7 (1946), pp. 467-68; by the same author: *An Essay on the Comparative Phonetic of Modern Assyrian Dialects*, pp. 155-60.

come,” ktēta “hen,” šēna “peace,” etc.¹³¹⁴ Jacobi believes that, because of emphasis, every vowel and consonant may have its emphatic variant.¹⁵

The situation is analogous to the language of Jewish Neo-Aramaic speakers.¹⁶ Thus, here, instead of marked consonants (assuming emphasis to be the marker), a whole word with emphasis is opposed to one without it. The opposing feature of consonants became the opposing feature of words. Cf. Aram. ṭjmā “price” and ṭinā “fig.” If, using mathematical terms, we remove the factor of emphasis (the common component of every member of the word), from the brackets and write it at the beginning of the word (as is the case in practice, cf. above), thereby expressing that it belongs to the whole word and not to a single sound, we would have ṭjmā for +/ṭjma/.

3. An analysis of “emphatic words” in eastern Aramaic from the historical angle demonstrates that, apart from emphatic consonants, pharyngeals also existed at some time in this language. With the loss of emphatic consonants, pharyngeals were lost as well, but emphasis remained in the word. The pharyngeals are preserved in the Arabic language, but words with pharyngeal involve the same vowels as in other “emphatic words.” Cf. Mhallamiye /UT:/, /OT/ and the like.¹⁷

4. It is worth noting that in modern Aramaic we find only two groups of words with opposed timbers: “emphatic” and “non-emphatic”. But between them a third group of words with medium timbre is identifiable as well. This can tentatively be referred to as “semi-emphasis,” which also accompanies the entire word. A phonetic study of this phenomenon shows that here glottals, glottalized (ejective) consonants, as well as velars (ḥ, ġ, q),¹⁸ constitute the source of synharmony.

5. The existence of words with hard, medium and soft timbre or “emphatic,” “semi-emphatic,” and “non-emphatic” words is regarded to be the result of the phonetic phenomenon of synharmony. Semitic synharmony implies not only vowel harmony but also that of consonants with respect to a specific feature: here timbre. Thus, in Semitic, “synharmony” and “emphasis” are in a definite relationship to each other. Synharmony is a definite phonetic process, and word emphasis is the result of this process, which as noted above, has turned into word marker in some Semitic languages. (In the case of emphasis velarization extends to the whole phonological word that is to the segmental chain between the two boundaries.¹⁹) “According to the traditional view,” Sasse says, “emphasis is a phenomenon of harmony.”²⁰ Synharmony is a special case of assimilation, and is based on a definite segmental phoneme—the so-called nuclear segment in which all the other segments assimilate. Emphasis is a characteristic feature of a consonant, a syllable, or a whole word, and only in the latter case is it the result of a synharmony whose source cannot be ascertained by synchronic analysis; for identification of separate sound-phonemes according to emphasis is not feasible at present.²¹

To date Semitic synharmony has been brought to light and studied from the phonetic point of view (its physiological-physical aspect and its origin).²² Synharmony developed as a result of the existence of pharyngeal and pharyngealized (emphatic), glottal and glottalized consonants, and others, resulting from Semitic articulation. The physiological basis of synharmony is the articulation characteristic of Semitic languages, but the physical (acoustic) effect is a hard, soft or medium timbre in the word. Phonological assessment of this phenomenon is relevant here.

13 Here and in further transcriptions ṭ=glottalized t (in order to differentiate it from aspirated t).

14 H. Jacobi, *Grammatik des thumischen Neuarmäischen (Nordsyrien)* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 79.

15 Ibid., pp. 8 and 20.

16 I. Garbell, “Flat words and Syllables in Jewish East New Aramaic of Persian Azerbaijan,” *polotsky Volume*, 1969; by the same author: *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan* (The Hague, 1965), pp. 33-4.

17 Sasse, *ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

18 K. Tsereteli, *An Essay...*, p. 161.

19 Sasse, *ibid.*, p. 33.

20 Ibid.

21 Cf. Sasse, *ibid.*, p. 33.

22 K. Tsereteli, “Urmiyskiy singarmonism. Osnovy urmiyskogo singarmonizma,” *Bull. Acad. Sci. Georgian SSR*, 9 (1946), 9-10; A *Grammar of the Modern Assyrian Language* (Tbilisi, 1968), pp. 52-67 (in Georgian).

6. It is notable that emphasis in the given languages (or dialects) has phonological value; it is capable of distinguishing the minimal pair of words (and not of sounds!). This distinction belongs mainly to the lexical sphere, e.g.:

Urm.	/+tīna/ "mud" and /tīnä/ "fig";
Tkhum.	/+tānax/ "we carry" and / tānax / "we say";
Mhallam.	/+baba/ "father" and /baba/ "door,"
	/+masa/ "table" and /masa/ "evening."

In modern eastern Aramaic dialects, in which the pharyngeal ' must have existed historically, this opposition is clearly demonstrated, e.g.: /+tāla / "fox" and / tālä / "trap", /+arya / "holiday" and / äryä / "lion," etc. Noting this phenomenon, Yushmanov observed that here timbre emerged as a "collective phoneme."²³

The "collective phoneme" certainly cannot be placed among segmental phonemes. The "emphasis," which creates a definite timbre, does not itself require a definite sound. It (i.e., emphasis) stands apart and acquires phonological value only when extended to the whole word. Its phonemic nature shows with the word, as is the case with word stress and word tone. Thus, in this case emphasis is a phoneme, but not a segmental one; it is superimposed on the word, but when standing outside of the segmental chain, it is above segmental or – as referred to in linguistic terminology – *suprasegmental*. But even Sasse, who adduces fine examples of the suprasegmental nature of emphasis in the Mhallamiye Arabic dialect, does not consider the fact of existence of "emphatic" and "non-emphatic" words capable of semantic distinction to favour a suprasegmental phoneme. At the same time, he feels that consideration of this problem from the descriptive point of view would not decide the question in his favour and notes: "The present study is an attempt at viewing emphasis as an indefinite exponent (*unbestimmte Exponante*) without placing it within the descriptive framework."²⁴

For Sasse the emphasis is a phonetic sign (marker) which is connected with words only at the lexical level and cannot be placed beside either segmental or suprasegmental phonemes.²⁵ If so, where are we to place "emphasis" which is capable of distinguishing the meanings of words? Sasse tries to avoid using the term "suprasegmental," because it has no place in prosody ("We had better avoid the term "suprasegmental").²⁶ It is worth noting that Pike is not opposed to qualifying the phenomenon of syn-harmony (for him-harmony) as a suprasegmental phoneme (though, in Sasse's words, Pike rejects this).²⁷ Only a phoneme which belongs to a whole word is connected with its meaning is referred to by Pike as "a suprasegmental phoneme received on lexical basis," unlike stress, tone, etc., which Pike calls "suprasegmental phonemes on the phonological basis."²⁸

7. Thus in a number of present-day Semitic dialects (Aramaic, Arabic) among other suprasegmental phonemes one more has been found, namely "emphasis" (sometimes also "semi-emphasis" in words with medium timbre). Historical analysis indicates that this is a new phenomenon – a substitute for the old segmental phonemes. Unfortunately, the same can hardly be said about all the other modern Semitic dialects, namely, modern Semitic dialects of Ethiopia, for their phonological study has not yet attained the requisite level. It is not ruled out that an additional study of new dialects may demonstrate the suprasegmental phoneme function of „emphasis” in the majority of modern Semitic dialects, and may allow it to be considered a relevant feature of Semitic languages in general.

23 N. V. Yushmanov, op. cit., p., 305.

24 Sasse, p. 34.

25 Ibid., p. 35, cf. 33-4.

26 Ibid., p. 34

27 Ibid.

28 K. L. Pike, Phonetics. A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing (Ann Arbor, 1947), p. 63.

ZUR FRAGE DER SPIRANTISATION DER VERSCHLUSSLAUTE IN DEN SEMITISCHEN SPRACHEN*

1. In den klassischen nordsemitischen Sprachen (Hebräisch, Aramäisch) wirkte ein phonetisches Gesetz, nach dem die labialen, dentalen und velaren Verschlußlaute (*b g d k p t*) nach Vokalen spirantisiert wurden und sich in die entsprechenden Reibelaute (*v g d ɬ f t*) verwandelten. Diesem Gesetz wurden andere im Hebräischen und Aramäischen existierende Verschlußlaute nicht unterworfen, nämlich Sonore (*r l m n*), Glottale und Pharyngale (‘) und die sogenannten glottalisierten und pharyngalisierten Verschlußlaute (*t q*). Es ist erwähnenswert, daß die obengenannten Spiranten nur in diesem Falle (d.h. in postvokalischer Position) statt der Verschlußlaute vorkommen und also keinen phonemischen Wert wie etwa im Arabischen besaßen, wo alle genannten Reibelaute (*g d ɬ f t*) mit Ausnahme von *v* Phoneme sind. Folglich sind diese Spiranten in der hebräischen und aramäischen Sprache die stellungsbedingten Varianten der Verschlußlaute, ihre Allophone. Deshalb konnte ein und dieselbe konsonantische Wurzel wegen der verschiedenen Vokalisation, die durch die Flexion des Wortes verursacht war, bald einen Verschlußlaut und bald anstelle dessen den entsprechenden Reibelaut aufweisen. Vgl. hebr. *méleḥ* „König“, aber *malki* „mein König“ > \sqrt{mlk} (*k~ɬ=|k|*), syr. *k^atav* „er hat geschrieben“, aber *k^atbat* „sie hat geschrieben“ > \sqrt{tb} (*b~v=|b|*) u.dgl.

2. In den modernen nordsemitischen Sprachen ist die Wirkung des Spirantisationsgesetzes eingeschränkt: im Aramäischen wirkt es nicht mehr; im modernen Hebräisch existiert diese Lautverschiebung zwar noch, betrifft aber nur noch drei von sechs Verschlußlauten: *b~v=/b/, k~h=/k/, p~f=/p/* (s.u.). Die Spirantisierung eines anlautenden Verschlußlautes infolge des vokalischen üblich war, findet dabei jedoch nicht mehr statt. Dennoch sind die Spuren der Spirantisation auch im modernen Aramäisch zu erkennen: in bestimmten Wurzeln (oder Wörtern) stehen statt der Verschlußlaute Reibelaute, die sich jedoch nicht mehr unter dem Einfluß ihrer Stellung in Verschlußlaute verwandeln. Ein Reibelaut, der einst durch die Stellung des Verschlußlautes verursacht wurde, ist jetzt stabil geworden und wird den Stellungsänderungen nicht mehr untergeordnet. So z. B. *zvini* „er hat gekauft“ <*zbīn-lih* (urm.), aber „gesetzmäßig“ *zävin* „er kauft“ <*zābin*. Daneben haben wir *zābin* (mit dem Verschlußlaut *b!*), das eine andere Bedeutung hat: „er verkauft“.

3. Aus dem Gesagten ist klar, daß im Hebräischen und Aramäischen der klassischen Zeit infolge des phonetischen Gesetzes der Spirantisation zwei allophonische Systeme bestimmter Phoneme existierten: Verschluß und Reibelaute. Die Erforschung der Entwicklung und Wechselbeziehung dieser Systeme unter geschichtlichem Aspekt ist ein wichtiger Teil der diachronischen Betrachtung der nordsemitischen Sprachen. Dafür ist erforderlich: 1) Untersuchung der Texte einer gegebenen Sprache; Feststellung, wie sich diese sprachliche Erscheinung in hebräisch und aramäisch geschriebenen Texten wiederspiegelt; 2) Was zeigen uns alte und fremdsprachige Transkriptionen hebräischer und aramäischer Wörter; 3) Wie spiegelt sich die Spirantisation der Verschlußlaute beim Lesen der altsemitischen (hebr., syrischen) Texte heute wieder. Wie sieht die bis in unsere Gegenwart erhaltene Lesetradition aus. Diese Überlieferungen haben für das Erlernen der heutigen hebräischen Aussprache besondere Bedeutung, weil die hebräische Sprache jahrhundertelang keine lebende Sprache war und die lebende und gesprochene Sprache erst auf Grund dieser Überlieferung gebildet wurde.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels ist nicht die Klärung der obengenannten Probleme (das überlassen wir einer späteren Arbeit) sondern die Untersuchung der Frage, zu welchen Ergebnissen die Spirantisierung der Verschlußlaute im modernen Hebräischen und Aramäischen geführt hat, und welche Wechselbeziehung zwischen den Verschluß und Reibelautsystemen bestehen.

4. Im Hebräischen vor der Entstehung des sog. Israelischen Hebräisch, unterschied man zwei Aussprachen, oder besser gesagt zwei Haupttraditionen beim Lesen des hebräischen Textes: die aschkenasische (Aussprache der europäischen Hebräer) und die sephardische (Aussprache der im Osten und in den Mittel-

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meerländern lebenden Hebräer). Im „offiziellen“ modernen Hebräischen (d.h. in der Sprache Israels), das auf der sephardischen Aussprache beruht, finden wir von den sechs spirantischen Varianten der Verschlußlaute (*b g d k p t*) nur drei. Es sind dies die labialen Reibelaute, stimmhaftes *v* und stimmloses *f*, die die Allophone der entsprechenden Verschlußlaute, stimmhaftes *b* und stimmloses *p*, darstellen, ferner der stimmlose velare Reibelaut *ḥ*, der aus *k* entstanden ist¹. Auf diese Weise sind im modernen Hebräisch /*b/ p/ k/* so repräsentiert: /*b/*: [b] und [v], /*p/*: [p] und [f], /*k/*: [k] und [ḥ]. So z.B. šēb bəbaqašá шэйв бе-вакаша! (russische Umschreibung) „bitte setzt dich!“², aber бакашá (baqašá) „Bitte«.

Es ist interessant, daß die Hebräer auch heute noch für den Verachlußlaut und seinestellungsbedingte Variante einen Buchstaben verwenden, den sie beim zweierlei Lesen durch das zusätzliche Zeichen „Dagesch“ unterscheiden: ב (Buchstabe mit dem Pünktchen) = *b*, und ohne dieses Pünktchen ב= *v*; כ = *k*, כ aber = *h*; פ = *p*, und פ = *f*. Die übrigen drei Verschlußlaute, dentales *d* und *t* sowie velares *g* bleiben in allen Stellungen Verschlußlaute³, obwohl sie in der althebräischen Aussprache gleichfalls die spirantischen Varianten *d*, *t* und *g* haben. Deshalb wird Dagesch bei den genannten Buchstaben *d*, *t*, und *g* nicht mehr gebraucht: ג נ ג (während im Althebräischen die letzteren als Reibelaute gelesen wurden, mit Dagesch ג, נ, ג jedoch als Verschlußlaute).

Beachtenswert ist, daß die Lesetradition der georgischen Hebräer auch eine spirantische Aussprache von *g* (= georg. *გ*) unterscheidet und deshalb der althebräischen Aussprache näher steht, wenngleich die alten spirantisierten Labiale hier Verschlußlaute bleiben.

Die heutige Aussprache der Aschkenasen fällt mit der sephardischen zusammen (*b* und *v*, *p* und *f*, *k* und *ḥ*); zusätzlich wird hier *t* in postvokalischer Stellung als Reibelaut 8 gesprochen (statt des althebräischen Konsonanten *t*).

Wenn wir die Aussprache aller Hebräer (einschließlich der Aschkenasen und der georgischen Hebräer) berücksichtigen, würde die Realisierung der Verschlußlaute der Gruppe „B^əgadk^əpat“ so aussehen: *b* ~ *v*, *p* ~ *f*, *g* ~ *g*, *t* ~ *s*, *k* ~ *ḥ*. Ein spirantisches Allophon von *d* (althebr. *d*) kommt nicht mehr vor, der Verachlußlaut *d* ist in allen Stellungen fest geworden. Wenn wir nach dem Gesagten die Konsonentallophone (Verschluß – und Reibelaute) der Gruppe „B^əgadk^əfat“ für das moderne Hebräisch in ein einziges System einordnen, sieht dies so aus:

Verschlußlaute		Reibelaute	
<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	–	8
<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ḥ</i>

(Die Leerstelle bei den Reibelauten wird in der Sprache durch den Vergchlußlaut *d* ergänzt).

Wenn wir aber die Konsonantenlage nach den einzelnen hebräischen Traditionen beobachten, so ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

Aschkenasisch		Sephardisch	
Verschlußlaute	Reibelaute	Verschlußlaute	Reibelaute
<i>b</i> <i>p</i>	<i>v</i> <i>f</i>	<i>b</i> <i>p</i>	<i>v</i> <i>f</i>
<i>d</i> <i>t</i>	– <i>s</i>	<i>d</i> <i>t</i>	– –
<i>g</i> <i>k</i>	– <i>ḥ</i>	<i>g</i> <i>k</i>	– <i>ḥ</i>
Georg.		Hebr.	
Verschlußlaute		Reibelaute	
<i>b</i> <i>p</i>		– –	
<i>d</i> <i>t</i>		– –	
<i>g</i> <i>k</i>		<i>g</i> <i>ḥ</i>	

So ist heute das System der Verschlußlaute im Hebräischen stabil und für alle Traditionen identisch. Für

1 H. Simon: *Lehrbuch der modernen hebräischen Sprache*. Leipzig 1970, S.18.

2 תּוֹרַה: רִיקְלִיטָן הַלְּאָכְבִּיב. 1963, S. 2.

3 R.Meyer: *Hebräische Grammatik*. 1.Berlin 1966, S.45

das uns interessierende Reibelautsystem aber unterscheiden sich diese Traditionen. Am vollständigsten ist das aschkenasischen System, in dem nur die dentalen und velare Stimmhafen (*d* und *g*) fehlen; fast dasselbe wiederholt sich bei der sephardischen Aussprache (hier fehlt auch der stimmlose dentale Reibelaut). In diesen beiden Traditionen haben sich die labialen Reibelaute (*v* und *f*) und der velare stimmlose Reibelaut *ħ* als „stark“ erwiesen. In der Aussprache der georgischen Hebräer haben sich nur die Velare als stabil erwiesen, hierzu gehört auch der stimmhafte velare Reibelaut (*g̫*). Alle anderen Reibelaute sind verlorengegangen (im Sprechen haben die entsprechenden Verschlusslaute ihre Stelle eingenommen).

5. Im modernen Aramäisch gibt es, wie oben schon bemerkt, im Gegensatz zum modernen Hebräisch diestellungsbedingten Varianten (Verschluss und Reibelaute) der Konsonanten *b d g k p t* nicht mehr. Abgesehen davon aber finden wir im modernen Aramäischen (im allgemeinen, wenn wir alle Mundarten berücksichtigen), neben den Verschlusslauten (*b d k p t*) alle entsprechenden Reibelaute: *v g̫ d ħ f t*. Aber nicht alle diese Konsonanten kommen in jeder aramäischen Mundart vor. Dadurch unterscheiden sich die Mundarten voneinander, und wir können von dem jeweiligen Verschluss oder Reibelautszstem sprechen, das eine beliebige aramäische Mundart kennzeichnet. Wir wollen im folgenden die Dialekte unter diesem für uns interessanten Gesichtspunkt betrachten.

5.1. Im *Türōyo* (Tür-‘Abdin-Mundart) sind alle Reibelaute der Reihe „Bəgadkəpat“ zu finden: *v f d t g̫ ħ*, die hier nicht die Verschlusslaut allophone, sondern Phoneme repräsentieren⁴. Natürlich sind auch die Verschlusslaute der erwähnten Gruppe als Phoneme erhalten, von denen in dieser Mundart fünf vorkommen: *b d t g k*. Daß die obengenannten Reibelaute bis zum heutigen Tage in postvokalischer Stellung, in der im Alt aramäischen spirantisierte Konsonanten standen, in den nominalen Stämmen erhalten geblieben sind, muss man als die Spuren der alten Verschlusslautspirantisierung betrachten: *brito* „Welt“, *sōvo* „alt“, *raglo* „Fuß“, *rakīho* „weich“ (<*rakkikā*) usw. Bei den Verben ist dies schwerer zu erkennen, weil die Wurzelkonsonanten ungeachtet der Stellung in allen Formen ohne Veränderung bleiben.

Von den Verschlußlauten kommt hier der stimmlose Labial *p* nicht vor, da er überall durch den Reibelaut *f* ersetzt ist. Auf diese Weise haben wir folgende Systeme der Verschluß und Reibelaute:

Verschlußlaute	Reibelaute
<i>b</i> –	<i>v f</i>
<i>d t</i>	<i>d̫ t̫</i>
<i>g k</i>	<i>g̫ ħ</i>

Man sieht, daß das ganze System der Reibelaute gut erhalten ist. Hier sind die Reihen sowohl der stimmhaften als auch der stimmlosen Konsonanten vollständig, während das System der Verschlußlaute unvollständig ist (*p > f*).

5.2. Im Ostaramäischen finden wir folgende Dreiergruppe der Verschlusslaute (stimmhafte, stimmlös-aspirierte, stimmlös-ejektive):

<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p̪</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̪</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k̪</i>

Von diesen Verschlußlauten wurden aber nur die stimmhaften und die aspirierten Konsonanten spirantisiert. Insofern wird hier nur von diesen beiden Reihen die Rede sein:

<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>

Dieses ganze System der Verschlusslaute ist in allen östlichen Dialekten (Siirt, Urmia, Mosul, Tiari usw.) vollständig erhalten. Im Hinblick auf das System der entsprechenden Reibelaute sieht es allerdings anders aus, man bemerkt zwischen den Dialekten gewisse Differenzen:

4 O. Jastrow: *Laut und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im Tür - 'Abdin.* (Diss.) Bamberg 1967, S. 1.

Siirt	Tiari, Mosul	Zacho	Urmia
v –	v –	v –	v –
– –	d t	z s	– –
– ḥ	ǵ ḡ	ǵ ḡ	ǵ ḡ

Am vollständigsten ist das Reibelautsystem in den Bergdialekten (Tiari, Mosul) und in der Mundart der Hebräer von Zacho erhalten (in beiden Fällen fehlt nur der labio-dentale stimmlose Reibelaut *f*, was für alle ostaramäischen Mundarten kennzeichnend ist), aus anderen Mundarten (Urmia, Siirt) verschwinden zusätzlich auch die dentalen Reibelaute, und in der siirtischen Mundart fällt sogar der stimmhafte velare Reibelaut *ǵ* aus. Im Sprechen treten an die Stelle der verschwundenen Reibelaute die entsprechenden Verschlusslaute.

5.3. Im Westaramäischen (Ma'lūla) haben im Verschluss – und Reibelautsystem im Vergleich zum Altaramäischen große Veränderungen stattgefunden. Sie bestehen im Stimmloswerden der stimmhaften Verschlusslaute (mit Ausnahme von *b*). Die stimmhaften Verschlusslaute *d* (dental) und *g* (velar) finden sich nur in nicht aramäischen Lehnwörtern; ansonsten sind sie entweder durch die entsprechenden stimmhaften Reibelaute *d* und *ǵ* (im Anlaut) oder durch die entsprechenden stimmlosen Verschlusslaute *t*, *k* ersetzt werden, z.B.:

<i>d</i> : <i>dēba</i>	„Wolf“	(< <i>dēbā</i>),	aber
<i>ǵ</i> : <i>ǵelta</i>	„Leder“	(< <i>geldā</i>);	
<i>g</i> : <i>ǵanna</i>	„Garten“	(< <i>gannā</i>),	aber
<i>telka</i>	„Schnee“		(< <i>telgā</i>).

Dasselbe geschieht mit verdoppelten Stimmhaften: *akkōra* „flaches Dach“ <*'eggōrā* (vgl. urm. *gäri*). Unter den stimmhaften Verschlüsselementen bildet der Labial *b* eine Ausnahme, da er am Anfang des Wortes als Verschlusslaut erhalten geblieben ist (*besra* „Fleisch“), obwohl er im In – und Auslaut genauso wie die anderen stimmhaften Verschlusslaute stummlos geworden ist (>*p:ḥalpa* „Hund“ < *kalbā*; ebenso verdoppeltes *bb* > *pp: leppa* „Hers“ < *lebbā*).

Es wurde schon gesagt, dass von den alten stimmlosen Verschlusslauten nur *k* in Ma'lūla erhalten ist, *t* und *p* hingegen sind zu *č* und *f* verschoben worden: *malka* „König“ < *malkā*; aber *tarči* „zwei“ < *tartēn* (tt > čč: *hačča* „neu“ < *hattā*), *qelfa* „Schale“ <*qilpā* (pp > ff: „hinausführen, herausnehmen“ < *appeq*, √*npq*).

Auf diese Weise würde das Verschlusslautsystem von Ma'lūla so aussehen:

<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	[* <i>b</i> <i>p</i>]
–	<i>t</i>	
–	<i>k</i>	

Was das Reibelautsystem betrifft, so ist zu bemerken, dass spirantisiertes *b* (*v*) hier nicht vorkommt, statt dessen tritt der Vrschlusslaut *b* auf (*debšā* „Honig“ < *debšā*). In Ma'lūla ist also hauptsächlich das alte System der spirantischen Allophone erhalten, aus dem sich das folgende phonemische Reibelautsystem entwickelt hat:

<i>-f</i>	[* <i>b</i> <i>p</i>]
<i>d</i>	
<i>g</i>	

(*ǵofna* „Weintraube“, *ahḥad* „eins“, *mīta* „tot“, *falleğ* „teilen“, *belya* „Weinen“).

Wie wir sehen, ist im Westaramäischen auch das Reibelautsystem unvollständig (es fehlt der stimmhafte Labiodental *v*), aber dieses System ist vollzähliger als das Verschlusslautsystem (im Gegensatz zum Ostaramäischen). Es ist beachtenswert, dass sich in diesem Dialekt die Stimmhaften *d* *g* *v* „schwach“ gezeigt haben, deren Platz im Sprechen ihre stimmlosen Korrelate (*t* *k* *f*), die „stärkeren“ Konsonanten eingenommen haben; die Reihe der letzteren ist sowohl im Verschluss als auch im Reibelautsystem vollzählig. Dies ist für das phonologische System des Westaramäischen kennzeichnend und ein wesentliches Strukturmerkmal im Unterschied zum Ostaramäischen.

6. Eine phonologische Untersuchung der modernen aramäischen Dialekte zeigt, dass in den Ostdialekten das aramäische Verschlusslautsystem gut erhalten ist, während das Reibelautsystem, das nach der Pho-

nemisierung der alten Allophone entstanden ist, unvollzähling ist. Am schwächsten hat sich hier der stimmlose labiale Reibelaut *f* gezeigt, der nicht Phonem sein kann; am „stärksten“ ist der stimmlose Velar *ħ/ħ* (in allen Mundarten zu finden!); der stimmhafte Velar *g̡* ist gut erhalten (außer Sürt in allen Dialekten, obwohl es teilweise nur sporadisch vorkommt). Weniger standhaft sind *d* und *t*, die in einem Teil der Ostdialekte manchmal als *z* und *s* erhalten sind (Zacho). Stark unterscheidet sich von den Ostdialektne Ma'lūla, wo gerade das Verschlußlautsystem besonders unvollständig ist, wie wir oben gesehen haben. Im Hinblick auf die Vollzähligkeit dieser Systeme hat, wie zu erwarten war, Türöyo eine mittlere Position zwischen West und Ostdialekten eingenommen. Auch in diesem Punkt bestätigt sic also die Klassifikation der neuaramäischen Dialekte, die wir bei einer früheren Gelegenheit vorgestellt haben.⁵

7. Das Verlorengehen des Spirantisationsgesetzes im Neuaramäischen bewirkte den Übergang der Reibelautallophone zu Phonemen. Der Wechsel zwischen Verschluß und Reibelauten hat aufgehört: die Stellung kann einen Verschlußlaut nicht zum Reibelaut machen und umgekehrt. Es haben sich Dubletten mit verschiedenen Bedeutungen herausgebildet, in denen die Verschlußlaute und die entsprechenden Reibelaute der Reihe „Bəgadkəpat“ distinktive Funktion haben: urm. *zâvin* „er kauft“ und *zâbin* „er verkauft“ (< \sqrt{zbn}), *bārik* „er kniet“ und *bāriħ* „er segnet“ (< \sqrt{brk}).

Bis jetzt können wir dies nicht über das Hebräischen sagen, wo dieser Prozeß (die Phonemisierung der Allophone infolge des Verlusts des Spirantisationsgesetzes) offenbar wegen der unterbrochenen Entwicklung der hebräischen Sprache selbst, verhindert war. Die Konsonanten der Reihe „Bəgadkəpat“ konnten hier nicht zwei Phonemsysteme – Verschluß und Reibelautsphoneme – bilden. Vielmehr haben wir es heir mit den Allophonsystemen zu tun, die sich als Folge von zwei verschiedenen Realisierungen der Glieder eines Phonemsystems ergaben: dem Allophonsystem der Verschlußlaute und dem Allophonsystem der Reibelaute.

Der Vorangegangene lässt sich mit Hilfe von Tabellen wie folgt zusammenfassen:

I.			
Alte nordwestsemitische Sprachen (Hebr.-Aram.)			
Orale Verschlußlaute (phoneme)		In postvokal. Position (Allphone)	
Stimmhaft	stimmlos	stimmhaft	stimmlos
Labiale	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i> (<i>v</i>)
Dentale	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i> (<i>z</i>)
Velare	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i> (<i>g̡</i>)
			<i>ħ</i> (<i>ħ</i>)

Wir haben es also hier mit zwei System von Allophen zu tun, die aus der Realisation der gegebenen Phoneme im Rahmen eines phonemischen Systems resultieren. Später, als das Gesetz der verschlußlautspirantisation wirkungslos Systemen zwei phonemische Systeme entwickelt; im Hebräischen dagegen haben wir wieder mit allophonischen Systemen zu tun, obwohl auch sie sich verändert haben.

II.			
Moderne nordwestsemitische Sprachen (Aramäisch)			
Verschlußlautphoneme		Reibelautphoneme	
Stimmhaft	stimmlos	stimmhaft	stimmlos
Labiale	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>v</i>
Dentale	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
Velare	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
			<i>f</i>
			<i>t</i>
			<i>ħ</i>

(Dabei sind alle aramäischen Mundarten berücksichtigt).

8. Fälle von Verschlußlautspirantisation kommen auch in anderen modernen semitischen Sprachen vor, z.B. in äthiopischen Mundarten, darunter auch im Amharischen, beispielsweise *b* > *b̥* > *w:nbr* > amh. *nōra*

5 K.Tserereli: Zur Frage der Klassifikation der neuaramäischen Dialekte. In: ZDMG 127(1977), S.244-263.

„er stand“, **sb'* > *saw* „Mann“.⁶ *b* > *w* ist auch in neuarabischen Dialekten belegt: südarab. *lūn* „weiß“ < *lbn*⁷; in maghrebinischen Mundarten haben wir außer *b* > *w* auch *k* > *ħ*⁸, aber dieser Wechsel hat hier überall spontanen Charakter; die Herkunft dieser Erscheinungen ist verschieden. Aber wo auch immer in den semitischen Sprachen diese Spirantisation *z* beobachtet ist und aus welchem Grund auch immer sie geschieht, eines ist vollkommen klar: nicht jeder Verschlußlaut nimmt an der Spirantisierung teil – weder Sonore (*r l m n*) noch glottale und pharyngale Verschlußlaute (‘), noch glottasierte oder pharyngalisierte (d. h. ejektive und emphatische) Verschlußlaute (*d t q p̪*), obgleich solche Konsonanten im Neuaramäischen belegt sind: emphat. *ð* im Türöyo, emphat. *t* in Ma'lüla und im Türöyo, ejektives *p̪* und *t* im Ostaramaischen.⁹ (O. Jastrow weist für das Mədwōyo, eine Türöyo Mundart, auf die Existenz von zwei Allophonen von stimmhaftem emphatischem *d* hin: Verschlußlaut [d̪] und Reibelaut [ð̪], die frei variieren)¹⁰. Wenn ein Verschlußlautkonsonant pharyngalisiert oder glottalisiert war, so trat auch früher im Hebräisch-Aramäischen keine Spirantisation auf. Solche Konsonanten sind im Althebräisch-Aramäischen *q* und *t̪*, im Syrischen außerdem *p̪* der griechischen Lehnwörter (für griech. π) während in demselben System griechisches *φ* als *p* oder *f* (nach Vokal) wiedergegeben wurde¹¹.

9. Aus dem obengesagten ergibt sich die Feststellung, dass das im Nordsemitischen infolge des Spirantisationsgesetzes entstandene Reibelautsystem, ebenso wie das bereits vorhandene System der Verschlußlaute, im Grunde genommen die universale phonologische Regel im Hinblick auf die Markierung der Phoneme nicht übertritt (stimmhafte Labiale und stimmlose velare sind nicht markiert)¹²: unter den Verschlußlauten sind am schwächsten das stimmhafte *g* und das stimmlose labiale *p*, unter den Reibelauten das stimmlose labio-dentale *f* und das stimmhafte velare *g̪*; schwach sind auch die interdentalen Reabelaute *d* und *t*. Der Fall Ma'lüla (*b* statt *v*) zeigt, daß hier der Verschlusslaut stärker war als der entsprechende Reibelaut. Insofern kann diese Tatsache die obenerwähnte Universalregel nicht storen, derzu folge stimmhafte Labiale stärker sind und schwer verloren gehen.

6 An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Ed. By S. MOSCATI. Wiesbaden 1964, S.26.

7 Ibid.

8 Ju. V. Zavdovskiy: Arabskie dialekty Magribi. Moskau 1962, S.S.39 und 42.

9 Aber in kuschitischen Sprachen ist die Ersetzung der glottalisierten Konsonanten in der nachvokalischen Stellung auch bestätigt: *k*<*ħ*, *p̪*>*f* (neben *k*>*ħ* und *p*>*f*) A.B. Dolgopolskij: Sravnitelno-istoričeskaja fonetika kušitskikh jazykov. Moskau 1973, §§ 77,71.

10 O. Jastrow, Op. cit., S.4.

11 Vgl. C. Brockelmann: Syrische Grammatik. 9. Aufl. Leipzig 1962, S.21, § 30, Anm.3.

12 T.V. Gamkrelidze: On the Correlation of Stops and Fricatives in a Phonological System. In: Lingua 35 (1975), S.231-61

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN NEAR EASTERN CITIES FROM THE 9TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY*

Abstract

This essay by the late Prof. V. Gabashvili (1911-1985) examines medieval social movements in the cities of a key area in the Persianate civilizational zone, stretching from Syria and Iraq in the west to Georgia and the Caucasus in the north and Iran, Khorasan and Transoxania to the east and northeast. The analytical framework is Marxian, and the underlying unity of the region called the Near and Middle East is explained in terms of the common class structure and its transformation. The author argues that the ‘feudal context’ is crucial for understanding these social movements, which he divides into unrest and uprisings of the urban poor, on the one hand, and the Esmā‘ilis movement, on the other. The dispossession of the Iranian feudal aristocracy by the Saljuq Turks in the eleventh century, it is argued, intensified feudal exploitation and class antagonism and acted as a powerful stimulus to the renewal of social movements in the cities of the region, making them more complex in terms of class relations.

Keywords: *Social movements, class structure, Middle Eastern cities, urban rebellion*

The beginning of the ‘early feudal era’ in the history of the Near East (the 5th-6th cent. A.D.) was marked by prolonged peasant wars (Mazdak and Mazdakites), while its end (the 8th-9th cent. A.D.) was distinguished by mass revolts of peasants. In the 870s-880s there was ongoing a revolt of the Zanj slaves. Suppression of the Zanj revolt and the annihilation of its participants was directly followed by the revolutionary actions of the Esmā‘ilis, including the Qarmatians (the 10th cent.).

There were uprisings and revolts from the beginning of the 10th century onward in almost all the main cities and towns of the Near and Middle East. The social and economic causes of these revolts were the dissolution of community in the rural regions and the complete liquidation of the remnants of the slave-owning system in the agriculture. The partial liquidation of the state workshops was also ongoing in conditions of extremely tense class struggle, promoting and accelerating further development of the feudal relations, their strengthening and transition to a more developed and higher stage of the feudal relations.

The beginning of the ‘mature feudal era’ (the 9th-10th cent.) coincides with the completion of the feudal city formation process in the Near East. This was expressed in the confrontation of different social strata represented in the cities. Social movements in the Near Eastern countries quite frequently took the character of public uprisings and revolts from the 9th-13th centuries. Western Orientalist historians illustrate this by the concrete facts and materials, but without showing the real anti-feudal character of such movements.

The ideology of social movements in the Near East was outwardly represented by certain “heretical” doctrines. The uprisings in villages or towns and cities were usually preceded by the activities of advocates. In each “new doctrine”, apart from the religious colouring, a major place was dedicated to the “idea of equality”, which was in its time preached by Mazdak. Both in the East and the West, social movements during the Middle Ages were wrapped in religious clothing. The Near Eastern “heresies” and “heretics” (*zandiq*) were also directly connected with class and social struggle, opposing the orthodox Islam – an ideological mainstay of the ruling class. But the orthodox Islam (Sunni) itself was represented with four main *mazhab*s, the same as its opposing Shi‘ism was represented with several trends (moderate Shi‘ism, extreme and the most democratic trend, Esmā‘ilism).

The productive community of the villages expressed disposition mostly to Shi‘ism. But still there existed both Shi‘i (minority) and Sunni (majority) cities and towns as well. Any opposition in such cities was also

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expressed in a religious form. The Sunni Islam of different schools (mostly of Shāfe‘i and Hanafi *mazhab*s) sharply opposed one another in the Near and Middle Eastern cities, though Sunnism (excluding the Fatimid Caliphate and some feudal principalities) was an ideological pillar of the ruling class.

Academician V Barthold (1869-1930) once correctly pointed out that simple religious-legal contradictions, even within one and the same orthodox trend, could not have been a real reason for prolonged disturbances and unrests, which were ongoing under the flag of religion; in fact, it was an economic struggle among the different elements of a city.¹

Barthold, however, could not connect the social and economic struggle ongoing in the cities with the feudal society and the feudalization process, because he did not recognize the existence of feudalism in the East (and even refused to do so). One of the major reasons of the struggle which arose and developed on the grounds of real class and social contradictions, was the further development of the feudalization process and strengthening of feudal exploitation connected with the transition from the early feudal era to that of mature feudalism in the 10th-century Near East.

General spread of the *iqtā'* feudal institution, its evolution and the formation of military-lens system on its basis (especially in the period of the Saljuq Turks), strengthening of the dependence of *ra'iyyat* (peasants and other common people subject to taxation) on the *iqtā'*-owners (Arab. *muqta'*, Arab.-Pers. *iqtā'-dār*), more intensive use of corvée or labor conscription (Pers. *bigār*, Arab. *shokhra*), determination and introduction of illegal taxes caused acute class struggle and formed the ground for mass social movements both in rural and urban regions.

Soviet orientalist-historians (A. Yakubovsky, N. Pigulevskaya, B. Zakhoder, I. Petrushevsky) convincingly proved that the process of the formation of feudal city in the Near and Middle East ended in the 10th century. This statement was based on Barthold's well-known hypothesis, according to which the center of the urban life in the 9th-10th centuries gradually passed and shifted from *shahrestān* (actual city) to the city's industrial-commercial suburbs (Arab. *rab'*, Pers. *birun*).²

In the 9th-10th centuries the class structure characteristic of all the Islamic cities of the Near and Middle East took shape. One of the peculiarities of a feudal city in the Near East was that the feudals, the landowning aristocracy, as a rule lived in the cities, where they owned property, markets, caravanserais, inns, shops, workshops. Through them, they exploited the urban population because small owners and artisans rented shops, inns and workshops usually from feudals. In addition, the feudals intensively participated in foreign trade conducted by big merchants. Thus, close relations were established on this ground between the feudals and big merchants, which harmonized their class interests in the cities. The feudals' relations with big merchants and their participation in large-scale caravan trade excluded any serious opposition between the merchants and landowner aristocracy. On the contrary, merchants together with feudals took part in the exploitation of "urban population". That was why the social movements were directed against both feudals and big merchants. For their part, big merchants were antagonistic toward the artisans' organizations and the social movements ongoing in the cities.

The class contradictions found expression in the disposition of public groups belonging to different classes. In the 9th-12th centuries the public life in the Iranian cities was represented in four main parts of a city. There were palaces and houses of feudal aristocracy in *shahrestān*. Religious establishments were represented in another part of the city. In *chārsu* (Arab. *morabba'a*) there were concentrated caravanserais and wholesale trade. Finally, petty traders, craftsmen, artisans and poor people were settled in the suburbs of the city where small markets, artisans' rows, shops and commercial stalls were located; retail trade was also conducted there.³ A city was divided in approximately the same way in Iraq as well. For example, in Baghdad the petty

1 Barthold (1923), pp. 61-62.

2 It should be also mentioned that in Barthold's view, there was formed that type of medieval Iranian (and Central Asian) Islamic city by the 11th century, which did not undergo any significant changes throughout the Middle Ages. On these topics, see: Barthold (1903, pp. 8-9, 65, 85; 1912a, p. XXXII; 1912b, pp. 254 ff., 1927, p. 28). See also Yakubovsky (1932, pp. 4-5, 27; 1947, p. 76; 1951, pp. 9-11, 15), Zakhoder, p. 124, Kiknadze, p. 142; Pigulevskaya, Yakubovsky, Petrushevsky, Stroeva and Belenitsky, p. 138, Tskitishvili, pp. 136, 146, 154-155, Masson, Romodin p. 233. On the above-mentioned hypothesis of Barthold, see also von Grunebaum, pp. 148, 157.

3 Pigulevskaya et al., p. 140; cf. Massignon, p. 473.

traders and artisans' quarter was Karkh (in north-western part of the city), which in the 10th-11th centuries was an important centre of social movements.

Big merchant was called *tājer* (pl. *tojjār*). The terms "city population" or "city people" were used in the Arabic and Persian sources to designate petty traders, artisans and city poor people. There is no doubt that by the term "city population" was meant artisans, street traders, water-carriers, porters, as well as people living on odd jobs and earning their living by begging, who were considered to be the city poor. In the Arabic sources (al-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, etc.), are mentioned the barefoot of the Baghdad outskirts, street vendors (*ba'at al-tariq*), market people (*ahl al-suq*), agitated crowds (*ghawghā*), simple people, rabbles (*awbāsh*) and free madcaps (*shottār*).⁴ Petty artisans also belonged to "city population", of course, and their position kept worsening and becoming harder.

In the 10th – 11th centuries the state workshops (*terāz*) lost their former significance. They involved non-free artisans many of whom gained their freedom as a result of this. But, still, the general condition of artisans was not alleviated at all. Abolition of the *terāz* meant liquidation of last remains of slave-ownership in handicraft, but also meant universal use of feudal exploitation towards formally free artisans. In the cities, petty traders and artisans were charged with new, hitherto unknown taxes, the so-called "illegal taxes" (*ghayr-e hokm*). Violence and extortion had become ordinary in the relations between the market – and caravanserai-owning feudals and petty trader-artisans. That is why most of the participants in the urban social movements were petty traders and artisans.

As already noted, one of the major causes of uprisings and revolts among the "city population" was the intensification of feudal exploitation. But the mass character of social movements was caused by other factors as well. Social movements in the Near Eastern cities were stimulated by the invasions of outside enemies, when the petty traders, artisans and city poor people, in addition to local feudals and big merchants, had a new exploiter in the person of a conqueror. This explained the strengthening and extension of social movements in the periods of invasions and rule of the Saljuqs and Crusaders. The participants of social movements were especially active in political crises, because raids connected with the invasions of foreigners and with the intrafeudal local wars above all damaged and destroyed the producer society. However, the participants in social movements acted not only on the basis of class motives, but of national motives as well. The fact is that the cities were most efficiently and intensively defended by the "city population", while the ruling class representatives sought to find common language with the conquerors.

The word "Turk" at that time caused hatred and disgust among the low layers of the native community. This had its explanation. One of the most important results of the invasions and rule of the Saljuq Turks was a new re-distribution of lands and re-grouping of feudal rights in favour of Saljuq military-nomadic aristocracy. Along with the local (indigenous) feudals, there appeared the Turkish feudals, who lived at the expense of local settled population engaged in intensive farming. The *iqta'* feudal institution turned to be the best form for the Turkish feudals to get income without operating their own farms. The representatives of military-nomadic aristocracy of Saljuq Turks were not interested in farming and did not care about its development. The "Tajik" (i.e., indigenous farmer, trader, artisan) was creating a real wealth, while the "Turk" (a warrior, a rider) was devouring and wasting it. There appeared a Turkish saying on it: "No Turk exists without a Tajik, as no man without a hat."⁵

The taxation system and different taxes gave an opportunity for organized robbing of the local settled population, though there were nomadic rules for this as well: once every three years the Turks attacked villages and cities. They considered three years sufficient for the raided and destroyed village or city to revive and create wealth. In conditions of regular raids, the following Turkish saying was born: "Our city is our sweet dessert". The nomadic Turks considered both a village and a city to be their "food". But the raids and attacks of nomads damaged not only the producer community but also a considerable part of Iranian feudals whose lands were appropriated by the military-nomadic aristocracy. From this viewpoint the Saljuq Turks continued the policy of the Ghaznavid ruler, Sultan Mahmud (999-1030). That was why the Iranian *dehqāns* used to fight (and sometimes to join people's revolts) against the new conquerors, as in the period of Ghaznavids. On

4 Cahen 1959, pp. 36, 38. A special review of Cahen's well-known study was published by V. Gabashvili (1963, pp. 241-248).

5 Gabashvili 1957a, p. 131.

the contrary, having gained strength and power, the Iranian civil bureaucracy first allied itself with Mahmud of Ghazna, and then with the Saljuq Turks. But the main force in anti-Turkish movements was formed by broad masses and not by materially and politically weakened *dehqāns*, most of whom had already become peasants (after the 12th century the term *dehqān* already meant a peasant, not feudal).

The city producer population especially hated the “Turks”. The villages were enwrapped in fiery revolts, but no less disturbed and stormed were the cities, as their numerous poor population multiplied with peasants escaped from their villages. The Turkish feudals imitated Iranian feudal aristocracy in every way. They lived in luxury, had rich clothes, adornments and jewelry. The stark contrast between poverty and wealth was made the focus of the advocates of the “equality ideas”, to attract the special attention of the oppressed, humiliated and poor people. Hatred kept growing of the city population towards both the local (Iranian) feudals and the strangers (Turks). The hatred toward the Iranian feudals and the Turks was property described in the 11th-century work *Ketāb-e rokn-e mo‘āmalat*. The work was composed not later than the mid-11th century in south-western part of Iran, presumably in Shushtar, as the latter town (along with the city of Basra) is most frequently mentioned in its text.⁶

The anonymous author of the above-named work defends the interests of “city population” (petty traders and artisans). In his opinion, the oppressors are of three types: the rulers, *soltāns* and Turks.⁷ He stresses in his work that “the oppressors are many in number, but the oppressed are the majority”.⁸ Through such phrases he expresses his negative attitude to the feudal order and feudal society of that time. He considers most useful the activity of market traders, craftsmen and artisans, and sharply opposes them “the evildoers” – “the Turks, thieves, oppressors and those who are impudent and bridetakers”.⁹ He states that the property of oppressors and *soltāns* is unjust and illegal, because it was taken from the Muslim working people.¹⁰ The author thus opposes “the powerful of this world” (feudals, big merchants), expressing anti-feudal considerations, protecting the interests of petty traders, craftsmen and artisans, and showing the attitude of anti-feudal civil (urban) opposition. From this viewpoint *Ketāb-e rokn-e mo‘āmalat* is a rare (if not unique) work, as compared with other contemporary written sources whose authors revealed antagonism towards the urban social movements and used odious terms with regard to the participants in them.

Class views are thus transparent in the works of the 10th-12th-century authors, which were directly connected with the highly strained class struggle in this very tense period in the history of the Near East. We have sufficient ground to think that at that time there also existed the works expressing and protecting the interests of middle and low social strata of the cities. Such scrappy evidence is preserved in the works in the form of fragments, as it is quite clear that the original works were destroyed by class enemies. In any case, the above-mentioned 11th-century anonymous author was not the only person who had such social views and anti-feudal disposition. His social ideals and aspirations in many ways were connected with the considerations of Sahl b. Toshtari, the figure of the period of the Zanj revolt.¹¹ Besides, *Ketāb-e rokn-e mo‘āmalat* is one of the striking testimonies to most intensive participation of the city working population in social movements and revolts.

We could cite many facts to witness this from the other works of the 10th-12th centuries as well. The unrests and revolts that took place in the cities were headed mainly by petty traders or artisans. Thus, Qassām al-Tarrab, a manual laborer, was most active in Damascus in 979.¹² In 1021, in the same Damascus, the unrest of petty traders and artisans was headed by a butcher, Mohammad b. Abi Tāleb al-Jāzzar.¹³ A certain Sa‘di, active in the beginning of the 11th century in Mosul, was described by Ebn al-Athir as the “head of plasterers”.¹⁴ The unrests and revolts in the cities of Iraq were also headed by the representatives of petty artisans and petty

6 Vilchevsky, p. 97.

7 Ibid., p. 99.

8 Ibid., p. 102.

9 Ibid., pp. 99, 102.

10 Ibid., p. 100.

11 Ibid., p. 102. It should be recalled that not only slaves, but the rural and urban population also took part in the Zanj revolt in the 870s-880s.

12 Cahen 1959, p. 12.

13 Ibid., p. 13.

14 Ibid., p. 20.

traders. Thus, the unrest in Baghdad in 1029 was headed by a baker, Ebn al-Rasul, and a cloth dealer, 'Abd al-Qāder.¹⁵ Petty traders, craftsmen, artisans, laborers and city poor were active participants of the social movements of the Iranian cities, just as in the cities of Syria and Iraq. The so-called *'ayyārs* (sing. *'ayyār*, pl. *'ayyārun*, *'ayyārān*), or “tramps”, “vagabonds”, originating from petty traders, artisans and city poor, were characteristic especially to Iranian world and were most active in Iranian cities and towns in the 9th-12th centuries.

At the turn of the 11th – 12th centuries the artisans seemed to be closely connected with the *Esmā'ili* movement as well. The close relations of Hasan Sabbāh (1190-1124), an energetic leader of the famous *Esmā'ili* order and founder of the *Esmā'ili* State, with artisans are well-known. He himself, while being in Egypt (in 1078-1081) said to be a carpenter.¹⁶ According to the evidences of Jowayni and Rashid al-Din, Hasan Sabbāh was converted to *Esmā'ilism* by the artisans of the city of Ray. Certain role in this was played by the blacksmith, Amīrah Dharrāb, and the saddle-maker, Abu Najm Sarraj.¹⁷ The shoemaker Abū Hamza from Arrajān was an *Esmā'ili* *dā'i* who, like Hasan Sabbāh, had been in Egypt, and the *Esmā'ilis* headed by him conquered several fortresses near Arrajān and Zir.¹⁸ The carpenter Tāh er al-Najjār seemed to be an active *Esmā'ili* who was put to death (burnt alive) on the personal order of Nezām al-Molk for public preaching.¹⁹ Rāwandi names a barber who took part in the plot against the Saljuq Sultan Mahmud in 1107;²⁰ he could be considered to be an *Esmā'ili* or the *Esmā'ili*'s tool, as the conspirators used his poisoned knife in their attempt to assassinate the sultan.

The doctrine and preaching of the *Esmā'ilis* echoed not only in the artisan circles of the Iranian cities, but also among petty traders and artisans of the cities of Syria. According to the evidences of Arabic sources (Ebn al-Athir, Ebn al-Jawzi, Kamāl al-Din and others), the head and organizer of the Syrian *Esmā'ilis* was an Iranian goldsmith Abu Taher.²¹ According to the information of Abu'l-Feda', the *Esmā'ili*s who murdered the ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, Qāsem al-Dawla Āq-Sonqur, in 1126 were hiding in a shoemaker's house for several years.²² Osāma ebn Monqedh (1095-1188) who personally participated in the struggle against *Esmā'ilites*, calls them “wool-scutchers” and “petty peasants.”²³ This by itself points to the existence of a great number of artisans and peasants among the *Esmā'ili*s of Syria.

The armed groupings of the city population (i.e. of petty traders, artisans, and city poor) assisted the *Esmā'ili*s in the cities of both Syria and Iran. Similar groups were involved when the Alamut fortress was besieged by the army of the Saljuq Turks in 1092. During the siege, Hasan Sabbah and his supporters were assisted by the artisans and other people of Qazvin.²⁴ During the *Esmā'ili*'s revolt in Isfahan in 1100 – 1107, the entire artisan population and the city poor (ca. 30.000 from 100.000 local citizens) supported *Esmā'ili*s.²⁵ In the same period, Iranian *Esmā'ili* activists sent from Iran to Syria were assisted by the local city population in Aleppo, Apamea, Shayzar, Sermin, Ma'arrat-al-No'mān, and elsewhere.²⁶

Thus, a major motive force of the social movements in the Near and Middle Eastern cities consisted of petty traders, artisans and the city poor. This is also clear from the attitude of the contemporary authors toward the “city population” which participated in the unrests and revolts. The authors, who protected the interests of the ruling class, vividly expressed their class tendencies in describing the unrests, plots and revolts taking place in the cities. While describing the urban social movements, they usually used odious terms and

15 Ibid., p. 43.

16 Browne, II, pp. 200-201.

17 Jowayni, III, p. 188; Rashid al-Din, p. 99.

18 Hodgson, p. 76.

19 Ibid., pp. 48, 75; Stroeva 1963, p. 46.

20 Rāwandi, pp. 159-160.

21 Hodgson, pp. 91-92; Stroeva 1963, p. 46.

22 Ibid.

23 Usama ibn Munkyz, p. 201.

24 Jowayni, III, pp. 201-202; Rashid al-Din, p. 109.

25 Rāwandi, pp. 156-157; Stroeva 1962, pp. 69-70.

26 Stroeva 1963, pp. 46-47.

expressions to characterize the participants of such movements and revolts: ‘*ayyārun* (“tramps”), *awbāsh* (“mob”, “impudent, riff-raff”), *ronud* (“scamps”), *dozdān* (Arab. *losus*, “thieves”), though later there appeared also some new terms of odious content, e.g., *aghłāf*, *ajāmera*, etc. The oldest and the most widespread among such pejorative terms are ‘*ayyārun* / ‘*ayyārān* and *awādsh*.²⁷ The term *ronud* (Pers. pl. *rendān*) appeared first in the period of the Saljuq Turks, and then spread generally.

The terms ‘*ayyārun* (“tramps”), *awbāsh* and *rendān/ronud*, as a rule, were connected with the unrests and revolts of the city population and the sources usually did not spread them on the participants of peasants’ revolts.²⁸ Frequent use of the above terms in the 10th-13th-century written sources bears witness to the acuteness of class contradictions and the intensity of urban social movements. The ‘*ayyārs* (‘*ayyārun*) are seen already in the early 9th century among the defenders of Baghdad, when the Caliph al-Amin (809-813) was besieged by the commander of his rival brother, al-Ma’mun (813-833).²⁹ The barefoot, those freed from prisons, market people, street venders, the *awbāsh* and *shottār* from the small outskirts of Baghdad were fighting along with ‘*ayyārs*. As Claude Cahen remarks in this connection, all these odious terms and expressions belonged to aristocratic writers who, in that way, expressed their class attitude toward the socially active, low-ranking people of the city.

The ‘*ayyārs* remained active in the same Baghdad half a century later under al-Mosta’in (862-866) and al-Mo’tazz (866-869). They were especially active and their actions were very frequent in the beginning of the 10th century, and continued until the Buyids occupied Baghdad. The serious unrest and revolts of ‘*ayyārs* took place in 919, 920, 930, 937 and 946.³⁰ The occupation of Baghdad by the Buyids (945) and strengthening of their power suppressed ‘*ayyārs*, though temporarily. The latter resumed their revolts in 972, 992 and 1002. One such revolt in the 970s was headed by a certain Aswad al-Zabd, whose name was derived from the bridge al-Zabd located in the Karkh quarter.³¹ It seems clear from this fact that the above leader of ‘*ayyārs* headed the fight of the Karkh petty traders and artisans.

The ‘*ayyārs* of Baghdad were active with special intensity in the period of the Buyids’ weakening. From 1025 till 1036 Baghdad was enwrapped in fiery revolts. The punitive army tried in vain to suppress the unrest, either through peace negotiations or with arms in hand. In 1027, armed clashes took place in the markets of copperware and fish dealers, where the head (*ra’is*) of the ‘*ayyārs*, Abu Ya’la al-Mawseli had fortified himself. The field of ‘*ayyārs* activities was in the districts, quarters and suburbs of Baghdad settled by the common people. Only in 1029, the strengthened punitive army succeeded in seizing Abu Ya’la, and this leader of the ‘*ayyārs* was crucified.³² But very soon, in the early 1030s, another leader of ‘*ayyārs*, Abu ‘Ali al-Borjami, appeared on the scene. At first al-Borjami was active in the eastern part of Baghdad, where he was hiding in caves together with his supporters. Then his influence extended to almost the entire city. Within five years this person terrified the feudals and big merchants in Baghdad, raided and robbed their caravanserais, markets and shops. The population of poor districts called him *qā’ed* Abu ‘Ali; *khotba* was proclaimed in his name at the Rusāfa mosque; big merchants gave him ransoms for life and property; one high-ranking Turk official was forced to send him expensive gifts to celebrate the circumcision of his son. In 1034, al-Borjami was betrayed and caught by the Buyids, and was drowned in Tigris. His fate was shared by one of his brothers as well.³³ The captured ‘*ayyārs* were usually crucified (at the bridges, along roads and streets), but the most brutal and merciless punishment was to burn alive on the bonfire.

27 Cahen 1959, p. 36.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., pp. 37-38. The ‘*ayyārs* seemed to appear in Khorasan and Transoxiana earlier as well. Thus, Narshakhi (p. 67) mentions ‘*ayyārs* among the supporters of revolted al-Moqanna’; Yakubovsky 1948, p. 49. [See also A.M. Belenitsky, I.B. Bentovich, O.G. Bolshakov, *Srednevekovyj gorod Srednej Azii* (Medieval City of Central Asia), Leningrad, 1973, pp. 337, 341; J. Paul, *Herrschergemeinwesen, Vermittler: Ostiran und Transoxanien in vormongolischer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1996, p. 130, note 155].

30 Cahen 1959, pp. 38-39.

31 Ibid., p. 40.

32 Ibid., p. 41.

33 Ibid., pp. 40-42; Duri, p. 900. [On the social movements in Baghdad in the 9th-early 13th cent., see also M.B. Mikhailova, *Srednevekovyj Bagdad. Nekotorye aspekty sotsial’noj i politicheskoy istorii goroda v serедине X-serедине XIII v.* (Medieval Baghdad: Some Aspects of the Social and Political History of City in the mid – 10th-mid-13th Cent.), Moscow, 1990, pp. 46-49; S. Sabari, *Mouvements populaires à Bagdad à l’époque ‘abbaside, IXe-Xe siècles*, Paris, 1981].

The dominion of Saljuq Turks brought temporary “order and peace” in the cities. However, after the death of Sultan Malek-Shāh in 1092, the revolts and uprisings renewed again. The 12th-century author Ebn al-Jawzi refers to the ‘ayyārs’ actions in 1097, 1100, 1104, 1119, 1121, 1122, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1158, 1162, and 1170.³⁴ Rich ground for these actions and revolts was formed by prolonged intra-and inter-feudal wars, as well as by the weakening of the state of “Great Saljuqs”, which by the 1160s ended in self-destruction and annihilation. Usually, the unrest and revolts of ‘ayyārs became intensive in the period of political crisis (weakening of the Buyids and the Saljuq Turks and internal feudal wars). Under a strong central power, however, the unrest ceased and ‘ayyārs quickly scattered and dispersed.

The ‘ayyārs were especially active in Iran and were most characteristic for the Iranian cities, where their revolts were witnessed starting from the mid-9th century. In 849/50, the revolts at the Lake Urmiya and in Marand were headed by Mohammad Ebn al-Ba’eth; in 850/51 in Fars the revolt was headed by Ebn al-Ba’eth’s relative: in 867 the revolt of the “common people and tramps (‘ayyārs)” embraced Jibal and Mazandaran.³⁵ Iranian ‘ayyārs remained intensively active in the 10th and 11th centuries as well. Thus, in 929 ‘ayyārs participated in the revolt in Herat, which was defeated only in 932; in the 1030s – 1040s, the ‘ayyārs set in motion revolts in the city of Nishapur, in Guzganan, Amul, Sari, Astarabad, Sabzavar and Sistan.³⁶

The revolts of ‘ayyārs from the 9th to the 11th century were ongoing in the cities of the south-western and north-eastern parts of Iran, involving the main Iranian cities in which shelter was also found for the fugitive ‘ayyārs who had been defeated in Central Asian cities. The ‘ayyār unrests in Iran, as well, as in Baghdad, were suppressed with the rule of the Saljuq Turks and the formation of the state of the so-called “Great Saljuqs”. But with the weakening of the Great Saljuqs and starting of feudal inner wars after the end of the 11th century, popular movements were revived in the Iranian cities. This was attested by the appearance of term *ronud* (sing. *rend*), as already noted, in the era of the Saljuq Turks. At the same time, at the turn of the 11th – 12th centuries, the Esmā’ili movement, which had been weakened by the repressions of Mahmud of Ghazna and the rule of the Great Saljuqs, became stronger. This revival began in the cities of northern Iran, and was then transferred into the cities of Syria.

The renewal of social movements was connected with the intensification of feudal exploitation, on the one hand, and with the struggle against the rule of the Saljuq Turks, on the other. The ‘ayyārs, the *awbāsh*, the *ronud*, and the Esmā’ili thus became conspicuous at the end of the 11th century. The ‘ayyārs often took arms and organized revolts in the cities, but they had neither an established program nor a definite goal.³⁷ Their activities, as Claude Cahen correctly remarked, were the activities of a definite class, albeit as simple and vague as all other revolts of the Middle Ages.³⁸ Their final goal was to raid the rich or to get ransom from them, but also to find a legal status in the city that is, they wanted to find a place in the society which fully ignored them. Just on these grounds, the ‘ayyārs sharply opposed the feudals and the big merchants.

The contemporary written sources show that ‘ayyārs usually lived in the suburbs and outskirts of cities, belonged to low social strata, and never robbed either the weak or poor. Those named by the sources as “tramps”,³⁹ raided the districts of the rich people, their caravanserais, shops, put their markets to fire, forced the big merchants to give ransoms, and used violence only against the rich.⁴⁰ All this explains why the ‘ayyārs (as well as *ronud* and *awādsh*) were called by the sources as only “market people”, “street traders”, vendors and

³⁴ Cahen 1959, pp. 44-45.

³⁵ Spuler, p. 67.

³⁶ On this, see Gardizi, pp. 64, 73, 105-106; Bayhaqi, pp. 560, 562; *Tārikh-e Sistān*, pp. 132, 133, 182, 191 – 192, 322-323, 349, 354, 364, 413; *Tārikh-e Bayhaq*, pp. 8, 274; Ebn Esfandiyyār, p. 94; Spuler, pp. 90, 121; Bosworth, pp. 170, 261. [See also A.M. Belenitsky, I.B. Bentovich, O.G. Bolshakov, *Srednevekovyj gorod* ..., 1973, pp. 340-348].

³⁷ Cahen 1959, p. 50. Furthermore, the ‘ayyārs had no official status (like Syrian *ahdāth*), but despite this, their activity arose under conditions when “class stands against class” (*ibid.*, p. 57).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁹ Spuler (p. 437. n. 4) considers possible to connect ‘ayyārs with the well-known “Banū Sāsān” (travelling jesters, jokers). Cahen (1959, p. 64) explains “Banū Sāsān” independently of ‘ayyārs as “histrions”. [On “Banū Sāsān”, see C.E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1976].

⁴⁰ Cahen 1959, pp. 38, 40, 50.

petty artisans, those mischievous elements which, unlike the merchants and well-to-do artisans, protected themselves from the oppressors (i.e., the feudal and big merchants) by means of revolts.

Though the participants of the social movements and revolts belonged to different religious-confessional groupings, from the social viewpoint they belonged to definite layers of the city population. And, as a rule, it was of no importance who was a Muslim, who a Christian and who a Jew among them. It is well known from the history of the Near Eastern cities that there existed concrete facts of unification of Muslim and Christian artisans into one craft guild organization (*senf*, pl. *asnāf*).⁴¹ There were also instances of joint participation of Muslims, Christians and Jews in the social movements. Thus, for example, Yahyā of Antioch reports about one person who, in the beginning of the 11th century, instigated “the market people, the *awbāsh*, the Christians and Jews” in Aleppo.⁴² This is also evidenced by the proper names of heads of Baghdad ‘ayyārs in the 870s: Dunal, Damhal, Abu Nimla, Aba Asara, Daykuvayh (Halavayh?), Yantavayh (Ninavayh?). Cahen remarks that such names indicate mixed ethnic and religious origin and affiliation of the participants of the urban social movements.⁴³

However, such circumstances did not at all mean that unanimity existed among ‘ayyārs, even within one and the same city. There were both Sunni and Shi‘i ‘ayyārs and each of them had their own leader (*ra’is*); they were tied to separate socio-religious groupings and mostly acted independently. The ‘ayyārs of different Sunni *mazhab*s were disunited as well. At the same time, there was no real Esmā‘ili influence in the circles of ‘ayyārs.⁴⁴ (The Esmā‘ilis, as it was noted above, were most active in the cities of northern Iran.) All this made the ‘ayyārs scatter, but at the same time violence of the feudals and big merchants stirred up the feeling of solidarity among them, giving them a common cause. Similarly, Muslims, Christians and Jews who were experiencing exploitation of the feudals, city officials and big merchants became united despite socioreligious differences. The religious differences certainly influenced the firmness of unity to a certain extent, prompting the ruling class authority to divide the participants of social movements and take advantage of religious contradictions. However, in the final analysis, a decisive role was still played by the general social condition of the city population.

Dissatisfaction of the petty traders and artisans, suffering under feudal exploitation, often ended in armed revolts of socially most active “city population”. But moderate elements in the cities were also active in urban social movements, unrests and revolts, along with such active elements as ‘ayyārs, *awbāsh* and *ronud*. To name such moderate elements the sources usually use the terms *ahdāth* and *fetyān*. The *ahdāth* (literally “young men”) were characteristic to the cities of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, while the *fetyān* – to the cities of Iran and Iraq. According to Cahen, “it may not be accidental that the boundary between cities with *fetyān* and those with *ahdāth* corresponds very closely to the ancient Byzantine-Sasanid frontier, a fact which suggests that the *ahdāth* may possibly be related to the ancient ‘factions’ of the Later Roman empire. The whole question can, however, only be investigated in the framework of the general social study of the Islamic cities, on which little work has yet been done.”⁴⁵

What was the social section of the city population that the *ahdāth* belonged to? Among the leaders of the *ahdāth* mentioned in the contemporary sources, we came across a butcher, a navvy, a plasterer, etc. Low social background of the *ahdāth* is witnessed also by proper names of some of them mentioned in the sources

41 Gabashvili 1957b, pp. 260-272. [For more details on the *asnāf*, see V. Gabashvili, “Akhloaghmosavluri asnapi (The Near Eastern *asnāf*)”, *Sakartvelos istoriis aghmosavluri masalebi* (Oriental Materials on the History of Georgia), ed. by Valerian Gabashvili, II, Tbilisi, 1979, pp. 3-35].

42 Cahen 1959, p. 15 n.5.

43 Ibid., p. 39.

44 Ibid., p. 50.

45 Cahen 1960, p. 256. See also Cahen 1955, pp. 273-288; 1958, pp. 59-76 (especially pp. 73-74). [On the origin and social evolution of the *ahdāth* and their political-military activities as an ‘urban militias’, see also A. Havemann, *Ri’āsa und qadā’ Institutionen als Ausdruck wechselnder Kraftverhältnisse in syrischen Städten von 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1975, pp. 120-128; G. Hoffmann, *Kommune oder Staatsbürokratie. Zur politischen Rolle der Bevölkerung syrischer Städte von 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 50 ff.; P. von Sievers, “Military, Merchants and Nomads: The Social Evolution of the Syrian Cities and Countryside During the Classical Period, 780-969/164-358”, *Der Islam*, LVI.2, Berlin, 1979, pp. 212-244; O.G. Bolshakov, *Srednevekovyj gorod Blizhnego Vostoka*, VII-seredina XIII v. (Medieval City of the Near East, 7th-mid-13th Cent.), Moscow, 1984, pp. 283-284).

in connection with the events that took place in the Syrian cities: Kendi, Sobh, Ebn al-Aqrasi, al-Shotayti, al-Labbād, Ibn al-Shākeri, Bahlul, 'Allāqa, etc.⁴⁶ They actively participated in unrests and revolts, that provoked the ruthless response of the authorities who persecuted, arrested, crucified and murdered them. At the end of the 10th century, the revolt in the city of Thyr was headed by 'Allāqa who relied upon the *ahdāth*, through the assistance of which he seized the power in the city. From 992 to 998 he ruled in the city and even minted the coins with the following characteristic inscription: "Amīr 'Allāqa, risen from poverty to power". The *ahdāth* revolt was ongoing in Damascus in the same period, but the revolts both in Damascus and Thyr eventually failed. According to the evidence of Yahya of Antioch, the defeated 'Allāqa was crucified together with his numerous fellow-champions.⁴⁷ The *ahdāth* and the city poor operated together in Aleppo between 1022 and 1031.

In 1031 their leader, Salem, was put to death.⁴⁸ The revolts of the *ahdāth* were a regular feature of the cities of Syria. Hundred years later, they recurred acted in Ba'albak and Ascalon.⁴⁹

There also existed another group of the *ahdāth* with more moderate aspirations and inclinations in the cities of Syria (Damascus, Aleppo, Thyr, Ascalon).⁵⁰ They differed from petty traders and artisans in their social and economic condition, and seemed to have close relations with the big merchants who behaved in a demagogic and democratic manner, following their private interests but at the same time expressed the opinions and aspirations of their own social circle.⁵¹ Ebn al-Qalānesi mentions the "common people" of the city of Ascalon separately, and separates them from people of other social strata: *shohud* (witnesses of the *qādi* courts), *tonnā'* (land-owners), merchants and *ahdāth*.⁵² We should think, therefore, that the term *ahdāth* was not used in one and the same meaning in all cases. The term *ahdāth* was used to name the young men, youths.⁵³ If *fetyān* (another term, meaning youths in Muslim sources) had a connotation of brave and chivalrous character, *ahdāth*, on the contrary, was used in the meaning of inferiority and humility.⁵⁴ The latter term should have acquired such a shade, because the *ahdāth* were considered to be mostly petty traders and artisans, i.e. representatives of the low-rank "common people". It should be also noted that, not infrequently, the term *hezb* (pl. *ahzāb*, "detachment"), *shorta* (pl. *shorāt*, "police official") , *ma'una* (pl. *ma'āwen*, "official protecting order") were used in the sources in connection with the *ahdāth*, in some cases synonymously.⁵⁵ In the Syrian cities *shortas* sometimes were elected among the *ahdāth*. Paramilitary detachments of unprofessionals were also formed by them to protect the city from the outside enemies. Just such *ahdāth* are mentioned in the sources under the terms *hezb* and *shorta*. The term *shottār*, however, was used to designate those of the *ahdāth* who with their activity (i.e. participation in unrests and revolts) resembled 'ayyārs of Iraq and Iran. Such interpretation was based on their being the most popular elements among the *ahdāth*.⁵⁶

Thus, there was an outward likeness between the *ahdāth* of the Syrian cities and the 'ayyārs and also of the *fetyān* of the Iranian cities. But there are also differences. The activity of the *ahdāth*, at least of some if not all of them, and their participation in the social movements seemed more intensive than that of the *fetyān*. As is known, *al-fatā* (the terms *fotovval fetyān* are originated from this) in Arabic means a youth, a lad, an adolescent (cf. Persian "javān", "javānmard").⁵⁷ This term was meant to designate those youths of the city, who were

46 Cahen 1959, pp. 16 (notes 6-7), 19.

47 Ibid., p. 19 ; Rosen, pp. 38-39.

48 Cahen 1959, p. 16.

49 Ibid., p. 19.

50 Social composition and social division of the *ahdāth* is considered a complicated issue by Cahen: "C'est une question délicate que de savoir clans quelle mesure les *ahdāth* représentent la population urbaine clans son ensemble ou bien seulement certains éléments dréssés contre d'autres" (ibid., p. 22).

51 The city nobles and big merchants joined the *ahdāth* in certain situations in order to prevent the latter's strengthening and participation in city governance. Tendencies toward city autonomy made the big merchants dependent on the city common people (ibid., p. 22).

52 Ibid., p. 22, note 2.

53 In the sources (even in the descriptions of the events of the period of the Prophet Mohammad himself) we came across such expression: "Youths and common people". (Ibid., p. 26 n. 1).

54 Rosen, pp. 38, 305.

55 Cahen 1959, pp. 24-25.

56 Ibid., p. 22.

57 Cahen (pp. 34.n.4, 46.n2, 48, 72) considers a possible link between the Persian *javānmard* and the Arabic *fetyān*, thereby sug-

engaged in sport games. In the city life they protected the oppressed people, while in case of outside enemies' attacks they intensively defended the city. That was why the *fetyān*'s role and importance greatly increased in the period of invasions and dominion of the Saljuq Turks. The institution of *fotovva – fetyān* was especially widespread in the period of the Caliph al-Nāser el-Din Allāh (1180-1225).⁵⁸ The *fetyān* defended freedom from oppressors and tyrants, they were characterized by honesty, hospitality, light-heartedness, brave behavior, observance of the word and promise; they assisted the poor people, took care of orphans and widows, without any self-interest took care of victims of persecution and oppression. They possessed internal organizational discipline and solidarity (the so-called '*asabiyya*'). Unlike the '*ayyārs*', the *fetyān* were in favour of passive forms of social struggle. The contemporary sources almost never used pejorative terms and expressions in regard to them. This was, surely, not by chance.

It was also not incidental that the Caliph al-Nāser's "reforms" relied upon the *fotovva – fetyān* institution, when he and his companions-in-arms set to connect the city organizations with the ruling class interests. It was in that period that the wearing of wide trousers, characteristic and of symbolic importance to the *fetyān*, were spread. The *fetyān* seemed to belong to that social section of the city, which mostly consisted of medium-level traders and artisans: later a member of the *fetyān* groupings could have been both feudal and a trader-artisan. Apparently the *fetyān*, or sections of them, were close to the ruling class representatives. Thus, for example, when in 1219 the Saljuq sultan of Rum, 'Alā al-Din Kayqobād I (1219-1236), crossed the border of Konia and entered Obruk, he was welcomed by the *fetyān* and their head (*ra'is al-fetyān*).⁵⁹ According to the evidence of Ebn Bibī (beginning of the 13th century), one of the *atabegs* of Azerbaijan belonged to the *fetyān*.⁶⁰ Such facts were not unexpected in the period of Caliph al-Nāser's "reforms."

The aim of Caliph al – Nāser, in general, was consolidation of Muslim world, restoration of the former power of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, weakening of secular rulers' influence and suspension, and liquidation of feudal inner wars. While implementing these reforms, one of the major efforts was dedicated to the formation of the "class harmony" on the basis of unification of the *fatovva* institution.⁶¹ As a result of this both feudals and big merchants should become members of the *fetyān*'s associations and brotherhoods.

But initially, the *fetyān* came from only trader-artisans circles. This is evident from some influence of the *fetyān* exercised on formation and further development of craft guilds. Already in the 12th century, the *fetyān*'s influence on the Arabic guild organization was very strong.⁶² Their influence was also evident upon the *akhis* of Asia Minor. The *akhi* of Asia Minor would quite naturally have reminded the 14th-century Arab traveler Ebn Battuta of the *fetyān* community, which flourished under the Caliph al-Nāser.⁶³

Since the beginning of the 13th century, the *akhi* (pl. Pers. *akhīyān*, Turk. *akhilar*) had started existence in the Iranian-Turkish world. The group emerged on the grounds of class antagonism, but later (in the Ottoman Empire) it gradually degenerated and was easily connected with the ruling class interests. (In the opinion of some scholars, the *akhi*'s organizational structure became a model for the organizational structure of Janissaries). The *akhi* brotherhoods were associations of artisans. Shi'i inclinations of its members gave Gordlevsky the basis to conclude that in the formation of the *akhi* of Asia Minor, there should be seen the influence of Iranian cultural elements.⁶⁴ Namely, he took into consideration the influence that the Iranian *fetyān* could have had on the social purposes and organizational structure of the *akhi*.⁶⁵ Both groups considered their mission to be protection from oppressors and suppressors of freedom, but their struggle took the form of chivalrous selflessness and mutual unselfish assistance.

gesting a possible origin for the urban social movements under consideration in the Iranian cities of the Sasanid period.

58 Thorning, p. 205 ff.; cf. Cahen 1953; Cahen and Taeschner, p. 964. [See also O.G. Bolshakov, *Srednevekovyj gorod...*, 1984, pp. 284-286].

59 Ebn Bibi, p. 107; Gordlevsky, I, p. 135.

60 Ebn Bibi, p. 1 54. Cahen (1959, p. 49. n. 1) remarks the meaning of the expression "*awbāsh-e fetyān*" in Ebn Bibi in connection with on *atabeg* of Azerbaijan is not clear.

61 Cahen 1959, pp. 45, 53, 58, 61.

62 Thorning, p. 211 .

63 Ibid., p. 205; Gordlevsky, I, p. 285.

64 Ibid.

65 For a general information about *akhi*, see Taeschner, pp. 321-323.

The activity of “moderate elements” in the Near and Middle Eastern cities was in itself the result of class struggle, but compromising forms of the relation with the upper layer of the society was used in this class struggle. This could be explained only by social and economic condition of the *fetyān*. The claws of “oppressors and suppressors” touched the medium-level and well-to-do traders and artisans as well, but their condition was not as bad as that of petty traders and artisans. The latter often had no shops and workshops of their own, neither the necessary instruments of production; they leased all these from the feudals and big merchants, promoting feudal exploitation in the fields of trade and handicraft industry. In a word, petty traders and artisans were approximately in the same condition as the leaseholder peasants in rural regions.

The formula of feudal exploitation concerning the peasant is better-known: while distributing the harvest, one part was given to a leaseholder peasant for the work he had done, and the remaining four parts to the landowner for use of his land plot, working animals, instruments and seeds. There was another similarity between petty traders and artisans and leaseholder peasants. The former often stood separately from the craft guilds, the latter (leaseholder peasants) stood separately from peasant community. The condition of the more or less solvent peasants connected with land and united into peasant communities in the villages, and condition of artisans united into the guilds in the cities, was very hard, but the most difficult condition was that of the leaseholder peasants and petty artisans. That was why leaseholder peasants were most active in the revolts that took place in the villages, while in the cities it was the petty traders and petty artisans. At the same time it was characteristic that the city artisans often joined the peasants’ revolts, and vice versa – peasants took part in the revolts of city population. This phenomenon, too, was directly and organically connected with most tense class struggle in the urban and rural regions of the Near and Middle East.

Thus, we may conclude that only ‘ayyārs and Esmā‘ilis participated in the armed revolts in the cities of Iran in the 11th and 12th centuries. The city “moderate elements”, the *fetyān*, though connected with social movements, maintained their distance and applied ideological and organizational means to protect their rights instead of engaging in an active form of class struggle. The Esmā‘ilis struggle for power fundamentally differed from the movement of ‘ayyārs and the *fetyān*.

At the end of the 1020s serious unrests with the participation of Esmā‘ilis took place in the city of Ray, which was a main centers of the movement. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna conquered Ray in 1 029, killed all the “heretics” and burnt their books.⁶⁶ After the annihilation of Esmā‘ilis of Ray and of some other Iranian cities, their activities ceased temporarily. As already mentioned, the invasion of the Saljuq Turks and their rule, strengthening of feudal exploitation and the raids of the Turks considerably intensified class antagonism and united different sections of society against the “Turks” and their rule. All this was fertile ground for revival and further expansion of the Esmā‘ilis movement. The Esmā‘ilis doctrine and the preaching of the *dā‘is* (propagandists) were echoed in the circle of city petty traders, artisans and the city poor. Hatred and disgust against the “Turks” and local (Iranian) feudals kept becoming far stronger among the broad masses. The “Anti-Turkish” attitude, fostered by the spreading of a hostile nomadic economy, attached a national shade to the social movements in the Iranian cities, and the social motives of the movements organically merged with national motives. The “Turks” were sharply opposed by both ‘ayyārs and the *fetyān*, but they were even more opposed by Esmā‘ilis. This is understandable because the upper stratum of Esmā‘ili movement protected the interests of those Iranian feudals (descendents of former *dehqāns*), whose lands were seized and appropriated by the representatives of the Saljuq Turks’ military-nomadic aristocracy. Their weapon was directed against both “Turks” and the Iranian civil bureaucracy that rose and gained strength during the Saljuq rule. We could not share the view that the Esmā‘ili movement was completely anti-feudal and aimed at destruction and liquidation of the existing feudal system.⁶⁷ Such tendencies were characteristic of the so-called “popular Esmā‘ilism”⁶⁸ and not of the entire movement. The upper stratum of this movement masterfully exploited class contradictions in the cities, and used the petty artisans and the city poor as their allies. The Esmā‘ili leaders refused “democratic views” after the death of Hasan Sabbāh (they again returned to such views before the Mongols’ invasion, but in this case, too, with definite socio-political objectives). The organizational structure

⁶⁶ Bertels, pp. 110-113; Bosworth, p. 200; Stroeva, 1964, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Stroeva 1963, pp. 45-51.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 49-50; c f. Hodgson, p. 14.

of Esmā'īlis and their strict hierarchy, with ordinary Esmā'īlis standing at the lower stage of hierarchy, had often no real idea of the personality and activity of their leaders, contradicts the view that a main political goal of Esmā'īlis was the replacement of existing feudal system by a society based on the “social and property equality”.⁶⁹

True, such views were ascribed to the period of Hasan Sabbāh and the representatives of “popular” and “democratic” group of Esmā'īlis, but the supreme political goal and aspiration of Hasan Sabbāh, the overthrow of the rule and state of the Saljuq Turks, should not be identified with the wish to overthrow the feudal system. In the conditions of extremely intensified class struggle, the representatives of Esmā'īli elite applied demagogic to unite around them petty traders and artisans. This was distinctly and vividly proved by development of events in the Esmā'īli state, established at the end of the 11th century.

If the social basis of the Esmā'īli movement consisted mainly of artisans, and partially of the peasants, at the turn of the 11th – 12th centuries, the situation changed sharply at the end of the first quarter of the 12th century. In the Esmā'īli state, power was seized by the “feudal group”. Kiā Bozorg-Omid (1124 – 1138), the first heir and successor of Hasan Sabbāh, appeared to be the very picture of a feudal lord and protector of the interests of “feudal group” of Esmā'īlis. Nor was the privileged condition of the feudals shattered in the 1160s, when the fight between “feudal” and “democratic” trends became especially intensive. Hasan b. Mohammad b. Kiā Bozorg-Omid (1162-1166), who tried to protect the interests of Esmā'īlis of democratic orientation, was murdered in 1166.⁷⁰

Such class contradictions were comparatively less expressed in the period of Hasan Sabbāh. However, it is also known that it was Hasan Sabbāh who laid the foundations for the strict hierarchical organization of Esmā'īlism,⁷¹ and just at the close of the 11th century the “feudal group” was already strongly represented in the Esmā'īli movement. The contemporary Persian sources contain information about the participation of some representatives of the feudal aristocracy in the revolts of Esmā'īlis. As already noted, a major force in the Esmā'īli movement at the time of Hasan Sabbāh was represented by the artisans. Hasan Sabbāh seemed to need the relations with the artisans of the Iranian cities for quite definite purposes. The situation by the end of the 11th century demanded this: the *dehqāns* were greatly weakened and the representatives of civil bureaucracy – being allies of the Saljuq Turks – were in even a higher social position than in the period of Ghaznavids. So, Hasan Sabbāh should have relied on the most active elements of the city-artisans, because Esmā'īlism (and extremist Shi'i trends in general) used to find an initial echo in the artisans' circles. This, along with other well-known concrete facts, is attested by the long period of activism of 'Abd al-Malek b. Attāsh in the city of Isfahan, where he had close relations with the artisans.⁷²

It is not our aim to clear up the social nature of Esmā'īlism generally, but to highlight the fact that the city petty traders, artisans and peasants were connected with Esmā'īlism and made it a most vigorous social movement in medieval Iranian cities. By the end of the 11th century Esmā'īlism had spread not only in Ray and Isfahan, but in many other Iranian cities and towns such as Kerman, Yazd, Damghan, Sary, Ferrim and Qazvin. Stroeva shows that in these cities the Esmā'īlis were successful not among feudal aristocracy and big merchants, but mainly among artisans and the city poor.⁷³ (In my view, however, the social ideals of the

69 See Stroeva 1960, p. 25.

70 Stroeva 1963, p. 50.

71 The social background of Hasan Sabbāh himself is not clear. However, one thing is known: in the end of the 11th century renowned Esmā'īli leaders and their supporters (Hasan Sabbāh, 'Abd al-Malek b. Attāsh, *ra'is* Mozaffar, etc.) belonged to the circle of intellectuals and strongly differed from ordinary artisans and ‘city people’. [Among other studies, Gabashvili mentions M.G.S. Hodgson, “The Esmā'īli State”, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, ed. by J.A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 422-482; idem, “Hasan-i Sabbāh”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, vol. III, Leiden & London, 1971, pp. 253-254; B. Lewis, “The Isma'ilites and the Assassins”, *A History of Crusades*, vol. I, ed. by K.M. Setton and M.W. Baldwin, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 99-132; idem, *The Assassins*, London, 1967; E. Franzius, *History of the Order of Assassins*, New York, 1969. See also P. Filippini-Ronconi, *Ismaeliti ed “Assassini”*, Milan, 1973; L.V. Stroeva, *Gosudarstvo ismailitov v Irane XI-XIII vv.* (The State of Isma'ilites in Iran in the 11th-13th Centuries), Moscow, 1978; F. Daftari, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge, 1990; idem, *A Short History of the Ismailis; Traditions of a Muslim Community*, Edinburgh, 1998].

72 Rāwandi, pp. 1 56-157, 161; Jowayni, III, pp. 1 88-189, 381; Rashid al-Din, pp. 121 – 122.

73 Stroeva 1964, pp. 49-50.

artisans and the city poor did not coincide with the social ideas and ideals of Hasan Sabbāh).⁷⁴ A popular tendency is a definite part of the Esmā‘ili movement, and its representatives were closely connected with the class struggle ongoing in the cities. It is noteworthy that Esmā‘ilism quickly spread in the regions and cities of Iran, which were main centers of popular movements. The Esmā‘ilis gained this success through the assistance and support of the city artisans.

In 1090 Esmā‘ilites conquered Alamut fortress in north-east of Qazvin and laid the basis for the Esmā‘ilis state (1090 – 1266). The artisans and peasants were most active in this struggle. When the army of Arslan-Tash laid siege to Alamut in 1092, the artisans and people of Qazvin, Ray, Taleqan, Kuh-e Barra, and Rudbar peasants took part in the struggle on the Esmā‘ilis’ side, along with the people of Alamut itself.⁷⁵ The Esmā‘ilis soon got hold of several important fortresses, almost in all the regions of Iran. After that, they turned their attention to the cities of Syria. The Iranian Esmā‘ilis were welcomed and supported in Aleppo, Apamea, Shayzar, Sermin, Ma‘arrat al-No‘mān, and elsewhere, their basis of support being local artisans, the city poor and the peasants. The local authorities ruthlessly suppressed their armed revolts in the Syrian cities, and put many of them to death. But in the 1140s, the Esma‘ilis achieved their goal and captured local fortresses. An important territory was then subject to their power, and they became fully independent from both the Muslim and the Christian (Crusader) rulers.⁷⁶

As mentioned earlier, the main political goal and aspiration of the Esmā‘ilis was to overthrow the rule and state of the Saljuq Turks. A vivid example and illustration of this was Esmā‘ilis’ revolt in Isfahan in 1100 – 1107. It was headed by ‘Abd al-Malek b. Attāsh’s son, Ahmad Attāsh. Ahmad Attash and his fellow-champions were supported by artisans and poor people of Isfahan. The Esmā‘ilis conquered Dezh Kūh (Shāhdiz), a very important fortress at Isfahan, and held it for seven years. The course of events connected with the Esmā‘ili revolt in Isfahan is described in detail by Rāwandi, who gives us interesting information regarding continuous unrest and clashes in that city. It became possible to suppress this revolt and punish Ahmad Attāsh only in 1107. According to some sources, he was captured, paraded ignominiously through the streets of Isfahan, and then skinned alive. According to the other evidences, he was crucified, and hung on the cross for seven days, after which his body was burned to ashes.⁷⁷

The 1100-1107 revolt in Isfahan was one of the most important pages in the history of social movements in the 11th-12th-century Iranian cities. Special attention should be paid to the mass character of this revolt, which could be explained by active participation of petty traders and artisans, i.e. the representatives of most radical, “popular” and “democratic” elements of the Esmā‘ili movement. Ordinary Esma‘ilis, like the ‘ayyārs, often applied the most efficient means of class struggle—an armed revolt. But the results of their revolts were well used only by the representatives of the “feudal group”. This is vividly shown by the evolution of the Esmā‘ili movement, its ideology and social character in the 11th and 12th centuries.

As we have seen, the social movements and revolts were very typical phenomena in the social history of the 11th-12th-century Near and Middle Eastern cities. The historical materials and facts related to these important movements have been scrupulously collected by Western scholars but, unfortunately, discussed by them without “feudal context”.⁷⁸ The present paper is an attempt to rectify this neglect.

In the first half of the 13th century the social movements renewed in the Near Eastern cities, and the class contradictions and antagonism became stronger, which was a vivid proof of failure of Caliph al-Nāser’s “reforms”. Contemporary authors attest that the success of Mongols was largely caused by the ongoing struggle in the Near and Middle Eastern cities. In 1246, the ‘ayyārs again appeared on the arena of the social struggle in Baghdad. They were intensely active in the same Baghdad during the period of Ilkhans as well. The dominion of Mongol conquerors and the revolts against their rule formed a rich ground for the growth of social movements and revolts of artisans and peasants. In these new historical conditions, the ‘ayyārs intensified

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 45.

⁷⁵ Jowayni, III, pp. 201-202; Rashid al-Din, p. 109; Stroeva 1964, p. 53.

⁷⁶ Stroeva 1964, p. 58.

⁷⁷ Rāwandi, pp. 156-157, 161; Jowayni, III, pp. 188-189; Rashid al-Din, pp. 121-122; Browne, II, pp. 313-316; Hodgson, pp. 85-87, 96; Stroeva 1962, p. 73.

⁷⁸ See, Cahen 1959, pp. 24, 85; cf. Gabashili 1963, pp. 247-248.

their activities once more, but the term ‘*ayyārs*’ (*‘ayyarun*, *‘ayyārān*) itself was no longer mentioned in the sources. Instead, the terms *shottar* and *jemr* (pl. *ajāmera*) were used more frequently. The latter terms were used, for example, in regard to participants in the Sarbadar movement in Khorasan in the 14th century, and in the Tabriz revolt of artisans in 1571–1573.⁷⁹

The representatives of official historiography of the later period expressed their class attitude to the city revolts and their biased evaluation of the participants of such revolts through naming them *awbāsh* and *ronud* with hatred and disgust, and these pejorative terms were preserved in the sources. There can be little doubt that the participants of the Sarbadar movement and the Tabriz revolt, mentioned above, were historical descendants of previous ‘*ayyārs*.⁸⁰ So, petty traders, artisans and the city poor took an active part in the social movements in the Near and Middle Eastern cities during the later period as well. In that period, too, as in the earlier centuries, the revolts of the “city population” and “city people”, were directed against violence and feudal exploitation, against the feudal aristocracy and big merchants. This common feature of the early and late periods is attributable to the fact that the socio-economic relations and class disposition remained unchanged.

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GEORGIA v. LINGUISTIC CONTACTS WITH IRANIAN LANGUAGES*

Due to many centuries of close contacts between Georgia and Persia, a large number of Iranian loanwords came into the Georgian language. These belonged to various spheres of vocabulary and were borrowed at different periods and from different dialects: from Eastern Iranian Scytho-Alan-Ossetic, and from Western Iranian Median, Parthian and, to an even greater extent, from the Middle Persian of the Sasanian period (3rd-7th cent.) and New Persian. Only a brief survey of these loanwords can be given here, but analysis of the borrowed vocabulary reveals its versatile semantic character: technical terms, basic vocabulary pertaining to all aspects of everyday life, and expressive vocabulary.

Among the loanwords, nouns are most common: e.g., *aug-i* “shame” (from Mid. Pers. *āhōg* “blemish”); *guman-i* “thought, opinion, suspicion, suggestion” (< NPers. *gomān*); *mizd-i* “price, payment, rent” (from Mid. Pers. *mizd* < Av. *mižda-*; NPers. *mozd*). However, there are also adjectives – *susṭ-i* “weak” (NPers. *sost*); *m-subuk-i* “light” (NPers. *sabok*) – as well as verbal stems: *šen-* “build” (from Mid. Pers. **šēn*, cf. Av. *šayana-* “home”; *šen* in Georgian is present like a component in toponyms such as *Axalšen-i*, lit. “New city”); **tr-*, *treva* “pull, drag” was introduced from Scythian as early as the Kartvelian period. Most of the loanwords came directly from the original language, but some were transmitted through other languages: thus, via Armenian, the proper name *Bagrat* (proper name, Old Pers. *Bagadātā-*); *č'ešmarič-i* “true, real” (Mid. Pers. *čašmīdīd*), etc.

Many loanwords became organic parts of the Georgian language and subject to its grammatical rules. Often a compound word is treated as a single stem: *šara* “avenue” (from NPers. *šāh-rāh* “straight and wide road,” lit. “royal road”). As can be expected, loanwords are not subject to the phonetic changes taking place in the original language. For example, Georgian *speṭak-i* (from Mid. Pers. *spēdag* “white, clean”) differs from NPers. *sapīd, safid*.

The following are significant categories of Georgian vocabulary affected by Iranian languages.

Proper names. Borrowed proper names often had a military or heroic connotation: *Arsoč/Arsuká* (from OP/Av. *aršan-* “man, male, hero,” is equivalent to the OP/Av. proper name *Aršak*, where *-ok/-uk* is a polysemantic suffix); *Varaš* (from *Walaš*, late form of the Parth. *Walagaš*, cf. Arm. *Wałarš* < *wal-* “strength, might”); *Vardan* (from Mid. Pers. *Wardā*; apparently, this name, so popular in the Middle Persian period, is not attested in New Persian); *P'erozh/P'eroz* was introduced into Georgian twice, in its Middle Iranian form (Parth. *Pērōž*, Mid. Pers. *Pērōz*) and in the New Persian form (*Pīrūz*, Arabicized form *Fīrūz*); *Palavand* and the family-name *Palavandišvil-i* (< NPers. *pahlavān*; the introduction of *-d* after *-n-* is characteristic of Georgian, cf. Georgian *durbind-i dūrbīn*, “telescope”).

Of Iranian theophoric anthroponyms, the following are represented in Georgian: *Bagrat* (*Old Pers. *Bagadātā-* “created by god, god's gift,” Mid. Pers. *Bay/gdād*, Av. *Bayō.dāta-*, Parth. *Baydāt*; the Arm. form *Bagrat* and the change *d* > *δ* > *r* testifies that this name came to Georgian via Armenian); *Baaman* (Av. *Vohu Manah*, Parth. *Vahmanak*, Mid. Pers. *Wahman*, NPers. *Bahman*, q.v.; in intervocal position *h* is reduced, cf. Georgian *Mirian*); *Vaxušt-i* (< OIr. *vahišta-* [“paradise,” superlative of *veh* “good,” i.e., “superb, excellent”], Mid. Pers. *wahišt*, NPers. *behešt*); *Trdat* is derived from *Tīr*, the name of an Iranian deity (Parth. *tyrydyt*, Mid. Pers. *Tīrdād* “created by the god *Tīr*”); *Khudada* (< NPers. *kodādād*, “given by God”). The Georgian name *Ražden* may be a composite: its second component, *-dēn*, comes from Mid. Pers. *dēn* “creed, religion,” while the first one is perhaps Ir. *rōž/rōz* “day, light, happiness,” i.e., **Rōždēn-* “happy religion.” The component *rōz* is also present in the Georgian family name *Berozashvili* (< NPers. *Behrūz* “happy, fortunate”). *Adarazan* or *Adrazan*, is also a compound, where the first element is the noun *ādar* “fire,” and the second is derived from the pres. stem of the NPers. verb *zadan* “beat, strike,” i.e., probably “striking fire.” *Adarnase* (< Mid. Pers.

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Ādurnarsēh; for the second component cf. Av. *nairyō.sanya-* and Mid. Pers. *Narseh*; the latter exists also in Georgian as the name *Nerse*). To this group also belongs the popular name *Xosro*, *Xuasro* (Av. *husravah-*, Mid. Pers. *Husraw*, Arm. *Xosrov*; a compound of *hu-* “good, kind” and *srvah-* “glory, fame”).

Many Iranian names incorporate the names of celestial bodies or words indicative of light, radiance, or good fortune. Some of these can also be found in Georgian: *Roshnia* (< *rōšn*, *rōšan*, cf. Scythian *Rōksanē*, Av. *rauxšna-* “light, glittering,” NPers. *Rowšanak*); *Bevroz* (the first component is derived from OIr. **baivar*, another derivative of which is *bēvar* “ten thousand”; cf. Av. *baēvar-*, Mid. Pers. *bēwar*, Sc. *Baiormaioś* [see Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 60]); *Navroz*, as in the family-name *Navrozashvili* (< NPers. *nowrūz*, “the first day of the new year” and the proper name *Nowrūz*).

Other personal names derive from stems which denote qualities or characteristics: *Arjevan* and the family name *Arjevanidze* (cf. Av. *arəjanhant-*, *arəjavan-* < Av. *arəjah-* “price, value, worth,” and the suffix -*vant-*; Mid. Pers. *arz*, *arzānīg* “worthy”); *Ramin* (Mid. Pers. *rāmēn* < OPers. *rām-*, Av. *rāman-* “peace, silence”); *Ramaṇan* (< Ir. **rāmapāvan-*, with the adjective -*pāvan* “protecting peace, tranquility”); *Dilardukhṭ* (the second component, Mid. Pers. *duxt*, NPers. *dokt* “daughter” is often present in women’s names; the first component is probably derived from NPers. *dilār* or *delārā* “adorning hearts.” The Georgian female name *Nazi* can be found in Iranian languages as a male name (Med. **Nazuka-*, Mid. Pers. *Nāzuk*).

Of Iranian anthroponyms indicating colors, those containing the word “black” are especially popular in Georgia. There are several forms: *Siaush*, *Shiosh*, *Shiaosh*, *Shiaoosh* (*s* > *sh* in Georgian). Similar names are known in Old-, Middle-, and New Iranian languages. Closest to the Iranian form is the Georgian *Siyaush* (< NPers. *Sīāvakš*; cf. also *Saurmag* (< Scythian *Sawarmag* “black-armed”)).

Zoonyms include: *Varaza*, *Varaz*, *Varaz-Baķur* (cf. Av. *varāza-*, Med. **Varāzaka-*, Scythian *Oyadzacos*, Oss. *Waraz*, Mid. Pers. *warāz-*, NPers. *gorāz* “wild boar”); *Gorg*, *Gorgaká*, *Gurgen*, *Gorgine* (cf. Old Pers. *vṛka-*, Mid. Pers. *Gurgēn* < OIr. *vṛkaina-*, NPers. *gorg* “wolf”). The term *asp* (horse) occurs in many compounds, but the family name *Aspanidze* is derived directly from the plural *aspān*. Georgian *Tamaz* derives from Av. *Tumāspa-*, patronymic *Tumāspāna-*, Mid. Pers. *Tuxmāspān*, *Pāzand Tahmāspā*, NPers. *Tahmāsb*, Arm. *Tahmaz*. Its first component is OPers. *taxma-* “brave.” It is noteworthy that *asp* > *az* does not usually occur in other Georgian names of this type, i.e., *Gorjasp*, *Jamasp*, etc. Obviously, the Georgian *Tamaz* and the Arm. *Tahmaz* derive from the same source. In the case of *Luarsab* (< NPers. *Lohrāsb*, Mid. Pers. *Luhrāsp*). Authors such as Eskandar Beg Monsi did not recognize the derivation of this name from the Persian *Lohrāsp* and transliterated it as *Lūāršāb* (e.g., pp. 206, 271, 818–19, 874–79, etc.) *Jamasp* (Av. *Jāmāspa-*, NPers. *Jāmāsb*; probably “branded horse”) occurs in the family name *Jamaspishvili*. Names containing the element *šer* “lion” include: *Shermazan*, family name *Shermazanashvili* (< NPers. *Šermazan* “lion-killer”); *Shergil*, Arm. *Šergir* “lion-catcher, brave” (< NPers. *šīrgir*, where the second component, *gīr-*, is the present stem of the verb *geref-tan* “to take, to capture”); *Shervazh*, (the second component, *vazh*, may be derived from the Ir. *vāč/vāž* “voice,” i.e. “having the voice of a lion”); and the family name *Shervashidze /Juansher* (< N.Pers. *Jovānæ^r*, where the first component is *jovān* “young”).

Some personal names contain the names of plants and flowers, most often the rose (NPers. *gol*): *Gulamshar*, *Gulashar*, and *Gushar* all derive from NPers. *Gol-šahr*, where the second component is *šahr* “city,” i.e., “the land of roses”; *Gulchora* (< NPers. *Gol-čehra*, where the second component is *čehra* “face,” i.e., “rose-faced”); *Gulbahar*, where the second component is *bahār* “spring.” (*Gol-bahār* “spring rose”).

Two somatic anthroponyms are *Sharukh* (NPers. *šāhrok* “having a royal face,” i.e. “majestic, beautiful”) and the family name *Varsidze* (from *vars*, Av. *varəsa-*, Mid. Pers. *wars* “hair”).

Ethnonyms as components of anthroponyms: *Eraj* (Mid. Pers. *ĒÚraj*, NPers. *Īraj*); *Erashahr* (< Mid. Pers. *Ērānšahr*, “land of the Aryans”; cf. Arm. *Eranšahik*); *Koiar* (from Mid. Pers. *kōhyār* < *kōfdār* “the lord of the mountain”).

A large number of Persian names came into Georgian from the versions of the *Šāh-nāma*: *Givi* (< *Gēv*); *Goderdz-i* (< *Gōdarz*); *Zurab-i* (< *Sohrāb*); *Ketevan* (< *Katāyūn*); *Zaal* (< *Zāl*; cf. the family name *Zaldastan-ishvili*), etc.

Iranian anthroponyms are represented in the epic *Vepkhistqaosani* (The knight in the panther skin) by Shota Rustaveli (12th/13th cent.): *Pridon* (Mid. Ir. *Frēdōn*, NPers. *Farīdūn/Fereydūn*, < Av. *raētaona-* < *tritā*: i.e., “of triple strength”); *Nestan-Darezhan* (NPers. *nīst andar jahān* “unlike any other in the world”), etc.

Religious terminology. Iranian religion has also had an impact on Georgian vocabulary. Borrowings include: *Artošan-i/Atrošan-i* “fire-temple” (< Mid. Pers. *Ādurānšāh*); *Aeshma, eshmač-i* “devil” (cf. Av. *aēšma-*; in Mid. Pers., with secondary aspiration, *xē/ěšm* “anger”); *dev-i* “evil spirit” (from Mid. Pers. *dēw*, Old Pers. *daiva-*, Av. *daēva-*); *niš* “miracle, sign” (from Mid. Pers. *nīš-* < **niyaš-* < *ni-aš-* “to look, to watch”; with suff. *ān*; NPers. *nešān* “sign,” Arm. loanword *nšan*; Georgian *nishan-i*); *ṭadzar-i, tazar-i* “temple” (from Old Pers. *tacara-*, NPers. *tajar, tazar* “winter pavilion”; cf. Georgian *ṭadzr-oba-* “feast, bread”); *wnas-i* “sin, misfortune, loss” (< Mid. Pers. *wināh* “sin,” OIr. **vināsa-*, NPers. *gonāh*); *zorva* “sacrificial victim, sacrifice” (from Mid. Pers. *zōhr* “libation, offering” < Av. *zaoθra-* “sacrificial victim, donation, holy water”; from the same stem, *zuarač-i* “animal to be sacrificed,” i.e. calf); *jojokhet-i* “hell” (< Mid. Pers. *dušox* < Av. *daozahvā-*; NPers. *dūzač*). *Cheshmarič-i* “true, right, reliable” and *cheshmarič-eba* “truth” derive from Mid. Pers. *čašm-dīd* “visible, obvious”; the change d > r proves that this word came to Georgian through Armenian. *Mogv-i*, Old Georgian *mogu* “magus, astrologer” can be traced to Mid. Pers. *mogu, mogu-mart* “priest” (< Old Pers. *magu-*; NPers. *moğ*; Arm. loanword *mog*). The related toponym *mogv-ta* (the suffix -ta indicates a general place and is used to form geographic names; i.e., “land inhabited by magi”) may be connected to the corporation, the community of magi (*magūstān*) founded by Kirdēr in conquered lands, among them Georgia/Iberia.

Administrative, social, and military vocabulary. Terms in this category include *aznaur-i* “free,” i. e., a member of a noble family (from Mid. Pers. *āznāvar*; corresponds semantically to Mid. Pers. *āzād*, Av. *āzāta-* “nobility”; *bazh-i* “tax, duty” (from Mid. Pers. *bāž*, Old Pers. *bāji-*, Av. *bāji-* “to give, present”; NPers. *bāj*); *daştak-i* “license, document” (from NPers. *dastak* “account-book”); *daştur-i* “trustworthy person, minister, true” in Old Georgian, “agreement, consent” in New Georgian (cf. NPers. *dastūr* “minister” < Mid. Pers. *dastwar* “religious adviser, judge, member of the Zoroastrian clergy,” cf. Georgian *dastur-xelosan-i* “official, clergyman”); *gumard-i* “viceroy” (from Mid. Pers. *gumārdag* “commissioner, governor,” cf. NPers. *gomārdan*, “to appoint, designate”); *gujar-i* “book, letter, document” (from Mid. Pers. *wizār* “explanation”); *kardag-i* “estate, allotment” (from Mid. Pers. *kardag* < *kart*, **kert-* “cut,” NPers. *kard, kart* “plot of land, estate”); *roarṭag-i, hrovarṭak-i, hroarṭak-i, hroardag-i, hroatak-i* “book, letter, royal statute-book” (from Mid. Pers. *fawardag* < *var-* “to turn round, roll, change,” i.e., “rolled up,” probably via Arm. *hrovarṭak* “letter, order, edict; document testifying ownership”); *šegird-i* “apprentice, pupil” (< NPers. *šāgerd*, Mid. Pers. *hašāgird* < OIr. **hašā.krta-*, Arm. *ašakert*, Mid. Pers. *hawišt* “pupil”); *vachar-i* “merchant, trader” (a loan through Arm. *vač’arakān* “merchant,” *vač’ar* “trade, market” < Mid. Pers. *wāzāragān*, “merchant,” *wāzār* “market”); *bazar-i* “market” (< NPers. *bāzār* “market”); *vakhsh-i* “money recovered with interest,” *me-vakhsh-e* “usurer, money-lender” (from Mid. Pers. *waxš* “interest on money, increase, sunrise, growing,” Av. *vaxšā-*, Arm. *vašx* “usurer”); *zenar-i* “oath, promise” (Mid. Pers. *zēnhār* “guarantee, protection, oath” < **zivan-har-* < **jīvana-hara-* “protecting life”; NPers. *zenhār*); *zeþur-i* “noble” (Mid. Pers. *wispuhr* < *visō.puθra-* “son of the family, of the clan; prince-royal,” cf. Georgian *sa-zeþur-o* “chosen”); *gund-i* “army, regiment, military unit” (from Mid. Pers. *gund* “army,” NPers. *gond*, Arab. *jond*, Mand. *gundā*, Syr. *guddā* < *gdd-*, Old Hebrew *g’dud* “band, detachment”); *razm-i* “military unit, detachment” (from New and Mid. Pers. *razm*, Av. *rasman-* < *raz-*); *sardal-i* “commander, general” (from NPers. *sardār*; *r* > *l* in Georgian); *spā* “army” (from Mid. Pers. *spāh*, OIr. *spāda-*, NPers. *sepāh*); *spasþet-i, spayþet-i* “commander, general” (from Mid. Pers. *sipāhbed*, NPers. *sephabid*); *marzpāan-i* “district governor” (< Mid. Pers. and NPers. *marzbān*); *oštāt-i* “master, expert” (Mid. Pers. *oštāt-mart*, NPers. *ostād*).

The term *pātiakhsh-i, pītiakhsh-i* “the second after the king,” the viceroy of the shah of Persia in Iberia (*byty’ḥš*) is witnessed in inscriptions of the 1st to 2nd centuries C. E. In the trilingual inscription of Šāpūr I, the bearer of this title is mentioned after the members of the royal family. The Paikuli inscription shows that towards the end of the 3rd century this office became less important and influential. Georgian sources testify that the bearer of this title held a very high office in the province. The most exact phonetic transmission of this title in Georgian, found in an inscription on a plate from Bori, is *btxš*, (*byty’áxš*, cf. Arm. *bdeašx*). In Georgian *b* > *p* due to assimilation with *tā*. Consequently, in anlaut *bi-* < *bitīya-* “the second,” Parth. *bitīya-* < Old Pers. *dvitīya-*, i.e. **bitīyaxša* can be traced to the Achaemenian *dvitīyaxšāya-*, Parth. *bidaxš*, where *dv* > *b*; see BIDAXŠ).

Arms and weapons: *dašna* “short straight dagger” (NPers. *dašna*); *gurz-i* “club, mace” (NPers. *gorz*); *kaman-i* “bow” (NPers. *kamān*); *kamandar-i* “archer” (NPers. *kamāndār*); *kamand-i* “lasso” (NPers. *kamand*);

xišt “bayonet” (NPers. *kešt* “spear, dart”); *lula* “gun-barrel” (NPers. *lūla* “tube”); *šimšer-i* “sharp blade” (Mid. Pers. *šamšēr*, NPers. *šamšir*).

Some Iranian loanwords present in Georgian as military terms are used in civilian life as well: *asparez-i* “arena, hippodrome, square, stadium,” in Old Georgian “distance equal to 195 steps” (from Mid. Pers. *asprēs* “hippodrome” < *asprās*, where the first component is *asp* “horse” and the second *rās* “road, way”); *droša* “banner, flag,” early form *drauž-i* (from Mid. Pers. *drafš*, NPers. *derafš*, Av. *drafša-*); *navard-i* “robbery, running,” Old Georgian “bird’s flight” (from NPers. *navard*, *nabard* “battle, combat,” Mid. Pers. *nibard* “battle, fighting, quarrel”).

Vocabulary of daily life. Many words borrowed from Iranian languages pertain to aspects of everyday life (work and occupations, household items, clothes, various tools, etc.): *ayvan-i* “balcony, porch” (NPers. *ayvān* “hall, portico, balcony, open gallery”); *akhor-i*, Old Georgian “cow-shed,” modern Georgian “stables” (NPers. *ākor*; Mid. Pers. *āxwarr* “stables”); *bag-i* “garden, orchard” (from NPers. *bāğ* “garden”; Pāzand *bag* “part, share,” Av. *bāga-* «God’s share,” cf. Georgian *baghcha* “small garden” < NPers. *bāğča*); *bosṭan-i*, Old Georgian “garden, orchard,” modern Georgian “kitchen garden” (from NPers. *būstān* “garden”); *cha* “well” (from Mid. Pers. and NPers. *čāh*, Av. *čāt-*); *chadrak-i* “chess” (from Mid. Pers. *čatrang*, Skt. *čatur.āṅga-*, NPers. *šatranj*); *charkh-i* “lathe, wheel” (from NPers. *čark* “circulation, circle, orbit, wheel” < Mid. Pers. *čaxr* < Av. *čaxra-*); *chashnik-i* “degustation, tasting,” Old Georgian *č’asnagir-i* “taster” (NPers. *čāšnī* “taste, tasting”); *čogan-i* “polo-club, racket; small spade” (from NPers. *čowgān* < Mid. Pers. *čōpēkān*, *čōβēgān* < *čob* “wood, stick”); *dasta* “a number of similar objects; bunch, pack, ensemble, team” (from NPers. *dasta* “group, team, bundle, bunch”); *dasṭakar-i* “surgeon” (< NPers. *dastkār* “dexterous, expert; a person who works with his hands”); *dazga* “bench, carpenter’s bench, machine” (from NPers. *dastgāh* “apparatus, installation”); *do* “whey” (Mid. Pers. *dō* “refreshing drink made from milk”); *dosṭakan-i* “large goblet, bowl” (< NPers. *dūst-kāmī* “toast, wine drunk to a friend’s health; large vessel for wine”); *dukard-i* “shears” (from NPers. *dokārd* “scissors, shears” < *do* “two,” and *kārd* “knife”; cf. Georgian *karda*); *durbind-i* “binoculars, field-glasses” (< NPers. *dūrbīn*); *kamar-i* “belt, waist” (from NPers. *kamar* < Mid. Pers. *kamar*, Av. *kamarā-*); *kap-i* “foam” (from NPers. *kaf*, Mid. Pers. *kaf*); *kapkir-i* “skimmer” (NPers. *kafgīr*); *karavan-i* “caravan” (from NPers. *kāravān* < Mid. Pers. *kārvān*); *karkhana* “factory” (NPers. *kār-kāna* “factory, workshop”); *karvasla* “station, trading center” (from NPers. *kāravān-sarā* “caravansaray”; the reduction of the vowel and *r* > *l* are characteristic of Georgian, cf. Georgian *sra* “palace”); *kucha* “street” (from NPers. *kūča* “street, road”); *khali*, *khalicha* “carpet” (NPers. *qālī*, *qālīča*); *kheivan-i* “path, walk” (NPers. *kīābān* “avenue, boulevard, walk”); *khorag-i* (colloquial) “food” (from NPers. *korāk*, Av. *x̥ar-*); *khurda* “small cash, change; rubble” (< *korda* “bits, fragments” < Mid. Pers. *xwurdag* “small”); *khvastag-i*, *khostag-i* “wealth, cattle” (from Mid. Pers. *x̥āstak* “wealth,” NPers. *k̥āsta*); *jam-i* “vessel, bowl” (< NPers. *jām* “cup, goblet, bowl,” < Mid. Pers. *jām*, Av. *yama-*); *marag-i* “quantity, stock” (from Mid. Pers. *marak* “number, quantity” < Av. *mar-* “measure”); *nav-i* “ship, boat” (cf. Old Pers. *nāviyā* “navy,” NPers. *nāv* “war-ship, boat”); *panjara* “window” (NPers. *panjara*); *polak-i* “button” (NPers. *pūlak* “scales, spangles, small coin”); *pul-i* “money” (NPers. *pūl*); *rochik-i* “food, ration” (from Mid. Pers. *rōzik* “daily ration” < *rōz* “day,” and suffix *-ik*); *sardap-i* “basement, cellar” (NPers. *sardāb*; final *b* > *p*); *shusha* “glass, flask” (NPers. *šīša* “glass, vessel, bottle, flask”); *ṭakht-i* “seat, throne, bed” (NPers. *tak̥t* “throne, sofa”); *ṭakhtrevan-i* (obsolete) “litter, palanquin” (NPers. *tak̥t[-e] ravān*); *ṭom-i* “tribe, family” (< Mid. Pers. *tōm* “seed, family, progeny” < Av. *taoxman-*, Old Pers. *taumā-*).

Names of plants and animals: *vard-i* “rose” (cf. Av. *varəða-*, Arm. *vard*, NPers. *vard* “red rose”); *mikhak-i* “carnation” (NPers. *mīkak*); *bamba* “cotton” (NPers. *panba*, *pamba*; initial *p* > *b*); *badrijan-i* “eggplant” (NPers. *bādenjān*); *gulab-i* “a kind of pear” (NPers. *golābī* “pear”); *ni-gozi-i* “nut-kernel” (from Mid. Pers. *gōz*, NPers. *gowz* “walnut”; cf. Georgian *gozinaq’-i* “nuts boiled in honey” < Mid. Pers. *gōzēnag*); *vešap-i* “whale; monster, dragon” (from Mid. Pers. *wišāp* < Av. *višāpa-* “dragon,” an epithet of Aži Dahāka, q.v.); *vigr* “leopard,” cf. Arm. *vagr* “tiger” (from Mid. Pers. *babr*); *siasamur-i* “sable,” lit. “black sable” (from NPers. *sīāh* and *samūr* < Parth. *simōr*, Mid. Pers. *samōr*); *spilo*, *pilo* “elephant” (from Mid. Pers. *pīl*; initial *s* before *p*, cf. *spars-i* “Persian”).

Weights and measures: *griv-i*, a dry measure equal to 22 ksests (Arm. *griv*, NPers. *jarīb*, a square measure); *ḳabich-i*, equal to three grivs (from Mid. Pers. *kabīz*, NPers. *kavīz*, *kavīz*, Arm. *kapič*); *charek-i*, a quarter of a measure of weight or capacity, a liquid capacity measure equal approximately to one liter (from NPers. *čārak* “quarter, measure of weight” < *čahār-yak*).

As might be expected, there are many formations in Georgian deriving from Iranian stems which are so well established that they are not regarded as an alien borrowing: i.e., *ga-biabru-eba* “humiliat,ed disgraced” (from NPers. *bī-ābrū* “disgraced, dishonored”); *gamo-komag-eba* “help, support” < *komag-i* “protector, patron” (NPers. *komak*).

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THE FATE OF GEORGIAN STUDENTS IN THE FIRST EGYPTIAN STUDENT MISSION SENT TO FRANCE BY MUHAMMAD 'ALI*

After Russia had extended its influence to the South Caucasus region as of the beginning of the 19th century, the slave trade and, accordingly, the flow of Georgian slaves to the Ottoman Empire,¹ including Egypt,² was significantly reduced, although not [p.56] entirely eliminated.³ One can still find a number of Georgian slaves in Egypt and in the service of Muhammad 'Ali during the first half of the 19th century.⁴ For instance, among 44 students of Egyptian and other nationalities who were sent by Muhammad 'Ali to acquire education in France in 1826,⁵ there were three Georgians.⁶

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- 1 This subject is widely discussed by Georgian scholars. See P. Gugushvili. *Saqartvelos da amierkavkasiis ekonomikuri ganvitareba (The Economic Development of Georgia and Transcaucasia)*, Vol. I (Tbilisi: 1949), 259-350; *Saqartvelos istorisi narkvevebi (Essays on the History of Georgia)*, Vol. IV (Tbilisi: 1973), 158, 183, 219-20, 400, 472, 482, 484, 525, 528, 642, 662-63; M. Rekhviashvili. *Imereti samefo XVI saukuneshi (The Kingdom of Imereti in the 16th century)* (Tbilisi: 1978), 108-121; M. Rekhviashvili. *Imereti XVIII saukuneshi (Imereti in the 18th Century)* (Tbilisi: 1982), 311-329; A. Kilasonia, "Tkveebit vachrobis organizacia da centrebi gviani shua saukuneebis dasavlet Saqartveloshi (Organization of the Slave trade and it's Centers in Western Georgia in the Later Middle Ages)" *Macne (Herald, Series of History, Archaeology, Ethnography, and the History of Art, Vol. 3, (1982), 107-114;* V. Gabashvili. "Tkvis skidva shua saukuneebis saqartveloshi/qartvel tkveta evropuli masalebi (Slave trade in Medieval Georgia. According to the Materials of the European Sources)," *Macne (Herald, Series of History, Archaeology, Ethnography, and the History of Art, Vol. 4, (1983), 29-48;* T.N. Beradze, *Moreplavanie i morskaia torgovlia v srednevekovoi Gruzii (Navigation and Sea Trade in Medieval Georgia)* (Tbilisi: 1989), 118-139.
- 2 From the 16th century, Georgians started to fill the ranks of various military corps stationed in Egypt. Starting in the 18th century they began to play a prominent role in these military corps and to occupy positions in the Beyicate. Georgians such as Ibrahim Katkhuda (1749-1754), his mamluk 'Ali Bey al-Kabir (1768-1772), and then Ibrahim Bey al-Kabir and Murad Bey (from 1775 until Napoleon's invasion in 1798) dominated the Egyptian political scene in the second half of the 18th century (See the lists of beys predominantly of Georgian origin in S. Lusignan. *A History of the Revolt of 'Aly Bey against the Ottoman Porte* (London: 1783), 81-82 ; V.G. Macharadze. *Gruzinskie dokumenty iz istorii russko-gruzinsko-egipetsko-efiopskikh otnoshenii 80-kh godov XVIII veka (Georgian Documents from the History of Russian-Georgian-Ethiopian Relations of the 1780s* (in Russian) (Tbilisi: 1967), 22-23; On Georgians in the Qazdaghlı household, see Sabry Ahmed al-'Adl 'Aly, *The Supremacy of the Qazdaghlı Household in Egypt* (1662-1768) (In Arabic), M.A. Thesis, 'Ain Shams University, Faculty of Arts, History Department, Cairo 1995, 211-218; J. Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of Qazdaghlis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15, 44, 47, 101-106; Apolon Silagadze and Gotcha Djaparidze, *New Materials for the Epigraphy of 18th-Century Egypt: The Inscription of the Grave of Ibrahim Katkhuda* (Tbilisi: 2002); On the ethnic origins of Mamluks see: D. Crecelius, "The Mamluk beyicate of Egypt in the last decades before its destruction by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1811," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. by Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 128-149. 134-139, 147; On the relations of Georgian mamluks with their homeland see D.Crecelius and G. Djaparidze, "Relations of the Georgian Mamluks of Egypt with their Homeland in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45/3 (2002), 321-341.
- 3 Bernard Lewis. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East. A Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 12; Ehud R. Toedano. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1860-1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 14-17, 47, 115-123, 138-143; Id. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), pp.11-12,31; Suzanne Miers, "White Slavery," *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, Vol. 2, edited by Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller (New York: 1998), 957.
- 4 Dar al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyyah (Cairo). Bitaqat al-Dar, Raqam 206, 16 Rabi' II, 1239/ December 20, 1823; Ramadan 24, 1240/ May 24, 1825; Sha'bān 4, 1239/ May 4, 1824; 'Imad Ahmad Hilal, *al-Raqiq fi Misr fi qarn al-tasi'* ashara (al-Qahira: 1999), 18, 400, 401, 402, 411.
- 5 B. Lewis. *The Middle East and West* (1964), 39; Alain Silvera, "The First Egyptian Student Mission to France under Muhammad 'Ali," *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol.16 (May 1980), 1-22; Adnan Şışman, "The First Ottoman Students in France at the Beginning of the 19th Century," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization, T. 2, Economy and Society*, Editor-in-Chief Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: 2000), 669-673.
- 6 Jomard. "L'École Égyptienne de Paris," *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, t. II (Paris: 1828), 109,110; 'Umar Tusun. *al-Ba'that al-ilmiyah fi 'ahd Muhammad 'Ali, thumma fi 'ahd Abbas al-awwal wa Sa'id* (Iskandariyya: 1353/1934), 26-27; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London: 1939), 159, #3, #4, 160, #6. Among these students is mentioned also Rashid Efendi who was born in Abazia, i.e. Apkhazeti, in the north-western part of Georgia (Jomard, *op. cit.*, 109). He may also have been Georgian as well. Rashid Efendi studied military administration and returned to Egypt in August

The authors who dedicated their works to the history of Egyptian education noted that one of the Georgians, Muhammad Taymur Efendi Khusraw al-Kurji,⁷ who studied civil administration, died soon after his return to Egypt.⁸ The second Georgian, Salim Efendi al-Kurji, studied civil administration and upon his return began working in the Egyptian education system.⁹ He often visited France together with Egyptian students and received the nickname of Salim “al-Fransawi” on account of his long stays in France. He became a supervisor (*nazir*) of the Egyptian student mission to France in 1862 and his son Salim Bey was among the Egyptian students sent to France during the period 1864-1867.¹⁰

The third student, ‘Ali Efendi al-Kurji, who studied military engineering in France, disappeared on his way back to Egypt in 1831 and nothing has been heard about him since then.¹¹ What actually happened to ‘Ali Efendi? The subsequent history of ‘Ali Efendi provides us the opportunity to demonstrate how outside (Georgian and Russian) sources can help us solve a problem that the Arabic archives cannot resolve. After ‘Ali’s disappearance from the Egyptian scene, we can trace his further activities back to his homeland of Georgia. The 27-year ‘Ali made a decision to go back to his home country. On his way back from France to Egypt, ‘Ali requested from the Russian embassy in Istanbul permission to return to Georgia. His appeal was granted and after returning to his homeland he restored his Georgian name, Ioseb Tsilossani, and returned to the Christian religion.¹²

The personal records of Ioseb Tsilossani reveal some important episodes of his life. He was born in 1804, in Lanchkhuti, Guria, West Georgia, in the family of Lazare Tsilosani and Mariam Urushadze. In 1812, at the age of 8, robbers kidnapped and brought him to the Georgian Black Sea port of Poti, which at that time was under the Ottoman control. A slave trader by the name of Hasan Misir-Oghli bought him along with other Georgian slaves, sold part of the slaves in Istanbul, and brought another part, that included Ioseb along with another like-age boy from Samegrelo (Western Georgia), to Egypt. In Egypt, these Georgian slaves were acquired by the Amir Akhur Muhammad Agha Kapici Bashi, who was then in the service of Muhammad ‘Ali.

Ioseb and his companion converted to Islam, adopted Muslim names, ‘Ali and Salim respectively, and received an elementary Islamic education. In about 1818 their patron manumitted them and shortly before their trip to France in 1826, they graduated from Cairo’s Qasr al-‘Aini military school.

In Egypt ‘Ali learned Arabic and Turkish, some Italian and in Paris French. At the same time he retained his native language, Georgian, along with a memory and love of his homeland of Georgia. It is perhaps difficult to imagine such a phenomena, considering the fact that he had left Georgia at a very young age, but it is a fact.

In Paris ‘Ali/Ioseb received the news of his patron’s death, which affected him strongly because he loved him very much. He decided to start a new life in Georgia instead of returning to Egypt and fulfilling his deceased master’s will, to marry his daughter Zaynab and thus inherit his master’s wealth.

It is quite possible that his final decision was strongly influenced by an extraordinarily warm and melancholy letter sent to him by his mother. It is unknown how his mother managed to trace his son, or where and how the letter reached him. But the fact is that he ultimately received the message from his mother.

1832. His further fate is unknown for me. In his *Ta’tikh al-haraka al-qawmiyya wa tatawwur nizam al-hukm fi Misr: ‘Asr Muhammad ‘Ali t. III* (al-Qahira, 1349/1930), ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi’i noted another Georgian, Amin Bek al-Kurji, who studied metallurgy and arms-making in France in 1826-1832. But according to Jomard (*op. cit.*, 111), he was born in Constantinople; and according to ‘Umar Tusun (*op. cit.*, 42) and J.Heyworth-Dunne (*op. cit.*, 161) he is the same ‘Umarzadah Efendi Amin al-Islambuli.

7 al-Kurji was the accepted *nisha* to denote Georgians in both Egypt and the Arab world.

8 J.Heyworth-Dunne, *op.cit.*, 159.

9 Yacoub Artin Pacha, *L’Institution Publique en Égypte* (Paris: 1890), 195, #117, 450; Ahmad ‘Izzat ‘Abd al-Karim, *Ta’rikh al-Ta’lim fi ‘asr Muhammad ‘Ali* (al-Qahira: 1938), 220, 235, 324-25; Ahmad ‘Izzat ‘Abd al-Karim, *Ta’rikh al-ta’lim fi Misr fi nihayat hukm Muhammad ‘Ali ila awa’il hukm Tawfiq: 1848-1882*, t. I (al-Qahira: 1945), 44-45.

10 ‘Umar Tusun, *op. cit.*, 174, 493; Ahmad ‘Izzat ‘Abd al-Karim, *Ta’rikh*, t. I, 272; Id. *Ta’rikh al-ta’lim fi Misr min nihayat hukm Muhammad ‘Ali ila awa’il hukm Tawfiq: 1848-1882*, t. II (al-Qahira: 1945), 707; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *op.cit.*, 324.

11 ‘Umar Tusun, *op. cit.*, 41; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *op.cit.*, 161.

12 Iv.Ardjevanidze, “Ioseb Tsilosanis/Ali-Amedi-Efendis sabiografio masala (Biographical materials of Ioseb Tsilossani/Ali Amed Efendi),” *Masalebi Saqartvelosa da Kavkasis Istoritisatvis (Materials for the History of Georgia and the Caucasus. Iv.Djavakhishvili Institut of History)*, Vol. I (1946), (Tbilisi: 1947), 24-95; A.Avaliani, “Samshoblo Kartvelisa” (Georgian’s Homeland), in the newspaper “Komunisti,” 11 January, 1987, 3.

It is impossible that at the age of eight a kidnapped child from Georgia had knowledge of Georgian writing, so most likely the letter reached him with the help of someone who could translate it for him. It is possible that 'Ali managed this in Paris through a help of Marie Brosset (died in 1880), a famous French scholar, a specialist in Georgian culture and Georgian history. Such a conclusion is based on a letter that is still retained in Brosset's archive at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Petersburg. Here is the text:

You, my great inextinguishable hope, my son and lord, Iesika¹³ Tsilossani, I hope you are still alive. This letter is written by your poor, miserable, crucified, crying mother, who is blinded by misery, your Mariam Urushadze. I am sending you my best/sweet regards, and I long to hear any news that you are still alive and safe. I wish to kiss the hair on your head, my beloved son. If you are still alive and if you write me a letter, I will know that you are alive and well. Up to present I have not heard anything from you, neither in written nor in oral form. Thousands of people vanished, oh, my son, but they have sent letters home and if you are alive, and if you send to me a letter, I will consider that I have seen you. As for other matters, if you would like to know what is going on here, my son, here everything is in order, though if anything is lacking here it is you. It will be God's kindness if this letter reaches you in the country where you reside.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the mother was unable to kiss her beloved son's forehead, for by the time Ioseb Tsilossani returned home, his parents were no longer alive.

What became of Ioseb Tsilossani's life in Georgia? Already in November 1832, he began to work as a translator of Oriental languages at the Chancellery of Russia's Viceroy in Tbilisi, Georgia. He fought in Russia's wars in the Caucasus, reached the rank of colonel in the Russian army, and died in 1873.

Ioseb Tsilosani had two daughters and one son. His son Niko Tslilosani (1847–1893) was a well known Georgian military topographer and archeologist. His grandson Ioseb became a Russian military officer and died in 1917 during the Russian-Turkish war in the Caucasus.

Ioseb Tsilossani published two books: *Nouveaux Dialogues Russes, Français, Turcs et Tartares avec la prononciation des deux derniers langues en Russe*, which was published in Russian with a French title (Tiflis: 1856) and another in Russian *Self-Study Book of the Muslim Alphabet* (Tiflis, 1862). He composed a third book sometime during the 1830s, a composition of over 500 pages entitled *Dialogues français et arabes: exercice ou familier pour apprendre à parler la langue arabe*. This work was never published and the manuscript has been lost, but thanks to his two publications he can be considered one of the first Orientalists of Georgian nationality.

Unlike Salim Efendi and a number of young people kidnapped in Georgia and sold abroad, who ultimately were lost for their own home country, Ioseb Tsilossani not only came back to Georgia but also made a significant contribution to Georgian culture. He was quite popular among nineteenth century Georgian society. A poem of "The Mtiuli (Mountainer)" by the Georgian poet David Machabeli (died in 1873) is partly based on the life of Ioseb Tsilosani.¹⁵

Thus, the story of 'Ali Efendi, or Ioseb Tsilossani, demonstrates the psychology of a Georgian slave sold in Egypt and his deep feelings towards his lost homeland.

13 Iesika is the diminutive form of Ioseb.

14 A.Avaliani, "Dedis cerili (The Mother's letter)," in the newspaper "Komunisti", 8 January, 1989, 3.

15 S.Khucishvili, "Adamianta bedi (The Fate of People)," in the newspaper "Komunisti", 3 March, 1988.

CONCERNING THE TEXTOLOGICAL VALUE OF EVIDENCE
OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF IRAN*

In addition to the consistent use by the textual critic of a number of philological techniques and recommendations in his research, he should always bear in mind the apparently undeniable fact that every piece of writing is somehow linked to the everyday life of the people in whose language the document is written. The poet or writer cannot bypass the economic, social, political, cultural, and ideological realities of his time. The present level of scholarship demands from the textual critic a basic knowledge of various branches of the historical sciences in addition to his knowledge of other disciplines. He must have a thorough knowledge of the period to which the work in question belongs. Inadequate knowledge of the realities of the epoch and failure to take account of old geographical designations have led to many a misunderstanding in the practice of textual criticism.¹

Based on a complex analysis of concrete material, the present paper seeks to show that consideration of the evidence of the historical geography of Iran is a necessary condition for the understanding and study of Persian language works of the classical period.

In his *Khusrau va Širin*,² Nizami Ganjavi makes several references to the river *Šahrūd* and the city of *Šahrūd* built on its bank:

Haman Šahrūd-u āb-i khušguvāraš, p.61 /5;
Hamān ārāmgāh-i šah ba Šahrūd, p. 61/6;
Ba Šahrūd āmadand az rūd u may mast, p. 229/6;
Marā ān rūz šādi kard badrūd,
Ki Širin rā rahā kardi ba Šahrūd, p. 578/6.

The *Šahrūd* is a tributary of the river Safidrūd, which flows into the Caspian Sea. The river *Šahrūd* is mentioned by such authors as Ibn Khurdadbih (9th century), *Nasir-i Khusrau* (11th century) and *Hamdallah Mustaufi* (14th century)³. As for the city of *Šahrūd*, I. Vullers - quoting the *Burhān* - notes that it was built by Xusrau Parviz (6th century) on the bank of the *Šahrūd*.⁴

It is significant that M. Mu'in does not include the *Burhān's* material in his dictionary. On p. 1315 of his edition of the *Burhān* we find three place-names: *Šahr-i zür*, *Šahr-i sabz* and *Šahrūd*. But in his own dictionary, M. Mu'in gives only two, *Šahr-i zür* and *Šahr-i sabz*⁵ mentioned in medieval sources. The place name *Šahrūd* is not referred to by the authors of historical and geographical sources. It does not occur in Sebeos's History, in the 7th century anonymous Syrian Chronicle, or in the Geography of Khorenatsi. Nor does it occur in the *Šahristanha-yi Eran*, although this refers to 110 cities of the pre-Islamic period. I failed to find this geographical name in the special studies authored by Th. Nöldeke, A. Christensen, and N. Pigulevskaya.⁶ Neither are 9th-13th century Arab and Iranian historians and geographers familiar with the place-name *Šahrūd* (شاھرود). This is attested by such competent specialists as V. Barthold and V. Büchner.⁷ Such predecessors of Nizami

* First published in: *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*. Roma, 1995, pp. 207-211.

1 G. V. Tsereteli, Vepkhistqaosnis tekstis metsnieruli gamotsemisatvis. *Mnatobi* 2 (1962). Tbilisi. 125-128; D. S. Likhachov, *Tekstologija*. Leningrad, 1983, pp. 56-57, 163.

2 Nizami Ganjavi, *Xusrau va Širin*. Baku, 1960.

3 *Kilab al-Masalik wa l-mamalik*. Ed. H.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1880. 175; *Safar-nama*. Tihran 1335š./1956,5; *Nuzhat al-qulub*. Leiden, 1913, pp. 60, 160, 217.

4 I.Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum elyinologicum*, II. Bonn, 1864, p. 486.

5 *A Persian Dictionary*, V. Tihran 1966, p. 969.

6 Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber für Zeit der Sassaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*. Leiden 1879; A.Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*. Copenague, 1939; N.V. Pigulevskaja, *Goroda Irana v rannem srednevekovye*. Moskva 1936.

7 V. V. Barthold, *Sochinenija*, VII. Moskva, 1971, p. 122; B. Büchner, *El*, IV, p. 285, s.v. „Shahrud“: “Die mittelalterlichen Geographen erwähne sie nicht.”

Ganğavi as Firdousi, Mu'izzi, Farrukhi, Nasir-i Xusrav, and others have no knowledge of **Šāhrūd** and **Šahrūd**.

It is clear from the foregoing that we consider the fact Nizami's referring to the city of **Šahrūd** from a formalistic standpoint, and rely only on the evidence of dictionaries compiled at a later time, then we shall have to admit that the poet refers to the building of the city of **Šahrūd** by the Sasanian King Xusrav Parviz. However, if the problem is considered against the background of the situation prevailing in Iran in the 6th-12th centuries - in the light of the historical, geographical, and literary works, and taking into account the rich specialist literature - then we can positively suggest that the place-name **Šahrūd** was coined by Nizami Ganğavi and that, through the influence of his *Khusrau va Širin*, this geographical name became established in dictionaries.⁸

According to the text of the first edition of Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani's *Vis va Ramin*, King Mubad promises Queen Šahru that

Firistam zi tu candān zarr u gawhar
Ki gar khāhi kuni Šahrūd-i digar.⁹

As we know, the city of **Šahrūd** did not exist in the 11th century, while according to the logic of narration, the object of comparison in this fragment must have been a really existing city. The author of the poem could not therefore to the technique used by Nizami and could not have coined the place-name **Šahrūd**. In this situation, some answer should be given to the question of the changes needed to derive **Šahrūd-i digar** (شهرود دیگر) from a definite sequence of graphemes. By a slight modification in the segmentation of the sequence **Šahrūd-i digar**, expressed by Arabic graphemes, we obtain **Šahru didigar** (شهرود دیگر ← شهرود دیگر) which is an inversive construction of the verse meter of didigar **Šahru** 'second Šahru'. The word didigar/dudigard (MPers. ditikar<OPers. *duvitiyakara)¹⁰ 'second, other' constitutes an archaism for New Persian.¹¹

Now let us look at the newly-constituted text of the fragment: Mubad promises Šahru that

Firistam zi tu candān zarr u gawhar
Ki gar khwāhi kuni Sahru didigar.

If the text under consideration is divorced from the situation in 10th-11th centuries Iran and taken in isolation, then the sentence obtained through modifying the segmentation will be nonsense: King Mubad advises Queen Šahru: "I am sending you enough gold for you, if you desire, to create a second Queen Šahru." If it is borne in mind that, according to geographers of the first half of the 10th century, **Šahru** (or Suru) was situated on the sea shore,¹² and despite its small size¹³ its favourable position made it important in the system of Persian Gulf harbours,¹⁴ then the poet's message will become clear:

I shall send you, Queen Šahru, so much gold
That, if you desire, you shall build another city of Šahru.

This conjecture is due to Professor Paul Horn of the University of Strassbourg, a brilliant representative of comparative-historical linguistics and philology. He had expert knowledge of Nizami's work¹⁵ and was doubtless familiar with the city of **Šahrūd** of the *Xusrav va Širin*. Nevertheless, he questioned the reading of **Šahrūd-i** digar and, by changing the segmentation of the symbols of this sequence, identified the archaic

8 J. Sh. Giunashvili, Concerning the Place-Name Šahrud in Nizami's Poem "Khosrou and Širin". *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR* 98/3 (1980), p. 747 f.

9 *Wis u Ramin*. Calcutta 1865. 29.

10 J. Darmesteter, Études iraniennes, I. Paris 1883, P. 183.

11 See C. Salemann, Mittelpersische Studien. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 9 (1886), P. 231; P. Horn, Neopersisch didigar. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 32 (1893), P. 578; *Grundriss der neopersischen Etymologie*. Strassburg, 1893, p. 132; Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*. Strassburg 1896, p. 55; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*. Paris 1963, pp. 180-181; H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, II. Wiesbaden, 1974, 64; M. Bahar, *Sabkšinasi*, I. Tihran, 1321/1942, p. 403f; 'A.-A. Sadeqi, Digar, didigar. *Rahnama-yi Kitab*, 16 (1352/1973), pp. 238-241.

12 Abu Ishaq al-Farsi Al-Istakhri, *Viae regnorum descriptio ditionis moslemicae*. Ed. M. J. De Goeje, Pars prima. Leaden, 1870, p. 163.

13 Ibn Hauqal, *Kilab Sural al-ard*. Ed. J. K. Kramers. II. Leiden, 1939, p. 313; *Hudud al-Alam*. Tihran 1340š./1961-2, p. 128.

14 A. Iqtidari, *Asar-i ſahrha-yi bastani-yi savahil va gazayir-i Khalig-i Fars va Darya-yi Uman*. Tihran, 1348š./1969, p. 546.

15 P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*. Leipzig, 1901, PP. 177-193.

word *didigar*.¹⁶ His conjecture is of major importance for the ascertainment of the history of the developmental stages of the Vis va Ramin.

According to the extant manuscripts we have three versions of the fragment in question:

1. **Ki gar khāhi kuni Šahru didigar (Calcutta)**

If you desire, you shall build another Šahru.

2. **Ki gar khāhi kuni Šahrūd-i digar (Oxford)**

If you desire, you shall build another Šahrud.

3. **Ki gar khāhi kuni Šahri pur az zarr (Paris).**

If you desire, you shall fill one city (any city) with gold.¹⁷

The second version occurs in the first edition of the text of the poem (Calcutta 1865), while the third appears in all the other editions (Tihran, 1935; 1959; 1970; 1976).

The first version faithfully reflects the situation existing in the 11th century. The object of comparison is an actually existing important geographical point, characterized *back in the mid-10th century* by Ibn Hauqal as عظیمه¹⁸

The second reading is a slightly modified version of the first, while the object of comparison of the third is ephemeral and lacks reference. The superiority of the first and partly of the second reading is also indicated by the fact that the key word of the principal syntagma *adequately conforms to the key word of the corresponding syntagma* of the 12th century Georgian translation.

... if you wish, thou mayest build a town

... if you wish, you will build a second ... (*Cf. readings 1 and 2*).

The surviving manuscripts of the poem were copied to six centuries after its creation. The following are, in my view, the developmental stages of the text of the fragment under discussion: first *Šahru didigar* ‘second Šahru’ became transformed into *Šahrūd-i digar* ‘second Šahrud’, for soon *Suru* came to replace *Šahru* and subsequently the later was superseded by *Gumhru*, while from the 17th century *Bandar Abbās* came into use. The *Šahrūd* referred to in Nizami’s *Xusrau va Širin* must have had some role from the end of the 12th century, while from the 14th-15th centuries the actually existing *Šahrūd* acquired major importance.¹⁹ Against the background of this historical situation, some copyist must have performed an inverse variant of the operation suggested by P. Horn, viz. by a slight rearrangement of the symbols of the sequence *Šahru didigar* he substituted the comprehensible *Šahrūd* for the incomprehensible *Šahru*. Later copyists had no difficulty in repeating *Šahrūd-i digar*. The third reading took shape early-when the name *Sahru* had been consigned to oblivion and *Suru* came to be used in its place, but prior to the spread of Nizami’s *Xusrau va Širin* and the foundation of the city of *Šahrūd*. Of the extant readings that of the Calcutta manuscript is textually most reliable.²⁰

Thus, the correct reading and understanding of the *above* text, as well as determination of the historical stages of its development, is not feasible without serious historical discussion, in which the evidence of Iran’s historical geography proves to be essential.

16 P. Horn, *Neopersisch didigar*, p. 578; *Grundriss der neopersischen Etymologie*, p. 132.

17 *Vis and Ramin*. Translated from the Persian by G. Morrison. Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 34: “... you may fill...”.

18 Ibn Hauqal, II, p.309.

19 V.V.Barlhold; *Sochinenija*, VII, p. 127.

20 J. Giunashvili; Sukhani chand day bara-yi matnshinasi-yi manzuma-yi “Vis va Ramin”- i Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani. *Magalla-yi Irašinasi* 2/1 (1369š./1990). pp. 125-134; cf. 129-131.

MORPHOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL CAUSATIVES IN MODERN HEBREW*

The causative oppositions are one of the most common and widely distributed semantic oppositions in various types of languages including Semitic. The Hebrew language is rich in derived verbal forms, which extend or modify the meaning of the root form of the verb. The number of basic verb patterns in Hebrew is seven, but this number would increase if one took into account several comparatively infrequent verbal stems, among them 'if el Sif'el and Tif'el types which will be treated below as the alternative forms used to denote mainly causative meanings.

It is well-known that the basic stem used for causativization in Hebrew is Hif'il. The prepositive *h* which is the characteristic of Hif'il can be added to the large proportion of transitive and, in the first place, intransitive verbs. The causatives of the Hif'il form derived from intransitive verbs normally express contact-causative meaning, i.e. one person (thing) acts directly upon another person (thing), the latter being passive, e.g. šaxav – hiškiv lie' – 'lay', ba – hevi 'come' – 'bring', whereas causatives formed from transitives mostly convey distant - causative meaning, e.g. šama' – hišmia' 'hear' – 'make to hear', ra'a – her'a 'see' – 'show, cause to see'. Hif'il forms derived from transitive verbs are sometimes used as doubly transitives. For example, hilbiš 'dress smb.' which has antireflexive causative meaning may govern two direct objects: ha'em hilbiša 'et ha-yeled 'et me'ilo 'Mother put on the child its coat'.

It may also be noticed that Hif'il frequently expresses a state or condition that comes or acts upon the subject, e.g. hišmin 'grow fat', he'ešir 'become rich'. At the same time both verbs have transitive meanings, respectively 'fatten' and 'enrich'. The transitive and intransitive meanings are differentiated only syntagmatically (comparable with English smell, boil ... etc.). The same applies to Hif'il verbs of denominative origin being also primarily intransitives: hišriš 'strike roots, settle', hiqrin 'bring forth horns' ... etc.

The causative member of the opposition includes in itself incausative meaning and in addition to it – the seme of causation. In point of form marked member of the opposition contains the stem of another member, as well as the additional morpheme. As it has been rightly observed by modern scholars, the morphological causatives of the abovementioned type are not generally inserted in the lexicon because of their formal and semantic regularity [see, for instance, 4, p. 215],

The Hebrew Hif'il, as well as the Pi'el stem (the type having the 2nd radical geminated), which is also frequently used to form causatives from the Qal (ground stem), e.g. lamad – limed Team' – 'teach', especially with stative roots: male – mile 'be full' – 'fill' ... etc. (the lengthening of the consonants is given up in Modern Hebrew), are listed in the dictionaries under corresponding verbal roots.

It should be pointed out that while most of the verbs have only one causative pattern, some verbs have two (mainly Hif'il and Pi'el). Where this is so, there may be somehow different shades of meaning, the precise modification in any given case being unpredictable, e.g. kaved 'be heavy; be respectable', pi. 'respect', hif. 'burden'. Often both forms have the same meaning: 'avad 'perish', pi. and hif. 'cause to perish, destroy' [3, p. 193].

Because of their morphological uniformity the Semitic verb patterns including Hebrew Pi'el and Hif'il belong to the inflectional categories. On the other hand, their semantic irregularity makes them closer to derivational categories [1, p. 79],

As to the status of the rarely used causative stems 'if'el, Sif'el and Tif'el, it can hardly be argued that these stems should be referred to as merely derivational categories. The initial consonant of these derivatives is no more regarded as the formative element and the stems whose productivity is limited to a small number of roots are considered quadrilateral verbs which have separate entries in the lexicon.

The lexical causatives of the Šif'el type usually viewed as causative-factitive stem of Aramaic origin [see 6, p. 100] are produced in Post-Biblical and mostly in Modern Hebrew by prefixing the ancient causative

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formant of Akkadian origin ša (ši) to the three- consonantal roots. Examples: šilhev ‘inflame, kindle’ < lahay ‘flame, glitter’, šixlel ‘complete, perfect’ < kalal ‘generalize’. The verbs often have two and occasionally even three causative patterns: pi. ‘ibed ‘cultivate’, hif’. he‘evid ‘compel to work’, šif. ši‘bed ‘subjugate, enslave’, cf. also hif. heḥzir ‘cause to go back, give back’, šif. šiḥzer and tif. tiḥzer ‘reconstruct, restore’. Very rarely šif‘el serves as the single causative stem of the base verb: šiḥrer ‘set free, liberate’, šintā ‘replant’. Some šif‘el verbs belong to “reminiscent” predicates: they refer to the preceding situation and presuppose the identity of one or more participants of the action. Cf. for example, the abovementioned šinta‘ which presupposes the sameness of the object, and ši‘arex devaluate’ where both - subject and object should be identical with those of the preceding action.

Much fewer are ’if‘el type four-consonantal verbs whose initial radical is ety- logically one of the causative prefixes in Semitic (particularly in Arabic, as well as in Aramaic and Syriac). The causative pattern in late Aramaic and Syriac is normally ’af‘el (in older Aramaic the causative prefix was hā), whose secondary form is the stem ’if‘el used in Modem Hebrew only sporadically alongside regular causative Hif‘il. Hif‘il and ’if‘el should be considered parallel verbal forms just as noun stems haf‘ala and ’af‘ala with the difference that ’af‘ala being of Aramaic origin occurs in Mishnah (haf‘ala is older and dates back to the Biblical language [see 8, p. 209]) and is widely used in Israeli Hebrew for derivation of deverbal nouns, ’af‘ala was introduced in Modem Hebrew to denote the name of the action or process in contradistinction to Haf‘ala which denotes the action par excellence [7, p. 2]. According to Klein, the most frequently used ’afala forms in Modem Hebrew are: ’az‘aqa ‘alarm’, ’aspaga ‘provision’, ’afta‘a ‘surprise’, ’arga‘a ‘quieting, calming’; (signal of) ‘all clear’, ’aṣlaya ‘deception, delusion’ [see 7, p. 2],

The ’if‘el verbs which are back formations from the substantivized deverbal nouns of the abovementioned type have acquired like other Aramaic-garbed words a stylistic status of “more intellectual”, “more literary” than what could be considered their Hebrew semantic or formal counterparts [9, pp. 94-5]. The examples given below show that ’if el form derivatives are, unlike Hif‘il, mostly monosemantic and bear very often a specialized sense: ’ivṭah ‘secure’, cf hif. hivṭiah ‘assure, promise, insure’, ’izker ‘commemorate’, cf. hif. hizkir ‘remind, mention, commemorate’, ’ivḥen ‘diagnosis’, cf. hif. hivḥin ‘distinguish, differentiate; notice’.

The largest group of lexical causatives is of predominantly denominative origin. We refer to Tif‘el forms whose initial radical is originally consonantal element of the substantival prefix *ta-* which is considered one of the most productive derivational morphemes forming verbal nouns in Hebrew. Nouns with prefixed *t*, especially the pattern “taf‘il”, mostly serve as verbal nouns of Pi‘el, corresponding to Arabic “taf‘il” – verbal noun of the second (intensive) conjugation. However, since in Hebrew the intensive stem (Pi‘el) and the causative stem (Hif‘il) are closely related in sense, and because the form “taf‘il” is very similar to the Hif‘il (perf. hif‘il, impcrf. yaf‘il) therefore it often happens that “taf‘il” is the verbal noun (often used substantially) from the verbs in the Hif‘il, e.g. taḥalif ‘substitute, surrogate’ (< heḥelif ‘substitute’), ta‘tiq ‘transcription’, (< he‘etiq ‘transcribe, copy’), taqciv ‘budget’ (hiqciv ‘allocate, allot’). It should also be pointed out that *t* often appears as the first radical in secondary bases enlarged from primary ones, e.g. ta‘av ‘long for, desire’ probably formed from <’bh> or <y'b>. According to Nöldeke it is possibly an Aramaism. The *t* in these cases is either traceable to the *t* of the conjugation Hitpa‘el (cf. the usual styling of the Semitic verbal preformative *ta-* as the reflexive prefix) or is originally identical with the substantival prefix *t* [7, p. 687],

In the most cases the Tif‘el verbs include the value of “supplying with the object designated by the base noun”, e.g. tiḥmeš ‘arm, equip’ from taḥmošet ‘ammunition’, tiqueer ‘make a summary, condense’ from taqcir ‘summary, abstract’ ... etc.

The few Tifiel type verbs extant in the biblical texts are also regarded as derivatives from the denominative verbal roots, e.g. tirgel, a hapax legomenon in the Bible, occurring Hos. 11:30 ‘teach to walk’ from <rgl> (< regel ‘foot’, cf. also Pi. riggel (Medieval Hebrew) ‘make someone go on foot’), tirgem ‘translate, interprete’ (attested in the Bible in the form of passive participle – meturgam) probably borrowed from Aramaic targem which is denominated from Akkadian targumanu ‘interpreter’ [7, p. 716],

Very few Tif‘el verbs coined in Modem Hebrew have no corresponding noun forms to which they stand in relation. They should be taken for the secondary bases formed immediately from the verbal roots on the analogy of the abovementioned derivatives. Examples: tif‘el ‘operate, put into operation’ < pa‘al ‘do, make, act’, tingēn ‘instrument’ < ngn:nigen ‘play, sing’, tidleq ‘refuel’ < dalaq ‘bum’ ... etc.

It also seems worth to single out the verb *hilqet* ‘feed (birds)’ (lit. scatter food for birds to pick it up) which differs from the corresponding *Hif'il* – *hilqiṭ* only in its vowel length. Both forms are derivatives from the common Semitic root <ʔlqt> : ‘pick up, gather, collect, glean’ and date back to Mishnaic Hebrew [10], *hilqet* inflects entirely in *Pi'el* (part, *mehalqet*) just like other four-radical verbs regardless of their origin. The regular causative *hilqiṭ* and its derivational doublet are directed towards the purpose of the action and denote so-called “progressive causation” including in their meaning indication on the subject (to give food) and object (to eat) of the verb [on this in general see, for instance, 2].

As opposed to *Piel*, and especially *Hif'il* which are the regular stems commonly used with causative meanings and are considered morphological causatives, the less productive patterns *šif'el*, *'if'el* and *Tif'el* are lexicalized pure derivational values and should be referred to as lexical causatives, whose causative sense is not always equally clear, e.g. *tiħbel* ‘devise’, *tizmen* ‘time’, *timser* ‘report’, *tirgem* ‘translate’, *timreṭ* ‘polish’ ... etc.

It has already been pointed out that while most of the verbs have only one causative stem (mainly *Hif'il*), some verbs have two and occasionally three patterns and there is often a good deal of overlapping of meaning between the forms. This multiformity may be due to stylistic variation or simply to the verb's going over from one type into another as a result of levelling-off process.

The rules, regulating choice of the operator of causativization in the case of one or another verb in the synchrony, cannot be stated. According to Khrakovskiy who dealt with a problem of the causatives in the literary Arabic language, the rules give up their place to usage and grammar to the dictionary [5, p. 83].

As mentioned above, the lexical causatives used in Modern Hebrew are arranged in the dictionaries as separate entries in their alphabetical places. They often serve as the technical or scientific terms and can be collocated only with person as the agent of the action.

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LA STATION SÉRICICOLE DU CAUCASE AU XIX^E SIÈCLE*

Résumé

L'histoire de la sériciculture en Géorgie est liée étroitement à l'histoire même du peuple géorgien. Les analystes et voyageurs chrétiens et musulmans nous apprennent qu'en Transcaucasie au Moyen-Age on produisait des soies grèges et des tissus de soie en quantités considérables. Au temps de la domination russe, par décision du ministre des biens de l'État M.N. Ostrovski, a été fondée à Tbilissi en 1887 la station séricicole du Caucase, qui poursuivit des travaux féconds sur l'amélioration de la sériciculture en Transcaucasie. La station séricicole du Caucase exécuta des recherches et expériences sur divers points importants pour la sériciculture. Le personnel de la station publia les "Annuaires de la station séricicole du Caucase" et les "Bulletins de la station séricicole du Caucase".

Mots clés: Sériciculture; Transcaucasie; station séricicole du Caucase; Tbilissi.

Abstract

The sericulture was an inseparable part of the economic life of Georgian people from early times. According to the evidence of the medieval Christian and Moslem annalists and travellers in the Middle Ages in Transcaucasia were produced raw silks and silk fabrics in quantities. In the time of Russian Empire's domination, in 1887, by the decision of the minister for state property M.N. Ostrowski in Tbilisi was founded the seriological station of the Caucasus. The station had for an object to develop the sericulture in the Caucasus. The seriological station of the Caucasus in the field of the sericulture has carried out many researches and experimental tests. The personnel of the station has published two periodical scientific journals – "Annuary of the seriological station in Tiflis" and "Bulletin of the seriological station in Tiflis".

Keywords: Sericulture; Transcaucasia; seriological station of Caucasus; Tbilisi; 19th century.

LA SÉRICICULTURE EN GÉORGIE AU MOYEN-AGE

L'histoire de la sériciculture en Géorgie est liée étroitement à l'histoire même du peuple géorgien. Dès les temps les plus anciens, on trouve trace de cette activité de l'homme sur le territoire du pays. Ainsi dans l'œuvre de Iacob Tsurtavéli "Martyre de sainte Chouchanik" (V siècle) on trouve pour la première fois mention du "métier de soie".¹ Durant les siècles suivants la culture de la soie se développa et au IX^e siècle on exportait déjà de la Géorgie beaucoup de soieries.² Comme le dit Yakut au X^e siècle: "à Dmanisi la soie croissait en abondance et s'exportait au loin".³

Au Moyen-Age la Géorgie était célèbre pour sa soie. En citant le nom de la Géorgie, pas un des voyageurs ou des géographes de l'époque n'oublie de parler de ces principaux produits: la soie grège et les soieries. Le célèbre voyageur vénitien, Marco Polo (XIII^e siècle), dans le chapitre qu'il a consacré à la description de la Géorgie, rapporte qu'en Géorgie il y avait beaucoup de soie et qu'on y fabriquait des tissus de soie et des brocarts d'or.⁴

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1 Tsurtavéli 1970, p. 139.

2 Abesadzé 1957, p. 144.

3 Jakut 1964, p. 57.

4 Marco Polo 1955, p. 58.

Pays agricole, la Géorgie souffrait des invasions qui ravageaient son territoire. Les invasions des Arabes, des Turcs seldjoukides, des Kharezmiens, des Mongols, des Turcs ottomans et des Persans kizilbaš avaient dévasté le pays. Grands étaient les malheurs et les souffrances qu'elle avait éprouvés, mais jamais encore elle ne subit de désastre aussi terrible que celui qui s'abattit sur elle à la fin du XIV^e siècle et dont les conséquences furent si terribles que plusieurs siècles s'écoulèrent avant que le pays épuisé ne parvienne à se relever. En effet, Tamerlan, dans sa fureur, ordonna à ses troupes de tout détruire – vignes, plantations de mûriers, jardins et vergers, églises, chapelles, palais, maisons et tous autres bâtiments. Selon le témoignage de l'historien de Tamerlan, celui – ci, même en Inde, ne s'était jamais livré à de semblables destructions.

La situation de la Géorgie s'aggrava notablement aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, lorsque deux nouveaux et redoutables voisins surgirent à ses frontières: la Turquie Osmanlie et la Perse Safavide. À l'aube du XVI^e siècle la guerre éclata entre la Perse et la Turquie. Entrecoupée de longues pauses, elle dura plus de deux siècles. L'Iraq, le Chirvan, l'Arménie, la Géorgie et l'Azerbaïdjan en constituèrent les champs de batailles. Les deux ennemis pillèrent et saccagèrent ces contrées. La Géorgie souffrit particulièrement, car, refusant de se soumettre aux envahisseurs, elle les combattit tous les deux.

Shah Abbas I^{er}, homme de génie politique, et l'un des plus grands souverains de la Perse, comprit que la chaîne du Caucase était la porte cadenassée qui protégeait la Perse contre le danger du Nord. Ouvrir cette porte était donner libre accès à la Russie, non seulement en Géorgie, mais encore en Perse. Shah Abbas I^{er} décida d'écartier ce danger. N'ayant pu convaincre le roi Alexandre II de Kakhétie (1574-1605), Ghiorghi X (1601-1606) de Kartli et plus tard encore les rois Teimuraz I^{er} (1606-1632) et Louarsab II (1606-1615), il mena campagnes sur campagnes contre la Géorgie et particulièrement contre la Kakhétie. Il avait pour objectif soit de la convertir à l'Islam pour édifier une barrière religieuse entre la Perse et la Russie, soit de l'anéantir complètement et de la peupler de Persans.⁵

Envahissant à plusieurs reprises la Kakhétie, Shah Abbas I^{er} la ruina et massacra la population. L'ennemi détruisit et incendia tout sur son chemin. Or l'agriculture était la grande richesse de la Kakhétie. L'élevage y était pratiqué depuis fort longtemps et son élevage de chevaux y était renommé au XVI^e siècle. La sériciculture y était prospère et la soie faisait l'objet d'un commerce florissant. La viticulture tenait une place tout aussi importante: le vin était exporté en grandes quantités, tant vers les contrées lointaines que vers les pays voisins. Sur l'ordre de Shah Abbâs les citadelles, les palais, les églises et les monastères furent rasés, les villages, incendiés, les vignes, arrachées, les plantations de mûriers et de noyers, abattues, le bétail, emmené. Près de cent mille hommes furent tués, autant furent emmenés prisonniers: cette invasion fit perdre à la Kakhétie les deux tiers de sa population.

Shah Abbâs 1^{er} dévasta aussi les terres d'Arménie. Il dépeupla les villes de Nakhtchivan, Erevan, Julfa, les environs de Kars et même Erzeroum. Il établit les Arméniens déplacés en divers endroits de la Perse. Deux cent soixante-dix mille d'entre eux furent établis dans la province du Gilân où l'on cultivait la soie. Le climat du Gilân était cependant si meurtrier qu'à peine trois mille familles y subsistaient vers 1650.⁶

Soutenant une lutte titanique contre les hordes d'envahisseurs étrangers, le peuple géorgien sauvegarda courageusement, durant des siècles, sa culture originale et ses activités économiques traditionnelles. Les ennemis abattaient les vergers, les plantations de mûriers et les vignes; ils incendaient les villages et emmenaient les paysans en esclavage dans des pays lointains. En allant travailler à ses champs ou à sa vigne, le paysan géorgien emportait ses armes pour accueillir dignement, le cas échéant, les envahisseurs. Pareil à l'oiseau fantastique Phénix, le peuple géorgien relevait les plantations de mûriers et les vignes, arrosant de sueur et de sang sa terre natale.

LA SÉRICICULTURE EN TRANSCAUCASIE DU MOYEN-AGE AU XVIII^E SIÈCLE

De tous les pays auxquels l'Europe demanda de la soie, aucun ne lui en fournit d'espèces aussi variées que la région de la mer Caspienne. Comme on le sait, les techniques de production de soie étaient connues en Europe depuis longtemps. La sériciculture se propagea d'abord en Orient exclusivement. Puis, avec le temps, la production de la soie s'étendit jusqu'en Occident qui, à son tour, apprit à cultiver le mûrier et à pratiquer

5 Keresslidzé 1917, p. 34.

6 Artignan 1910, p. 506.

l'élevage des vers à soie. Les Arabes d'Espagne et de Sicile, notamment, surent donner à l'industrie de la soie dans ces deux pays des bases solides en y propageant la production de la matière première. En Andalousie, par exemple, autour de Jaén, on ne comptait pas moins de trois mille localités dont la population se livrait à l'élevage des vers à soie. Le royaume de Grenade produisait assez de soie grège pour occuper les nombreux tisserands d'Almeria et il lui en restait encore pour l'exportation. En Italie la production indigène était encore à ses débuts. La matière première qu'elle livrait aux tisserands de Lucques, de Florence, de Gênes et de Venise était insuffisante en quantité et en qualité.

En France, les diverses tentatives que l'on fit, à la fin du Moyen-Age, pour introduire l'élevage du ver à soie, n'obtinrent aucun résultat palpable pour l'industrie. Il est vrai que les quantités de soie produites dans les pays d'Occident ne suffisaient pas à répondre à la demande. Les gros consommateurs et ceux qui tenaient à pouvoir choisir des soies de qualité devaient s'adresser à l'Orient. Pour trouver de la soie de première qualité, il fallait se résoudre à sortir d'Europe et même des limites de la Chrétienté. Les courants d'échanges avec le Levant étaient seuls capables de fournir à l'industrie occidentale une matière première suffisamment abondante et d'assez bonne qualité pour lui permettre de concurrencer l'industrie des manufactures orientales.

Les Génois allèrent chercher la soie au Gilân dès la fin du XIII^e siècle.⁷ Au commencement du XV^e siècle, en concurrence avec les Vénitiens, ils fréquentèrent dans le même but Chemaka, province de Chirvan. C'est donc vers le sud et le sud-ouest de la mer Caspienne qu'il faut tourner les yeux pour retrouver l'étymologie des diverses sortes de soies dont les noms se rencontrent dans les sources médiévales.

Il est absolument certain que la *seta stravai*, *stravagi*, *stravatina* (parfois aussi, par corruption, *stranai*)⁸ tirait son nom de la ville bien connue d'Asterabad (Strava), actuellement Astara en Azerbaïdjan. Le district de Taleš, dont le chef-lieu est Lenkorân, paraît avoir donné son nom à la *seta talani* ou *talina*. Fra Mauro place le pays d'origine de cette sorte de soie plus au nord, dans la plaine où s'élevait Mahmoudâbâd, ville actuellement disparue et qui devait se trouver sur le bord de la mer, dans le voisinage de l'embouchure du Koura (Mtkvari).⁹ À l'ouest de ce district, dans l'intérieur des terres, le district d'Arran produisait deux sortes de soie de qualités différentes. La meilleure tirait son nom *seta canare*, *chanarvi*, *channaruia*, du château de Canar situé dans la plaine de Karabagh, au centre des plantations de mûriers.¹⁰ L'autre empruntait le sien à la ville de Cheki, *seta sièchi* ou *sacchi*. Plus près de la frontière géorgienne, les habitants de Gandja (Djanza), (au XIX^e siècle Elisavethpol, au XX^e siècle, Kirovabad, actuellement, Gandja), livraient au commerce, sous le nom de *seta gangia*, une soie d'excellente qualité que les Lucquois employaient beaucoup. Comme nous le rapporte le voyageur français Dubois de Montpéraux (première moitié du XIX^e siècle), à l'époque de son voyage, la production de soie y était encore florissante.¹¹ Les tisserands lucquois s'approvisionnaient également en Géorgie, qui produisait de la soie en abondance. Vers l'an 1600, la ville de Chemaka et ses environs exportaient annuellement assez de soie pour former vingt mille charges de mulet.

Vers la fin du Moyen-Age, quand les routes commerciales de la région de la Mer Noire, obstruées par les Turcs, devinrent difficilement praticables aux commerçants italiens, on expédia la soie de Chemaka et du Chirvan par des caravanes qui atteignirent, après de longs détours, Alep et Damas, villes plus accessibles aux Occidentaux. Il faut encore citer la soie de Kabala, au nord-ouest de Chemaka, dont Hamdallah Kazwini parle avec éloges. Les commerçants occidentaux la désignaient sous le nom de *seta cavallini*.¹²

Les voyageurs européens nous apprennent qu'en Géorgie, au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, on produisait des soies grèges en quantités considérables. Le célèbre voyageur français, Jean Chardin (1672) rapporte que la soie grège de Mégrélie s'exportait dans différents pays.¹³ Le célèbre savant et académicien français, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1700) raconte que, lors de sa visite à Tbilissi: "La soye du pays, du même que celles de Cheamaki et de Gangel, ne passe point par Tiflis, pour éviter les droits excessifs qu'on y feroit payer. Les Arméniens vont

7 Clavijo 1782, p. 114

8 Angioletto 1563, p. 73.

9 Zurla 1809, p. 46.

10 Pegolotti 1766, p. 301.

11 Dubois de Montpéraux 1839, p. 106.

12 Uzzano 1766, p. 192.

13 Chardin 1723, p. 146.

l'acheter sur les lieux et la font porter à Smyrne ou aux autres Echelles de la Méditerranée, pour la vendre aux Francs”¹⁴

Le grand géographe, historien et cartographe géorgien, Vakhouchti Batonichvili (première moitié du XVIII^e siècle), dans son oeuvre “Description géographique de la Géorgie” nous apprend au sujet de la sériciculture de Kakhétie, d’Imérétie et de Mégrélie ce qui suit: “on y (en Kakhétie) trouve la soie, le coton, le riz;¹⁵ (en Imérétie) ils travaillent la soie, dont ils tissent des étoffes peu coûteuses et sans fils d’or, pour leur usage, ainsi que de la toile de coton et de fil; mais ces produits ne valent pas ceux des autres pays;¹⁶ on y (en Mégrélie) travaille la soie beaucoup plus qu’en Imérétie”¹⁷

La Perse, enfin, produisait et exportait une grande quantité de soie et, par conséquent, ni ses grands marchés de Tauris et de Soultanieh, ni ses manufactures n’avaient besoin de s’adresser à l’étranger. Néanmoins, on trouvait dans les bazars de Soultanieh de la soie de Chemaka¹⁸ et les tisserands de Yezd employaient la soie d’Asterabad et d’autres districts riverains de la mer Caspienne¹⁹.

LA DOMINATION RUSSE EN TRANSCAUASIE

Au XVIII^e siècle, les frontières de l’empire russe se situaient presque au ras de la principale chaîne montagneuse du Caucase. Pour pouvoir pénétrer en Transcaucasie, la Russie avait absolument besoin d’avoir un soutien.

Malgré les tristes expériences de ses prédécesseurs en ce sens, Irakli II (1762-1798), roi de la Géorgie orientale, décida de se tourner vers cet empire coreligionnaire et le 24 juillet 1783, un pacte ou “traité d’amitié” fut signé à Gheorghievsk, dans le Caucase septentrional, entre la Russie et la Géorgie, au nom du roi Irakli, par Ioann Moukhran-Batoni et Garcevan Tchavtchavadzé, et au nom de l’Impératrice Catherine II par le général Paul Potemkine; ce traité n’apporta que des déceptions au roi géorgien. Comme les événements ultérieurs l’ont démontré, il ne fut pas respecté et l’État géorgien fut victime de la politique extérieure de l’Empire des Tsars russes, qui aspiraient depuis longtemps à s’emparer de la Transcaucasie.

Le 18 janvier 1801, Paul I^{er} fit publier un manifeste à Saint Pétersbourg et à Moscou, annonçant l’annexion du royaume de Kartli et de Kakhétie à la Russie. Le 12 septembre 1801 un nouveau manifeste impérial d’Alexandre I^{er}, fils de Paul I^{er}, fut publié, annonçant l’annexion à la Russie du royaume de Géorgie orientale. En avril 1802 ce manifeste fut publié à Tbilissi et dans les autres villes de Kartli et de Kakhétie.²⁰ En vertu du traité le 25 avril 1804 le roi d’Imérétie Solomon II (1784-1815) devenait vassal de l’empereur de Russie. Suivant l’un des articles du traité, ce protectorat s’étendait également à la principauté de Gourie. Après la Gourie, ce fut le tour de l’Abkhasie. Le 10 juillet 1810, après une bataille acharnée, l’armée russe s’empara de la forteresse de Soukhoumi. En octobre de la même année, à l’instar de Dadiani et de Gouriéli, le mtavar abkhasien Ghiorghi Chervachidzé fut placé sous la protection de la Russie.

Le traité de paix de 1829 raffermit la domination de la Russie sur la Géorgie et sur l’ensemble de la Transcaucasie, avec l’élimination définitive de la Turquie du territoire qui s’étendait entre les rivières, Kouban et Tcholoki.²¹ Mais cela ouvrit malheureusement une vaste étendue à la politique de colonisation et de russification et accrut l’oppression nationale et sociale des peuples géorgien, arménien et azerbaïdjanaïs.

Suivant les plans du régime tsariste, la Géorgie devait servir de tremplin à la Russie pour son expansion vers l’Orient. Pour atteindre ce but, l’autocratie tsariste n’eut pas seulement recours à la force, mais aussi à la russification du pays.

Parallèlement à la mise en place d’une administration russe, la création, dans un but de colonisation, de villages d’immigrants, appuis sûrs pour le gouvernement tsariste, participa de cette russification. Au cours du

14 De Tournefort DCC XVII, p. 170.

15 Brosset 1842, p. 287.

16 Ibid., p. 341.

17 Ibid., p. 405.

18 Clavijo 1782, p. 114.

19 Barbaro Giosafatte 1545, p. 42.

20 *Otcherki istorii Grouzii* 1990, p. 36.

21 Novitchev 1968, p. 171.

premier tiers du XIX^e siècle les zones frontières du sud-est de la Géorgie, devenues théâtre de combats, se vidèrent de leurs habitants. De 1817 à 1819, cinq cents familles allemandes y furent installées, principalement en Géorgie orientale, mais aussi en Azerbaïdjan. En 1829 et 1830 plus de six mille familles d'Arméniens et de Grecs furent amenées de Turquie et établies dans les régions d'Akhaltsikhé, Akhalkalaki et Tsalka.

Le nombre d'immigrants russes s'accrût à partir de 1837. Des colonies militaires furent créées. Ces colonies étaient constituées par des soldats, autorisés, après quinze ans de service, à fonder une famille. Des villages russes apparurent près de Tbilissi, à Tsalka, Tetritskaro (Source Blanche), Tsitelitskaro (Source Rouge), Gombori, Manglisi, Kodjori et en d'autres endroits. En outre, les membres des sectes persécutées par l'Église officielle russe – doukhobors, molokans, et autres – y furent transférés. En 1845 le nombre d'immigrants russes atteignit six mille individus.²²

LA SÉRICULTURE EN TRANSCAUCASIE

À partir des années 1820-1830 le gouvernement tsariste mit définitivement au point sa politique économique à l'égard de la Transcaucasie. La Géorgie et toute la Transcaucasie étaient destinées à devenir un marché colonial pour l'écoulement des produits industriels russes. C'est pourquoi rien ne fut fait pour favoriser l'industrialisation. Seul était seul autorisé le développement des secteurs agricoles susceptibles de fournir à l'industrie russe une matière première bon marché. Le tsarisme et la bourgeoisie russe ne parvinrent cependant pas à leur but. Le développement économique russe n'était pas encore suffisant pour une exploitation coloniale à grande échelle de la Géorgie.²³

Durant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, le gouvernement russe s'efforça de favoriser le développement de la sériciculture et de l'industrie de la soie en Transcaucasie, en particulier en Géorgie. Le 8 octobre 1821 le gouvernement russe rendit un décret favorable au commerce de transit en Transcaucasie. Les entrepreneurs étrangers commencèrent à montrer de l'intérêt pour Caucase. En 1827, un négociant français, Castello, fut chargé par le gouvernement russe d'implanter une filature de soie à Tbilissi. On lui accorda un crédit de 80 000 roubles en argent.²⁴ En 1848, un autre français, A.Rausmaurduc créa à Zougdidi une filature de soie. Le prince de Mégrélie D.Dadiani lui prêta son concours. La filature de soie de Zougdidi tourna jusqu'en 1865.²⁵

Durant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle les plantations de mûriers en Transcaucasie prirent une extension de plus en plus grande et les procédés de culture se perfectionnèrent. Quand la paix tant désirée vint mettre un terme aux guerres qui avaient ensanglanté la Transcaucasie et que le travail agricole put reprendre son cours habituel, la production de la soie en Transcaucasie s'éleva à un chiffre encore jamais atteint. Lorsque la maladie de la soie, la pébrine, obliga les éleveurs européens à recourir à la Transcaucasie pour les graines de vers à soie, le commerce de ces graines devint si florissant qu'il y eut bientôt surproduction. Ce niveau de production ne se maintint malheureusement pas longtemps. Les difficultés commencèrent en 1860 avec les ravages de la pébrine, maladie des vers à soie qui venait de faire son apparition en Europe. L'épidémie de pébrine se répandit largement dans toute la Transcaucasie, tandis que d'autres maladies attaquaient le mûrier. La sériciculture et l'industrie de la soie tombèrent en décadence.

LA FONDATION DE LA STATION SÉRICICOLE DU CAUCASE

Pour relever la sériciculture et l'industrie de soie des tristes conditions dans lesquelles elles étaient tombées, le gouvernement fit une enquête dont le résultat fut la fondation, en 1887, à Tbilissi de la station séricicole du Caucase.

En 1883, N.N.Chavrov, membre du Comité de la Société Impériale d'Agriculture de Moscou, fut envoyé à Tbilissi pour étudier la situation de la sériciculture et de l'industrie de la soie en Transcaucasie. En 1884, le gouvernement l'envoya en Europe afin d'y étudier les procédés européens modernes de séricicul-

22 *Sakartvelos istoriis narkveebi* 1970, pp. 121-124.

23 Ibid., pp. 125-26.

24 Samsonadzé 1966, pp. 107-123.

25 Borozdin 1865, pp. 14-16.

ture. La station séricicole du Caucase fut fondée en 1887 par décision du ministre des Biens de l'État, M. N. Ostrovski, dans la localité du jardin de Mouchtaid.

La station séricicole du Caucase avait pour fonction de propager les procédés modernes d'élevage du ver à soie, de faire connaître les améliorations à apporter à la culture du mûrier et d'indiquer aux sériculteurs les remèdes ou les moyens de défense que la science et la pratique mettaient à leur disposition pour lutter avantageusement contre les maladies et les parasites qui attaquaient le mûrier et le vers à soie. N. N. Chavrov en fut le premier directeur et sa contribution à l'étude de la sériciculture et de l'industrie de la soie en Transcaucasie est importante.

Les travaux de construction de l'édifice principal de la station séricicole du Caucase commencèrent en 1889 sous la direction de l'architecte A.P. Chimkevitch. Cette construction fut menée rapidement. En 1891, c'est à dire deux ans après la pose de la première pierre, l'édifice principal de la station séricicole du Caucase ouvrit ses portes au public. À l'exception de quelques retouches et de quelques changements apportés plus tard à l'intérieur, le bâtiment est à peu de choses près aujourd'hui ce qu'il était en 1889, quand il a été ouvert. Cet édifice en briques qui a 19,6 sagènes²⁶ de façade sur 9,5 sagènes de profondeur, est complètement isolé des maisons voisines. L'édifice a 6 sagènes de haut. Il comporte un étage. Ses façades et son décor élégants sont de style russe. Le socle de l'édifice était jadis revêtu de pierre d'Algeti. L'édifice s'inscrit parfaitement dans le paysage urbain qui l'entoure.²⁷

Un long corridor coupe le rez-de-chaussée en deux parties égales. À gauche se trouvaient un bureau, une salle de réception, le cabinet de travail du directeur et un laboratoire zoologique avec une filiale bactériologique. À droite étaient un laboratoire chimique (trois pièces) et un laboratoire qui servait aux épreuves des soies. Dans le sous-sol, enfin, étaient les pièces destinées aux travaux auxiliaires, un entrepôt, un atelier de menuisier et deux logements d'agents subalternes. Le premier étage comprenait et comprend actuellement trois sections du musée de la soie qui occupent toute la largeur du bâtiment. Une bibliothèque, une salle de lecture et une salle de conseil, situées à l'arrière du musée étaient destinées au service du public. Dans la coupole du bâtiment se trouvait un laboratoire photographique.²⁸

Dans le jardin de Mouchtaid se trouvaient trois magnaneries: l'une destinée aux enseignements, une autre destinée aux élevages expérimentaux et une troisième vouée à la production.²⁹ On y trouvait aussi une coconnière, bâtiment sans étages. Elle avait 7 sagènes de long, 2,5 sagènes de large et 1,5 sagènes de haut.³⁰ L'atelier de grainage et la filature de soie s'y trouvaient aussi. Le premier était dans un bâtiment en briques sans étages qui mesurait 10 sagènes de long et 4 sagènes de large.³¹ Le bâtiment de la seconde était à un étage; il mesurait 12 sagènes de long et 7,5 sagènes de large.³²

La station séricicole du Caucase contribua à l'amélioration de la situation de la sériciculture en Transcaucasie. Des écoles secondaires pour l'élevage des vers et pour le travail de la soie furent organisées dans quelques districts séricicoles, parmi lesquels ceux de Kutaisi, Zougdidi, Thelavi, Elizavetpol, Cheki furent les plus importants. Enfin, de nombreuses écoles élémentaires, destinées au même enseignement, furent créées dans diverses localités de la province. La station séricicole du Caucase forma, en l'espace de quinze ans, beaucoup d'élèves à l'emploi du microscope.

LES RECHERCHES SCIENTIFIQUES DU PERSONNEL DE LA STATION SÉRICICOLE DU CAUCASE

La station séricicole du Caucase exécuta des recherches et expériences sur la variété et la culture des mûriers, sur les races de vers à soie et sur leurs maladies. Elle fut en rapports continus avec les sériculteurs praticiens auxquels elle distribuait des conseils et des connaissances.

Les résultats des recherches scientifiques concernant les maladies des vers à soie sont présentés dans

26 Sagène – Ancienne unité de mesure de longueur russe valant 213,36 centimètres.

27 *Kavkazskaya chelkovodstennaya stantsiya* 1906, p. 87.

28 Ibid., p. 87.

29 Ibid., p. 88-89.

30 Ibid., p. 89-90.

31 Ibid., p. 90.

32 Ibid., p. 90-91.

l'article de N. N. Chavrov, directeur de la station séricicole du Caucase. En résumé il écrivit: "Toutes les maladies du ver à soie connues en Europe se rencontrent aussi en Transcaucasie et la plus répandue de toutes est la pébrine. Il est remarquable que dans ce pays, malgré une infection aussi générale, les élevages ne souffrent pas davantage de cette maladie et que les cartons de graine industrielle en soient si souvent exempts. Cette remarque avait déjà faite à l'époque où florissait l'importation en Europe des cartons caucasiens. Ces cartons, malgré leur état d'infection, donnaient, en effet, un produit, sinon toujours complet, tout au moins assez rémunérateur, si bien que certains considéraient les corpuscules comme quelque chose d'indifférent pour les vers, puisqu'on les rencontrait même dans les sujets sains en apparence. Toutefois, il est certain que la pébrine eut quelquefois, en Transcaucasie, les mêmes funestes conséquences, pour les vers, qu'en Europe. Ainsi, en 1860-65 elle causa dans les élevages de vrais ravages qui furent attribués au fait que les petits sériciculteurs avaient voulu préparer la graine par eux-mêmes, au lieu de laisser ce soin aux spécialistes. Parmi ces derniers, nombreux sont ceux qui, grâce à leur expérience, savent choisir dans les élevages de reproduction, ceux qui, par leurs caractères extérieurs, paraissent les plus sains.

Le bâtiment principal de la séricicole du Caucase. Actuellement Musée de la Soie

Mais cela ne suffit pas à éliminer tout à fait le parasite de la pébrine du ver, et nous avons plus d'une fois eu l'occasion de le trouver dans les élevages. Malgré cela, grâce aux soins extraordinaires dont on entoure les vers, le mal n'arrive pas à compromettre sérieusement la récolte. Toutefois, étant donné la diffusion actuelle de la maladie, on peut prévoir qu'il arrivera une époque où celle-ci sera tellement intense qu'elle exercera, même parmi les élevages conduits de la façon la plus rationnelle, les mêmes dommages qu'en Europe avant l'application du procédé Pasteur. Et alors, les Caucasiens n'hésiteront pas à préparer, par le système cellulaire, la plus grande partie de leurs graines.

La flacherie, ce fléau des magnaneries en Europe, se comporte en Transcaucasie, à peu près comme la pébrine. Il est rare qu'elle détruise des élevages entiers, et nous n'avons pu dans nos excursions la rencontrer qu'à l'état exceptionnel. Par la suite, nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de l'étudier d'une façon spéciale. Malgré cela, elle est tenue, par les sériciculteurs caucasiens auxquels elle ravit, certaines années, la moitié de leur récolte, pour la plus redoutable de toutes les maladies. Tous les éleveurs intelligents sont d'accord pour attribuer la plus grande importance à la saison et au mode d'élevage dans le développement de cette maladie. Une saison défavorable, des élevages tardifs ou mal conduits, prédisposent les vers, à la contracter. Elle se manifeste d'ailleurs par les mêmes symptômes qu'en Europe.

La gattine aussi y est connue, sans qu'on y prête toute l'attention qu'elle mériterait, si l'on considère ses rapports avec la flacherie. On est convaincu qu'un élevage irrationnel contribue à la faire apparaître.

La muscardine passe pour la maladie la plus anciennement connue. Elle est assez redoutée et, en certaines années, elle nuit beaucoup à la récolte. L'intelligent sériculteur soutient que les spores du champignon qui cause la muscardine (*Botrytis bassiana*) conservent leur vitalité et la faculté de reproduire la maladie, au-delà de la troisième année, ce qui semble s'expliquer par l'humidité qui règne dans quelques régions de Transcaucasie et qui doit empêcher une dessiccation prolongée, nuisible au germe de la maladie. Pour la désinfection de ses magnaneries contre la muscardine, on emploie chaque année, le lavage avec une solution à 2% de sulfate de zinc. Il assure avoir ainsi obtenu des effets favorables avec trois applications. La première après la terminaison de l'élevage, la seconde en hiver et la troisième au printemps avant le commencement du nouvel élevage.

Enfin la grasserie est aussi connue en Transcaucasie. On rencontre quelques *gras* presque dans chaque élevage à l'époque de la montée, comme cela arrive aussi en Europe. Par les temps humides et froids, cette maladie peut aussi causer des dommages importants. Nous avons étudié cette maladie dans les élevages de la station séricicole du Caucase et nous avons acquis la certitude de sa nature parasitaire. Des études ultérieures nous ont permis d'établir sa contagiosité et aussi le processus de multiplication du parasite qui en est la cause.

La récolte des cocons peut souffrir, non seulement des dommages dus à des maladies qui font périr les vers avant leur montée à la bruyère, mais aussi, indirectement, par la présence des cocons rouillés et des doubles qui déprécient la récolte. Tous les séricculteurs de ce pays considèrent une saison froide et humide comme favorisant beaucoup l'apparition des cocons rouillés et cette opinion se trouve confirmée par nos ex-

périences comparatives, dans lesquelles nous avons réussi à arrêter complètement la formation de ces cocons en saupoudrant avec de la chaux vive les encabanages de façon à assécher l'air environnant.

En ce qui concerne la formation des doubles, nous avons déjà dit que nous la considérons comme une conséquence du mode d'encabanage et aussi de l'habitude acquise par les vers et devenue héréditaire à la suite de l'usage longtemps répété de ce mode d'encabanage. Les sériciculteurs ont remarqué que la quantité des doubles augmente lorsque de fortes chaleurs ont lieu à l'époque de la montée, tandis qu'elle diminue si la température est plutôt basse. Dans ce dernier cas, la formation des cocons est plus lente, et par suite, il y a moins de chance que deux vers se renferment dans le même cocon.

En général, les éducateurs caucasiens ont encore des préjugés sur les vraies causes des maladies des vers. Cependant, ils reconnaissent qu'une saison défavorable, une graine mauvaise, la négligence dans l'application des règles d'un élevage, nuisent à la réussite des vers. Mais, à côté de ces éducateurs imbus de préjugés, il y en a un bon nombre d'autres, intelligents qui, ayant suivi l'enseignement de la station séricole du Caucase se sont familiarisés avec les découvertes modernes relatives aux maladies des vers et ont su en faire leur profit dans la pratique".³³

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THE GEORGIAN VERSIONS OF PERSIAN FOLK DĀSTĀNS*

1. With the beginning of the present century, when there were neither big restaurants nor night clubs in Tehran, people would come together in numerous coffee-houses and tea-shops (*qahve-khāna* and *chāi-khāna*) at the bazaars and taverns. The illiterate visitors would spend long nights listening keenly to the story-tellers (*qissa-khān*) reciting about wonderful adventures and feats of Bahram, Iskander or Qahraman. With amazement and admiration would they follow the misadventures of the protagonists, identifying themselves with them. This is how M. J. Mahjub, an Iranian scholar and student of Persian folk *dāstāns*, describes the resent past of his country.¹ An earlier description of the institution of *qissa-khāns* belongs to the well-known Russian scholar, the Iranist A.A. Romaskevich.²

This institution existed in Iran, Central Asia, including almost the whole Near East, and also, contemporary Georgia. In this connection special interest attaches to a unique book "Literary Bohemia of Old Tbilisi", by the Georgian poet Ioseb Grishashvili (1889-1963), who himself had witnessed the events described. The book tells of the life of Tbilisi dwellers. It also includes a chapter on "The Library of Old Tbilisi". According to the magazine "Mnatobi" ("Luminary") (1869), at every turn one encountered shop-keepers or tradesmen eager to acquire, at a fairly high price, a copy of a hand-written "Bizhaniani" (i. e. "The Story of Bizhan and Manizha", a rendering of an episode from "Shah-nama") or "Bahramiani" (different versions of the legend about Bahramgur) and similar works. However, by the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century there appear cheap popular prints of these folk-books, and particularly, their bulk comprised of Georgian versions of the Persian folk *dāstāns*.

Especially popular was the story "Qahramaniani" and its sequel "Kuchukqahramaniani". This is what Grishashvili writes in his book: "The vast manuscript "Qahramaniani", containing 250 pages, became an inalienable part of the traditional household of a Georgian family, alongside with "Vepkhistqaosani". The amazing accuracy of expression, picturesque ness, and plasticity of "Qahramaniani" captivate the reader, its metaphors carry him away on the wings of fantasy into other worlds. I would call "Qahramaniani" a book of "astonishing" surprises; and this is probably why Tbilisi dwellers loved it self-obliviosly, being themselves great admirers of everything out of the ordinary: ... "and Qahraman gathered all his strength, lifted his foe and threw him to the ground. And the helmet fell off the head of the Indian warrior, and his locks scattered on the dark earth, like rays of the sun. Startled, Qahraman gazed at the warrior – he recognized in the brave Indian the King's daughter Sarvi Khuraman. He lifted her in his arms, brought her to her senses and carried her to the camp of his enemy. "Would you not, dear reader, be the emotions among the listeners. And yet this fairy-tale story being rejected, described as gibberish, and nonsense when confronted with ecclesiastic literature and our philosophical treatises. However, in my opinion, such an attitude to the story is in no way justified – for, full of romantic spirit and vivid human contents, it would evoke sublime feelings in folks in the trifles of their sordid life."³

There is no need to emphasize the reaction of the listeners in the descriptions of Mahjub and Romaskevich, and that of Grishashvili, based on the Persian and Georgian materials, respectively. This similarity of attitude was due to the affinity of the social background of the audience – urban craftsmen, as well as the identical subject matter of the stories. Here we are dealing with direct contacts in all their literary translations of those monuments which meet the requirements of contemporary literary public; imitations, which – in N.I. Conrad's word's – determined reproduction in the work of a writer of one people of the contents and motifs of a work by a writer of another people, and the so-called national adaptation of single literary works, as well as (and this is particularly important for our purpose) of entire literary genres).⁴

2. Though extremely popular and widespread, the Persian popular prose (*nasre revāyat*) remained for a long time unrecognized by (official) literary criticism and was contemtuously labeled "literature of the common folk" (*adabyātē āmiāne*). However, this is neither accidental nor exceptional. An analogous picture is

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observable in ancient Indian literature, and the same attitude was common with respect to the Chinese popular prose. According to V. M. Alekseev's apt statement, folk prose is "something resembling underclothes, which everyone wears but never displays".⁵

However, as early as the 1930s Y. E. Bertels emphatically pointed out the major scholarly significance of Persian popular literature – "cheap folk prints", as he calls it. In his brief paper the author gave a number of valuable observations of the character of Persian folk prose, outlined these "fantastic romances" and attempted for the first time to classify them. Bertels was fully aware of all the difficulties facing a scholar investigating the lacunae in the history of Persian literature: "Speaking about cheap popular literature in general, we cannot hope after research into this literature as a whole is completed, which as a matter of fact has not been started yet."⁶

Recently Persian folk prose is being given increasingly more attention. Special investigations of general character are being published, as well as studies devoted to separate *dāstāns*: texts of *dāstāns* are published, description of MSS given. However, all this is still in its initial stage.

3. *Dāstāns* have often been used in reference to works with an author (e. g. episodes from "Shah-nama"), various legends and stories or even purely folkloristic works. However, works of our present interest are being specified and concretized by the term "popular".⁷ Though possessing a number of characteristic features, Persian folk *dāstāns* are by their genre analogous to West-European "popular books". They have much in common with folklore, particularly, that of fairy-tales. However, they also show traces of literary treatment – by a writer or reciter who first recorded the text of a *dāstān* or elaborated it. Early recording of *dāstāns* has contributed to their conservation. A. B. Boldyrev, an Iranist from St. Petersburg, gives the following definition of the Persian folk *dāstān*: "In my opinion a folk book is a product of collective oral and anonymous popular effort, which, contrary to folklore, is perceived not directly (i. e. through an adequate recording by a modern scholar), but through a recording ("stop") made by those who professionally performed it and those who admired it."⁸

The problem is complex, as is the relationship between folklore and literature. Sometimes one succeeds in finding a literary prototype for some *dāstāns*, however, more often than not the literary works themselves are based on folk legends. Thus, the possibility is not ruled out that a folk *dāstān* turned into a literary work, which in turn was subsequently elaborated into a *dāstān*.

Persian folk *dāstāns* are thematically diverse, with a complex plot and composition, frequent repetition of passages, contaminations, insertion of verses (the latter often testifying to traces of an elaborated source). Persian *dāstāns* are also characterized by a peculiar literary language and fairly consistent text. A study of the topics, plots and rhetoric of the *dāstāns* provides ample material: at every turn one comes across childless sovereigns, miraculous heirs, fatal hunting, disguised merchants, shipwrecks, enchanted islands, tournaments of knights, love letters, etc. All "Samake 'Ayyar", "Darab-nama", "Qahraman-nama") and particularly, of the second period (14th-18th cent.) – "Bahram and Golandam", "Mehr and Mah", "Qissai Hamza", "Amire Arslan" and others). However, all these features are not characteristic of *dāstāns* only, for they also occur in Western popular books. In this connection the question addressed by S. Ph. Oldenburg to N. Y. Marr as early as the end of the last century recurs: "Why is the medieval literature researched by you being interpreted as Eastern, whereas according to most of the data established by you, Western literature is not less Western than Eastern."⁹

A cursory comparison would suffice to trace the common direction in the development of the popular romances in the West and folk *dāstāns* in the East. This commonness made for the international significance of the Persian folk *dāstāns*. Naturally, they enjoyed particular popularity in the East. Azerbaijani, Turkish and Kurdish literature and folklore, the literature of Central Asia, reflect their affinity with the Persian folk *dāstāns*. Rapid development of Persian *dāstāns* can be traced further to the East. Afghan literature, traditionally developing in close contact with classical Persian literature, contains *dāstāns*: "Gol and Sanaubar", "Bahram and Golandam", "Yusuf and Zalikha" and others, elaborated in the Pashto dialect and enjoying great popularity. Neither did Indian literature evade the influence of the Persian *dāstāns*, this being due to the centuries-old tradition of Persian literature. Incidentally, Inayatullah Kanbu (17th cent.) describes his novel "Bahare danesh" as a bride who, though reared on Indian soil, is adorned with Persian garments. It is also noteworthy that the Persian folk *dāstān* "Qissai Chahar darvesh" is traditionally ascribed to Khosrov

Dehlevi. Two elaborations of this *dāstān* are known to exist in the Urdu language. Somewhat unexpected is the abundance of the versions of Persian folk *dāstāns* in the Malay language. The spread of Islam on the Malay Archipelago, the development of coastal cities in Sumatra facilitated the appearance of the novel “Qissai Yusuf”, “Bahram Gur”, etc. Among the artisans of this country of particular interest are the Malay versions of “Bahram-nama”. The “Story of Bakhtiar” is known in two versions: extended and shorter, the basic difference being the interpolated novelettes which differ greatly from the original. The second version, “The story of Golem or the Tale about the Radja Azbak”, has many common features with the poem of Panahi (15th cent.). Whereas the links of the Persian folk *dāstāns* with the above-mentioned Eastern literatures are beyond doubt, their relations with European remain, on the whole, unresearched. Yet the existing attempts to trace them down led the present writer to the belief that a special investigation would yield positive results. It should also be noted that the ways in which Persian folk *dāstāns* penetrated into various Eastern and Western countries are not always quite obvious.

There is yet another aspect pointing to the international significance of the Persian folk *dāstān*, namely the comparative-typological investigation of the parallels that came into being in different literatures without any historical relationship. Of particular interest in this case are the typological parallels observed between the Persian folk *dāstāns* and the folk *dāstāns* of China (*huaben'*, *pinhua*) and Korea (*pkhesol*). In one of the prefaces to the early 17th century edition of the Chinese collection containing the audience of Mahjub, Romankevich and Grishashvili of the reactions of the audience to the recitals, shows great similarity in their attitudes: “Note how the reciters tell their stories – their skill can bring joy or fear, grief or tears, and would compel the listener either to sing or start dancing, catch hold of a knife, bend in a bow, or cut somebody’s throat, or give away one’s money. The timid will become brave, the deprived – noble, the obstinate dumb-head – will pour the sweat of zeal”.^{10 11}

A comparative-typological study of the Persian folk *dāstāns* and the Russian folk-prints, which are closely linked with folklore, would also be extremely promising. In this paper an attempt will be made at a detailed discussion of the typological, and particularly, contact relations between the Persian folk *dāstāns* and Old Georgian prose.

4. The history of Georgian-Persian literary and cultural interrelations is of old standing. The Old-Iranian myths and legends found their way into the Caucasus from time immemorial. According to the Georgian historical chronicles of the 11th-12th centuries, the names of Spandiat, Ardashir, Kekapos, Bevrasp Azhidahak and others were well known in the pre-Christian (4th cent.) period.

The spread of Christianity in Georgia and the conquest of Iran by the Arabs temporarily interrupted these relations. However, they were resumed and strengthened in the new Persian literature in the Farsi-Dari language and the emergence of Old-Georgian secular literature (11th – 12th cent.). In the Georgian historical and literary monuments of that period one frequently comes across the names of the characters from the poems “Shah-nama”, “Yusef and Zalikha”, “Laila and Majnun”, “vis and Ramin”, “Salaman and Absal”. “Vameq and Adhra”, “Bahramgur”, “Iskandar-nama” and others. Unfortunately, this long list has translation of the poem “Vis and Ramin” by Fakhraddin Gorgani. However, most of the stories mentioned are literary works having their own authors.

As to the examples of Persian folk prose they are represented by works of *dāstān* genre adapted during the first period. In particular, the first Old-Georgian chivalry romance “Amirandarejaniani” (12th cent.) was created after the model of the Persian adventure *dāstān* of the type “Qissai Hamza”. The Georgian novel included ancient legends about the fantastic figure of Amirani as well as a number of *dāstān* episodes (e. g. the tale of Amri Arabi). It is noteworthy that the Georgian text has presented a whole phrase in the New-Persian language. However, “Amirandarejaniani” represents a Georgian elaboration of both local and Oriental motifs and episodes.

The 13th century marks a dark period in Georgian history. The invasions of the Mongols, the hordes of Tamerlane, the Osmanli Turks and finally, of Shah-Abbas, undermined the economic and cultural foundations of the country. Life in the cities came to a standstill, many towns were wiped off the face of the earth. A revival of the main centres of the country can be observed as late as the 16th-17th centuries, particularly in Tbilisi – the focus of trade and handicrafts. Close contacts with the Near East left its imprint on the way of life and cultural interests of a part of Georgian society. Incidentally, this is testified by the Catholic mission-

ary Padre Bernardo (who lived in Georgia for some 10 years) in his relation to Rome. There he expresses his regret that the Georgian reader is captivated by novels like “Bezhaniani”, “Baramiani”, “Rostamiani”. It should be noted that these literary elaborations bear characteristics of *dāstāns*.

Quite recently some fairy-tales not only show distinct familiarity with the *dāstān* genre, but also include a fairy-tale (“The Daughter of King Kashmir”) which is an obvious translation and bears an important postscript in Italian: “The original of the fairy-tale was defective. O found it in an old notebook, its plot is evidently extended”.¹²

Of particular interest is the prose of the 17th and 18th century represented by the collection “Rusudaniani” (“Book on Queen Rusudan”). A *dāstān* by genre, it includes 12 stories of different length and origin, set in one frame. This work will provide useful material for a comparative study of Georgian and Persian folk prose.¹³

At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries there arose a number of Georgian versions of Persian folk *dāstāns*, especially prolific in this respect was the period of the rule of the poet and translator King Vakhtang VI (1675-1737). To him belongs the word for word translation of “Anvari Suhaili” by Vaez Kashafi, an abridged translation of “Kabus-Nama” under the Title “Amirnasariani”. The versions “Bakhtiar-nama”, “Baramgulandamiani” and “Baramgulijaniani” were prepared under his direct encouragement. They were followed by “Miriani”, “Chahardarvishiani”, “Qaramaniani” and others. That these heroic, romantic and didactic literary works enjoyed great popularity with the Georgian audience is testified by the great amount of MSS of the most popular works which were often brought together in collections, resembling Persian notebooks, for the practical needs of the reciters.

At the present stage of my investigation I have attempted to reveal all the Georgian material directly or indirectly linked with the folk *dāstān*. A part of this material is listed in this paper with a characterization of its main peculiarities.

1) *Bakhtiar-nama*. There exist two Georgian versions of this novel. The first was written at the beginning of the 18th century and represents a folk reproduction of a literary source ascribed to Dakaiki Marvazi (13th cent.). It is a collection of didactic stories, set a frame of a single plot. The Georgian text is an exact literary translation of the Persian original. The language of the translation is laconic and simple, preserving, however, its Persian imagery. This Georgian version had a definite impact of the development of Georgian prose as a whole.

The second version of “Bakhtiar-nama” was written by Alexandre Sulkhanishvili at the beginning of the 19th century. It goes down to an unknown poetic source, *mathnavī*, by the poet Panahi (15th cent.). Thanks to the existence of a Georgian translation we possess the whole text of this work. This is particularly important as the few extant records of Panahi’s poem are defective.¹⁴

2) *Baramgulandamiani*. The Georgian version of “Baramgulandamiani” (“The Book about Baram and Gulandam”) is related to the Persian folk *dāstān* “Bahram and Golandam”. Judging by the extended verse interpolation, the *dāstān* is obviously traceable to a classic poetic source. The Georgian version of “Barangulandamiani” is a translation of a Persian folk *dāstān* by an anonymous translator at the instance of King Vakhtang VI at the beginning of the 18th century. The Georgian translation reproduces the Persian original quite accurately, including the verse interpolations which are occasionally reproduced also in verse form. However, the alternative versions of both the Persian and Georgian MSS should also be taken into consideration. There exist 40 copies of the Georgian version, pointing to its great popularity. Occasionally the translator would abridge the text, thus achieving greater dynamism of narration (e. g. the description of amorous correspondence between the characters).

“Bahramgulandamiani” is not only a monument of the Georgian-Persian literary relations, but also of Georgian-Russian, and thus of Russian-Persian contacts. In 1773 in St. Petersburg a book came out with a long and fanciful title “The Adventure of the Fashionable Belle, Princess Gulandam and the Brave Baram”, composed by Dilarget, Mdivan of Tiflis and translated by Simon Ignatyev (Egnatashvili), an informant of Moscow University. The well-known representative of the Georgian colony in Russia, S. Egnatashvili treated the Georgian original rather liberally. Taking “Baramgulandamiani” for the basis, he supplemented the text with various episodes of literary and folkloristic origin, taking into consideration the interests of the Russian reader. The translation is abundantly embellished by verse interpolations that are rather interesting from the view point of the history of Russian versification.¹⁵

3) *Baramgulijaniani*. The Georgian romantic poem “Baramgulijaniani” (the Book about Baram and Gulijan) narrates the story of Gulijan, the daughter of the Chinese emperor Jonsher and his military commander, the knight Baram. The emperor finds out about their love and, infuriated, drives Baram out of his country. The latter, finding himself in a desert, helps a caravan of merchants to fight off robbers was written by the secretary of King Vakhtang VI, Onana Kobulashvili, at the king’s suggestion in Astrakhan in 1726. The preface to the poem, written in prose, informs the reader that the author, nor the romance has been discovered among the Persian *dāstān* was first translated in prose, later Onana versified it. However, thus far neither the author, nor the romance has been discovered among the Persian *dāstāns*. Nor has the identification of Chubin Kirmani with Khaju ben Kermani been corroborated. At the same time, the poem appears to be so much under the influence of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” that some scholars assumed, not without reason (though not quite convincingly), that the poem is an imitation of Shota Rustaveli (12th cent.), written in the style of Persian *dāstāns*. Considering that the Persian material remains by far unresearched, the assumption requires further corroboration.

4) *Miriani*. “Miriani” or “The story of King Chin Khosrovshah and his Son Miri” narrates about the fantastic adventures of Mirian in search of his sweetheart, princess Magrib Nomiavtab. The plot is typical of Persian *dāstāns* (falling in love after seeing the portrait of the maiden, struggle against an evil spell, etc.) as are also the expected happy end, the artistic means, vocabulary, and phraseology, the proper and geographical names – all these pointing to the Persian origin of the Georgian version. However, until quite recently, the primary source of “Miriani” remained unknown. The famous French Caucasian student Marie Brosset (1802-1880) took interest in this romance and translated and published it in Paris as early as the beginning of the 19th century as a “Georgian fairy-tale”. In their description of the St. Petersburg of the 19th century collection of the Georgian manuscripts A. Gren and N. Marr attributed the romance to King Vakhtang VI. K. Kekelidze was the first to point out the Turkish origin of the romance. He also advanced the hypothesis on the close links of the romance with the poem “Mahr and Mushtari” by Esar Tebrizi. The hypothesis was regarded as confirmed after the report on the Zugdidi manuscript with a postscript: “Translated from Esar Tebrizi”. However, a comparison of the two romances led scholars to include the opposite: the two romances had nothing in common, except the coincidence of some names. Neither did another romance, “Mehr and Vafa” show any affinity with “Miriani”. Finally, however, the source of the Georgian version was found to be the Persian folk *dāstān* “Mehr and Mah”. “Miriani” repeats the origin with considerable artistic accuracy, the only difference being the name of the main character: Persian “Mah” and Georgian version’s “Nomiavtab”. The different name was probably introduced by the translator (for “Mah” would not sound euphonious in the Georgian language. The substitute “Nomiavtab” follows the Persian model and means “named as Sun”).

The postscript in the above manuscript can be explained (provided it is authentic) by the literary traditions of relating folk *dāstāns* to the poem “Mehr and Mushtari”. It can be assumed that this tradition was reflected in the Persian manuscript of the *dāstān* in the mentioning of the poet, and would have subsequently found its way into Georgian translation.

5) *Qahramaniani*. The extensive Georgian version of “Qahramaniani” (“The Book of Qahraman”) is one of the most popular folk books in Georgia. It tells most vividly about the feat of arms of Qahraman, of his brother Qakhtaran, of the wise ‘ayyār (folk hero) Gardankeshan, the brave belle Sarvikhrman and others. In the second part of the romance Kuchuk Qahraman, the grandson of Qahraman, becomes the main character. According to the preface of most of the manuscripts, the Georgian version of “Qahramaniani” was written by David Orbeliani (1716-1796). He had a good command of the Persian language, traveled several times in Iran, where he could have acquired and brought to this country the manuscript of the Persian folk *dāstān* “Kitabe Qahraman Katil” (“The Book of the Bellicose Qahraman”). This well-known *dāstān* is ascribed to Abu Taher Tartusi (12th cent.) Characteristically, the Georgian text contains the following reference: “The person first wrote this book bore the Turkish name Tartus Hakim”. A comparison of the first chapters of the Persian text and the Georgian translation seem to remove all doubts about the authenticity of the two romances: the translation closely follows the original; events are described vividly and imaginatively. The Georgian version contains many Persian verses, written down in Georgian letters, often without any translation. However, this first part of the romance appears to be a brief edition of “Qahramaniani”, the bulk of the remaining part of Georgian version, particularly “Kuchuk-Qahramaniani”, exhibiting traces of Turkish influence, still awaits study.

6) Chahardarvishiani. The story “Chahardarvishiani” (“The Book about the Four Dervishes”) goes down to the Persian *dāstān* “Kitabe Chahar Darvish”. Literary tradition ascribes the authorship to Khosrov Dehlevi (13th cent.). The Georgian version came out in the 18th century. It stands rather close to the Persian folk elaboration, though occasionally the text is abridged.

7) Qissai Hamza. The Georgian version of the extensive Persian folk *dāstān* about Hamza, the giant, existed as early as the 16th century. However, the extant translation “Qaran Amar-Amza and Baba Amar” was done much later by Solomon Tarkhnishvili, in 1883.

At present there exist a number of romances in the Georgian language of *dāstān* genre, whose Persian original is beyond doubt, though the sources are either lost or remain undiscovered: “Varshakiani”, “Seylaniani”, “Sirinoziani”, “Pirmaliani” and others. These romances as well as some other recently discovered Georgian versions of Persian folk *dāstāns* (e. g. “King of Bagdad”, “Ramza-shah”, “Seyfulmuluki” and others) are still in need of careful research.

A comparative study of the numerous existing versions of the Persian folk *dāstāns*, written in different languages, including Georgian, will allow to create a theoretical foundation for an examination of this genre as a literary phenomenon.¹⁶

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DIE MEHRSTIMMIGKEIT IN DER ALTEN GRUSINISCHEN (GEORGISCHEN) MUSIK*

Die alten grusinischen (georgischen) Musikdialekte zerfallen in zwei Gruppen: die ost – und die westgrusinische (entsprechend den antiken Siedlungsgebieten der Iberer und Kolchen). Die archaischsten Formen findet man in einzelnen Gebirgsdialekten.

Der Prozeß einer ehemaligen Entwicklung altgeorgischer Mehrstimmigkeit weist vom Norden her südwärts. Es ergibt sich dabei das folgende Gesamtschema (in phonetischer Transkription der Original-Benennungen, auch im weiteren, – etwa th = t, kh = k, mh = m, ehe= he usw., z.B. Kharthweli = Kartweli), das auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite dargestellt ist.

Die Mehrstimmigkeit der altgeorgischen Volksmusik war im wesentlichen eine dreistimmige – doch finden sich im östlichen Grusinien, in den Gebirgsdialekten (der Hewsuretischen und Tuschetischen Gebiete), vorwiegend einstimmige Chorlieder. In diesen sowie den Meßcheti-Dshawachetischen einstimmigen Liedern kann man aber im Bau ihrer Melodien eine ehemalige, rudimentäre Mehrstimmigkeit feststellen. Diese Dialekte haben im Vergangenen stark unter dem Einfluß des Türkenjochs gelitten und dabei ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt verloren. Ein ähnliches Schicksal hatte auch die Georgier in Fereidān getroffen, die im 17. Jahrhundert zwangsweise dorthin durch Schah Abbas d. 1. übersiedelt worden waren.

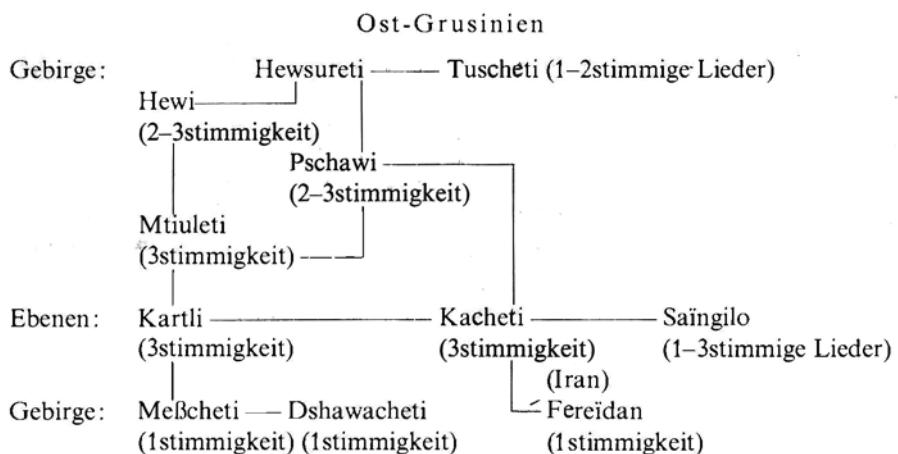
Zweistimmigen Volksgesängen begegnet man in Hewi, Pschawi sowie Mtuleti und nur selten in den Dialekten der Ebenen. Vierstimmige Arbeitslieder sind in West-Grusinien verbreitet, und zwar in den gurischen sowie adsharischen Dialekten.

Die Formen der Mehrstimmigkeit sind durchaus verschieden: im Westen herrscht eine Mehrstimmigkeit komplexen Charakters vor, im Osten hingegen eine bourdonartige. Im Swanetischen ist die Bewegung der ersten und zweiten Stimmen eine parallele, sich streng auf die Diatonik stützende – im Gurischen ist das pedalartige Hervortreten der Oberstimme des Vorsängers (*Krimantschuli*) bezeichnend. In den westlichen Gebieten herrscht der polyphonische Satzbau vor – in den östlichen dient als Grundlage eine harmonische Struktur mit dem Hervortreten eines bordunartigen Basses.

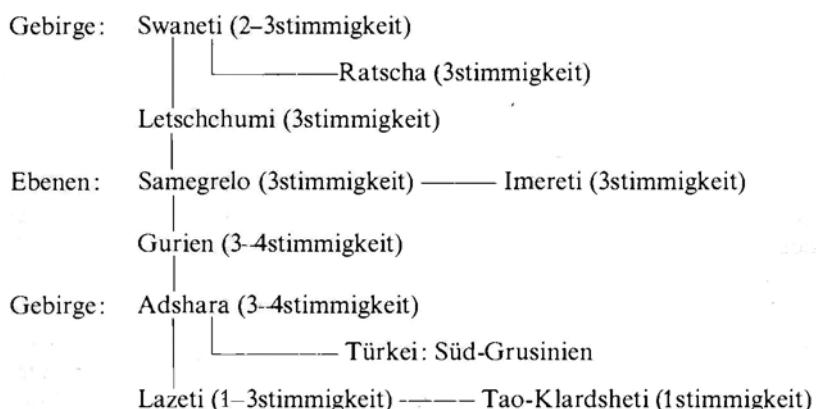
Die Harmonik des Volksgesanges ist eigenartig. Ihre Hauptstufen sind I, VI und VII (statt IV und V): sie begegnen uns entweder als vollständige Dreiklänge oder mit fortgelassener Terz oder Quinte. Die III. Stufe schließt sich funktionell der 1. an, die II. der IV. Die Subdominant-Funktion fällt der VI., die Dominantfunktion der II. und VII. Stufe zu. Die nicht nach Terzen aufgebauten Akkorde sind folgende: reine Quarte + große Sekunde oder + (zweite) Quarte. Charakteristisch ist die Fusion von Quarte + Quinte (f + b + c') als Quart-Quint-Akkord.

Als Kadenzzen fungieren: die einfache I-VII-I und I-II-I; die erweiterte I-II-VII-I; die zusammengesetzte I-VI-VII-1; die phrygische 1-II-III; die Halbkadzenzen VII-II, VII-IV, VII-1-II oder 1-11, 1-VII-IV; die mixolydische 1-VI-VII oder IV-VII VII; die äolische 1-II (die II. Stufe endet auf der Quinte oder dem – Grundton).

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West-Grusinien



Im alten Georgien hatten die einzelnen Ortsgemeinden ihre eigenen Modi. Für jedes Ritual gab es solche speziell festgelegte Grundmelodien bzw. Floskeln einfachen Charakters. So haben Gruppen kultischer Gesänge gleiche melische Strukturen und bilden daher in ihren verschiedenen Modi melodische Varianten – wie etwa der Hymnus der Sonnenkönigin „Sonne, du erhellt die Heimstatt“: die Weise gehört ihrem Charakter nach zu dem ältesten Typ der ostgrusinischen Mehrstimmigkeit (auf Textierung wird bei allen Vokalbeispielen verzichtet):

Moderato

Die normative Festlegung der Melodien hängt von ihrem jeweiligen Genre ab. Die Form ihrer Ausführung ist ebenfalls uralt. So z.B. wechselt in den Trauergesängen ebenso wie im alten Griechenland ein Klageweib mit einem den Refrain singenden Chor ab. Der Text wird dabei frei improvisiert – z.B.:

- Solo: Ihr meine lieben Trauernden!

Chor: Uhe, he, he, hea !

Solo: Ohne Wirt sind Sense und Rechen zurückgeblieben!

Chor: Uhe, he, he, hea !

Solo: Die gereicht hätten für zwölf Mäher!

Chor: Uhe, he, he, hea !

Solo: Der Grauschimmel ist ohne Herrn geblieben – ein verwaistes
Pferd!

Chor: Uhe, he . . . usw.

Seit Urzeiten bestanden zwei Arten der Trauerhymnen: die „Klage mit Anruf“ (bzw. responsorialer Evolution).

„Warum antwortest du mir nicht,
mein Leid!
Sieh, wie wir gemeinsam trauern,
mein Leid!“ usw.

und die (antiphonisch-responsoriale) „Klage in metrischer Einteilung“ in der jede Satzperiode im gesetzten Zeitmaß vom Chor als genau berechnete Strophe absolviert wird, wonach Vorsänger und Chor unison klagen und singen.

Die normativen Intonationen der altgeorgischen Musik sind absteigende Tonfolgen – ähnlich der elementaren Leiterbewegung in der griechischen Antike. Im archaischen Hewsureti-Dialekt begegnen uns gleiche Melosfloskeln für verschiedenartige Texte – in der späteren Entwicklungsetappe wird jeder solcher Grundmodi durch Zwischenmodi bereichert.

In Hewsureti unterscheiden die Gebirgler Frauen – und Männer-Modi. Für die erstgenannten sind Dreierhythmen ($\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{8}$) charakteristisch, sie sind mehr kantabelmelisch bzw. lyrisch gehalten. In den Männermodi herrscht das rezitativisch Deklamationsmäßige und eine strengere Herbheit vor. In diesen Volksgesängen begegnen uns tonal das Mixolydische, Jonische, Äolische, Dorische, Phrygische. Zu koloristischen Zwecken werden auch grenzartige, unentwickelte Tonalitäten verwendet, so z. B. die Abwandlung von Dur in Moll und umgekehrt, im Mixolydischen die erniedrigte III. Stufe, das Auftauchen von a im Äolischen oder von fis und gis im Jonischen u. ä.

Die Geschichte der alten georgischen Musik umfaßt alle Formationen der menschlichen Entwicklungsgeschichte: zum primigenen Frühstadium gehören Megalith-Denkmäler als ehemalige, Zentren kultischer und ritueller Feierlichkeiten, unter den archaischen Funden ragen die silbernen Trialeti-Gefäße hervor, auf denen Szenen kultischer Zeremonien in Ornaten und Masken dargestellt sind, bronzenen ritualtanzende Phallus-Figuren aus Zageri, die Flöte aus dem MzchetGrabmal, die goldenen rasselnden Amulette aus dem Achalgori-Schatz. Vom zweiten Jahrtausend vor der Zeitenwende an scheiden sich die ost – und westgrusinischen Formen. In jener Frühzeit kann man kulturelle Verbindungen mit den Völkern des Vorderen Orients feststellen (Sumerern, Protocheten, Guriern, Urartern), genetische mit den iberischen Basken und den Völkern des Nordkaukasus.

Im 8. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitenwende beginnt die Hellenisierung der noch urtümlichen völkischen Stammesstruktur. Die hauptsächlichsten Quellenbelege für diesen Prozeß sind (außer materiellen Kulturüberresten und archäologischen Funden) Schriften griechischer und römischer Schriftsteller und Reisender. Im 2.-1. Jahrhundert bildete sich ein sklavenhalterisches Staatswesen aus, dessen Metropole Mzchet war. Dieser Periode gehören die antiken Theaterbauten in Uplißzich und bei Fasissi an, rhetorische Schulen, Gymnasien, Hippodrome, heidnische Tempel zu Ehren der Gottheiten Mond, Sonne und des weißen Georg. Erhalten haben sich bis in unsere Zeit heidnische Gesänge, und zwar kultische und Brauchtums-Lieder: eine Nänie, eine Lobpreisung, eine Begräbnislitanei, der Zyklus *Abessalom und Etheri* (die älteste Form des „Tristan und Isolde“-Stoffes), *Amiran* (die älteste Variante des Prometheus-Mythos), die *Klage der Berika's* (ein in Masken zelebrierter Ritus), Die *Eiche am Fluß, Keisruli* (= „Das Cäsarische“), Gesänge über *Lazare* (den Wettergott), die *Lile* (die Sonnengöttin) sowie Arbeitslieder (Pflüger-, Hacker-, Mäher-, Tennen – u. ä. Lieder).

Der swanetische Hymnus an die Sonnengöttin *Lile*, der von Jägern im Morgengrauen gesungen wird, ist bemerkenswert durch seine strenge diatonische Stimmenbewegung und durch die Form seiner parallelen Polyphonik. Der dazugehörige Ritus wird von dem „Koryphäen“ (dem zelebrierenden Chorführer) und den antiphonen Chören ausgeführt: „O Lile, oh! Alles ist voll deiner Erhabenheit und deines ewigen Ruhms, Lile!“.

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Grandioso' and 'I Tenor'. It features a dynamic 'f' and includes measures with quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth-note patterns. The bottom staff is labeled 'II Coro' and also contains measures with similar note values and patterns.

Dem Gott der Landwirtschaft *Odoja* ist ein heidnischer Gesang gewidmet. In ihm herrschen die akklamatorischen Anrufungen der Gottheit vor, zwischendurch ertönt refrainartig die Aufforderung: „Sing lauter, herzlich klinge unser LandLied!“ Ausgeführt wird es durch zwei Chöre und zwei Koryphäen, welche Vorarbeiter bzw. Arbeitsanführer sind:

The musical score shows two sections. The first section starts with 'Andante' and 'I Solo', followed by 'Coro'. The second section begins with 'Solo II' and continues with 'Coro'. Both sections are in 3/4 time and feature melodic lines with various note heads and rests.

Seit altersher war Georgien bekannt durch seine Weine (heute werden dort rund 75 verschiedene Sorten kultiviert). Entsprechende Tafel – und Trinksitten haben ihre uralten Traditionen, an die man sich bis in die entferntesten Landeswinkel mit nahezu ritueller Strenge hält, wobei gewisse differente Bräuche spezifisch lokal gebunden sind. Es ist oft bewundernswert, mit welch brillanter Souveränität sogar analphabetische Bauern die rhetorischen Trinksprüche ausbringen. In den dazugehörigen Trinkliedern kann man das Lob der Vergangenheit, den Kult der Frauen, das Rühmen der Helden, das Preisen der Heimat, das Hochleben und Ehren der Verwandten und Freunde vernehmen. Die Trinklieder werden durch frohen Tanz und scherzhafte Schnadahüpferl begleitet. Alles wird vom Festgeber (*Tamade*) geleitet und gesteuert.

Die Trinklieder sind daher das am reichsten entwickelte Genre jener Gesänge, in denen sich der völkische Musikgeschmack am deutlichsten ausgeprägt hat. Als bezeichnendes Beispiel dafür kann das ostgrusinische Lied „*Tschakrulo*“ gelten:

The musical score for 'Tschakrulo' is presented in three staves. The first staff starts with 'Largo' and includes measures with quarter notes and eighth-note patterns. The second staff begins with 'ten.' and 'ad lib.' markings, followed by measures with sixteenth-note patterns. The third staff concludes with 'ten.' markings and measures with eighth-note patterns. The score uses a variety of dynamics and time signatures throughout.



Es ist leicht zu ersehen, daß der tonale Grundriß dieses Musters an Bourdon-Polyphonie in exzeptio-
neller Weise formvollendet und symmetrisch gegliedert ist. In der Struktur ist Dreiteiligkeit erkennbar. Das
allgemeine Aufbau-Schema in Mixolydisch ist (auf Grund der Baßbewegung) folgendes:¹

1. Teil		2. Teil		3. Teil				
B	G	A	H	H	Cis	As	B	C
I	VI	VII	I	I	II	VI	VII	I

Ebenso pompös werden auch die Trauerzeremonien durchgeführt, wobei (außer den bereits erwähnten primitiven Formen von Klage – bzw. Begräbnisliedern) auch entwickeltere Formen bestehen. Ebenso technisch perfekte Strukturen weisen auch Seherzgesänge auf, aus denen der geniale Schota Rustaweli die „*Scha-iri*“ als heitere Weisheitsdichtungen in Strophenform und zyklischen Gliederungen entwickelte. Sie fanden besonders im westlichen Grusinien Verbreitung, wo eine komplexe Mehrstimmigkeit vorherrscht. Diese Gesänge unterscheiden sich strukturell ganz evident von den Liedern Ost-Grusiniens. Die Polyphonie hat sich hier im Westen ganz besonders reich im gurisch-adsharischen Dialekt entfaltet, wo die Mehrstimmigkeit gelegentlich zu einer vierfachen Aufteilung der Oberstimme geführt hat. Spezifisch sind hier Klangkomplexe von orgelpunktartigem Pedalisierungscharakter unter dem vielseitigen Namen „*Krimantschuli*“.

Jede Stimme im grusinischen mehrstimmigen Lied hat ihre besondere volkstümliche Bezeichnung:

1. Stimme – „*Tkma*“ = die Berichtende,
2. Stimme – „*Magali Bani*“ = hoher Baß (mitunter:
„*Modsachili*“ = die Mitsingende),
3. Stimme – „*Bani*“ = der Baß.

Im 12. Jahrhundert finden wir beim grusinischen Philosophen Johann Petrici folgende Benennungen:

1. „*Msachr*“, 2. „*Shir*“, 3. „*Bam*“.

Zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts ist in Bagration's Lehrbuch der Musik die Nomenklatur bereits folgende:

- „*Krini*“ ist die allerhöchste Oberstimme,
- „*Sili*“ ist das zweithohe Stimmregister nächst der erstgenannten;
- „*Tkma*“ ist nunmehr die mittlere, aber führende (Haupt-)Stimme;
- „*Bani*“ ist der höhere, erste Baß,
- „*Dwrini*“ ist der tiefere, zweite Baß (*basso profundo*).

Im gurisch-adsharischen Dialekt bilden die hohen Stimmen spezifische klangliche Komplexe ver-

¹ Sch. A. Aslanischwili, *Die Harmonik des kartalino-kachetinischen volkstümlichen Chorliedes*, Tbilissi 1950 (grus.), S. 158.

schiedener Art und wechseln im Verlauf der Gesänge ihre ausgeprägt rhythmischen Figuren. Hier zwei Beispiele dazu:



Die gurischen Arbeits-, Kult – und Trinklieder zeichnen sich durch dissonierende Kombinationen aus: es gibt brillante Exempel solcher kühner Konstruktivismen, in denen die Logik musikalischen Denkvermögens verblüffend ist und die (bei auch krassen metrisch-rhythmischen Übergängen) polytonal wirken.

Als ein typisches, gewöhnliches Musterbeispiel grusinischer volkstümlicher Mehrstimmigkeit (seit altersher in der Regel als Dreistimmigkeit) sei das heitere Scherzlied Schwarze Drossel beigegeben. Dieses Lied wird jeder beliebige gurische Bauer ohne spezielle musikalische Schulung zu singen vermögen. Die Wiedergabe von Oberstimmen lernen bereits Kinder, und bis heute gibt es allerorts in ihrer näheren Umwelt bekannte Familien, welche speziell die Ausführung der Unterstimmen auf traditionelle oder eigene Art und Weise pflegen.²

² Die bisherigen Notenbeispiele sind den folkloristischen Volkslieder-Sammlungen von G. Tschchikwadse, O. Tschidshawadse, W. Zagarejschwili und W. Karbelaschwili entnommen.



Zugleich mit der Christianisierung Grusiniens im 4. Jahrhundert setzt ein kirchliches und kirchenmusikalisches Schrifttum ein. Die neue Religion und die neue feudalistische Gesellschaftsordnung legalisierten das auf der Grundlage des antiken Erbes entstandene Genre einer Hymnographie literarischer und philosophischer Richtung. Dazu bilden sich die neuartigen Gebiete der Bibliologie, Apokryphik, Exegetik, Dogmatik, Polemik, Hagiographie, Asketik sowie Mystik, Homiletik, Kanonik, Liturgik und Poesie aus.

Auf Fundamenten der Überlieferungen aus der Antike wurde auch die Tonkunst ausgebaut: die georgische Hymnographie ist reich an Gesängen (besonders zu literarischen Texten der Apokryphen, der Hagiographie, der Liturgik und besonders der Poesie). Seit etwa dem 10. Jahrhundert lässt sich die Existenz einer spezifischen Professionalmusik feststellen, es bildet sich eine Plejade fachlicher bzw. beruflicher Hymnographen: Mikael Modrekili, Stefan Mtewari, Georg Mertschule, Johann Zossime, Johann Mintschchi, Ezra, Johann Konkossidse, Kurdana, der Mönch Philipp, Stefan Sananojsdse, Euthymios und Georgios vom Heiligen Berg, Efrem Der Jüngere, David Der Erbauer, Arsenios Aus Ikalto, Johann Petrici, Dimitrij d. I., Johann Schwateli und andere. Ein großer Teil dieser Hymnographen waren zugleich hervorragende Vertreter der grusinischen Literatur und Philosophie, sie waren ebenfalls erfolgreiche Übersetzer und Kommentatoren berühmter byzantinischer, syrischer und europäischer Autoren. In grusinischen Handschriften haben sich (wie Prof. K. S. Kekelidse feststellte) Übersetzungen erhalten, deren Originale unbekannt bzw. verloren sind, und von denen es keine anderssprachigen Übertragungen gibt. Der genannte grusinische Gelehrte konstatierte dabei:

„Keine einzige Arbeit, die dem Schrifttum der altchristlichen Kirchen gewidmet ist, kann auf wissenschaftliche Lückenlosigkeit oder Endgültigkeit prätendieren ohne vorherige Orientierung in dem erhaltenen grusinischen Handschriften-Schatz.“

Es gibt Belege, daß schon im 11.-13. Jahrhundert in Georgien bekannt waren: die *Ilias* und die *Odyssee* von Homer, die *Alexandersage* des Pseudo-Kallisthenes, Firdusi's *Schahname*, *Iskendername* sowie *Lejli und Medshnun* von Nisami, *Kalila und Dimna*, *Wamech und Azra*, *Die Weisheit des Balawars* u. a. Jedenfalls ist es eine interessante und bezeichnende Tatsache, daß in der Epoche der Entfaltung einer christlichen kirchlichen Literatur (die sich machtvoll auf der Basis der klerikalen Poesie entwickelte) auch eine säkulare, weltliche Dichtung erblühte, deren Kulminationspunkt im genialen Lebenswerk des Schota Rustaweli gipfelte – Erscheinungen, welche in ihrem Wesen summarisch die grusinische Frührenaissance bildeten.

Das System des Oktoechos wird in der georgischen Hymnographie seit dem 10. Jahrhundert angewendet. Das erste diesbezügliche Sammelwerk stammt von Mikael Modrekili, der in seinem Leitwort zur Kodifi-

zierung zwei Mal vermerkt, daß er auf Gottes Geheiß hin lange und eifrig im Volke in grusinischer Sprache Gesänge mechurischer, griechischer und grusinischer Provenienz sammelte, sie mit Neumen versah und in die entsprechenden Modi und Echoi einordnete. So ergoß sich gleich zu Anfang bei der Kanonisierung des Kirchengesanges (zugleich mit dessen gesetzlicher Regelung und Notation) ein mächtiger Strom des Volksliedes in das Sakralsingen.

Das georgische Kirchenlied ist somit, sich auf den Volksgesang stützend, dreistimmig. Sogar der Charakter des Melischen bewahrt, ungeachtet seiner gewissen Verfeinerung und Adaption an das Kanonische, volkshaftes Kolorit. Unter den Gesängen der ältesten Urzeit spielt der Hymnus des Dimitrij o. l. Du Garten (Paradies), der uns in mehreren Varianten überliefert ist, eine bedeutende Rolle:

„Du Garten, blühender,
wie Sonne erstrahlender.
Boden so fruchtbar.
In Eden gereifte
Pappel, duftige,
paradiesische
Gott selbst – er rühmte
den Unvergleichlichen,
den leuchtend lichten,
alles Verklärenden!“

In den Gesängen des 10. Jahrhunderts ist die Sematik (es sind insgesamt 24 Neumenzeichen) lokaler Eigenprovenienz, und man findet sie vor allem in den Handschriften aus den südlichen Gebieten Grusiniens sowie auf der Sinai-Halbinsel (im grusinischen Kloster der HI. Katharina). Ein zweites Notationssystem, und zwar eine ekphonetische Sematik mit musikalischen Akzentzeichen, wurde aus Byzanz entlehnt und findet sich in jenen Kodizes, die in den Athos-Klöstern (dem Helatischen und Schiomgwim-Kloster) sowie in Petritzow geschrieben wurden.

Die Grundlage des Oktoechos bilden die acht Echoi, die für alle orthodoxen Kirchen Gültigkeit haben. Jedem Echos liegt ein abgewandelter diatonischer Modus zugrunde, zudem treten in jedem der Echoi jeweils besondere charakteristische Haupttöne hervor, die für den betreffenden Echos spezifisch sind (im Verhältnis von starken und schwachen Zählzeiten zueinander). Vor jedem Echos-Gesang wird ein sog. Kanon (ihrer Zahl nach neun) angestimmt. Vor den Troparien nach dem Hirmos werden die Motive angegeben, auf denen das Variieren der Melodik des Echos beruht. Jede Variation ist eine freie Improvisation im Rahmen der gegebenen Kantilene, und diese Improvisation (ihre Zahl geht in die Tausende) wird *Tschreli* genannt. Der starke Einfluß des Volksgesanglichen liegt gerade in ihnen – diese Variationen bilden innerhalb der kanonisierten Kirchenhymnodik einen Weg zu einer lebens – bzw. Entwicklungsfähigen liturgischen Musik. Wenn in dem volkstümlichen dreistimmigen Lied die zweite (Mittel-)Stimme die führende (bzw. der *Dux*) war, so stützt sich der Kirchengesang in seiner Mehrstimmigkeit auf die Oberstimme als die führende Hauptstimme.

Kunstfertigkeit zeigt sich auch in der poetischen Textgestaltung. Sie ist in der Regel metrisch, und zwar in Jambenform gehalten. Jede Zeile enthält 7 + 5 Silben; in jeweils 5 Zeilen ist die Silbenzahl genau 60 Silben. Doch wird auch dieses tote Schema variiert, und es gibt Abweichungen von der Norm. So z.B. sieht der Hymnus an die Gottesmutter aus der Sammlung des Modrekili wie folgt aus: 11, 10, 4, 10; 11, 10, 4, 10 Silben. Solche Abweichungen vom Standard findet man auch in der byzantinischen Hymnographie, z.B. im Oster-Kanon des Johannes Damaszenos: 8, 7, 7, 8 und 5, 6, 7, 8 Silben. Bei Modrekili finden sich auch Strophen von „embryonalem“ Rhythmus (lt. A. Gazerelia).

Das musikalische Metrum in den byzantinischen und georgischen Gesängen stimmt (nach dem erhalten-

nen Quellenmaterial) nicht immer mit dem textlichdichterischen überein. Im Grusinischen ist der Akzent ein dynamisch-exspirativer. Wenn das Wort aus einer Silbe besteht, so wird es nicht betont – im zweisilbigen fällt der Ton auf die erste Silbe, ebenso im dreisilbigen Wort (wobei daktylischer Charakter in Erscheinung tritt). Im allgemeinen muß bemerkt werden, daß Funktion und Rolle der Betonung im Grusinischen relativ und durchschnittlich viel schwächer sind als in anderen Sprachen (etwa im Russischen).

Die Symmetrik, die allmähliche Evolution des Versbaues und der Formen geistlicher Werke hing weitgehend von der Einwirkung der weltlichen und volkstümlichen Poesie ab. Diese, ein Zweig des kulturellen Denkens der Menschheit, begnügt sich nie mit eng begrenzten Rahmen. Dem kulturellen Wachstum kamen jene Verbindungen zugute, welche (wie schon die Historiker der Königin Tamara und die *Kartli-Chronik* registrierten) mit Byzanz, Rom, Indien, Syrien, Ägypten sowie mit den Skythen, Hasaren, Alanen, Midieren, Armeniern usw. bestanden und welche besonders die Akademiker in Ikalto, Gremi und Gelati während des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts pflegten.

In dieser Periode entstanden in der weltlichen und Volks-Musik mehrstimmige Instrumentalensembles, die timbremäßig zusammengestellt wurden. Doch blieb diese Art instrumentaler Mehrstimmigkeit auf die genannten Musikgebiete begrenzt und fand keinen Eingang in die Kirchenmusik, wo Instrumentalmusik an sich verpönt blieb. So beschränkte sich die Verbreitung der Instrumente auf die Städte und die urbane Folklore, wo ihre Einflüsse am leichtesten Fuß fassen konnten. Daher blieb auch die Mehrzahl der in Grusinien vorhandenen Instrumente schon in ihrer Nomenklatur arabisch-persischer Herkunft,³ während die grusinische Musik selbst ihrer ganzen Struktur nach als europäisch gelten muß und in allen ihren Phasen eine der europäischen entsprechende Entwicklung durchgemacht hat.

Die Struktur der georgischen Musik war in ihrer klassischen Zeit (auf Grund der Überlieferung des Philosophen Johann Petrici) die streng pythagoräische (wie in Byzanz und Europa), wandte sich dann aber im 17./18. Jahrhundert der reinen Temperatur zu (wie in Europa mit Zarlino). Die Grundzahlenfolge des Tonsystems bei Petrici ist 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 – diese symbolischen Ziffern bezieht er gemeinsam auf die byzantinische und die grusinische Musik: 1 entspricht dem Monochord, 3 entspricht den drei Registern, Saiten bzw. der Dreistimmigkeit, 5 ist die Intervallbeziehung unter den Tönen, 7 enthält die Grundtöne und 9 bedeutet das pythagoräische Komma.

In den dreistimmigen Gesängen ist die Bewegung des Melos eine streng diatonische, ihre Grundlage bildet die Terzstruktur. Die erste und zweite Stimme sind beweglicher als der Baß, der die Stütze des harmonischen Komplexes darstellt. Zwischen den Oberstimmen wechselt periodisch die Initiative der Motivführung. Es begegnet uns auch gelegentlich die Imitation zwischen den einzelnen Stimmen, die vor allem auf rhythmischen Figurationen beruht: diese Imitationen finden meist bei antiphonischem Ausführung (Doppelchörigkeit) statt, die in volkstümlichen Reigengesängen in verschiedenen Formen ausgeprägt ist. Die Terzenstruktur zeigt sich sowohl in latenter als auch in natürlicher Form. Die latehe Form hängt mit der Melismatik zusammen, die aber in der grusinischen Musik nichts mit der orientalischen gemein hat. Die nichtharmonischen Töne haben im dreistimmigen Satz obere oder untere Hilfsfunktionen oder sind Durchgangsnoten, welche die harmonische Struktur bereichern bzw. komplizieren. In den Intervallbeziehungen zwischen den Stimmen findet man parallele Quarten und Quinten. Die Rolle der Quarte ist an sich für die melische Struktur ebenso groß wie in der europäischen Musik.

In allen kulturellen Zentren Georgiens bestanden Sängerkapellen. Der große Hymnograph Georgios vom Heiligen Berg hatte aus 80 Waisenknaben einen Chor gebildet, der am Hofe des byzantinischen Kaisers sang und auf Befehl des grusinischen Herrschers Bagrat d. IV. auf dem Berge Athos zur Verstärkung des Chores im grusinischen Höhlenkloster wirkte. Georgios selbst war dort Regens chori. Damals bestanden verschiedene Funktionen bei der Leitung des Chorgesanges: der „älteste Sänger“ (*Mgalobelt uchuzesi*), der „Sänger unter Sängern“ bzw. „Sänger der Sänger“ (*Mgalobelta mgalobeli*), der Chorregent (*Medase*), der Dirigent des Ensembles (*Memzkobre*) u.ä.

In alten Zeiten fanden auf den öffentlichen Plätzen der Städte festliche Sängerwettstreite statt, zu denen sich die Barden aus ganz Grusinien versammelten. Sie priesen in ihren Lobgesängen des Volkes Geisteshe-

³ Zu erwähnen sind die drei hauptsächlichsten Instrumentengruppen: a) *Tschangi*, *Tschagana*, *Udi*, *Organi*, *Zinzila* b) *Spi-lends-Dshuri*, *Buki*, *Kosi*, *Tablaki*, *Dabdabi* c) *Nobati*, *Naj*, *Ebani* usw. Insgesamt sind an die hundert Instrumenten-Namen in Grusinien nachweisbar.

roen und hinterließen selbst unsterbliche Hymnen, indem sie einen ganzen, eigenen grusinischen Heiligenkalender chufen – so Schuschaniki, Abo, David der Erbauer, die Königin Tamara, Schalwa, Bidsina, Elisbar Chercheulidse, die Königin Ketewan, der hl. NINO und der populäre hl. Georg. Hier ein Beispiel dieser Hymnographie in den kanonisch vorgesehenen kirchlichen Echoi – die erste Hälfte einer Hymne des heiligen Georg im klassischen Stil solcher Werke (die drei Anfangsabschnitte – im 4. Echos):



Als Beilage sei außerdem die bekannte Hymne im 3. Echos David des Erbauers („Der Sang der Generationen“) wiedergegeben:

„Wenn die Zeit des letzten Seufzers einst wird kommen,
die Herrlichkeit sich nahen und der Ruhm verblassen wird,
dann wird Freude überflüssig werden, ·
das Blühen wird verwelken,
ein anderer erhält das Szepter,
und die Kriegerscharen folgen ihm nun
– dann sei mir gnädig, mein höchster Richter!“





Solche Gesänge bilden Höhepunkte der urbanistischen (professionellen) Musikkultur in Grusinien.

Während der Überfälle der Araber und Perser kämpfte das grusinische Volk gegen sie nicht nur als fremde Eroberer, sondern auch als Feinde des christlichen Glaubens und der orthodoxen Kirche. Diese sah die Gefahr für die Selbständigkeit nicht nur in einer Versklavung und physischen Diskriminierung, sondern auch in einer Übertragung orientalischer Lebenstraditionen und deren Poetik. So entstanden denn die Predigten eines Johann Bolneli, es werden die Akten des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils übersetzt (in denen besonders die kanonischen Richtlinien gegen weltliche Theateraufführungen hervorgehoben werden), man überträgt die Homilien des Eusebios von Alexandria („Wider die unzüchtigen Sänger“), des hl. Basileos („Wider Trinker, Spieler, und Sänger, wider musikalisch-theatralische Gaukler“), des Johannes Chrysostomos („Wider Sänger, Tänzer, Unzüchtige und Komödianten“) u.ä. m.

Ungeachtet aH dieser Warnungen fahren die Grusinier fort, den Klängen auch der weltlichen Lyra zu lauschen. Im 12.-13. Jahrhundert erlebt Georgien seine Renaissance säkularer Kunst, es entwickelt sich in Verbindung zu den nachbarlichen Kulturen weiter eine machtvolle weltliche, volkstümliche Poesie, deren Höhepunkt im weltbekannten Epos des Schota Rustaweli *Der Recke im Tigerfell* gipfelt.

Literatur:

1. D. I. Arakišvili, *Kratkij istorieeskij obzor gruzinskoy muzyki* (Kurzer geschichtlicher Grundriß der grusinischen Musik), Tbilisi 1940 (russ.).

A BILINGUAL EPITAPH OF SVETITSKHOVELI*

Abstract

In front of the door of the ambo, in the Svetitskhoveli church, there lies a rectangular marble gravestone with a bilingual epitaph (Georgian and Arabic texts) carved on it. The Author translates the texts into modern Georgian and into English, reading the ancient Georgian with a slight difference in comparison with the other researchers. He shows the importance of the epitaph, from which we get some historical fundamental information.

Key Words: *Bilingual; Epitaph; Svetitskhoveli.*

Numerous relics of oriental inscriptions have been discovered on Georgian territory, including Arabic epigraphic material¹ - largely Islamic. However, there occur inscriptions on Christian cult objects belonging to a later period. One such specimen is the Svetitskhoveli bilingual epitaph.

Svetitskhoveli, an 11th cent. Patriarchal church, is one of the most important monuments of Georgian architecture. It is situated in Mtskheta, the ancient capital of the country, within 20km. of Tbilisi.

In front of the door of the ambo, in the Svetitskhoveli church, at the floor level there lies – among other tombs – a rectangular marble gravestone (length: 1m. 48 cm.; width: 50cm.) with a bilingual epitaph (Georgian and Arabic texts) carved on it. The stone is framed with a border.

The epigraph drew the attention of researchers as far back as the turn of the present century. Information about it has been supplied by T. Zhordania,² A. Natroev,³ and B. Dorn.⁴ According to A. Natroev the epitaph is in Georgian and in Persian. B. Dorn correctly considered it an Arabic-language epitaph.

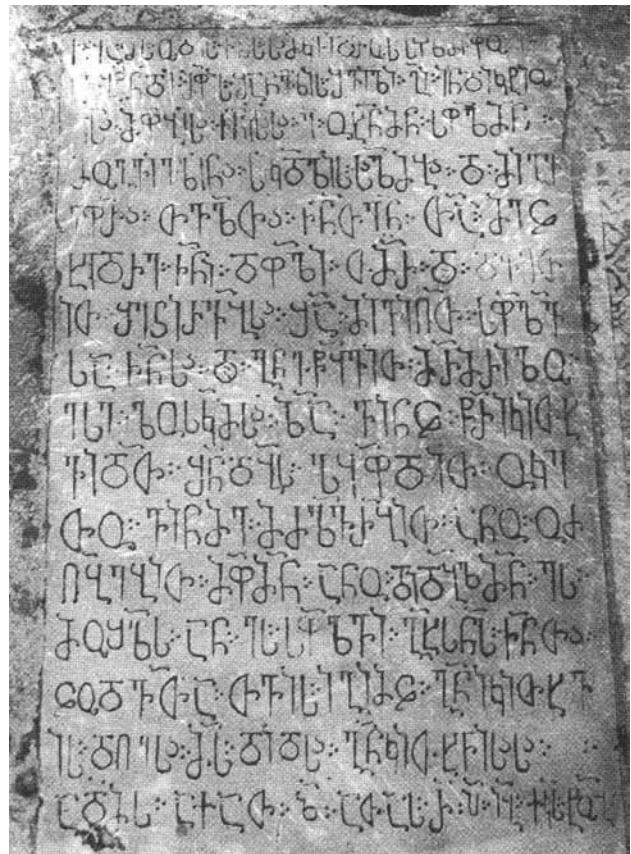


FIG. 1. *The Georgian text of the Svetitskhoveli bilingual inscription.*

* First published in: *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Rivista della Facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere dell'Università di Venezia*, Estratto XXXVI, 3, 1997 (Serie orientale 28), pp. 169-177. An extended Georgian version of this paper was published in «Matsne», series of history, archaeology, ethnography and art, No. 3, Tbilisi, 1974.

1 Research into Arabic inscriptions intensified in the 1850s and interest has continued to the present day. Here are some titles: Fraehn, *Erklaerung der arabischen Inschrift des eisernen Thorfliegels in Kloster zu Gelathi in Imerethi*, St. Petersbourg, 1836; B. Dorn, *Report on a scholarly journey through the Caucasus and the southern shore of the Caspian Sea*, «Trudy Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshch.», VIII St.-Petersbourg, 1861, pp. 247-313 (reprint p. 23) (in Russian); M.N. Khannikoff, *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, «J.A.», s. V. t. XX, Paris 1862; G. Tsereteli, *Semitic languages and their significance for the study of the history of culture*, «Coll. Papers, TSU», No. I, Tbilisi, 1947; V.A. Krachkovskaya, *Gravestone inscriptions from Dmanisi*, «Epigrafika Vostoka», v. V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1951 (in Russian); I. Krachkovski, *Collected Works*, t. VI, Moscow-Leningrad, 1960 (in Russian); Ts. Kakhiani, *The Dmanisi Arabic Inscriptions*, Tbilisi, 1965 (monograph) (in Georgian).

2 *Chronicles and Other Material of Georgian History and Literature*, published by T. Zhordania, Book Two, Tiflis, 1897, p. 499.

3 A. Natroev, *Mtskheta and its Cathedral Svetitskhoveli*, Tiflis, 1901, p. 320.

4 B. Dorn, *op. cit.*, p. 23.



FIG. 2. *The Arabic text of the Svetitskhoveli bilingual inscription.*

The epitaph begins with the Georgian text in *asomtavruli*⁵ capitals, executed *en creux*. The beginnings of the first, second and third lines and the end of the first and fifteenth lines are effaced, for the slab is placed at the floor level. Nevertheless, an approximate reconstruction of the missing passages is feasible.

The inscription comprises sixteen straight lines. The inscription area (81 cm. x 50 cm.) is filled almost uniformly. The words are divided one from another with three dots, the words being cipered. The cipher mark above the word *čns* in the first line is obliterated, while it is superfluous over the letters *sa* of the «indication» in the third line. The largely equal-sized, longish, carefully drawn letters are noteworthy. The text begins with the letter *ج* [k]. The inscription is dated.

Transliteration of the inscription: ·

1. K:ž~:: m-s: odes: · č~ns: samķvidros: sql-mčipo:·
2. [...] bť~ndi:·m~pis:· šan~vzis:· švili:· g~i:· ndik̄tio
3. [n]sa:·m~pbisa:· č~nisasa:· e~: o~xnmn:· sp~lm~n:·
4. mogvivlina:·sk~dlis:· sa~lmba:· d: migv
5. ep~ra:·tv~lta:·čn~tgn:· t~a:· mec
6. xedre:·č~ni:· dp~li:· Tm~r:· d: davš
7. it:·šečir~vbsa:· š~a:· mivi~yt:· sp~l~v
8. sa:·č~nsa:· d: gnvç~qvit:· mr~mrilo:·
9. ese:·losk~msa:· z~a:· vinc:· ç~rk̄itx:·
10. vid~t:·š~ndb~s:· hqp~dit:· oke
11. to:·vinme:· mʒl~vrb~it:· ano:· oʒ
12. γ~bebit:·m~pm~n:· ano:· did~blm~n:· es:·
13. mošl~s:· an:· es:· sp~lvi:· g~xsn~s:· č~nta:·
14. codv~ta:·tvis:· igimc:· g~nikitxv
15. is:·dyesa:· m~s:· didsa:· g~nkitxvisasa:·
16. Ad~ms:·akat:· z~:· atas:· r~:· p~:· i-b:· k-ks:· t~ob:·

5 The old form of Georgian writing used in the 5th-10th centuries, sometimes in later centuries too.

The deciphered Georgian text:

1. K. žamsa mas, odes čvens samķvidros saqelmçipo[s]
2. [gav]batondi mepis šanavazis švili Giorgi, indik̄tio
3. [n]samepobisa čvenisasa “e”, uxanoman sopolman
4. mogivlina siķvdilis salmoba da migv
5. epara tvalta čventagan tanamec
6. xedre čveni dedopali Tamar da davšt-
7. it šečirvebasa šina. Miviyet saplav-
8. sa čvensa da ganvaçqevit marmarilo
9. ese losķumasa zeda. Vinc cariķitxo
10. videt, šendobas hqopdit. uķe
11. tu vinme mžlavrobit anu už-
12. yebabit mepeman, anu didebulman es
13. mošalos an es saplavi gaxsnas čventa
14. codvatatvis, igimc ganiķitxav
15. is dyesa mas didsa ganiķitxvisasa
16. Adams akat z 7 atas r p ib (=7192) koroniķons ḥob (=372).

English translation:

1. Christ, At the time when in our sovereign kingdom
2. I assumed office, Giorgi, son of King Shanavaz, in the
3. induction გ /“e”/ of our reign, the fleeting world
4. sent us a disease of death, and there
5. disappeared from our eyes our spouse
6. our queen Tamar, and we were left
7. in grief. We brought her to our
8. sepulchre and placed this marble
9. on the grave. Whoever shall read it
10. forgive her. But
11. if anyone, through power or
12. avarice – be he a king or a noble –
13. shall remove this, or open this grave for our
14. sins, let he, too, be called to account
15. on the day of the great judgment.
16. since Adam 7192 at Koronikon 372.

The above-cited researchers and I read the Georgian text in the same way, with a slight difference. T. Zhordania omits several words, and occasionally a whole line, placing dots instead. He conveys the date in the following way: (ჰ რ ე ბ ე ბ ტ ე ბ) q r ž b kks ḥob.⁶ A. Natroev (and I) places the numerical values of the letters in parentheses: “Since Adam: ბ: ·one thousand (7000) რ r (100), ჰ p (80), ხ ḥ ib (12) (=7192)”. He supplies the Georgian text with a Russian translation in which the Koronikon is given in the new chronology “... in the Koronikon 372 (=1684)⁷”. Both T. Zhordania and I decipher the abbreviation ḥ xnmn in the same way – as uxanoman, as demanded by the context. A. Natroev reads it as *uxrçnelman*.

The Georgian text is followed by its Arabic counterpart, with a space of 26 cm. between them. The Arabic text is preserved almost entirely; only the final part of the sixth and seventh lines is obliterated. The text is fairly legible. The engraver of the inscription tried to fill the inscription are (44 cm.x 50 cm.) proportionately.

The inscription counts seven lines, the characters are sunk deep, engraved in a slightly cursive hand. The craftsman failed to preserve the proportion in drawing some of the characters.

⁶ T. Zhordania, *op.cit.*, p. 499.

⁷ A. Natroev, *op.cit.*, p. 320.

The text is vocalized only in three places. The inscription is furnished with diacritical marks. In some cases, the diacritical marks are either placed without need or are confused.

The inscription cannot be classed as an example of refined calligraphy. There also are mistakes in the text, the craftsman evincing a poor command of Arabic; the inscription is undated.

The Arabic text reads thus:

1. fi l-wak̄ti l-ladhī 'taynā' ilā mulkinā wa 'ilā salṭanatinā
2. wa 'itamallaknā⁸ naḥnubnu l-maliki shah nawāz Kiū[r]ki⁹
3. fī ta'rīkhī mulkinā wasalṭanatinā l - 'ālamu l-fāniyu
4. għadara⁹ binā wa'arsala 'ilaynā l-maraḍa wa l-mawta⁹ waazlama min
5. 'amāmi' ā'yunin⁹ mutanādjiyatū l-malikatu⁹ Tāmār⁹ wa baķinā⁹ mutaħayyirīna
6. wa mahmūmīna fī l-'aħżāni fa dafannāhā⁹ [fi]
7. maķbaratinā fī hadhā l-makāni wa'adjabnā laħā hadhā

Translation:

1. At the time at which we came to our kingdom and domain
2. and ascended the throne, we, the son of shahnavaç Giorgi,
3. in the time of our reign and command, the perishable world
4. proved perfidious to us and sent a disease and death and vanished from
5. our eyes through the decease of the spouse, Queen Tamar and left us stunned
6. and distraught with grief, and we buried her
7. at our sepulchre at this place which we deemed appropriate for her

A comparison of the Georgian and Arabic texts shows that the Georgian text is longer, the Arabic being its abridged translation. With a number of exceptions, a part of the Arabic text follows the Georgian. Thus, “The fleeting world” is rendered in Arabic as “the perishable world”. The ending of the Arabic absent in the Georgian text. The lines 11-15 of the Georgian text, containing the formula of curse, are not to be found in the Arabic text. Neither are the dates of the Georgian text (the induction of King Giorgi and the date of Tamar’s death) rendered in Arabic.

The epitaph refers to historical figures: king Giorgi¹⁰ the son of Shahnavaç (Shahnavaç of the Arabic text) and Tamar,¹¹ the spouse of king Giorgi. We find three dates in the text, two of which indicate the decease of Queen Tamar: 1. ፩ (z) since Adam one thousand ፩ ፩ ፩ (r p ib), which amounts to the year 7192 (=1684); 2. The Koronikontob =372 years (=1684). 2. The Koronikontob =372 years. The date from the beginning (since Adam) and the Koronikon coincide. The third date indicates the fifth year of Giorgi XI’s reign: the induction “ጀ” (“e”) = 5 years.

The year 1683 is accepted in Georgian historiography as the date of Tamar’s death.¹² In the present writ-

8 This form is characteristic of Christian Arabic literature. J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, I, Louvain 1966, p. 163.

9 There are spelling mistakes: kiūkī, l'älamu, għadħara, al-mawtha, 'a'üninā, Thamar, baykinā, dhafnnāhā, pointing to the poor knowledge of Arabic by the carver.

10 Giorgi XI, King of Kartli (1676-1688; 1703-1709) son of Vakhtang V, Shahnavaç. Formally being «Muslim», a vassal of the Shah, Giorgi XI remained a Christian at heart to the end. In 1703 the Shah appointed him Commander-in-Chief of his army and charged him with quelling the Afgans. In this battle, Giorgi XI was murdered in 1709 (Vakhushti, *A Description of the Kingdom of Georgia*, ed. By S. Qaukhchishvili, vol. IV, 1973, pp. 456, 457, 484; Iv. Javakhishvili, *A History of the Georgian People*, IV, Tbilisi, 1964, p. 399; N. Berdzenishvili, *Problems of Georgian History*, II, Tbilisi, 1965, p. 186, 193; N. Berdzenishvili, op. cit., VI, Tbilisi, 1973, pp. 280, 282.

11 The following is the descent of Queen Tamar according to the historical sources: “... the daughter of Elizbar’s son” (Vakhushti, *op. cit.*, 454), “daughter of David, David Elisbar’s son” (S. Chkhidze, *Life of Georgia*, ed. By M. Chubinashvili, St.-Petersbourg, 1854, p. 309; cf. N. Nakashidze’s Russian translation, Acad. Edition, 1976, p. 10), «of the house of the Kakhetian rulers» (Vakhushti, *op.cit.*, 459). The identity of Tamar’s father is not clear from this evidence. Some light has been shed on the vague problem by D. Ninidze’s monograph *A History of the Branches of the Royal House of the Bagrationis (13th-18th cent.)*. This is a study of the history of the Davitishvili house, with their genealogy. (My profound thanks are due to the author for placing the manuscript of his Doctoral thesis at my disposal [in print]; cf. S. Bichikashvili, D. Ninidze, A. Mkheidze, *The Bagrationis*, Tbilisi, 1995, pp. 13-14.) According to Ninidze, Tamar was the daughter of David Davitishvili, son of Elizbar Davitishvili (bo-kaultukhutse), the chief official, a member of the Kakhetian Bagrationi-Davitishvili branch of the Bagrationi royal dynasty.

12 Vakhushti, *op. cit.*, p. 459; T. Zhordania, *op. cit.*, p. 497; M. Brosset, *A History of Georgia*, Part Two, Tiflis, 1900, p. 43 (in Geor-

er's view, the dual indication of the epitaph (from the beginning and the Koronikon), according to which Tamar died in 1684,¹³ must be more correct.

The epitaph provides highly interesting information about the date of Giorgi's accession to the throne, for three different dates are represented in Georgian historiography: 1675,¹⁴ 1676,¹⁵ 1678.¹⁶

In resolving this question priority should - it would seem - be again given to the Mtskheta epitaph, for it was executed in King Giorgi's lifetime and, doubtless, under his direction. As already noted, according to the epitaph the date of Tamar's death falls to 1684, while the date of King Giorgi's accession to the throne, given in the same epitaph, precedes Tamar's death by five years (in the induction "յ" ("e"), which yields the year 1679 (1684-5=1679). This evidence is presumably trustworthy, and hence important for the specification of the reign of Giorgi XI.

Besides the foregoing points, the epitaph is interesting from the cultural-historical point of view as well. For the period in question one would have expected the use of Persian alongside Georgian, as is attested by numerous facts in Georgian epigraphy.¹⁷ Although the use of Arabic along with Georgian is not widespread in the 16th-17th centuries, anyhow the Mtskheta epitaph is not an isolated case. It is notable that Arabic inscriptions occur on 16th-17th cent. icons from Urbnisi and St. David's churches. Similarly, parallel Georgian-Greek-Arabic inscriptions have been recorded in Samtavisi church (1679)¹⁸. The fresco inscription on the life-giving pillar of the Svetitskhoveli cathedral features an Arabic text along with Georgian¹⁹.

The use of the Arabic language alongside the local language at the end of the 17th century is, in the present writer's view, explainable by historical tradition and by the close links of the Georgian church of the period with the Christian Arab world (Antioch, Jerusalem).

gian), *The Life of Georgia* (The Paris Chronicle). The text prepared for publication with an introduction and notes, with indexes by Giuli Alasania, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 123-124.

13 A. Natroev, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

14 Vakhushti, *op. cit.*, p. 256. M. Brosset, *op. cit.* A. Genealogical List of the Georgian Kings.

15 N. Berdzenishvili, *op. cit.*, II, Tbilisi, 1965, p. 186; Iv. Javakhishvili, S. Janashia, N. Berdzenishvili, *History of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 1943, p. 320. A genealogical table of the principal branch of the royal house of the Bagrationis; N. Berdzenishvili, V. Dondua, M. Dumbadze, G. Melikishvili, Sh. Meskhia, P. Ratiani, *A history of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 1958, p. 305.

16 T. Zhordania, *op.cit.*, pp.493, 505; M. Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 41. F. G. Devdariani, *Miniature of the Anchiskhati Gulani*, Tbilisi, 1990, p. 100.

17 A. Shanidze, V. Puturidze, *A trilingual inscription in Gremi*, «Bulletin de l'Institut Marr de Langues, d'Histoire et de Culture Materielles», (*Enimkis moambe*), V-VI, Tbilisi, 1940, pp. 1-11; J. Giunashvili, *A fragment of a Georgian-Persian inscription from Gremi*, «Bulletin of the State Museum of Georgia», XXX-B, Tbilisi, 1974, pp. 94-96.

18 Sh. Amiranashvili, *A History of Georgian Art*. Tbilisi, 1971, p. 387; G. Sokhashvili, *Samtavisi*, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 104. Information about these inscriptions was kindly provided by I. Jandieri, which is gratefully acknowledged.

19 Sh. Amiranashvili, *ibidem*.

REFLECTION OF AN IRANIAN INSTITUTION IN
“KARTLIS TSKHOVREBA” *

At the turn of the 20th-21st centuries Georgian historiography came to face a very important task. No other work in our field can compete with this new cause by its scale and imperativeness. Reference is to the preparation of a new scholarly edition of “Kartlis Tskhovreba”. A very interesting collection will come out soon, containing two articles on the principles worked out and offered for a new edition of “Kartlis Tskhovreba” and dedicated to the memory of Nodar (Nukri) Shoshiashvili, an outstanding source student and historian.

Much has been said and written on the scholarly value of “Kartlis Tskhovreba”. Against the background of new archaeological discoveries, starting from the old excavations at Mtskheta (the 1930's), its authority and scholarly value has been growing incomparably. Under the circumstances, study and commenting upon each attested passage, line, lexeme and, especially term, acquired special significance. The present paper deals with the consideration of *mowbedān - mowbed* in the terminological and historical context and with showing its reflection in “Kartlis Tskhovreba”. At the same time, we will try to make clear how well this institution was known in Kartli in Sassanid times and how, in the course of time, the term was changed by copyists and survived to this day absolutely reinterpreted, in the form of a relic. The textual study and commenting on the whole passage containing the term of our interest, without wresting it from the historical context, will, in our view, result in shedding light on many secrets.

According to linguists, the first part of the term *mowbedān-mowbed* means “the prince of the Magians”. The Old Persian *magupati*, the Pehlevi *magypat*, “the prince of the Magians” is pronounced as: *mōypat>mōvpat* (in the Sassanid period), *Մագպէտ* in Armenian, مَوْبَد in new Persian “the prince of the Magians”, sage, vizier, counselor, with the plural form¹, the Armenian *մոբան*, the high priest of Zoroastrians², מָוּבָד (in Aram.), the Greek *Μαντπίας* – is read as *Mānpiās*.³

The Georgian *Mobidani*, attested in “Kartlis Tskhovreba”, constitutes the rendering of the first part of the New Persian expression *mōbedan-mōbed*, therefore it is in the plural form.⁴ The name “Moabad” attested in “The Visramiani”, is also interesting. It must be a rendering of the Pehlevi “*mōvpat*”.⁵

The fact that the word “Mobidan”, attested in “Kartlis Tskhovreba”, is the First part of the Persian *mowbedān-mowbed*, was observed as far back as the 19th as well 20th centuries in Georgian historiography.⁶ This view is the starting-point for our research. Let us now see in what context it occurs in “Kartlis Tskhovreba” and in what form it could have existed in the initial manuscript.

The historian Juansher describes the reign of Archil, King of Kartli, his foreign political orientation and religious policy. Archil married a Byzantine woman, Mariam by name. She was a “relative” of Byzantine emperors – their offspring. Kartli turned from Persia to Byzantium. The King of Kartli started to pursue a pro-Byzantine policy. He launched bitter “enmity” (as the source puts it) towards the Persians. King Archil’s religious policy is of major interest in connection with the term “*mowbedān-mowbed*”. Let us follow the text of the historian Juansher: “This Arčil married a wife from Greek territory, a descendant of King Jovian by the name of Mariam, and declared enmity towards the Persians. He brought out crosses and adorned churches.

* First published in: *Caucasica* 7, Tbilisi, 2003, pp. 284-291.

1 S. Haim. New Persian-English Dictionary. VII. Tehran, 1936, 1O14, Quoted: according to the monograph of Ms Mzia Andronikashvili, see: M. K. Andronikashvili, Essays on Persian-Georgian Linguistic Relations, I. Thilisi University Press, Tbilisi, 1966, 341.

2 H. Hübschmann, Armenische Grammatik, I, Theil: Armenische Etymologie, Leipzig, 1897. M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341.

3 M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341.

4 M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341; K. Z. Gamsakhurdia, The Cultural Mosaic of Early Christian Kartli, “Pitagora Publishers”, Tbilisi, 1995, 24.

5 M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341.

6 M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341. K. Z. Gamsakhurdia, op. cit., 23.

He eliminated or expelled all the fire-worshippers from the borders of Kartli. He joined forces with an army from Greece, and under the guidance of the cross began to wage war on the Persians.”⁷

This is circa the 5th century, very approximately, Juansher noted that three bishops died during the reign of Archil: Iona, Grigol and Basil. After Basil, Archil appointed a bishop named Mobidan. He was a Persian by race, and professed the Orthodox faith. But (in fact) he was an impious magus and subverter of church order. However, King Archil and his son were unaware of Mobidan’s impiety and thought he was a believer. 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. After his time all his writings were burned by the true bishop Michael, who was deposed because of his presumption against King Vaxt’ang.⁸ In the above passage the meaning of Mobidan is reinterpreted and perceived as a male name.

This passage, as, probably, questionable and hard to explain, is not cited by Mzia Andronikashvili in her linguistic analysis of “Mobidan.”⁹ This is fully justified as the scholar is interested in the term and not in a proper name, as “Mobidan” is presented in the above-mentioned passage. In connection with “Mobidan” M.K. Andronikashvili quotes two passages from “Kartlis Tskhovreba” where meaning of “Mobidan” as a term defining an institution is seen clearly. Case number one: “One the next day the King (Shahansha, N.V. K.K.) sent to Vaxt’ang, his personal (mobidan).”¹⁰ Case number two: “However, King Archil and his son were unaware of *Mobidan’s* impiety and thought he was a believer.”¹¹

The activity of this “impious” and “subverter of church order” was long – it coincides with the reign of three Kings, lasting till the conflict between Vakhtang and Michael broke out. This “magus” or the priest of the fire, in our opinion, was ordained not only a follower of Zoroastrianism, but also a spiritual hierarch of the highest rank – the chief of priests of fire, or *mobidan-mobed*. He is the head of *mobeds*, chief of mobeds. If mobed corresponds to “bishop”, a church hierarchy stemming from Greek, then the head of *mobeds* must correspond to “the head of bishops”. It is the head of bishops that is attested in the earliest Georgian hagiographic work known to date – “The Passion of Shushanik”. If we follow the logic of Juansher’s work and consider our view correct, then it turns out that the Georgian institution – “the head of bishops” – had emerged in Georgia much earlier than the 80s-90s as far back as the reign of Archil i.e. *ca* at the beginning of the 5th century. This, too, could apparently be a fact of no less importance for us, researchers into Georgian history. The copyist of a later period may have failed to realize fully the essence of “the head of bishops”, for him the new definition of “the head of bishops” would be quite clear and self-evident. And this is the “catholicos”, established some time before. Who knows? It cannot be ruled out that “the head of bishops”, attested in Juansher’s work, was perceived and reinterpreted as an ordinary bishop by the copyist. Conjecturally, the old Georgian historian possessed at least two pieces of information: a) there existed an institution of *mobidan-mobed*, or the head of priests of fire, in Persia. One of the *mowbedān-mowbeds*, Persian by origin, inveigled himself into the Georgian church, entirely “impious” and “subverter of church order”, hiding for quite some time his being a Magian, or adherence to Zoroastrianism and his far-going schemes: b) he rose so high in the church hierarchy of Kartli as to reach the highest position reflected in his title - “the head of bishops”. The historian did not lose either of the pieces of information just cited and he was right; only whatever happened afterwards, is doubtless an event of a later period, being the copyist’s fault.

The situation changed abruptly in Kartli, when Archil’s son – Mirdat – still in prince, married the daughter of eristavi of Ran, a Persian high official Barzabod, Sagdukh by name, Persian by origin and fire-worshipper by religion. The historian’s justification of this marriage is highly significant and finds a political interpretation of it – the main thing for the prince was the oath and promise of peace that the Georgians would offer the opposite side. According to Juansher, the country of Ran was ravaged and harassed by the Georgians and to put an end to this trouble, the eristavi of Ran gladly agreed “So he gave over his daughter with a large

7 Juansher, Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali. Kartlis Tskhovreba. the text established according to all main manuscripts by S.G. Qaukhchishvili, v. 1, “Metsniereba” Pebulishing House, Tbilisi, 1955, 140; R. Thomson, Rewriting Caucasian History, Clanderon Press, Oxford, 1996, 154.

8 Juansher, op. cit., 142; R. Thomson, op. cit., 157.

9 M. K. Andronikashvili, op. cit., 341.

10 Juansher, op. cit., 183, 184; R. Thomson, op. cit., 157.

11 Juansher, op. cit., 142; R. Thomson, op. cit., 157.

dowry".¹² According to the historian, the young queen of Kartli soon became convinced in the advantage of the Christian faith and acknowledged it to be true religion. Sagdukht engaged in major church construction, serving the consolidation of Christianity in Kartli.¹³

Georgian written sources have recorded not only the highest church hierarchy by the term of an Iranian institution, but also a reverse process, when the religious hierarchy of Persians is referred to by a Georgian term, e.g. "Then Barzabod sent fire-worshippers to Mtskheta with Binkaran as their bishop, and they resided at Moguta (Magians)".¹⁴ There are cases when to denote the highest secular governor of Persian origin a Georgian term was used in Georgian sources: "At that time Barzabod was in Ran as *eristavi*".¹⁵

We are far from the thought that a Persian proper name could not have existed in Kartli, for there are many examples of this in "Kartlis Tskhovreba". But interpreting of a part of a two-component term of an Iranian institution – given in a plural form as a proper name is, certainly a mistake; the more so that there is a passage in Juansher's work, where, in S. Qaukhchishvili's reading, "Mobidan" is attributed by "personal": "On the next day the King (resp. Khwasrou) sent to Vaxt'ang Barzaban, nis personal *mobed* (*mobidan*)".¹⁶ In Qaukhchishvili's edition of "Kartlis Tskhovreba" the punctuation coincides with our understanding – Barzaban is a proper name, and this Barzaban is referred to as the King's personal Mobidan by the historian. Obviously, here "Mobidan" can by no means be perceived a proper name. Yet. it should also be said that "Mobidan" is placed in the index of proper names by Qaukhchishvili.

The terminological research in Georgian scholarly literature is of interest, for it sheds light on an important question: in connection with the events of the 4th-5th centuries different Zoroastrian terms are used in Georgian historical works. Among them the term *mogvi* should primarily be mentioned (Magian). The above-said term having different meanings in different texts (for example: "... some Magian woman", in "The Passion of Shushanik") in the texts of "Kartlis Tskhovreba" defines not only a fire-worshipper, follower of Zoroastrianism, but also a high priest of the Zoroastrian religion – priest of fire.¹⁷ The "Magians" settled in a certain district of Mtskheta were ordinary fire-worshippers. According to Leonti Mroveli, a bridge near their settlement was called the "Magians' bridge". To cite the historian, "Saint Nino saw the magism and error of those people who worshipped fire; and St Nino wept over their destruction and lamented her own foreignness."¹⁸

Terminological research is only one side of the question. Consideration of a term by extracting it from the historical context cannot be justified. In this connection interest attaches to the main task of domestic and foreign policy of the shahanshahs of the Sassanid dynasty in different chronological periods. The main task of the policy of the shahanshahs in time of Ardashir and his successor shahanshahs was to unite Iranian lands within the boundaries of a single empire, which was successfully fulfilled. From the viewpoint of foreign policy, the goal of the Sassanids was conquest of neighbouring countries, and, if possible, their incorporation within the Sassanid empire. It should be specially mentioned that one of the main issues of Sassanid foreign policy was incorporation of South-Caucasian countries – Kartli, Armenia and Albania. While implementing their political intentions, the shahanshahs paid much attention to Zoroastrianism: the latter was one of the basic means by which political unification of Iran, on the one hand, and annexation of neighbouring countries, on the other, could be achieved. From this point of view, the countries of Transcaucasia did not present an exception.

Data on Zoroastrianism in Kartli are not rich in Georgian sources, but restoration of the historical picture is rendered easy with the help of Georgian hagiographic writings and "Kartlis Tskhovreba". In this respect Juansher's work would be quite enough. Notwithstanding the great efforts of the Sassanids, in the period of our interest, Zoroastrianism failed to gain a firm footing throughout the country. With a few exceptions, the

12 Juansher, op. cit., 142; R. Thomson, op. cit., 156.

13 Juansher, op. cit., 142; R. Thomson, op. cit., 156.

14 Juansher, op. cit., 145; R. Thomson, op. cit., 160.

15 Juansher, op. cit., 141; R. Thomson, op. cit., 155.

16 Juansher, op. cit., 183, 184; R. Thomson, op. cit., 200.

17 K. Z. Gamsakhurdia, op. cit., 23,24.

18 Leonti Mroveli, Life of the Kings, the text established according to all main manuscripts by S.G. Qaukhchishvili, v. 1, "Metsniereba" Publishing House, Tbilisi, 1955, 88; R. Thomson, op. cit., 97.

new religion was rejected by the stratum of nobility,¹⁹ unlike Armenia, where the Nakharars showed a different attitude.²⁰ As to the people of Kartli, “many common people were converted to fire-worship.”²¹ This situation must have its explanation. This was probably due to the grave social and economic position of the “common people”.

We believe that, taking into consideration the evidence of the sources, the pattern emerging from historical realities shows that in the Kingdom of Kartli of the 5th century Zoroastrianism did not strike root so strongly as to change the main religion of the country – Orthodox Christianity, but generally the Persian world with its mentality, onomastics, toponymy, was not at all alien to Kartli. Even this one phrase of a Georgian source speaks of itself: “Magians worshipped in the Magian way at the Magians’ place.” Under the circumstances the existence of the Persian religious institution - *mobidan-mobed* in one of the manuscripts of Juansher’s work, entering the collection of “Kartlis Tskhovreba”, is but natural. It is not surprising that our ancestors were well aware of the essence of this institution, but it is astonishing that in the Sassanid epoch the role of Kartli is little appreciated in Iranistics; and this happens when the international scholarly community is not pampered with Persian sources of the abovementioned period, and the unraveled and inexhaustible treasure of world historiography – “Kartlis Tskhovreba” – lies in this respect almost intact and mute.

19 Juansher, op. cit., 145; R. Thomson, op. cit., 160.

20 Егише, О Вардане и воине армянской. Перевод с древнеармянского акад. И.А. Орбели. Подготовка к изданию, предисловие и примечания К.Н. Юзбашяна. Изд. АН Армянской ССР, Ереван, 1971; К. З. Гамсахурдия, op. cit., 23, 24.

21 Juansher, op. cit., 145; R. Thomson, op. cit., 160.

THE HISTORY OF GEORGIAN-BYZANTINE RELATIONS*

Georgia occupies central and western Transcaucasia. The development of its civilization, which was shaped by both Western and Eastern cultural influences, reflects Georgia's geographical position, at the juncture of two continents – Europe and Asia.

During the course of the second millennium B.C., Georgian tribes united to form two large groups. The myth of the Golden Fleece sought by the Argonauts, as well as archaeological evidence, indicates that, by this early date, the western Georgians, who inhabited an area along the eastern coast of the Black Sea, already had established firm ties with the Greek world. The two Georgian states expanded in the middle of the first millennium B.C.: Egrisi (Colchis, in Greek) extended along the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and Kartli (Iberia, in Greek) encompassed all of Georgia's eastern and southwestern provinces. Western Georgia, or Colchis, always maintained more active contact with the Greek world than Kartli. During the Hellenistic period, however, Greek influences penetrated to eastern Georgia as well as to neighboring Armenia. In the 60s B.C., during the war against the king of Pontus, Mithridates VI, Transcaucasia became an arena of Roman aggression. At this time, Colchis fell to the Romans; it would remain politically subjugated to the Roman Empire until the end of the eighth century a.d. and, from the fourth century a.d., to the East Roman Empire. Armenia also was involved in the periodic wars between Rome and Parthia. Skillfully exploiting the tensions between the two empires, Iberia greatly increased its territory and military strength and only nominally maintained the status of "ally and friend of the Romans."

In the third century a.d., after the formation of the centralized and powerful Sasanian state, the situation changed significantly. The Sasanians gradually supplanted the Romans in central and eastern Transcaucasia, extending their political influence over much of Armenia, Kartli, and Albania (the ancient kingdom occupying the territory of present day Azerbaijan, from the first to the sixth century a.d.). Of the Transcaucasian states, only western Georgia, known at the time as Lazika (formerly, Colchis), and western Armenia remained under Roman control.

Even though Georgia repeatedly contended with foreign aggressors – initially, in the form of the Parthians and later, of the Sasanian Iranians – and western Georgia continued to be subjected to Roman influences, Georgian culture persisted in developing independently, as the handsome examples of surviving local architecture, goldsmiths' work, and glass demonstrate.

It is worth noting that cultural centers of international significance were located in ancient Colchis. In the third and fourth centuries a.d., a school of philosophy and rhetoric attended by local as well as foreign students, including Greek-Byzantines, was located in the vicinity of the river of Phasis. One of the graduates of this school was the well-known philosopher Themistios, who informs us that his own father, the rhetorician Eugenios, also "received his great wisdom" at Phasis.¹¹

The introduction of Christianity to Georgia in the fourth century A. d. is an important landmark in Georgian history. Christianity had already established a foothold in Georgia in the first century a.d., and by the 330s a.d. it had become the state religion of Kartli and presumably also of western Georgia (Lazika or Egrisi). As western Georgia had fallen within the orbit of Roman political and cultural influence, the adoption of Christianity in this region is not surprising. However, eastern Georgia and Armenia were under the political control of Sasanian Iran. For these two regions, recognition of Christianity as their state religion was a significant event, for it indicated their desire to form closer ties with the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire and to free themselves from Iranian political and cultural domination. The triumph of Christianity implies that the ruling factions of Kartli adopted a completely Western-oriented policy focused on Byzantium. This Western orientation remained a persistent and determining factor throughout the course of Georgian history.

* First published in: *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843-1261)*. Ed by. Olenka Z. Pevny. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia. Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 182-187.

In its struggle with Sasanian Iran, the Arabs, and finally the Turks, the Byzantine Empire attempted to preserve its political influence and territorial integrity by forming alliances with the Christian states of Transcaucasia. However, it is impossible to touch upon all aspects of Georgian-Byzantine political relations here, as they were complex and often contradictory in nature. For example, in the eighth century, the Byzantine ruler of northern Colchis, the archon (a powerful official) of Apkhazeti (Abkhazia; Abasgia) – the northern portion of ancient Colchis, bordering on the eastern shore of the Black Sea – rebelled against the emperor Leo IV (r. 775-80), seizing all western Georgian lands and assuming the title of “King of Apkhazeti.” Thus, Byzantium lost a province that it had controlled for centuries and, with it, all of its influence in Transcaucasia. Although the Bagratid rulers of southwestern Georgia (of the T’ao-K’larjeti region), who assumed such Byzantine titles as *kouropalates* (a high-ranking dignitary), *sebastos* (an honorific epithet conferred on foreign princes), and *archon*, were formally considered to be vassals of the Byzantine emperor, their dependence on Byzantium was superficial and unreliable. The *kouropalatai* of Kartli pursued their own political agenda frequently to the disadvantage of Byzantium. While the *kouropalates* David III of T’ao (r. 961-1000) assisted the emperor Basil II (r. 976-1025) in suppressing a rebellion led by Bardas Skleros in 979 A.D., relations with Byzantium were marked by hostilities during the tenth century. At that time, the Byzantine Empire did everything in its power to hinder the development of a single unified Georgian state, which was gradually becoming the leading power in Transcaucasia. It is not surprising that King David IV the Restorer (r. 1089 – 1125), under whose rule the process of unification was completed, officially refused the tide of *kouropalates*.

Byzantium remained relatively strained during the reign of David IV’s successors. Taking advantage of the Fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Queen Tamar (r. 1184-1207/1213) sent her armies to the south coast of the Black Sea, an area populated by Chan tribes. The armies seized

Trebizond (modern Trabzon), Amisos (modern Samsun), and Sinope (modern Sinop), and founded the independent Trapezuntine Empire. Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1204-22), who was raised at the Georgian court, was appointed to rule the new empire. In this way, a state dependent on Georgia was created. It later became a western Georgian outpost of sorts, which, after the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire, frequently was the center of anti-Byzantine political actions and intrigues.

Despite the declining political relationship between Georgia and Byzantium, economic, and, especially cultural, connections never ceased to exist; the influence of Byzantine civilization affected all aspects of Georgian cultural life. In Byzantium itself, Georgian monasteries (for example, the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, the Petritzos Monastery near modern Bachkovo in Bulgaria, and monastic establishments on the Sinai peninsula) were active centers of Georgian-Byzantine cultural ties.² Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that Georgia, surrounded by Muslims, always viewed Orthodox Byzantium as an ally and a window to Europe.

The final fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 had serious repercussions for Georgia: Its economic ties to trading centers in Byzantium and in Italy were severed, leaving it surrounded by aggressive Muslim states. King Giorgi VIII (r. 1446-66) understood the severity of the situation and responded to the call issued by the pope in Rome to organize a Crusade against the Turks. A delegation of Transcaucasian aristocrats traveled to Europe, but the European states did not respond to the pope’s summons. The Georgians returned home empty-handed, and thus began a long period of isolation during which Georgia was subjected to constant invasions.

Next, we will touch upon some aspects of the cultural ties between the two states, rather than on the details of Georgian – Byzantine political relations. The close and prolonged political contacts between Byzantium and Georgia ensured the infiltration of Byzantine influence in all areas of Georgia’s cultural life. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the various Georgian tribes and, subsequently, the Georgian nation (the peoples of Colchis – Lazika and Iberia) had created their own independent culture over the course of the centuries – at least since the Bronze Age. Neither Hellenistic, nor Roman, nor Byzantine cultural influences could supplant local cultural traditions, which always remained prominent and clearly defined. For this reason, Byzantine culture in Georgia did not find such a sympathetic response as in those Eastern lands where Hellenism had flourished.

Christianity was a central component in the adoption, development, and dissemination of Byzantine culture. Although it became the state religion of Georgia by the fourth century a.d., it still could not suppress the

vitality of indigenous local traditions or The History of Georgian-Byzantine Relations secure a primary role for Byzantine prototypes. Even in those spheres where the Christian Church required adherence to canonical strictures (for example, in the construction of churches), Georgian builders, influenced by local, centuries-old precedents, created their own architecture. A striking example of this is the original construction of Georgian basilicas whose features were without parallel in Byzantine architecture.

Basilicas appeared in Georgia only after the establishment of Christianity; thus, it was the Church itself that introduced this standard building type into Georgia. The archetypal basilica, with its longitudinal axis, clear tripartite division, and rhythmic procession of piers from the entrance to the altar, was both foreign and contrived in the context of Georgian culture. Therefore, once the basilica form was adapted to Georgian requirements, the longitudinal axis and tripartite plan were abandoned in favor of an enclosed central space surrounded by a low passageway with a narthex on the west side. While these structures formally preserved the main characteristics of the three-naved basilica, they also exhibited a clearly defined central core. This, as well as other original features, distinguishes Georgian basilicas from their Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine counterparts, and allies them with local building traditions in western Georgia – a region that was subjected to the administrative and ecclesiastical control of Byzantium until the ninth century.³

Sculpture also developed independently in Georgia. As is well known, sculpture in the round and in relief was an important part of Byzantine church architecture. Although sculpture, since Hellenistic and Roman times, had been conceived as an independent art form, in Georgia – in Antiquity and in the medieval period – it never enjoyed an independent existence. Rather, sculpture was always considered subordinate to architecture, and functioned merely as a decorative element. In type and style it significantly differed from Byzantine prototypes, and sculptors adhered to local traditions. Similar conclusions can be formulated regarding Georgian metalwork.⁴

In addition, throughout the prolonged contact between Georgia and Byzantium, literary ties played an important role in the development of medieval Georgian literature and philosophy. In Georgia, the Bible and hagiographical works were being translated in the fifth century, and mystical-ascetic writings in the sixth. As a result, new literary genres were introduced into Georgia's national literature. Since hagiography came to Georgia by way of Byzantium, accounts of the Lives of Georgian saints reflect the influence of Byzantine models and echo many of the latter's distinctive qualities. Yet, analysis of the Georgian texts reveals that they are not verbatim copies of Byzantine prototypes but have their own specific characteristics that differentiate them from Byzantine hagiography. They provide details of the political, social, and geographical context in which a saint lived, and while similar information does, in fact, appear in Early Byzantine literature, in Georgian martyrology such descriptions are fuller, more precise, and more realistic.

Thus, Byzantine and Georgian hagiography evolved differently. The Byzantine hagiographical tradition followed a linear development. Narratives of spiritual asceticism had to conform to a standardized pattern, which tended to produce monotonous results.⁵ Georgian hagiography, on the other hand, focused instead on more realistic descriptions of the surroundings and the accomplishments of each saint.

In short, I have attempted here to present the dependence of Georgian culture upon that of Byzantium, while pointing out the uniqueness of Georgian monuments. Contrary to popular belief, Georgian culture evolved from ancient local traditions and not from the influences of other peoples, such as the Armenians or Syrians. Thus, in evaluating the role and extent of Byzantine influence, it is imperative first to recognize the significance of the special qualities that distinguish Georgian literary and artistic works from their classical Byzantine counterparts. This originality of expression underscores the character of a nation – one with a highly developed culture that, nevertheless, was receptive to a variety of creative influences.

References:

1. See Themistios, Oration 27 (333), in *The Private Orations of Themistius*, trans. Robert J. Penella (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000), p. 165.
2. See Levan Menabde, *Dzveli kartuli mts'erlobis kerebi*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi: Tbilisis universit'is gamomtsemloba, 1962); Nodar Lomouri, *K istorii gruzinskogo petritsonskogo monastyria* (Tbilisi: Metsniere-

ba, 1981); Elene Met'reveli, *Narkvevebi Atonis k'ult'urul — saganmanatleblo k'eris ist'oriidan* (Tbilisi: Nek'ari, 1996).

3. See Georgii Chubinashvili, *Arkhitektura Kakhetii* (Tbilisi: i956-59); Vakhtang V. Beridze, *Dzveli kartuli khuyotmodzghvreba /Drevnegruzinskaia arkitektura* (Tbilisi: Khelovneba, 1974); Russudan Mepisaschwili and Wachtang Zinzaze, *Die Kunst des alten Georgien* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1977); Nodar Sh. Dzhanberidze and Iraklii Tsitsishvili, *Architectural Monuments of Georgia* (Moscow: 1996).
4. See Russudan Mepisaschwili and Wachtang Zinzaze, *Die Kunst des alten Georgien* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1977).
5. See Revaz Baramidze, *Muchenichestvo sv. Shushanik, drevneishii pamiatnik gruzinskoi literatury* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, i978); Elguja Khintibidze, *Gruzinskovichantiiskie literaturnye vzaimootnosheniia* (Tbilisi: Izdatelstvo Tbilisskogo universiteta, 1989).

TWO SETS OF GEORGIAN PERSON MARKERS AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE OPPOSITION ACTIVE/INACTIVE*

Abstract

The marking of arguments is semantically oriented in Georgian. The basic concept of the argument marking is the *activity hierarchy* of the arguments. The opposition *active/inactive* underlies the distinction of the two patterns of Georgian person markers and governs all specific rules of the distribution of their allomorphs. Syntactic function plays almost no role in the morphological marking of arguments. Three TAM Series of Georgian verb system distinguish different types of argument marking. The problem of the diachronic relationship between the constructions of different Series is discussed in the paper from the viewpoint of the theory of markedness and the hierarchy of the parts of the clause.

1. Introduction

Two arguments can be simultaneously marked in Georgian verb form with two patterns of person markers. The traditional interpretation of these two patterns (*v*- and *m*-patterns) of the Georgian language as subjective and objective leaves many unanswered questions. As the subject, so the different kinds of objects can receive both patterns of marking. The present paper argues that the case and personal marking of arguments in Georgian is semantic and the basic concept, determining the argument marking is the **activity hierarchy** of the arguments.

The opposition **active/inactive** is the principle, determining the distinction of the two sets of Georgian person markers and governing all specific rules of the distribution of the allomorphs of person markers. In this opposition the *v*-pattern denotes the **active**, unmarked member of the opposition and the *m*-pattern – the **inactive**, marked member.¹ The *v*-pattern cross-references arguments, marked with the nominative case (ergative in the Aorist Series of the verb forms) and has more free distribution; the *m*-pattern cross-references arguments, marked with the dative case. The syntactic functions of subject, direct object and indirect object play almost no role in the morphological marking of arguments. The assignment of inactive marking is independent from the syntactic role of arguments. The object-like and subject-like inactive arguments equally receive the inactive marking. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use the terms “active” and “inactive” for these two sets of person markers.

Three aspect determined alignment systems function in Georgian. The construction of Series I, with binary marking of thematic roles, is considered in the paper as active, the construction of Series II as split active-extended ergative and the construction of Series III - as extended ergative. I shall make an attempt to give reasons for the hypothesis, that the active construction of Series I should be regarded basic for Georgian morphosyntax and predating the construction of the Series II.

2. Marking of arguments in Series I

In Series I, the core arguments have two patterns of marking: 1) the nominative case and the *v*-pattern of personal markers and 2) the dative case and the *m*-pattern. The core arguments are divided between these two hyperroles in accordance to the grade of their activity.

The hyperrole, unifying the roles of the agent, causer, initiator, stimulus can be defined as **active** and the hyperrole, unifying the roles of the uncontrolling actor, possessor, experiencer, cognizer, perceiver, executor, recipient, beneficiary, patient – as **inactive**. The inactive marking is shared by the direct and indirect object-

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1 On the markedness in morphology see JAKOBSON 1932, 1936, 1939. In the opposition nominative/dative nominative is the unmarked member of the opposition and dative – the marked one. Hence, the argument in nominative has the basic, unmarked position and the cross-reference of the argument in nominative must be regarded as unmarked.

like arguments and the inactive subject. There is no distinction between the marking of direct and indirect objects. The indirectly affected participants are marked in the same way, as the directly affected ones; from the viewpoint of morphological marking the patient has no advantage over the recipient or beneficiary. The marking of indirect object has even the priority over the marking of direct object: when both direct and indirect objects are connected with the verb, as a rule, the indirect object is cross-referenced in the verb and the direct object is left unmarked.

2.1. Marking of inactive arguments in Series I

The inactive hyperrole, as the marked member of the opposition has more restricted and specific semantics. Therefore, it is better to begin the discussion with the inactive hyperrole (dative, *m*-pattern). To this hyperrole belong the arguments which have syntactic functions of direct and indirect objects and inactive subject.

a) direct object-like role:

Patient

vano m-xat'av-s² me / gv-xat'av-s čven “Vano paints me / us”³
vano g-xat'av-s šen / g-xat'av-t tkven “Vano paints you / you /PL/”
vano xat'av-s bavšv-s / bavšv-eb-s “Vano paints the child / the children”

b) indirect object-like roles:

Recipient

Vano c'igns m-a-z'lev-s me / gv-a-z'lev-s čven “Vano gives me / us the book”
Vano c'igns g-a-z'lev-s šen / g-a-z'lev-t tkven “Vano gives you / you /PL/ the book”
Vano c'igns a-z'lev-s mas / mat “Vano gives him / them the book”

Beneficiary

Vano saxl-s m-i-šeneb-s me / gv-i-šeneb-s čven “Vano builds a house for me / for us”
Vano saxl-s g-i-šeneb-s šen / g-i-šeneb-t tkven “Vano builds a house for you / you /PL/”
Vano saxl-s u-šeneb-s mas / mat “Vano builds a house for him / them”

Executor in causative clauses:

Vano saxls m-a-šeneb-ineb-s me / gv-a-šeneb-ineb-s čven “Vano makes me / us build the house”
Vano saxls g-a-šeneb-ineb-s šen / g-a-šeneb-ineb-t tkven “Vano makes you / you /PL/ build the house”
Vano saxls a-šeneb-ineb-s mas / mat “Vano makes him / them build the house”

There is no difference between the marking of the 1st and 2nd person direct object (Od) and indirect object (Oind). They have in common also the obligatory marking of plural of the 1st and 2nd persons and leaving unmarked the number of the 3rd person.

The only difference between the marking of the indirect object-like and the direct object-like arguments makes the normative rule stated by SHANIDZE (SHANIDZE 1973: 183-185): the 3rd person indirect object is marked in the verb, but the 3rd person direct object has no verbal marking.⁴ This rule can be interpreted

2 In examples cited I segment only the person/number (*m*-, *g*-, *h*-/s-/š-, *gv*-, *g*-t), and version/voice (*i*-, *e*-, *u*-, *a*-) markers. Version markers denote different kinds of orientation of the verb toward the arguments.

3 The 1st and 2nd person pronouns: *me* “I”, *čven* “we”, and *šen* “you”, *tkven* “you/PL/” –have syncretic forms for three cases – nominative, ergative and dative.

4 This rule reflects the data of Old Georgian and of some mountain dialects. In modern standard Georgian the marking of direct and indirect objects shows no difference. The use of the markers *h*-/s-/š- is rather stylistic and euphonic (AKHVLEDIANI 1925), in some cases it reflects the west or east dialectal origin of the speakers. The forms *h-k'lavs* and *k'lavs* “he kills him(Od)”, *š-čam-s* and *čam-s* “he eats it (Od)” and *s-čukni-s* and *čukni-s* “he gives him(Oind) a present”, *h-k'ocni-s* and *k'ocni-s* “he/she kisses her/him” (Oind) are equally acceptable. There are only few verbs with which the use of the the 3rd Oind marker is obligatory: *m-i-s-c-a* “he gave him”, *mo-s-t'ac-a* “he robbed from him”, *mo-s-c'q'vi t'-a* “he tore from him/it”.

through the animacy hierarchy: The indirect object, the prototypically human argument, is marked in the verb and the direct object, as prototypically inhuman, is not marked in the verb. Hence, this difference of marking is not due to the difference of syntactic roles, but to the difference of the feature human/animate.

c) subject-like roles:

Subject of the accidental, unvolitional, uncontrolled actions

The inactive subject is marked with dative and *m*-pattern with the verb forms denoting uncontrolled, unvolitional, accidental actions and states: *m-e-xarjeb-a* “I spend (uncontrolled)”, *m-e-kargeb-a* “I loose it”, *m-rčeb-a* “I leave it (not on purpose)”, *m-e-c'veb-a* “I get it burned”, *saxe m-e-q'ineb-a* “I get the face frost-bitten”, *cq'ali m-e-q'lapeb-a* “I swallow the water (accidentally)”. . . *m-i-vardeb-a xelidan* “It falls out of my hand (accidentally)”. . . These forms can be called *damarteba* “occur (by chance or without plan)” forms. All these forms can have volitional counterparts with subjects, marked with the nominative case and cross-referenced with the *v*-pattern: *v-xarjav* “I spend”, *v-kargav* “I loose”, *v-t'oveb* “I leave”, *v-rčeb-i* “I stay”, *v-i-c'vav* “I burn”, *saxes v-i-q'inav* “I freeze me the face”, *v-q'lapav* “I swallow”, *v-a-gdeb* “I throw⁵”.

This semantic domain includes also the pattern with the prefix *šemo-* and the version markers *e-/a-* denoting the uncontrolled actions: *šemo-m-e-čam-a* “I ate it up (uncontrolled), *šemo-m-a-k'vd-a* “I killed him (accidentally)”, *šemo-m-e-lanzg-a* “I scored him (I did not intend to do this)...⁶

Experiencer

a) **Experiencer of emotions:** *m-z'ul-s* “I hate”, *m-cq'in-s* “I am offended”, *m-šur-s* “I begrudge”, *mo-m-c'ons* “I like”, *m-rxveni-a* “I am ashamed”, *m-i-q'var-s* “I love”, *m-i-xari-a* “I am glad”, *m-e-javreb-a* “I hate”, *m-e-braleb-a* “I have pity”, *m-e-naneb-a*, “I regret”, *m-e-šini-a* “I am afraid”, *m-e-rideb-a* “I am shy”. . .

b) Experiencer of physiological states and processes of the body (internal experiencer):

m-z'inav-s “I sleep”, *m-yviz'av-s* “I am awake”, *m-t'k'iv-a* “I have pain”, *m-c'uri-a* “I am thirsty”, *m-ši-a* “I am hungry”, *m-cxel-a* “I am hot”, *m-civ-a* “I am cold”. . .

A productive class of verbs with the pattern [*a-...-eb*], denoting uncontrolled physiological experiences can be regarded as semantically related to this class: *m-a-xvel-eb-s* “I cough”, *m-a-ci-eb-s* “I am cold”, *m-a-kankal-eb-s* “I shiver”, *m-a-cemineb-s* “I sneeze”, *m-a-yebin-eb-s* “I feel sick / I vomit”. . . These forms, unlike many other affection verbs, express a direct affection of the stimulus on the experiencer. These verbs are comparable with Russian *menja*(ACC) *tošnit* “I feel sick / I vomit”, *menja*(ACC) *trjaset* “I tremble”: in contrast to the indirect relationship *m-civ-a* Russian *mne*(DAT) *xolodno* “I am cold”. In Georgian the direct relationship is expressed by the transitive form of the verb and the version marker *a-*, which marks the direct orientation toward the argument.

c) Subject of the “desire and mood” verbs

The verbs with the semantics of desire/wish and mood have an inactive subject too: *m-i-nd-a*, *m-nebav-s*, *m-c'adi-a* “I want”, *m-e-p'rianebeb-a*, *m-e-gunebeb-a* “I am in the mood of”. . . A Productive pattern of **being in a mood for doing something** [*e- -eb*] *m-e-cek'veb-a*, *m-e-mgereb-a* “I am in the mood for dancing, singing” ...and the interrogative forms: *ra g-e-tamašeb-a*, *roca amdeni sakmea gasak'etebeli?* “How can you be in the mood for playing when there is so much to do?” also belong to this semantic class. Most of the verbs of class 3 (intransitive active atelic verbs) can be used in this way.

Cognizer:

The subject of the uncontrolled, not fully conscious cognitive processes has the inactive marking: *m-goni-a* “It seems to me”, *mi-m-a-čni-a*, “I think, it is my opinion”, *m-jer-a*, *m-c'am-s* “I believe”, *m-i-k'vir-s*, ”I

5 All this forms have active marking. Some of them have different stems for active and inactive semantics: *m-rčeb-a*: *v-t'oveb* “I leave”, *m-i-vardeb-a* “it falls out of my hand”: *v-a-gdeb* “I throw”.

6 The uncontrolled forms of the type ***da-m-e-mart-a*** “It happened to me” are more often used in aorist and perfective aspectual screeves then in imperfective screeves: *da-m-e-k'arg-a* “I have lost” *šemo-m-a-k'vd-a* “I killed (accidentally)”.

am surprised”, *m-a-xov-s*, *m-a-gondeb-a* “I remember”, *m-a-vicq’deb-a* “I forget”, *m-e-eč’veb-a* “I doubt”, *m-e-imedebe-a* “I hope”;⁷ a productive class of forms, denoting “it seems to me, I think, I find...” is related with the class of cognition verbs: “*m-goni-a*” forms: *m-e-dideb-a* = *mgonia didi* “I find it large”, *m-e-lamazeb-a* “I find it pretty”, *m-e-mcareb-a* “as for me, I find it bitter”. . . This type of verbal forms can be derived actually from all adjectives.

Perceiver:

m-e-smi-s “I hear” (vs. *v-u-smen* “I listen”).

Potentiality/ability:

še-m-i-z’li-a, *z’almiz’s*, *xel-m-e-c’ipeb-a* “I can”. . . the semantic component “can” takes part in the semantics of a productive class of “can/may forms”: *m-e-č’mev-a*, *m-e-smev-a* = *še-m-i-z’li-a vačmo* “I can/may eat/drink”. . ., *šin ar mejdomeba* “It is impossible for me to stay at home” . . .

Possessors:

me m-a-kv-s “I have it (unanimated object)”, *me m-qav-s* “I have it (animated object)”, *m-a-badi-a*, *ga-m-a-čni-a* “I have (with different stylistic nuances)” *m-a-k’li-a* “I lack for it”, *m-e-lev-a* “my possessions decrease”, *m-e-mat’eb-a* “my possessions increase”. . .

The forms with the semantic component of possession – “having something on” can be assigned to this class: *m-a-cvi-a* “I am dressed in”, *m-a-xurav-s kudi* “I have a cap on”, *m-a-pari-a sabani* “I am covered with the blanket”, *m-cxi-a malamo črilobaze* “I have an unguent on the wound”, *m-i-k’eti-a bečedi xelze* “I have a ring on my hand” . . . to this class belong also *m-čvevi-a* “I have a habit”, *m-kvi-a* “my name is (I have a name)” and verbs of the type: *m-i-čirav-s xelši* “I hold it in my hand”, *m-i-p’q’ri-a* “I have (hold) it”.

The subjectivity tests (reflexivisation: *me mesmis čemi tavis* “I hear myself”), the functioning as a pivot (*bavšvs esmis zari da šedis k’lasši* “the child hears the bell and goes into the class” – the subject of the first verb is in dative and of the second – in nominative) and the word order (in neutral word order (SOV) the inactive subject has the first place in the clause) show that these inactive arguments are syntactic subjects. The morphological exponent of their subjectivity is the marking of the number of the 3rd person PL of inactive subject (*mat s-jer-a-t* “they believe”; -t is the plural marker), whereas the number of 3rd person PL of objects is not marked in the verb (*is mat xat’av-s* “he paints them”).

The construction with inactive subject is independent from the morpho-semantic classification of verbs. All classes of verbs: accomplishments (class 1), achievements (class 2), activities (class 3) and states (class 4) may have the inactive subject.

The constructions with the inactive subject (marked with dative and cross-referenced with *m*-pattern of personal markers) are commonly considered as inverted constructions. I think, there is no ground for such qualification, as these forms expose direct semantic marking – the dative case is a suitable direct marker for the inactive human participant of the event (FILLMORE 1968: 24).

2.2 . Marking of arguments with nominative and *v*-pattern in Series I

Agent-like arguments and the arguments, unspecified from the viewpoint of the category *active/inactive* are marked with nominative case and cross-referenced with the *v*-pattern of personal markers. The unmarked character of the feature *active* determines the wider use of its markers. This marking is assigned to all core arguments, which do not have the inactive marking. It obligatory occurs in every finite verb, sometimes without the presence of the referentially contentful NP. The unmarked alignment can get the subjects of all

⁷ In Svan, Megrelian and Laz the basic lexemes for “know” have the inactive subject marked with dative and cross-referenced with the pattern *m-*: Svan. *m-i-xal*, Megr. *m-i-čk-ə*, Laz. *m-i-čkun* “I know”. I think, Georgian *man icis* and *man ucq’is* “he knows” attest to the origin of the ergative marker -n from the ancient oblique dative/allative case. This development makes the assumption possible, that all cognitive processes must have been regarded as inspirations, uncontrolled processes on earlier stages of the language. *The thought comes to me* - is near to the semantics of the cognitive verbs with inactive subject.

verb classes: class 1 (transitive verbs, accomplishments in DOWTY's terminology (DOWTY 1979), class 2 (dynamic passives, achievements), class 3 (medial verbs, activities)⁸, class 4 (stative verbs, states).⁹ The active marking of the agentive subject of the classes 1 and 3 is in accordance with their semantics. It is necessary to explain the use of active pattern for the subjects of the verbs of classes 2 and 4. This can be done on the basis of the semantics of the verb classes. Transitivity, activity (dynamicity) and telicity can be considered as main semantic components of the four classes of Georgian verbs. Table 1 shows the distribution of these features among the verb classes.

Verb classes	Active/inactive	Transitive/intransitive	Telic/atelic
1. Accomplishments (transitives- SHANIDZE)	+	+	+
2. Achievements (dynamic passives - SHANIDZE)	+	-	+
3. Activities (medials - SHANIDZE)	+	-	-
4. States (stative passives -SHANIDZE)	-	-	-

The verbs of class 2 have may function as the transformational passives, but this is not their basic and primary use. They have the feature active common with class 1 and class 3. Most of the verb forms of this class cannot be regarded as passive transformations of the active forms. For example, *v-i-mal-ebi* "I hide myself", *v-i-c'mind-ebi* "I clean myself", *v-e-lap'arak'-ebi* "I speak to him", *v-e-c'idav-ebi* "I fight with him", *v-braz-d-ebi* "I get angry", *v-c'itl-d-ebi* "I become red" are active achievements with reflexive, reciprocal or transformative (became) semantics. Their common morphological marker is the present screeve ending *-ebi* in 1st and 2nd persons and *-eba* in 3rd person forms. As a rule, the use of these forms as passives is restricted to the 3rd person. Animacy and inanimacy of subjects can determine the active/inactive semantics of the forms of class 3:

v-i-c'mind-ebi "I clean myself"
k'a i-c'mind-eb-a "the cat cleans itself"
c'qali i-c'mind-eb-a "the water is being cleaned",
v-e-c'er-ebi siaši (me tviton) "I enroll myself"
c'igni i-c'er-eb-a "the book is being written"

The passive voice as the conversion of active forms has limited functioning in Georgian. Not all verbs of this class have the active counterparts. Hence, the subject of the verbs of class 2 has active semantics in most cases. SHANIDZE gives many examples of deponent verbs, which have the form of "passives" but active semantics: *i-mukr-eb-a* "he threatens", *i-k'bin-eb-a* "he bites", *i-t'qu-eb-a* "he lies", *i-pic-eb-a* "he swears",

8 Semantic marking of arguments is brought into the connection with verb classes in the article of KING "Agentivity and the Georgian Ergative" (KING, 1994). One of the main points on which KING bases her argumentation is that "class 3 verbs do not allow inanimate ergative subjects... Inanimates cannot be subjects in the aorist series where they are marked with ergative case and a volitional reading is forced on them" (KING 1994). One of the two examples cited in the article as unacceptable: *čaidanma imgera* "the teakettle sang" is quite grammatical, and the second: *pexma q'inulze daisrial-a* "the foot slid on the ice" is not acceptable, because, formulated in present tense, it is a general statement: *pexi q'inulze srialebs:* "[in general,] the foot slips on the ice". A general statement is ordinarily formulated in present tense and with this meaning it cannot have other TAM forms. In aorist this statement must be presented in relationship to the subject: *pexi q'inulze da-m-i-sriald-a / da-g-i-sriald-a / da-u-sriald-a* "The foot slid on the ice by me/you/him". The unanimated subjects in ergative case are fully compatible with Aorist Series of the class 3 verbs: *burtma igora* "the ball rolled", *xem it'iiv'iv-a* "the tree floated", *karma daič'rial-a* "the door creaked", *topma gaisro-la* "the gun shot", *gemma icur-a* "the ship swam", *tvitmprinavma iprin-a* "the airplane flew", *c'qalma idug-a* "the water boiled", *borbalma it'rial-a* "the wheel turned", *sisxlma idin-a* "the blood flew", *mexma daigrgvin-a* "the thunder rumbled", *q'umbaram ipetk-a* "the bomb exploded" and many others. There is no morphological restriction for using the inanimate subject in ergative case with the class 3 (activities) verbs in aorist. The unacceptability of certain expressions may be conditioned only by specific semantic reasons.

9 The four verb classes were distinguished by SHANIDZE (SHANIDZE 1955/1973) and first brought into correlation with the semantic classification of DOWTY by HOLISKY (HOLISKY 1981). Semantic interpretation of Georgian verb classes has an explanatory force for the functioning of verbs and choice of alignment patterns.

i-rc'mun-eb-a “he persuades”, *i-lanz'g-eb-a* “he berates” and many others (SHANIDZE 1973 : 296-300; TUITE 2002); Deponent verbs do not make a limited class of verbs in Georgian, as most of the verbs of class 2 have the primary active semantics.

Another evidence of the active character of the verbs of class 2 is their use as perfective (aorist) forms of the verbs of class 3. Atelic semantics of class 3 is an impediment for forming the Aorist Series inherently. The perfective forms for the verbs of class 3 are taken from the paradigm of the class 2: *q'vavi-s* “It blossoms” *ga-q'vavil-d-a* “it blossomed”; *dug-s* “it boils”, *a-dug-d-a* “it boiled”. Some subclasses of the class 3 make the bipersonal forms as *e*-“passives”: *tamašob-s* “he plays” – *e-tamašeb-a mas* “he plays with him”. These facts of sharing of forms with the class 3 are also the evidence of closeness to active semantics of most verbs of class 2. The activity hierarchy of the verb classes is:

class 1 > class 3 > class 2 > class 4.

The less active character of the class 2 has a morphological expression. The verbs of the class 2 have a feature of person marking, which distinguishes them from the forms of classes 1 and 3. The distribution of the allomorphs of the 3rd person markers -s and -a/-o¹⁰ is conditioned by the screeves (groups of conjugational forms distinguished by TAM characteristics) and by the verb classes. The distribution of the 3rd person markers -s and -a/-o is given in table 2.

TAM groups (Screeves)	Class 1	Class 3	Class 2	Class 4	Past
Present	-s	-s	-a	-a	—
Imperfect	-a	-a	-a	—	+
Present Conjunctive	-s	-s	-s	—	—
Future	-s	-s	-a	-a	—
Conditional	-a	-a	-a	-a	+
Future Conjunctive	-s	-s	-s	-s	—
Aorist	-a/o	-a	-a	[-a/-o] ¹¹	+
Conjunctive II	-s	-s	-s	[-s]	—
Present perfect	-a	-a	-a	-a	+
Pluperfect	-a	-a	-o	-o	+
Conjunctive III	-s	-s	-s	-s	—

The distribution of -s and -a/-o allomorphs is conditioned:

- a) By the oppositions of tense: The allomorph -a/-o is used in all screeves which have the +past component.
- b) By the verb classes: In classes 2 and 4 the allomorph -a/-o is used in all indicative screeves including present and future. In these classes the allomorph -s is attested only in conjunctive screeves.
- c) By the opposition of mood: -s is used in all +conjunctive screeves and in the forms of 3rd person imperatives in all verb classes.

I consider these conditions determined by the activity hierarchies of tenses, moods and verb classes. The allomorph -a/-o is used in less active conditions and the allomorph -s in conditions, where the activity of the verb form is higher.

The activity hierarchy of tense distinctions – **non-past > past** – determines, that the past tenses, as less actives, have the marking -a/-o.

The activity hierarchy of the verb classes is: **accomplishments > activities > achievements > states**; achievements and states are less active than the accomplishments and activities. They have the marker -a/-o in all indicative screeves: not only in past tenses, but also in present and future. In Old Georgian the marker of the 3rd person of verbs of these classes was -s in present and present perfect. The change to allomorph -a must be determined by the low degree of activity of these verb classes.

10 The allomorphs -a and -o appear in the same screeves and -o has the phonetic origin from -a.

11 Part of the verbs of class 4 do not have the screeves aorist and conjunctive II.

The forms of the conjunctive mood: present conjunctive, future conjunctive, conjunctive II and conjunctive III have the marker *-s*. These screeves have desiderative and possibilitive/permissive semantics. The conjunctive forms are shared by the 3rd person imperative: conj: *unda ga-a-keto-s...* “he must do it”, *rom ga-a-keto-s* “if he does it” and imp *ga-a-keto-s!* “let him do it!” conj *unda i-curao-s* “he must swim”, *rom i-curao-s* “if he swims” - imp *i-curao-s!* “let him swim!” Jespersen regards the imperative as will-mood, conjunctive – as thought-mood, and indicative – as fact-mood. (JESPERSEN 1924: Chapter XXIII). The forms of conjunctive mood are goal oriented and their tense component is future. Semantics of these types of modality forms implies volition and control from the side of the speaker. I think, will is the semantic component of the forms of conjunctive mood too on the thought level (wish, desire). There can be proposed the activity hierarchy of moods:

imperative (will) > conjunctive (thought/wish) > indicative (fact).

Hence, the 3rd person marking of arguments is determined by the activity hierarchy of tenses, moods and verb classes. The diachronic changes in the use of *-s* and *-a/-o* allomorphs are determined by these activity hierarchies.

The marking of the main argument of static verbs requires an explanation as well. The first explanation can be the unmarked character of the active pattern of marking. When the category remains unspecified, the unmarked member of the opposition appears in the position of neutralization.¹³ In Old Georgian the marker of static verbs was the ending *-ie*. Modern Georgian has also developed a way of marking this verb class. The forms of the auxiliary verb *q'opna* “be” (*v-ar* “I am”, *x-ar* “you are”, *ar-s* “he/she/it/ is”, *v-ar-t* “we are”, *x-ar-t* “you are/PL”, *ari-an* “they are”) are attached to the static forms:

<i>me v-a-bi-v-ar</i> “I am tied up”	<i>čven v-a-bi-var-t /PL/</i>
<i>šen a-bi-x-ar</i> “you are tied up”	<i>tkven a-bi-xar-t /PL/</i>
<i>is abi-a<-ar-s</i> “he is tied up”	<i>isini a-bi-a<arian /PL/</i>

Through the transformation of the analytic forms into synthetic the double marking of the 1st person (*v-a-bi-v-ar*) emerged. The form of the 3rd person received the marking *-a* through the reduction of the auxiliary verb *aris* “is”. A new pattern of person marking [*v-...-var*, *-xar*, *ia*] emerged, expressing the durative character of static verbs. This type of marking is used also in present perfect and pluperfect¹³ of the verbs of classes 2 and 4: *ga-v-zrdil-var* “I have grown up”, *da-v-bmul-var* “I have been tied up”. This type of marking can be considered as the third pattern of person marking in Georgian. It has common features with the analytic passives: *me v-a-bi-v-ar* – *me dabmuli v-ar* “I am tied up”.

How should the alignment pattern of person marking in Series I be qualified? Traditionally, the alignment type of Series I is considered as **nominative/accusative**. I prefer to consider it **active/inactive**. The arguments for such qualification are:

- a) Main morphological distinction of the verb classes is **active/inactive** and not transitive/intransitive;
- b) Core arguments are marked according the binary opposition **active/inactive**; inactive marking receive not only the subjects of the verbs of some semantic classes, but also the subjects of uncontrolled, unvolitional, accidental actions and states.
- c) All inactive participants get the same marking, both the object-like and subject-like;
- d) There is almost no distinction in marking of direct and indirect objects. The only difference is in marking arguments of 3rd person, where the difference is conventioned by the animacy hierarchy.
- e) All specific rules of argument marking are governed by the activity hierarchies of arguments and verbal categories;

The direct object is the crucial argument in both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive types of marking, but not in the active-inactive type. In Series I the direct object is not separated morphologically from other inactive arguments. The two hyperroles are marked with nominative and dative. SILVERSTEIN

12 The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A (JAKOBSON 1957 : 5).

13 About the relationship of the screeves of Series III to the static forms see in the next section.

has posited the generalization: the existence both of accusative and ergative cases implies the existence of the dative case (SILVERSTEIN 1976: 162). The existence of the case system in a language implies the existence of absolutive/nominative and dative cases, but not of the accusative or ergative (both as the independent or shared oblique case). Hence, the system with the opposition nominative/dative for marking the core arguments has a more archaic character than the alignment systems, based on the opposition nominative/accusative and ergative/absolutive. SAPIR considered “the greatest weakness of UHLENBECK’s paper the inclusion under one rubric of transitive *versus* intransitive and active *versus* inactive” (SAPIR 1917: 85). He defined 5 types of argument marking in his review of the article of UHLENBECK (SAPIR 1917: 86).

	Obj.tr.	Subj. intr. Inactive Active	Subj.tr.	Example
1.Ergative	A	A	B	Chinook
2.Active	A	A B	B	Dakota
3.Tripartite	A	B	C	Takelma
4.Nominative	A	B	B	Paiute
5.Neutral	A	A	A	Yana

SAPIR thought, that there is some evidence to show that type 4 (nominative) tends to develop from type 2 (active). FILLMORE (FILLMORE 1968 : 53-58) and KLIMOV (KLIMOV 1977) have actualized the classification of SAPIR. KLIMOV considers the lack of the distinction between the direct and indirect objects as one of the important characteristics of the active construction (KLIMOV 1977 : 138). The argument in dative, cross-referenced in the verb with inactive person markers is the core argument in Georgian. In marking of objects in three-place transitive verbs the indirect object has preference of marking over the direct object. In the intransitive two-place verbs the indirect objects are cross-referenced in the verb: *m-e-svri-s is me* “he shoots at me”, *m-e-lap'arak'eb-a is me* “he speaks with me”.

The distinction active/inactive has more implications for the verb morphology, than the distinction transitive/intransitive. Most of morphological marking in Georgian is semantic and the dominance of semantic marking is characteristic for the active construction (PLANK 1979: 4). An almost unlimited possibility of derivation of verbs from nouns and adjectives, characteristic for Georgian (BOEDER 2002), is typical for the languages of active alignment too.

3. Marking of arguments in Series II

The Series II has split character with respect to case marking and personal agreement of arguments. Cross-referencing of arguments is of the same type in Series II as in Series I. Hence, we have the same alignment type, which I have defined as active.

Series I. Present screeve

v-a-šen-eb “I build”
m-a- k'än k'aleb-s “I shiver”
m-e-k'arg-eb-a “I loose”

Series II. Aorist screeve:

a-v-a-šen-e “I built”
a-m-a-kankal-a “I shivered”
da-m-e-k'arg-a “I lost”

Many verbs with inactive subjects (experiencers, cognizers, possessors) are defective and do not have the forms of Series II. However, some classes of forms designing the accidental, unvolitional, uncontrolled actions (see above p. 4) are even more often used in Series II and III than in Series I. They preserve the inactive pattern of marking in Series II and III: *mas da-e-k'arg-a* “he(DAT) lost (uncontrolled)”, *mas da-k'argvi-a* “he(DAT) has lost (evidently)”, *mas šemo-e-xarj-a* “he(DAT) spent money (uncontrolled)”, *mas šemo-xarjvi-a* “he(DAT) has spent (evidently)”.

The case marking is of the extended ergative type in Series II. Agent of the verbs of class 1 (accomplishments) and class 3 (activities) is marked with the ergative case and the patient (Od) is marked with nominative. It is appropriate to define this construction as extended ergative, as not only the subjects of the transitive verbs get the ergative case marking, but also the subjects of intransitive, active telic verbs (class 3). The

subjects of the verbs of class 2 and 4 are marked with nominative. The syncretic inactive hyperrole of Series I is divided in Series II into two differently marked roles: the direct object, marked with nominative and the indirect object and inactive subject marked with dative.

4. Marking of arguments in Series III

In Series III, the construction is of the extended ergative type both for case marking and personal agreement of arguments. The subject of the verbs of classes 1 and 3 is in the dative case and the direct object of the class 1 is in nominative: *mas*(DAT) *saxli a-u-šen-ebi-a* “he has built a house”, *me saxli a-m-i-šen-ebi-a* “I have built a house”; *mas*(DAT) *u-tamaši-a* “he has played”, *me m-i-tamaši-a* “I have played”; *is*(NOM) *casul-a* “he has gone”, *me ca-v-sul-v-ar* “I have gone”, *is*(NOM) *damalul-a* “he has hidden himself” *me da-v-malul-v-ar* “I have hidden myself”. The dative subject is cross-referenced by the *m*- pattern and the object in nominative – by the *v*-pattern of person markers. The dative case as the subject marker in Series III can be regarded as the ergative type marking with the shared oblique case. The formation of Series III is transparent. It is formed in accordance to the principle of perfect formation, stated by BENVENISTE: “the perfect is a form, in which the notion of state, connected with the notion of possession is linked to the subject” (BENVENISTE 1960). This principle is realized in many languages by means of the auxiliary verbs “be” (with the oblique case of the subject) or “have” (often with nominative case of the subject) – “manā krtam astiy” and “habeo factum” types.¹⁴ The type “manā krtam astiy” created the aspect conditioned ergative construction in the Indo-Iranian languages. The same took place in Georgian perfective forms, but in a synthetic way: the state is connected with the static form of the verb and the possession – with the possessive-benefactive version. (ALLEN 1964; MELIKISHVILI 1977; 1991; KORTAVA 1981). This is the only possible interpretation of the appearance of the possessive-benefactive version (the marked category) in the position of syncretism of version oppositions. The perfective Series III has two features of inactive category: state/result and possession. The ergative alignment of this Series is based on the possessive construction.¹⁵

Hence, three alignment types are functioning in Georgian:

Active construction in Imperfective Series (I)

Active/extended ergative split construction in Aorist Series (II)¹⁶

Extended ergative construction in Perfective Series (III)

¹⁴ *mana krtam astiy*
mine (DAT/GEN) done is
“I have done”.

¹⁵ The difference in the marking of the subject of verb classes 1 and 3 with the ergative case in Series II and dative in Series III is no impediment for considering both alignment types as ergative. In Series II, we have the monofunctional ergative case and in Series III the polyfunctional dative/ergative. In many languages, the ergative case has the form shared with an oblique case - dative, genitive, locative or instrumental. The Georgian ergative case marker *-n* can also have been originated from an oblique case form. The comparison with Svan, where *-n* is the dative case marker and takes part in the formation of the case markers of ergative: *-n-ēm* and transformative: *-n-är-d* cases, and Georgian temporal/locative forms *gvia-n* “late”, *c'ey-a-n* “not long ago”, *uk'a-n* “behind” allow to advance this hypothesis.

¹⁶ KLIMOV (KLIMOV 1977) and HARRIS (HARRIS 1985, 1990) regard the construction of Series II as active, as the distinct marking of subjects goes not along the opposition transitive/ intransitive, but with the opposition active/inactive. I made an attempt to show, that the construction of the Series I has the features of the active construction. As Series II distinguishes the direct and indirect object unlike the Series I, it seems to me more appropriate to define it as extended ergative.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the case and personal markers among the Series of TAM forms.¹⁷

Series I								
Verb Class	AGT	STIM	PAT	BEN ADR EXEC	EXPER	UNVOL	S	POSS
1,3	NOM v-	-	DAT m-	DAT m-	-	-	-	-
2,4	NOM v-	NOM v-	-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	
Series II								
1,3	ERG v-	-	NOM m-	DAT m-	-	-	-	-
2,4	NOM v-	NOM v-	-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	-
Series III								
1,3	DAT m-	-	NOM v-	GEN -tvis	-	-	-	-
2,4	NOM v-	NOM v-	-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-	DAT m-

5. Marking of arguments in negative constructions

One more detail of Georgian person marking can be interpreted based on the activity hierarchy of arguments. In the affirmative answer to a question, the verb is in aorist and the marking of the subject is of the active type (ERG and *v*-pattern), but in the negative answer, the verb is in present perfect and the marking of the subject is of the inactive type (DAT and *m*-pattern).

-ga-a-k'vete? “Have you done it?”

-ga-v-a-kête. “I have done it”.

-ar ga-m-i-k'et-eb-i-a. “I have not done it”

As the action did not happen, it is consequent that the non-performer is not regarded as the agent.

If the action did not take place on purpose, the subject is in ergative and cross-referenced with *v*-series of personal markers.

-ar ga-v-ak'ete. “I have not done it (on purpose)”.¹⁸

6. About the semantic basis of the extension of the ergative construction of Series II and III

What interpretation can be given for the extension of ergative construction beyond the transitive class of verbs in Series II and III? The class, which shares the ergative alignment with the transitive verbs, is class 3 (activities) – the class of intransitive, active, atelic verbs. Both Series II and III are perfective. As we have already seen, Series III is based on the possessive construction. An interesting parallel can be found in choice of the auxiliaries “have” and “be” for perfect formation in some languages, for example, in Italian. The selection of the auxiliary verbs “have” and “be” in perfect tenses in this language is conditioned by the same classes of verbs as the selection of ergative alignment in Series II and III in Georgian (VAN VALIN 1990 : 232). Verbs which take *avere* in Italian, have the subject in ergative (Series II) and dative (Series III) in Georgian: *parlare* “talk”, cf.: *man*(ERG) *i-lap'arak'-a* “he talked”, *mas*(DAT) *u-lap'arak'i-a* “he has talked”; *piangere* “cry” – *man i-q'vir-a* “he cried”, *mas u-q'viri-a* “he has cried”; *ballare* “dance” – *man i-cek'v-a* “he danced”, *mas u-cek'vi-a* “he has danced”; *camminare* “walk” – *man i-seirn-a* “he walked”, *mas u-seirni-a* “he has walked”... Verbs which take *essere* in Italian, have the subject in nominative in Georgian: *arrive* “arrive” – *is(NOM) mivid-a* “he

17 AGT – agent; STIM – stimulus; PAT – patient; BEN – benefactive; ADR – addressee; EXEC – executor; UNVOL – unvolitional; POSS – possessor; NOM – nominative; DAT – Dative; ERG – ergative; S – subject;

18 In Megrelian-Laz the inactive marking is even more extended: the pattern for potentialis – “can not” (unrealized) actions - has *m*-marking of the subject: *skanda ma va m-a-yvinen* “I can not kill you”.

came, arrived”, *is*(NOM) *misul-a* “he has come”, *affondare* “sink” – *is ča-i-z’ir-a* “he sank”, *is ča-z’irul-a* “he has sunk”; *stare* “stay” – *is darč-a* “he staid”, *is darčenil-a* “he has staid”; *annegare* “drown” – *is da-i-xrč-o* “he drowned”, *is damxrčval-a* “he has drowned”. Verbs, that take either *avere* or *essere* conditioned by the telic or atelic use of the verb in Italian select the alignment type in accordance with the same conditions in Georgian: *saltare* “jump” – *man*(ERG) *bevri i-xt’un-a*, *mas*(DAT) *bevri u-xt’uni-a* “he jumped much / he has jumped much”, but *is*(NOM) *šors gadaxt’-a*, *is*(NOM) *šors gadamxt’ara* “he made a long jump/he has made a long jump”; *volare* “fly” – *man*(ERG) *bevri i-prin-a*, *mas*(DAT) *bevri u-preni-a*; “he flied much/he had flied much” *is*(NOM) *romši čaprind-a*, *is*(NOM) *romši čapreni-la* “he arrived in Rome (made a flight to Rome)”. Similar selection of the auxiliaries, dependent on the telic/atelic use of the intransitives is observed in German: *Sie hat früher viel getanzt / Sie ist durch den Saal getanzt; Er hat viel geflogen /Er ist nach Rom geflogen.*

Hence, the extension of the ergative construction to the class 3 verbs is typologically parallel to the extension of the auxiliary “have” to intransitive verbs in perfect forms. The possessive-benefactive version can be considered semantically near to the auxiliary “have”. In this connection it is to note that the derivation of aorist forms of the verbs of class 3 (active, atelic; ergative alignment) is based on the possessive/benefactive centripetal version with the marker *i*-: *is curav-s / man i-cur-a* “he swims /he swam”; *is myeri-s / man i-myer-a* “he sings / he sang”. The way of derivation of aorist forms of class 3 verbs is essentially the same as of the resultative forms (Series III): *mas u*(poss. version)- *cek’vi-a* “he has danced”; in Series III the version marker is oriented toward the subject in dative; the change of the case of the subject changes the character of the version *i*-/*u*-: now it is oriented to the subject and hence gets the subjective, centripetal semantics; the centrifugal “*sasxviso*” parasmaipada¹⁹ (oriented toward the indirect object) version gets centripetal, “*sataviso*”, *ātmanepada*²⁰ (oriented toward the subject) meaning.

The coexistence of three alignment types poses the question of their diachronic relationship. Many scholars regard Series II as predating Series I (ZORELL 1930; DEETERS 1930; CHIKOBAVA 1948; RO-GAVA 1975; HARRIS 1985). Hence, the ergative construction of the Series II is considered as predating the nominative (active) construction of the Series I. However, the opposite direction of the change seems to me more plausible.

The problem can be approached based on the theory of markedness developed by JAKOBSON (JAKOBSON 1932; 1939; 1957; see also: GREENBERG 1966; SILVERSTEIN 1976; CROFT 1990; AISSEN 1999). From this point of view there is much evidence to consider Series I as unmarked in relation to the Series II and III. GREENBERG has formulated criteria for distinguishing the unmarked and marked categories on the morphological level. All these criteria testify for considering Series I as unmarked in opposition to the other Series: 1. The TA forms of Series I – present and imperfective – are unmarked members of tense and aspect correlations. Present is the form, functioning in general, tenseless expressions. 2. Series I is more differentiated; in Old Georgian it consisted of 6 screeves, whereas Series II and III included 4 screeves each. In Modern Georgian Series I includes 6 screeves, Series II – 2, Series III – 3 screeves. 3. All verbs have the forms of Series I, whereas many defective verbs lack the forms of Series II and III. 4. Infinitives and participles are based on the stems of Series I. 5. The textual frequency of the forms of Series I is higher than that of the forms of the Series II and III. The theory of markedness implies that the unmarked member of the category predates the marked one, if a diachronic change takes place: the unmarked member cannot be lost earlier than the marked member of the opposition and the marked member cannot emerge earlier than the unmarked one. Hence, if we pose the problem of the diachronic relationship between Series I and II²¹ (the secondary character of Series III is clear and the formation is transparent), there is strong methodological evidence, based on the theory of markedness, that Series I is to be considered as the elder one.

Diachronic typology also shows that the aspect conditioned ergative construction can emerge in the languages of the nominative/accusative type based on the perfect derivation (for example, the split ergativity

19 Parasmaipada “word for other” and *ātmanepada* “word for himself” – are the expressions of Panini for the version distinctions. They are in accordance to the Georgian designations of SHANIDZE: *sataviso* “for himself” and *sasxviso* “for other”.

20 The frame of this paper does not allow discussion of all details of diachronic transformations, which created the modern rules of the formation of the perfective forms of the verbs of class 3. For detailed discussion see MELIKISHVILI 2002; HARRIS 2009.

21 The universal rules governing the coexistence of alignment types do not necessarily imply the diachronic relationships between them. But, as a rule, diachronic transformations creating the split systems are posited for most of them.

in the Indo-Iranian languages); the principle of the formation of Series III in Georgian is the same as in the Indo-Iranian languages with split ergativity. The possessive derivation underlies the forms of the class 3 in aorist too (*is*(NOM) *mepob-s* “he reigns” / *man* (ERG) *i-mep-a* “he reigned”).

Series II has split alignment, as the verbal marking is of the type of Series I (active) and the case marking is of the extended ergative type. There is the evidence, that the nominal marking undergoes the change easier than the verbal marking. The unmarked character – the higher position in the hierarchy of the parts of sentence – can be the explanation for this. Examples for this diachronic assumption are the systems of Megrelian and Laz, where the case marking of the arguments has changed, but the verbal marking has remained the same. In Megrelian all subjects in Series II are marked with the ergative case, and in Laz Series I has developed the case marking of the extended ergative type, the same as in Series I. However, the verbal marking remains of the Georgian and Svan type. This indicates that the verbal marking can be expected to be of an elder formation.

The fact that the forms of Series I are of greater morphological complexity than the forms of Series II in Modern Georgian does not give grounds for considering it a secondary formation, as the majority of the stem markers of Series I cannot be reconstructed on the Common Kartvelian level (HARRIS 1985 : 189-207; MACHAVARIANI 2002 : 117-120). In the ancient verb system of Common Kartvelian there was the opposition of unmarked present *versus* marked aorist (pres. **û-ber* – aor. **û-ber-e*; **û-drek’* – **û-drik’-e*), of both marked forms for the present and aorist (**û-tl-ej* – **û-tal-e*) and of the marked present *versus* unmarked aorist (**û-č’r-ej* – **û-č’er*) (GAMKRELIDZE & MACHAVARIANI 1965 : 262-273). Hence, in Common Kartvelian system the present and aorist stems were of equal complexity.

Another important evidence for considering Series I as more ancient is that the ergative case marker cannot be reconstructed on the Common Kartvelian level, not even on the Common Georgian-Zan level (NEBIERIDZE 1988). Georgian *-n*, Megrelian-Laz *-k* and Svan *-d*, *-ēm* markers of the ergative case do not allow the reconstruction of a common archetype from which these markers could be derived. «It seems so that all Kartvelian languages have separately formed the ergative» (MACHAVARIANI 2002: 79). On the Common Kartvelian level the dative **-n* and locative **-d* markers can be reconstructed, which could be the sources of the Georgian and Svan ergative markers. Hence, in Common Kartvelian it is possible to reconstruct only two cases for marking the core arguments: nominative and dative. This is in accordance with the universal statement of SILVERSTEIN that the dative case is implied both by the ergative and accusative cases (SILVERSTEIN 1976) and points to the possibility of the reconstruction of the active alignment type on the Common Kartvelian level. Active construction is reconstructed in the syntactic structure of the Common Indo-European level as well (KLIMOV 1973; SCHMIDT 1979; GAMKRELIDZE & IVANOV 1994-1995). Hence, the active construction could be a common feature in the Common Kartvelian and Common Indo-European reconstructed systems.

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ON THE TYPOLOGY OF WEEK DAYS IN THE SATURDAY'S CALENDAR SYSTEM*

Abstract

The Hebrew *šabbat* denotes “creating work, rest”. *Šabat* is a loan from Akkad. *šappattu* “the fifteenth day of the month, full moon”; it is generally related to the Egyptian *smt-*, with the same meaning. The institution of *šabbat* has become established in many countries, assuming other meanings as the main religious day, viz. “Sunday”. This gave rise to the creation of the *šabbat* calendar system, parallel to the planetary system. The Georgian compounds: *oršabati* (Monday), and *samšabati* (Tuesday) ... most closely resemble the relevant Syriac terms in Hebrew, from which these lexical units stem, viz. *yōm rišon*, *yōm šene* “the first day, the second day”, and *rišon b-šabbat*, *šene b-šabbat* “first in the week”, etc. The Greek *devterā sabbaton*, *trite sabbaton* constitute artificial word combinations, for the ordinal numbers “second, third”, underwent substantivization, denoting the days of the week, when used without *sabbaton*. Similarly to Georgian, in the Syriac *tnēn b-šabbi*, *tlātā b šabbā* “two in a week, three in a week” are the only variants rendering these notions. At the same time, the first part of these terms, like the Georgian *oršabati*, *samšabati*..., is a cardinal number and not an ordinal one, as in Hebrew and Greek.

Key word: *šabbat*

The number of week days varied from time to time and from people to people, e.g. the Romans and Etruscans had an eight-day week, the Indians - a nine day week, the Celts - a three-day week, a ten-day unit time was customary for the Egyptians and ancient Greeks; 3-, 4-, 5-, 6-, 8-, 10-day weeks existed in Central America and Mexico.

A seven-day period is mentioned in Sumerian and Babylonian texts, therefore, it became widely believed that the seven-day week was of Babylonian origin. This happened after 1904, when Pinch discovered and studied a cuneiform inscription preserved at Assurbanipal Library, where the names of Babylonian months as well as a few collocations with “ūmu”, denoting “day” are listed. The names denoting these months were adopted by the Jews [1: 200], the Syrians adopted them from the Jews, and the Arabs from the Syrians. Part of these collocations represent different days of a month, those, similarly to Georgian, are presented in cardinal numbers, whereas in many other languages ordinal numbers were used to denote days of a week (comp. Russian, German, Arabic, etc.). In the Georgian language, the first day of a month represents an exception.

Only the fifteenth day listed in this inscription has its special name “*šapattu*”, which at the same time means “full moon”. It is well known that for centuries and partly nowadays the emergence of a full moon is greatly celebrated.

According to scholars, as *šapattu* (*šabattu*) is determined by the moon cycle, it should concurrently be used for denoting a half moon and every moon phase, or a recurrently repeated seventh day, as the special festive importance of this day is emphasized in Babylonian hemerology [1:199-202].

In order to substantiate this view, in his article *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* Schrader writes that a seven-day unit time is mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions with the especially important seventh day. This was a day when working, making sacrifice, etc. was prohibited, i.e. according to cuneiform inscriptions *šapattu* is interpreted as a holiday and is identified with *úm nuh libbi* “peace for soul and heart” [2: 36]. However, Marler adds that initially *šapattu* meant a cycle, whereas *umu šapattu* meant the completion of a moon cycle. Hence, it does not mean “a holiday, day of rest”, but “completion, ending, termination”. To prove this, he cites many illustrations from the Old Testament where Hebrew *šabbat* is recorded with this meaning (Genesis

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822 Isaiah 338 Jeremiah 330 and so on) and in the author's view, the meaning of "a holiday" represents a subsequent stage of development [3: 78-79]. Besides, in addition to the meaning of "a holiday", *šabbat* in Modern Hebrew is also used to express "completion, termination of work, business and strike".

It is mentioned in the specialist literature that *ūmu šapattu*, as well as *yōm šabbat* implies "day of reconciliation, understanding", as well as "the Judgment Day" and "celestial miracle". From the day of the Exodus, *šabbat* is identified with "a holy day, a day of purification", a day when man is closest to God.

Scholars have proved that the Jews adopted the institution of *šapattu*, together with the term denoting it during their stay in south Babylon.

In spite of the fact that cuneiform inscriptions do not contain any direct indication that *šapattu* means a recurrently repeated seventh day, at the same time there is no indication that the Jews always celebrated a full moon (although various Judaic holidays are mostly related to a moon cycle: e.g. the Passover was celebrated on the emergence of a full moon in Nisan (April), celebration of *tišri Succoth* on emerging of a new moon, new year is also related to the full moon). Such fluctuation of the meaning within one semantic field is quite natural.

Akkad. *apattu* proper represents an Egyptian borrowing *smt-t* with the same meaning of "the fifteenth day, a full moon" [4: 67]. However, some scholars considered that etymologically it derives either from Semitic *sbb* – "time period", or *šebe* – "to be satiated", or from the root *sb* – "seven" [5: 799].

Thus, Hebrew *šabbat*, deriving from Akkad. *šapattu*, means "termination of work, rest"; however, this time it is interpreted according to the main religious rule of the Jews: completion of work in six days and necessary rest on the seventh day - Saturday, legitimized, blessed and sanctified by God.

The importance of Saturday and customs and traditions related to it, in particular, prohibition of different activities, etc., are repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament and are discussed by bibliologists. It is emphasized that even manna did not descend from heaven on Saturday.

As is known, this principal rule of the defeated Jews spread in many countries of the world. Philon considered Saturday as a feast of the whole world, however, it was with regret that Seneca admitted that "the custom of these criminal people became so strong that it has covered the whole country." According to Joseph Flavius, by the end of the 1st century there was no Greek or barbarian city, not a single nation where the custom – "abstention from work on the seventh day" was not propagated [6: 120].

In spite of the religion practiced by this or that nation, they adopted the Saturday rule of the Jews, together with a term denoting it: Aram.: *sabbata*>Ethiop. *sanbat*, Greek>*sabbaton*, Latin *sabbatum*, Spanish *sabado*, French *samedi*, Georgian *šabati*, Megr.-Chan. *sabatoni*, Persian *šambe*, Arabic *sabt*, Russian *subбота*, etc.

As the main spiritual day *šabbat* "a holiday, termination of work" acquired its second meaning of "a week", and is used separately as well as in terms denoting week days.

This is how the foundation for the creation of the Saturday calendar system in the region of the Christian East and non-Christian Near East was laid, in parallel to the planetary system. The inscription on a Roman Tomb, dated 269, is considered as the most ancient specimen of the custom of referring to the heavenly bodies by names; Saturday system names remained in Greece in later periods as well [6: 158].

For example a seven-day week with its main day Saturday as a commonly accepted time unit, was legitimized under the influence of the Jews, specifically, the Bible, as for denotation of the whole week, the Jews first used the term *šavua'*, derived from the number *ševa* "seven". Accordingly, it was reflected in other languages as well: Greek *ébdomas*, Latin *septimana*, Pers. *hafte*, Rus. *sedmitsa*, Georg. *švideuli*, Arabic *usbū'* (*sabi'* is also used). *Usbū'* also means "the seventh day" and *al'usbū'* "the seventh day from the birth", "the seventh day after returning from *hağg*", "going around Kaaba seven times" [7: 1287-8].

It should be emphasized again that in Hebrew proper the term *šabbat* was used to denote a whole week since the Talmudic period. It is used separately, as well as together with terms denoting week days: *šabbat* "Saturday; week", *rišon be šabbat* "first in a week" i.e. "Sunday", *šeni be šabbat* "second in a week" – "Monday", *šliši be šabbat* "third in a week" – "Tuesday", *yōm revi'* *be šavua'* "fourth day in a week" or "Wednesday", *hamiši be šavua'* "fifth (day) in a week" or "Thursday", *šiši be šabbat* "sixth (day) in a week" or "Friday", *'erev be šabbat* is also used to denote the evening before Saturday.

There were attempts to translate these word combinations as "the first - after Saturday, the second – after Saturday", etc. [8: 26-28] However, the Hebrew particle "be" means "in" and "during" and not "after".

The fact that in the word combinations mentioned above *šabbat* means a week and not Saturday is proved by terms denoting Wednesday and Thursday (see above).

The second meaning of Saturday i.e., *šavua'* “week” was adopted not only by the Semitic languages, (cf. Judaic-Aramaic, Christian-Palmyrene, Syriac, Arabic) [7, IV: 1287-8], but under the influence of Hebrew, by Greek and Latin as well, and afterwards it found its way into other languages. This was mainly reflected in texts of the Old and the New Testaments (Isaiah, 6623, Lev. 258, Mark. 1699, Luke. 1812). In the Armenian language it still has two meanings (cf. Rus. Saturday Jewish holiday (Sabbath), and afterwards every Old Testament holiday a week, seven days of a week) [9, IV: 361].

The same situation holds true for the Old Georgian language where “Saturday” - *šabati* was used to denote a whole week: Lev. 2634, 35 Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies’ land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths.

As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it. Lev. 2315, 16 And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: Even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days.

Luke. 1812 I fast twice in the week.

In regard to the Saturday calendar system, Georgian terms denoting week days are of utmost interest for the present study.

On the basis of an analysis of written sources, namely the work by Iakob Khutsesi (44 7-484), Ivane

Javakhishvili concludes that “at that time names of the Saturday system were used in Georgian to denote week days and i.e ... already in the 4th-5th centuries the names of week days of the Saturday system dominated in the Georgian language”. He adds: “It is known that Christians first adopted the names of week days from the Greeks, and to denote week days they used *šabaton* “Saturday”, *paraskeve* for “Friday”, *devtéra sabbaton*, *trítē sabbaton* “second, third Saturday”, i.e. like Georgian *oršabati* and *samšabati* - Saturday, Monday and Tuesday” [6:158].

From this point of view, I think, the interest of the evidence of the Syriac language, which played an important role in the countries of the so-called Christian East, including Georgia, should not be underestimated.

Syriac is one of the dialects of Aramaic, a language in which rich literature is written (implying Classic Syriac). As is known, Aramaic was the administrative language used in Georgia until the 3rd century. The expansion of this language is explained by the literary traditions of the powerful state of the Achaemenians.

The spread of Christianity in Georgia is connected with the names of the Syrians. They founded the first monasteries in Georgia that became centres of Georgian culture (Shiomghvime, Zedazeni, Gareji, etc.). At the same time, in the fifth century the Georgians visited other centers of Antioch and Syria-Palestine where they studied the structure of the Syriac language and manuscripts created in this language [10].

The proof of these cultural contacts are some Syriac words found in Georgian or via Syriac other borrowings of Semitic origin, such as ܫܺܒܻܬܺܐ (*šabati* - Saturday). At the same time, calques created under the influence of Syriac are also found, especially in translations of the Holy Scripture e.g., *šahid* “witness-martyr” (<Greek Martyr), *hayla* “power; miracle”, cf. Matt. 722 1358, Mark. 62, etc., where “power” is used with the meaning of a miracle, and Georgian *shesakrebeli* (“assembly place”) to denote Synagogue, for Syriac *Kenuštā* “synagogue” initially meant “assembly place” (Matt.423, etc.).

In my view, it should not be ruled out that the existence of Georgian terms denoting days of the Saturday system in the fifth century, characterized by especially intensive Georgian-Syrian cultural-historical relations, is a result of calquing of Syriac terms, the more so as these lexical units are recorded in the Gospel as well.

The point is that in the above-mentioned terminological word combinations in Hebrew as well as in Greek, ordinal numbers are used, whereas in Georgian and Armenian, like Syriac (obviously, under its influence), cardinal numerals occur.

Syriac borrowed the Hebrew model of the Saturday system and introduced certain modifications into its micro system; particularly, cardinal numerals are used instead of ordinal numbers. It is possible that this happened by analogy of *yōm ehad* “day one” “Sunday”, which initially was used instead of *yōm rišon* “day the first”. It is not ruled out, however, and this may be even more acceptable, that in this case a crucial role was played by Akkadian, where the days of the month, similarly to Georgian, as noted above, are rendered by cardinal

numbers. Anyway, in Syriac and Georgian terms containing a Saturday system number (Monday, Tuesday) typological adequacy is recorded: *ḥad b-šabbā*, *tnēn b-šabbā*, *tlātā b-šabbā*, *arba'b-šabbā*, *hamšā b-šabbā* or “one in a week, two in a week, three in a week, four in a week, and five in a week”, i. e. similar to Georgian *oršabati* (Monday), *samšabati* (Tuesday) and so on where *šabati* (Saturday) must represent a contracted form of the Genitive Case Respective Persian and Turkish terms were formed similarly.

In addition to the examples given above, the fact that Georgian *šabati* (Saturday), similarly to Syriac *šabbā*, has the meaning of a week, is proven by the evidence of the Armenian language as well, which manifests typological resemblance in rendering these lexical units:

Yerkušabti, (one - of a week, two - of a week, etc.).

Notably enough, in Syriac word combinations similar to Georgian compounds the word “day” is not used, which is confirmed in corresponding Hebrew and Greek terms. As regards Greek, that greatly influenced the formation of the Georgian week structure (see below “Friday” and “Sunday”) its *devterá* “second”, trite “third” and so on, underwent substantivization and denotes week days even without *šabbaton* and *hemera* (day).

Thus, similarly to Syriac, in Old Georgian *šabati* (Saturday) denotes a week, which accordingly was reflected in the terms denoting week days.

According to the Hebrew model, the day after Saturday, or the first day, is “Sunday” *yōm eḥad*. This found reflection in various languages: Arab. *yawmu-lahad* “day of one”, Pers. *yak šambe*, etc. In this case Old Georgian is not an exception either. Cf. Matthew (281) “In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene”.

It is known that after the spread of Christianity, Emperor Constantine replaced *dies solis* “day of the sun”, adopted in the Latin planetary system, with *dies dominicus* “the Lord’s day”.

Afterwards many Christian nations either borrowed this lexical unit directly or obtained the relevant term as a result of calquing: cf. Greek *kuriake*, from it Georgian and Armenian *kvira* and *kiraki* and Ossetian *xwycawbon* “the Lord’s day”, [11, V: 256] and in parallel *koyri/k’* were from Georgian; Chechen *kvire* [11, I: 652]; Spanish *domingo*, Italian *domenica*, French *dimanche*; Old Slavic *anastasis* “Resurrection”, Russian *voskresenie* – “Resurrection”.

Hence, it is natural that if in the Old Georgian Gospel according to Matthew *ertshabati* (“Sunday”) is used, in the Revelation of John 110, similarly to Greek, “the Lord’s day” is found, corresponding to *hemera kuriake* [6: 158].

It is worth mentioning that the Greek borrowing *kurkī* with the meaning of Sunday is recorded in Arabic as well, which, according to G. Tsereteli, was borrowed by Arabic from Albanian [12: 212]. *Kurkī* is found in Muhammad Al-Istakhr’s texts from “Royal Paths (Armenia, Ran, Azerbaijan)”. This fact was reflected in the Dictionary by Dozy as *yamu-l-kurkī* “Sunday” [13, II: 458]. This work relates about a big fair at Bardawa *sūqu-l-kurkī*, where a lot of people gathered on Sundays *fī yawmi-l-ahad*. As a rule, fairs were arranged at weekends and as many Christians lived in this region, fairs were organized on Sundays as a result of this, *yawmu lahад* was replaced by *yawmu-l-kurkī* and therefore the fair was renamed *sūqu-l-kurkī*. It is not improbable that the Muslim neighbourhood had a certain influence in this case; in Turkish and Azeri *pazar/basar* has both meanings: “fair” and “Sunday”.

If the main day from the Judaic religious viewpoint, *šabat*, is the term denoting the whole week (and, as noted above, at a certain time not only in Hebrew), Christian *kuriake* “the Lord’s day” became the lexeme denoting week (cf. Georgian *kvira*, Ossetian *koyri*, Slavic *anastasis*, Russian *неделя<не делать* (*nedelya* - not to do), denoting holiday in ancient times, from this *ponedelnik* (typologically cf. Kurdish-Azeri *pazarertes* “after Sunday”). Fasmer supposes that *nedelya* is more a Latin calque *feria dies feriae*, rather than Greek *apraktos hemera-s* [14, III: 57].

As for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, in the Saturday calendar system these terms contain numerals, cardinals and ordinals or nouns derived from numerals, for example, in Arabic: *yawmu-l-ithayni* “day of two” or “Monday”, *yawmu-t-tulātā* (<*tālāt* “three”) Tuesday; *yawmu-l-arba'a* (<*arba'* “four”) Wednesday, etc .. Forms of status constructus are used in Arabic but at the same time nouns derived from numerals without *yawm* “day” are also used.

In some languages Monday, as the day after Sunday - the main day, is rendered by a special term: cf. Rus. *ponedelnik*, Turk. *Pazartesi* (*ertesi*) after Sunday.

In many languages Friday, like Saturday and Sunday, does not contain a numeral and represents a special term. In some cases this fact is determined by the Judaic influence, cf. for example, Greek *paraskevē* denoting “preparation, arrangement”, which meant the preparation for Jewish Holy Saturday. This Greek unit was borrowed by Georgian.

In the Arabic translation of the Gospel “Friday” is translated by the infinitive *isti'dad* (Matthew 2762), having the meaning “preparation”; however, this was not reflected in Arabic dictionaries; in Armenian the Syriac borrowing *ruvta* is used (see below); in Ossetian Friday is called *mayaemybon* or “Mary's day”; in the planetary system Friday was denoted as names of goddesses, cf. dies *Veneris*, *Afrodites*, German *Freitag* (*Freya* - wife of Thunder “Donner”), etc.

During the Jahili period, in Arabic poetry to denote Friday the term of Syriac origin is recorded everywhere – ‘arūba from *ruvta*, derived from the Semitic root ‘rb “sunset” [15: 13 a]. According to phonetic regularity, in Arabic the infinitive *gurūb/gūrūba* with the same meaning corresponds to ‘arūba, cf. Akkad. *erebu* “setting”; *ereb šamsi* “sunset”, Old Aram. *m'r'b* “west”, Hebrew *'ereb* with the same meaning and so on, i.e. in this case instead of using their own lexeme, the Arabs directly adopted the Syriac term. This can be explained by a strong influence of the Syriac language on Arabic at that time. In spite of this, old Arab lexicologists usually tried to explain this term on the basis of the Arabic language, from verb *a'raba* “it became obvious”. Some of them considered it as a Nabatean adoption from *aruba* [7, V: 1995].

It is noteworthy that in Armenian, where terms denoting week days are structured similarly to Syriac, even at present the word of Syriac origin *urpat* is used to denote Friday.

After Islam became a dominant religion, the Syriac *a'rūba* was replaced by the Arabic term *ğum'a*, that is presently widespread not only in Arabic countries but also in the whole Islamic world. It is of purely religious nature, determined by the Muslim traditions: gathering of Muslims (cf. Arabic *ğm'* “gathered, brought together”) in a big mosque for the common afternoon prayer. This is an official holiday of total unity and congregation.

Gum'a is mentioned once in the Koran. According to specialists, it belongs to the pre-Islamic period. They consider that this day is the exact translation of Hebrew *yōm hakkaniša* “day of a fair”, cf. Hebrew *knš* “gathered, collected” which denotes the same as Arabic *ğm'*.

Judaic fairs were organized in the oasis of Medina where many Jews lived as the preparation for Holy Saturday exactly on Fridays. As the day of a fair, it is often mentioned in pre-Islamic Jewish literature. Muslims made use of this situation and managed to combine their commercial interests with religious obligations. Besides, this contributed to the popularization of Islam and broadened the audience that the prophet used to address.

Later on *ğum'a* became the term denoting the whole week; this probably happened by analogy with the Saturday calendar system, where a week in some languages is referred to by the name of the most important day from the religious viewpoint, cf. Hebrew *šabbat*, Christian “Sunday”.

Thus, the Judaic Saturday system was adopted by some Christian nations as well as Muslims. They retained the main principle of this system and at the same time introduced certain innovations typical of their religion (cf. Sunday and *ğum'a*), as a result of which two different layers were created: Hebrew and Greek, or Hebrew and Arabic, as for Georgian, similarly to Armenian, it has three layers: the main or Judaic, Greek and Syriac.

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**POESIA DI ASUQ E POESIA “DELLA VECCHIA TBILISI”
AFFERMAZIONE, SVILUPPO E DECLINO***

A causa degli stretti legami col mondo orientale mantenuti nel corso dei secoli, le attitudini a far arte del popolo georgiano si sono potute arricchire del portato della cultura di quel mondo: legami che non vanno dunque intesi come una tarda manifestazione di epigonismo, bensì piuttosto come elementi di un complesso continuum storico e psicologico. Ben al di là della semplice recezione a livello emozional-epidermico, lo stimolo esterno ha sempre sollecitato in maniera positiva un’intellettualità dirompente, pronta a offrire alla cultura universale gli originali contributi che scaturivano dai suoi inconfondibili modelli spirituali ed etno-genetici.

Agli inizi del sec. XIX tuttavia, i contatti con l’Oriente si fecero meno intensi, come è clamorosamente testimoniato da fatto, per es., che il noto poeta georgiano Grigol Orbeliani (1804-1883), il quale tra l’arto amava particolarmente la cultura orientale, venne a conoscenza della lirica di Sa’di attraverso una traduzione russa.¹ Unici profici contatti che continuarono a sussistere, quelli dovuti al tramite azerbaigiano, per cui in un determinato momento quel paese e la sua cultura divennero i mediatori diretti, per eccellenza, della contiguità Georgia-Oriente: e la lirica *ašuqi* e la cosiddetta poesia di quartiere, o artigiana, convenzionalmente denominata in georgiano “lirica della vecchia Tbilisi”, furono il canale attraverso il quale si continuò a mantenere un vivo e vitale contatto.

La poesia *ašuqi* ha una sua storia lunga e doviziosa. L’arte degli *ašuq*, emanazione di strati sociali umili anche se non infimi della popolazione, è di carattere sincretico, unisce il verso, la nazione, la musica, la danza, all’insegna anche dell’improvvisazione.² Nella critica letteraria non regna identità di vedute circa la sua origine.³ Lo studioso turco ritiene l’arte degli *ašuq*, ovverosia degli “amanti”, “amatori” (dall’arabo ‘āšiq) espressione tipica dei popoli di lingua turca: un “amar cantando” condizionato però dai canoni del sufismo, capillarmente diffusi nelle categorie interessate.⁴ E idea, in questo suo secondo assioma soprattutto, più che plausibile, dal momento che il tema amoroso fu, agli esordi della poesia *ašuqi*, quello dominante e che qualche pallida eco di teologia sufi si riscontra ancora, nelle creazioni degli *ašuq*, perfino nei sec. XIX e XX.⁵

I primi esempi di poesia *ašuqi* in Azerbaigian sono offerti da Ašuq Gurbani, contemporaneo del ben più celebre sovrano-poeta safavide Isma’il, detto Khata’i (il peccatore). In Georgia fondatore del genere è considerato Sajat-Nova (1712-1795), che componeva in georgiano, in azeri e in armeno.⁶ Probabilmente egli fu solo il primo a scrivere versi georgiani secondo quella maniera, senza che ciò escluda un’eventuale diffusione anche più precoce, in Tbilisi, è sempre stata abitata da etnie numerose e distinte: georgiani, armeni, azerbaigiani, persiani, greci, ebrei, vi convivevano in pace, rispettandosi a vicenda. E risaputo altresì che il grande re georgiano David il Costruttore si recava spesso nella moschea di Tbilisi per discutere con i teologi musulmani di problemi religiosi, talora assistendo i suoi contraddittori anche finanziariamente; di un simile stato di relazioni testimonia pure la lunga tradizione dei rapporti letterari georgiano-azerbaigiani e georgiano-armeni, e ciò permette di supporre senza la minima forzatura che a Tbilisi vivessero o si recassero spesso “amatori” che componevano in azeri, lingua dalla quale, oltretutto, lo stesso termine *ašuq* è stato mutuato in georgiano.⁷

Gli specialisti hanno idee diverse anche circa la sostanza della poesia *ašuqi*. Gli studiosi azerbaigiani ad esempio, condividendo in ciò l’opinione di alcuni ricercatori occidentali⁸, ne esaltano per lo più la matrice e l’aspetto folclorico⁹; Köprülü e Taeschener preferiscono parlare, invece, di fenomeno intermedio tra l’aulico e il popolare¹⁰: opinione forse più convincente perché la cultura della parola e il pensiero poetico degli *ašuq* hanno un indubbio tecnicistico sapore popolare. La poesia *ašuqi* ha subito l’influenza della letteratura colta, soprattutto persiana, ed ha asservito molti elementi classici: fenomeno evidente quantomeno nella lirica trilingue di Sajat-Nova, in cui sono utilizzati i principi e le forme della tradizionale letteratura orientale scritta.

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La poesia *ašuqi*, grazie anche al suo carattere musicale, si è diffusa con celerità, ma ha avuto una risonanza limitata a una modesta area geografica: la canzone *ašuqi*, composta soprattutto in azeri, risultava naturalmente incomprensibile a gran parte della popolazione georgiana, e perciò non pare abbia oltrepassato le mura di Tbilisi.¹¹ Tuttavia sarebbe erroneo pensare che la sua propagazione sia da ascrivere soltanto ai tratti musicali: se, al vertice di una società che rifiutava l'edonismo e l'apologia del piacere di cui la tematica *ašuqi* era intrisa, gli ideali letterari erano all'epoca profondamente diversi, si davano peraltro, in Tbilisi città-emporio pervasa da una grande tradizione di rapporti con l'Oriente, dimora di poeti nutriti dei vecchi dettami della letteratura orientale, anche diverse condizioni oggettive per l'affermazione di quella maniera; si dava soprattutto diremmo, un clima adatto.¹²

Sajat-Nova si rivelò un *ašuq* molto fecondo e sensibile, che utilizzava in maniera mirabile l'eredità della tradizione del genere, e la sua creazione, che dal punto di vista estetico-ideale e metrico-stilistico rientra in pieno nel modello, godette di grande popolarità fra le genti del Caucaso, senza dire del prestigio che ad essa derivò dall'invito a corte presso Eraclio II. Insomma, nel secolo scorso la poesia di Sajat-Nova fu il simbolo stesso dell'edonismo e della volontà d'amore.

Accanto al basilare motivo amoroso, peraltro, nella poesia *ašuqi* si scoprono, a partire dal sec. XVII, anche altri elementi tipici, e l'opera di Sajat-Nova ne è essa stessa intrisa. Sajat-Nova è come in bilico tra islam e cristianesimo, fra un tradizionalismo e una compattezza in cui si percepiscono rimembranze delle concezioni sufi e una religiosità misticheggianti ma scolastica: eclettismo particolarmente prezioso per lo studio della poesia *ašuqi*. Tuttavia Sajat-Nova campeggia abbastanza solitario nel panorama della cultura georgiana e armena dell'epoca.¹³

Nella storia della letteratura georgiana del sec. XVIII non si è conservato né il nome né l'eredità letteraria di un altro *ašuq*¹⁴ è stato sì compilato dal poeta, e specialista di cultura orientale, I. Grišavili (1889-1965), ma esso è molto impresciso. Non rileva, per esempio, l'ambiente degli *ašuq* presi in esame, e questo elemento è molto importante per caratterizzare la cosiddetta "poesia *ašuqi* georgiana". Ora noi sappiamo dalle fonti che, di questi sessantacinque, sedici vissero in Georgia e scrissero in georgiano, però si tratta, per lo più, di armeni, azerbaigiani o rappresentanti di altre etnie islamiche, ed è interessante rilevare che ognuno di loro porta uno pseudonimo (*takhallus*) secondo la tradizione orientale. Essi sono comunque; Beçara, Samçi-Melkon, Kesis-oghlan, Seiran, Dalak-Murad, Kiçik-Nova, Budag-oghlan, Alavarda, Gudgara, Kesis-Dardimand, Elçi-oghlan, Keçak, Çehel-oghlan, Alvan-oghlan, Lazat-oghlan, Çakhmakhçı Aslan.¹⁵

Va inoltre detto che l'opera di alcuni dei poeti suddetti appartiene più al genere "vecchia Tbilisi" che non alla lirica *ašuqi* propriamente intesa.

Quali insomma i destini della poesia *ašuqi* dopo Sajat-Nova? Purtroppo il corpus di questa produzione non è stato ancora raccolto, e non ne sono stati stabiliti né tantomeno commentati i testi; e le trascrizioni esistenti sono opera, nella maggior parte dei casi, di persone non preparate, le quali, ignorando l'alfabeto arabo, hanno riprodotto i versi in caratteri georgiani o armeni. Ciò è causa di ulteriori difficoltà ma non impedisce alle nostre impressioni, sufficientemente univoche e chiare, il tentativo di un approssimativo quadro generale. La poesia *ašuqi* chiusa entro i confini della Georgia è estremamente conservatrice, e non rileva quasi nessuno dei mutamenti socioeconomici, politici o culturali contemporanei; principi canonici, tradizionali e impermeabili; tematica limitata al contrasto amante-amata, all'anacreontica, al didascalico, al religioso; forme metriche medievali; poetica e sintassi poetica tradizionale; quel determinato, immobile pathos decorativo...

Eppure, malgrado il suo conservatorismo, malgrado il fatto che la cultura ufficiale non riconoscesse ad essa uno status letterario, la lirica *ašuqi* aveva le sue sedi deputate; le rumorose vie e le affollate piazze di Tbilisi. Alla fine del sec. XIX gli *ašuq* avevano addirittura, in Tbilisi, una propria corporazione.¹⁶

Senonché collocatasi al di fuori dei momenti chiave dello sviluppo sociale, la poesia *ašuqi* non resse all'assalto dei tempi. Il colpo mortale le viene inferto dapprima dai musicisti professionisti orientali, i cantori *sazandari*, poi dai rappresentanti dei cantori musicisti georgiani, i cosiddetti *mestvire*.

Con l'industrializzazione e l'urbanizzazione, dalla periferia si stabilirono nella capitale persone provenienti da regioni diverse, con le proprie tradizioni folcloriche, il proprio gusto letterario e musicale, e gli entusiasti del l'arte *ašuqi* diminuirono di numero.¹⁷ Aumentò si il peso relativo dell'elemento georgiano, come dimostra il fatto che, dopo l'ingresso dei georgiani nella corporazione degli *ašuq*, quel repertorio si arricchisce di canzoni georgiane¹⁸, ma l'esperienza era ormai votata all'esaurimento.

Ecco allora un nuovo strato letterario, abbastanza ricco, che si sovrappone a quello, raggiunge il suo acme nella seconda metà del sec. XIX e sopravvive sino agli inizi del sec. XX. Colorito orientale indubbio anche qui, ma altra cosa che la poesia *ašuqi*: con ogni evidenza, una sua variante di tipo inconfondibilmente cittadino. Tale produzione noi la definiamo convenzionalmente “poesia della vecchia Tbilisi”. Si la lirica *ašuqi* era folclore di base filtrato attraverso tematiche e principi creativi “panletterari”, la lirica della vecchia Tbilisi è strettamente localizzata, giacché riflette la vita degli artigiani e dei commercianti della città, la loro posizione sociale, le loro aspirazioni ecc.

La poesia della vecchia Tbilisi ha un notevole valore per chiarire una serie di questioni relative alle città transcaucasiche. Essa ci ha infatti conservato una precisa terminologia socioeconomica che utilizza massime etico-morali coincidenti con i principi sufici, e ciò conferma l’opinione che esistessero rapporti reciproci tra le organizzazioni cooperative de Tbilisi e la “cavalleria” religiosa orientale.¹⁹

La produzione è assai spesso trilingue: è in georgiano, in armeno, in azeri. Così come Sajat-Nova, anche alcuni rappresentati noti di questo genere poetarono in tutte e tre le suddette lingue: ad esempio Samri Mal-kon, Budag-oghlan e altri. I più importanti, Georgij Skandarnova e David Givišvili si limitarono peraltro al georgiano.

Come è già stato rilevato in sede di storia dell’urbanismo, le corporazioni artigianali cittadine mutuavano le forme dell’organizzazione degli “ordini”, religiosi dervisci, ovvero dalla “onorata società” dei cavalieri senza macchia della *futuwwa* islamica, che nel corso dei secoli avevano sempre rappresentato, in antitesi al dispotismo sovrano, una sorta di tutela, di tipo religioso, degli interessi dei commercianti, degli artigiani e degli strati bassi della popolazione.²⁰ Di certi statuti socioeconomici e morali, le cosiddette *risala*²¹, si rintracciano le ultime eco proprio nella poesia della vecchia Tbilisi. Il culto dell’onore per esempio, proprio nel senso così ben lumeggiato da un intero capitolo del vecchio *Qabus-Nama*²², è caratteristico sia degli ordini islamici sia delle nostre corporazioni di artigiani e commercianti, al punto che il contrasto tra *džomarda* e *navarda* (“gentiluomo” e “follone”), con terminologia persiana, rappresenta uno dei principali motivi della lirica della vecchia Tbilisi.

Ma anche altri momenti eccezionalmente importanti di questo incontro sono conservati nella poesia della vecchia Tbilisi in lingua georgiana. Sono presenti per esempio alcuni “gradi” (*maqam*) della *Tariqa*, ovvero della seconda tappa sulla via della perfezione mistica secondo le teorie psicologiche del sufismo²³, senza dire della *Šari‘a*, ovvero Tappa prima, sostanziantesi nei precetti che ogni musulmano è tenuto a seguire. Così si parla di *vara*, ovvero circospezione, gradino il quale esige la diligente osservanza del cosiddetto *halal* (ciò che è permesso, ciò che è di legge) e il rifiuto del *haram* (ciò che è riprovevole): la dottrina del *vara* attraversa come un vero filo rosso tutta la poesia della vecchia Tbilisi.. E ancora, si parla di *zuhd*, ovvero astinenza, gradino non omogeneo che esige l’astensione sia dall’accumulo di beni materiali sia da ogni moto dell’anima che possa allontanare da Dio. L’astinenza bisogna dire, è piuttosto quella dai beni materiali, mentre poco si parla di spirito: tutto ciò dimostra comunque la rilevanza del piano socioeconomico, sui quale un poeta Givišvili, tipico rappresentante de genere, che molto insiste su questo tema, getta la luce di un buonsenso alla al-Ghazali quando scrive versi di carattere didascalico ricchi di massime che sembrano tratte pari pari dal bagaglio del sufismo moderato.²⁴

Importantissimo è inoltre il *tawakkul*, o Speme in Dio, l’osservanza del quale è tra gli artigiani considerata regola di valore assoluto: fede nell’unico, nel Forte, nel Saggio, nel solo Grande. È la base del sufismo, senza dubbio, ma già nelle corporazioni islamiche, e più tardi anche nelle nostre associazioni, il *tawakkul* tende piuttosto al pratico, all’utile. L’atteggiamento iniziale esige la liberazione del credente da ogni preoccupazione per il futuro, per il domani, impone che si viva solo il quotidiano (dogma filosofico di Aristippo fattosi per i sufici dogma teologico²⁵), ma poi il *tawakkul* si piega e consuma, e anche questa Tappa si ritrova frantumata, nella “vecchia Tbilisi”, entro il prisma dell’apologia dell’indolenza, dell’spensieratezza. L’importante è avere quel minimo che basta per l’oggi, al domani provvederà il Signore, che è generoso. Il tema è presente al punto, nella nostra lirica, che non è necessario indugiarvi sopra.

La poesia della vecchia Tbilisi è però venuta in essere in un momento in cui la differenziazione sociale, interna alla corporazione, sente l’acuirsi della lotta di classe. Talle processo è evidente nella composizione sociale *Gandjiškareli Ustabaš*²⁶, ove si nota una realistica contrapposizione sociale tra il rappresentante dello strato elevato della corporazione, *Ustabaš*, e un membro umile della stressa, un artigiano. I problemi della

vecchia Tbilisi, ad ogni modo, si manifestano in particolare sotto l'aspetto sufi e *rindi*, come s'usa dire a indicare l'osannata "diversità" e maggiore libertà del "buontempone". Il prisma del mondo effimero macina tema sociale e contrapposizione di classe. L'accumulo di ricchezze è un peccato, il ricco va disprezzato, ma non già perché sia sfruttatore bensì perché in questo soffio transeunte, durante il quale tutto è fugace, tutto è vano, non vale la pena di far sacrifici e risparmi. La ricchezza non salva certo il figlio di Adamo dalla morte: "Perché ci tormentiamo ad accumulare beni su beni? Non sai che non potrai portar via con te nulla di tuo? Oggi o domani verrà a trovarci un ospite speciale. La morte, e non te ne salveranno né i tuoi soldi né il tuo palazzo."²⁷ "Non ti ricordi della morte? Credi forse che i tuoi beni ti risparmieranno in tormenti dell'inferno?"²⁸

È moneta corrente. Si confronti, per fare un solo esempio, il noto verso del *Terkib-band* di Ruhi Baghdadi, poeta turco del sec. XVII: "Sim ile zeri kendine kat kat sier etsen / Merg okunu geçmez mi sanursun siperinden? (Se pur ti fai tu scudo dell'oro e dell'argento / credi non lo trapassino le frecce della morte?)."²⁹ Il poeta della vecchia Tbilisi G. Skandarnova ripete quasi all'lettera le medesime parole, anche se si può affermare con assoluta certezza che non ne conoscesse l'autore. Le fonti della somiglianza sono appunto quei codici religioso-comportamentali del sufismo che erano tanto diffusi tra le corporazioni e con cui Skandarnova si immedesima. Corporazioni, insomma, che rappresentavano un singolare conglomerato di categorie socioeconomiche ed etico-morali indigene e orientali, cristiane e musulmane, tale da conservarci quasi a tutt'oggi molti elementi atti a chiarire una serie di problemi della vita urbana orientale. Addentrarsi in questi ultimi è naturalmente cosa che esula dagli intenti di questa brevissima nota, tuttavia vale la pena accennare alle reazioni dell'intellighenzia georgiana dinanzi a fatti letterari del genere, sostanzialmente estranei, e non estranei in maniera neutra se si crede allo studioso di letteratura georgiana antica K. Kekelidze quando dice che non esiste in nessun'altra lingua una letteratura altrettanto polemica con l'islam³⁰, e polemica altresì con gli aspetti mondani di se medesima.³¹

Sì, non v'è dubbio che il lungo processo di lotta per la difesa delle proprie caratteristiche nazionali si sia svolto in Georgia anche nella sfera letteraria. L'attività de re poeta Arçil (1647-1713), per esempio, può essere considerata come un aspetto di tal lotta, e altrettanto può dirsi dell'opera teorica Casmiki (la prova) su varie questioni di poetica, redatta nel sec. XVIII da Mamuka Baratašvili, nonché di altre importanti cose ancora. Perciò anche nei confronti della poesia della vecchia Tbilisi non poteva non essere condotta una polemica in consonanza: tuttavia si trattava di una polemica con carattere e respiro diversi.³²

Nella seconda metà del sec. XIX s'incominciò a pubblicare a Tbilisi la cosiddetta "Serie Minore", libri di piccola mole acquistati e letti, per motivi economici, da gran parte della popolazione. L'intellighenzia vi riponeva molte speranze, ripromettendosi di fornire in questo modo al popolo un po' di degno cibo spirituale, e fece il possibile per selezionare accuratamente la letteratura da inserirvi.³³ Diversi invece gli intendimenti di alcuni editori, che senza preoccuparsi dell'aspetto "educativo ed estetico" delle opere, pubblicavano cose da molti ritenute inadatte: e più delle volte l'insoddisfazione dell'intellighenzia aveva per bersaglio proprio la produzione poetica della vecchia Tbilisi per quel canale diffusa, carica di forme e sostanze divenute estranee all'ambiente colto, ma soprattutto di principi e metodi creativi che si volevano ormai invecchiati. Principi e metodi, né più né meno, della letteratura tradizionale orientale, i quali determinavano anche la tematica, la tematica del "mondo simile a sogno" e del "Perché viviamo dunque? oh, follia."³⁴

In quei momenti di eccezionale sviluppo del pensiero sociale, quando l'attività pratica della società si pretendeva guidata da ideali di concretezza e alla letteratura si riconoscevano funzioni non solo estetiche ma altresì di formazione civica, certe tendenze non corrispondevano davvero alle aspirazioni dell'intellighenzia georgiana progressista. Voluttà, irrazionalità, esaltazione del puro sentire, variazioni dell'eterno tema del sogno che avviluppa e della morte che vince, tutto questo pareva un affronto, carico di scherno, alla seria e benintenzionata pubblica opinione.

Va rilevato che anche il poeta Josif Baratašvili, pur di origini artigiane, ebbe a criticare la sua vecchia Tbilisi, sostenendo "non esser quella poesia letteratura vera, non esser essa cosa adatta a progersi alle masse popolari."³⁵ Non meno significativa e interessante la polemica letteraria tra i due grandi Orbeliani del romanticismo georgiano, Grigol e Vahtang. Come già detto, Grigol era conoscitore della poesia orientale, dei cui insegnamenti si servì per comporre i cosiddetti *Muhambazy*. Vahtang scrisse un componimento poetico di carattere polemico con il quale esortava il suo omonimo ad adottare un atteggiamento più filooccidentale e a lanciare, con le sue notevolissime capacità artistiche, un indirizzo realistico più consono alle esigenze

dell'epoca. Lo scontro non aveva certo un carattere occasionale: la poesia della vecchia Tbilisi con quella sua Weltanschauung, era sentita come un autentico ostacolo allo sviluppo delle lettere georgiane.³⁶

Del resto, in tutto il vicino Oriente si davano allora analoghe trasformazioni di carattere socioeconomico e intellettuale, e faceva la sua comparsa sulla scena letteraria di diversi paesi una pleiade di scrittori e poeti che prendevano atto della sterilità delle vecchie forme e dei vecchi metodi e si lanciavano verso nuove esperienze; e, a pochi passi, il grande azerbaigiano Mirza Fath'ali Akhundov (1812-1878) riaffermava nei suoi lavori scientifici e nella sua pubblicistica l'incapacità della tradizione a rispondere alle esigenze estetiche del sec. XIX.³⁷ Nella stessa direzione si muovevano anche l'operatore sociale Hasan Beg Zardabî (1837-1907)³⁸ e il noto poeta romantico, sempre azerbaigiano, 'Abbas Sahhat (1874-1918)³⁹, e analoghe esigenze, a partire dall'epoca delle Tanzimat – i cui rappresentanti letterari furono İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) e ziva Paşa (1825-1880) – permeavano anche il centro della vita letteraria turca⁴⁰, mentre dibattiti del genere avevano luogo anche in Persia.⁴¹

L'isolato poesia della vecchia Tbilisi non potè far proprie le trasformazioni che erano avvenute in una serie di paesi orientali, e rimase arroccata a difendere con strenua energia norme tradizionali rifiutate dagli stessi eredi diretti di chi quelle stesse aveva legittimato: agli inizi del secolo nuovo era scomparsa.

Questo in sintesi, e a grandissime linee, il panorama del momento *ašuqi* e del momento “vecchia Tbilisi” nella storia delle lettere georgiane.

Notes:

1. G. Orbeliani, *C'erilebi*, Tbilisi, 1937, p. 63.
2. M. Sejdov, *Sajat-Nova*, Baku 1954, pp. 51-52.
3. M.N. Tahmasib, *Üc istilah*, in “Edebiyat ve injisanet”, 1957, n. 7; *Azerbaijan khalg dastanları*, *Orta esrler*; Š. Grogorjan, *Armjanskie gusanskie pesni i ih literaturnye sootnošenija*, Erevan 1965; I. Abbasov, *Azerbajdžansko-armjanskie fol'klornye svjazi*, Baku 1966, pp. 16-17.
4. M. F. Köprülü, Ozan, “Türk dili ve edebiyat hakkında araştırmalar”, Istanbul 1934, pp. 278-292.
5. G.N. Šaqlašvili, *Saiatnovas azerbaidjanuli leksebi teimuraziseuli davtris mixedvit*, Tbilisi 1972.
6. I. Bačonišvili, *Kalmasoba*, Vol. II, Tbilisi, 1936.
7. G. N. Šaqlašvili, “Saasikos” gagebisatvis “Vepxistq’aosanši”, in “Macne”, 1972.
8. O. Spies, *Due türkische Volksliteratur*, Vol. V, Leiden-Köln 1963, pp. 391-393.
9. H. Arasli, *Aşug yardıjılığı*, Bakı 1960.
10. M. F. Köprülü, *Türk sazşairleri*, Vol. I-II, Ankara 1962; F. Taeschener, *Die Osmanische Literatur*, Vol. V, Leiden-Köln 1963, p. 292.
11. *Fond Instituta Rukopisej im ak. K. Kekelidze AN GSSR*, S. -1512, 2519, 2531, 3723: H-935.
12. Cfr. nota 6.
13. Prima e dopo Sajat-Nova, sia in Azerbaigian sia in Turchia vissero molti ašuq di grande talento; per esempio, in Azerbaigian: oltre ad Aşuq Gurbani, Aşuq 'Abbas, Aşıq 'Abdullah (XVII secolo), Khasta Qası̄m, Aşuq Valeh (XVIII secolo); in Turchia Aşıq Khalil, Banlı 'Ali (XVII secolo), Kül Mehmed, Okçuz Debe (XVI secolo), Gevheri, Asıl Ömer, Karaca Oghlan (XVIII secolo).
14. I. Grišašvili, *Saiat-Nova*, Tbilisi 1018, pp. 16-17.
15. “Teatri da cxovreba”, Tbilisi, 1915, n. 1.
16. “Iveria”, Tbilisi 1883, n. 117.
17. Hazira, *Aşugoba*, in “Teatri da cxovreba”, Tbilisi, 1916, n. 46.
18. Hazira, *Damtşagra bedma c'qeulma*, in “Iveria”, 1895, n. 116.
19. Opinione generalmente accolta dai cultori di sociologia urbana. Per quanto riguarda la poesia della vecchia Tbilisi si veda G.N. Šaqlašvili, *Tbilisi amkris supiur-rinduli zogierti terminisa da adatis šesaxeb*, in *Aymosavluri k'rebuli*, Tbilisi 1983, pp. 203-211.
20. V. A. Gordlevskij, *Izbrannye sočinenija*, Vol. I, Moskva 1960, pp. 276-318 e 143-153; *Gosudarstvo Sel'džukidov v Maloj Azii*, Moskva-Leningrad 1941, pp. 106-113; N.A. Kuznecova, *Remeslennye risale*,

- in *Kratkie soobščenija in.-ta vostokovedenja*, 1956, n. 19. pp. 90-91; P.P. Fridlin, *Zametki o remeslenykh organizacijah srednevekovogo Vostoka i Zapada*, in *Izv. An Az. SSR*, 1948, n. 7; M.N. Gejdarov, *Remeslennoe proizvodstvo v gorodah Azerbajdžana v. XVIII v.* Baku, pp. 116-120; *Očerki po istorii gorodov Bližnego Vostoka*, Tbilisi 1966.
21. M. Gavrilov, *Risolja sartovskih remeslennikov*, Tashkent 1912.
 22. Si veda in italiano, a cura di R. Zipoli, Kay Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar, *il libro dei consigli*, Milano 1981, cap. 44.
 23. Questione notoriamente complessa noi ci rifacciamo qui a E.E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudi. Sufizm i sufijskaya literatura*, Moskva 1965, pp. 13-54.
 24. D. Givišvili, *Tatruli Seiranis dastani*, Tiflis, p. 38.
 25. Cfr. T. Comperc, *Grečeskie mysliteli*, Vol. II, S.-Peterburg 1913, pp. 157-162.
 26. A. Gandjiškareli, *Kintos godeba*, Tbilisi 1904, p. 7.
 27. G. Skandarnova, *Esxis sarke*, Tbilisi 1890, p. 19.
 28. G. Skandarnova, *Bulbulis čonguri*, Tiflis 1912, p. 9.
 29. E.I. Maštakova, *Iz istorii satiry i jumora v tureckoj literature*, Moskva 1972, pp. 213-243.
 30. K. Kekelidze, *Etiudebi dzveli kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oriidan*, Vol. IV, Tbilisi 1957, p. 125.
 31. K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, Tbilisi 1951, pp. 445-465.
 32. K. Kekelidze, A. Baramidze, *Dzveli kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, Tbilisi 1951, pp. 341-362 e 407-411.
 33. S. Mešxi, *C'ignis gavrceleba čvenši*, in "Droeba", 1871, n. 21.
 34. G. Skandarnova, *Alaverdi. Supris satkmeli simgera*, Tbilisi 1951, pp. 195-224.
 35. I. Davitašvili, *Sruli k'rebuli*, Tbilisi 1951, pp. 195-224.
 36. . Orbeliani, *Leksebi*, Tbilisi 1928, pp. 146-148.
 37. M.F. Akhundov, *Eserleri*, Vol. VI, Bakü 1951.
 38. 8 F. Gasimzade, 19 esr. Azerbaojan edebiyati tarihi, Bakü 1966, p. 431.
 39. A. Sahhat, *Eserleri*, Vol. II, Bakü 1976, pp. 7-8.
 40. Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyati tarihi*; Is. Habib, *Türk tedjeddüt edebiyati tarihi*, İstanbul 1925; Ali Djaniç, *Türk edebiyati antolojisi*, İstanbul 1934, pp. 9-12.
 41. I.S. Braginskij, D.S. Komissarov, *Persidskaja literatura*, Moskva 1963.

UNE AMBASSADRICE GÉORGIENNE (SUR L'HISTOIRE DU TRAITÉ DE PAIX TURCO-PERSAN DE 1612)*

La comparaison de différentes sources, occidentales et orientales, incite à penser que les pourparlers de paix entre la Turquie et la Perse qui aboutirent à la signature du traité de 1612 furent menés par une Géorgienne qui n'était autre que la fille du roi Giorgi X.

Au début du XVI^e siècle. L'Empire Ottoman et la Perse safavide engagèrent la lutte pour établir leur domination sur le Proche-Orient et la Transcaucasie et prendre ainsi le contrôle des routes commerciales reliant l'Europe et l'Asie. Comme les deux états attachaient une égale importance à leurs intérêts territoriaux et fiscaux, la Transcaucasie, et la Géorgie plus particulièrement, avait pour eux une valeur stratégique et économique considérable: aussi cette région fut-elle le principal théâtre des actions militaires lors des guerres turco-persanes. La "question du Gurdžistan" se posant avec une particulière acuité, les rois géorgiens s'efforcèrent, dans la mesure de leur pouvoir et de leurs possibilités, d'exploiter les dissensions entre la Turquie et la Perse.¹

Commencée en 1514, la première guerre turco-persane prit fin en 1555 par la signature d'un traité de paix aux termes duquel les pays entrant dans l'orbite de la Turquie et de la Perse étaient partagés entre les deux puissances: à la Turquie revenaient la Géorgie occidentale, la partie occidentale du Samcxé-Saatabago, l'Arménie occidentale, l'Iraq arabe et le Kurdistan occidental; à la Perse – la Géorgie orientale (Kartli et K'axeti), la partie orientale du Samcxé-Saatabago, l'Arménie orientale, le Šaki, le Širvan, le Karabax, l'Azerbaïdjan et le Kurdistan oriental. Le traité de 1555 ne mettait pas pour autant fin à la discorde entre la Turquie et la Perse. La première n'attendait que le moment favorable pour reprendre les hostilités. En 1578, elle mit à profit une guerre civile entre féodaux en Perse et ralluma la guerre, qui s'acheva par sa victoire: un deuxième traité de paix qui rattachait à la Turquie la Géorgie orientale (Kartli et K'axeti), l'Arménie orientale, tout l'Azerbaïdjan, septentrional et méridional (à l'exclusion d'Ardebil et de Tališ), le Kurdistan et une partie du Luristan fut signé à Istanbul en 1590.

Ce traité conclu, Chah Abbas I^{er} (1582-1629) prit des mesures énergiques pour renforcer le pouvoir central et le potentiel militaire de la Perse. Tout en se préparant à la guerre contre la Turquie, il se proposait de former une coalition anti-turque. Les peuples de Transcaucasie et leurs dirigeants, qui éprouvaient tout le poids du joug turc, tentèrent de se libérer de cette domination avec le concours de la Perse. L'historien arménien Arakel de Tabriz caractérise ainsi la situation de la Transcaucasie à l'époque:

"Déjà précédemment nombre de princes et de fonctionnaires de l'Azerbaïdjan, mahométans et chrétiens, étaient allés auprès du monarque persan, parce que la race osmanlie opprimait cruellement la contrée, l'écrasait de réquisitions, l'écorchait de spoliations et de rapines, imposait l'apostasie, torturait de mille manières non-seulement les Arméniens, mais encore les Ibériens et les musulmans. Ces persécutions les avaient jetés dans les bras du roi de Perse, qui les soulagerait peut-être et les délivrerait de l'esclavage des Osmanlis."²

Pour la Géorgie, notamment, la menace immédiate venait de Turquie; aussi les hommes politiques géorgiens avaient-ils choisi l'option persane, bien que les véritables desseins du Chah à l'égard de la Géorgie leur fussent connus.

En 1595, Chah Abbas, le roi de Kartli Simon I^{er} et le roi de K'axeti Alexandre II conclurent donc une triple

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1 Gabašvili 1954. pp. 65-151; Berženišvili 1967, pp. 5-150 ; Bacqué-Grammont 1978 a; 1978 b, pp. 149-166; 1978 c, pp. 213-249 ; 1979a. pp. 239-272; 1979 b, pp. 137-156; 1980 a, pp. 211-231; 1980 b, pp. 186-187.

2 *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, t. I. p. 275 : *Livre d'histoires* composé par le vartabed Arakel, de Tauriz, XVII^e s., chapitre III.

alliance, dirigée contre la Turquie. Ils adressèrent aussitôt des lettres au Pape et aux souverains d'Europe, les invitant à former une coalition anti-ottomane destinée à frapper la Turquie à la fois par l'Orient et par l'Occident et à libérer ainsi les pays chrétiens.³ Dans les années qui suivirent, les membres de la ligue anti-ottomane passèrent à l'offensive pour la réalisation de leur plan: en 1598. Simon I^{er} reprit la guerre contre la Turquie et Alexandre II cessa de payer tribut tandis que Chah Abbas infligeait une défaite aux khans uzbeks, s'emparait d'une série de villes fortes et procédait à des déploiements de forces près de Tabriz; il fit campagne au Kurdistan et battit les beys kurdes, alliés de la Turquie. En 1599, Simon I^{er} libéra Gori, un des principaux remparts de la Turquie au Kartli. Cette libération constituait une sérieuse atteinte à la domination turque sur le Kartli. En outre, l'exemple de Simon pouvait inciter d'autres dirigeants transcaucasiens à entrer en lutte contre la Turquie. La situation des Ottomans en Transcaucasie s'était donc fragilisée. Le sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) prit des mesures radicales. Il envoya contre Simon I^{er} le beyler-bey de Tabriz et de Van, Djafar-paşa. En raison de la supériorité numérique des-Turcs et de la trahison de quelques féodaux géorgiens, les Turcs remportèrent la victoire et firent prisonnier le roi Simon, ce qui représentait une lourde défaite pour les forces en lutte contre la Turquie. Quand on apprit à Constantinople la capture de Simon I^{er}, écrit Arakel de Tabriz,

“Le grand-seigneur voulut que dans toutes les localités de son empire, les rues des villes fussent parées, que les réjouissances se prolongeassent trois jours et trois nuits, et que Simon lui fût amené.”⁴

De cette lutte du peuple géorgien étaient solidaires non seulement les peuples de Transcaucasie, mais aussi les paysans insurgés d'Anatolie, connus sous le nom de “Dželal”. Suivant l'itinéraire du roi captif jusqu'à Istanbul, le chef des Dželal, Kara Yazydži, avait tenté de le libérer:

“... il avait ordonné à ses gens de guetter Simon, de l'enlever à son escorte et de le lui faire parvenir...”⁵

Bien que les insurgés aient échoué dans leur tentative de libération du roi, le fait n'en demeure pas moins significatif. Le 21 juin 1600, Simon fut amené à Istanbul et incarcéré à Yedi-Küle.⁶

Après ces événements. Chah Abbas I^{er} interrompit momentanément ses interventions contre la Turquie et s'appliqua de nouveau à mettre en place une coalition anti-ottomane, envoyant dans ce but en Europe Šerli et Huseyn-Ali-Bek.⁷

De leur côté, les Géorgiens œuvraient pour la libération de Simon I^{er}. Selon l'historien du XVIII^e siècle Vaxušt'i Bagrat'ioni, ils réunirent des moyens importants et envoyèrent une délégation au Sultan.⁸ L'historien géorgien Parsadan Gorgižaniže rapporte:

“Les Géorgiens demandèrent avec insistance au Sultan de libérer le roi Simon. Ils lui tirent parvenir nombre de pierres précieuses et offrirent en otage Davit, le fils du roi Giorgi, s'il voulait bien libérer Simon.”⁹

On trouve des informations analogues dans la *Chronique dite de Paris*.¹⁰ Et ainsi Davit, fils du roi Giorgi X, fut-il envoyé à Istanbul en qualité d'otage afin que le roi Simon rentrât de captivité. Les sources géorgiennes ne donnent aucune précision sur la date à laquelle fut envoyée cette délégation ni sur son activité à Istanbul. Il y est seulement indiqué que la tentative des Géorgiens pour libérer le roi Simon n'eut pas de succès et que le prince Davit ne revint pas non plus dans sa patrie. Mais les sources européennes et les sources orientales fournissent des informations précieuses sur ce séjour des Géorgiens à Istanbul; leur étude permet de suivre les démarches diplomatiques effectuées en vue de cette libération.

L'arrivée de la délégation à Istanbul se situe entre 1600 et 1603, c'est-à-dire avant le début de la troisième guerre entre la Perse et la Turquie. Fait confirmé par une source turque: en 1602 (1011), parvinrent à Istanbul de généreux présents (*peşkeş*) et le *xaradž* d'Alexandre khan, régent de Zagemi (K'axeti) et du fils de Simon

3 Gabašvili, pp. 89-101; Svanije 1971, pp. 208-226.

4 Collection d'historiens arméniens, t. I. p. 561: Arakel, Livre d'histoires, chapitre LIV.

5 Ibid., p. 562.

6 Danišmend 1961, c. 111, s. 200.

7 Don Juan of Persia; Bayani 1937. pp. 6-16.

8 Brosset 1856, p. 42.

9 Gorgižaniže 1925, p. 4.

10 cxovreba sakartveloysa. p. 39 ; Brosset 1831, p. 165.

khan, régent du Kartli.¹¹ Nous supposons que ce *peşkes* n'est autre que la rançon offerte au Sultan par la délégation géorgienne pour le roi Simon.

Sur le prince Davit, on trouve quelques notations dans les relations de l'envoyé français à Istanbul, le baron de Salignac, et dans celles de son écuyer, Julien Bordier. Selon eux, quelques années avant leur arrivée le roi Giorgi avait envoyé à la Porte son fils aîné Davit afin d'obtenir en échange la libération de son père. Julien Bordier décrit ainsi le jeune homme qui avait rendu plusieurs fois visite à l'envoyé français.¹²

“Un jeune Prince des plus beaux, gracieux, sage et modeste pour son âge, qui se pouvait voir, n'ayant que treize à quatorze ans.”¹³

Il ne fait aucun doute que ces visites de Davit n'avaient rien de fortuit. Il est tout naturel de penser qu'il demandait au représentant de la grande puissance chrétienne son aide pour arracher la libération de Simon.

En même temps que le jeune prince, une certaine Gülcara, en qui nous voyons la propre sœur de Davit, déployait une intense activité diplomatique. D'après l'annaliste de Chah Abbas, Iskender Munşı, après la capture de Simon par les Turcs fut envoyée à Istanbul

“une Géorgienne du nom de Gülcara, qui se trouvait à la cour de sa Grandeur le Chah [Şâh Tahmasp 1^{er}. M.S.] et était apparentée à la famille de Simon et après ces événements [après la libération de Simon en 1579, M.S.] était rentrée en Géorgie avec Simon; et quand le roi Simon, comme on l'a dit plus haut, tomba aux mains des Turcs et fut envoyé à Istanbul, on envoya ladite Dame à Istanbul, afin qu'elle prît soin de lui. Gülcara se rapprocha de la vénérée Mère du Sultan Mehmet, qui jouissait d'une grande influence à la cour, et sut par sa conduite habile et ses bons services entrer dans ses bonnes grâces, et elle séjourna quelque temps à Istanbul.”¹⁴

On remarquera qu'Iskender Munşı mentionne cette Gülcara parmi les parents de Simon qui se trouvaient alors en Perse, ajoutant qu'elle joua un rôle important dans l'existence de ce dernier.

Les rapports de l'envoyé portugais à la cour de Chah Abbas I^{er}, Antonio Gouvea, parlent également d'elle:

“...Simon han qui est encor vivant & retenu en Constantinople, parce que aux guerres passées il avoit favorisé le parti des Persiens contre les Turcs... Au temps que le Roy commença cette guerre Simon han l'un des plus grands Seigneurs du royaume de Gurgestan estoit encor prisonnier en Constantinople. Or parce que sa prison avoit déjà duré si long temps, sa femme¹⁵ qui s'appeloit Gulcara, c'est à dire visage de roses, désira le veoir pour lequel effect s'estant faict accompagner de quelques serviteurs, elle vint à Constantinople, où estant arrivée elle rechercha la permission de pouvoir parler à lui. Ce qui lui fut incontinent accordé par le moyen de la Sultane mère du G.S. qui gouverne aujourd'hui, laquelle entrenant quelquefois Gulcara & la trouvant femme d'entendement & prudente,...”¹⁶

Essayons de préciser qui était cette femme qui s'efforça si énergiquement d'obtenir la libération du roi Simon et prit dans ce but une part active à la conclusion du traité de paix entre la Turquie et la Perse.

Les sources italiennes et russes renferment à son propos des détails intéressants. L'ambassadeur de Venise, Augusto Nani, qui se trouvait à Constantinople en 1603, n'a-t-il pas écrit que Simon, afin d'obtenir sa libération, avait donné au Sérapion son neveu et sa nièce, mais que cette tentative ne connut pas de succès?¹⁷ Pour nous, la nièce de Simon mentionnée dans le document, “molto piu bella”, n'est autre que Gülcara. Il apparaît ainsi que Giorgi X a envoyé à Istanbul pour la libération du roi son père non seulement son fils Davit, comme

11 Uzunçarşılı 1954, S. 110

12 Salignac, pp.320, 321

13 Bordier 1934, p.143

14 Iskender Munşı, p. 72

15 Antonio Gouvea tient Gülcara, à tort, pour l'épouse du roi Simon. Comme on le sait d'après les sources géorgiennes, Simon était marié à Nest'an-Dareğan, la fille du roi K'axeti Levan.

16 Gouvea 1640. pp. 239. 312.

17 “Simon georgiano per liberarsi... ha dato al seraglio sua nipote molto piu bella. oltre due nepoti. ma non gli è riuscito el disegno. et così ha perduto l'anima con la libertà”. Barozzi/ Berchet.V, 1. p. 33.

l'indiquent les sources géorgiennes, mais aussi sa fille Gülcara, connue pour sa beauté. Ce fait – le séjour à Istanbul des enfants du roi Giorgi (Davit et sa sœur) – est d'ailleurs confirmé par des documents diplomatiques russes. Ainsi Giorgi X déclarait-il, au cours d'une conversation avec l'ambassadeur de Russie, en 1604:

“C'est pour la foi chrétienne que mon grand-père et mon père se sont dressés contre les Turcs et les Kyzylbaš, et que mon père s'est sacrifié et que maintenant mes enfants sont en captivité chez les Turcs.”¹⁸

Nous supposons que ces derniers étaient son fils Davit et sa fille, dont le nom nous est inconnu. Davit, comme nous l'avons vu, est mentionné dans les relations de l'ambassadeur de France à Istanbul, Salignac. En ce qui concerne sa sœur, il n'y a aucune information nulle part. Il nous paraît possible que la Gülcara qui a séjourné à Istanbul fût précisément la fille du roi Giorgi X. En faveur de cette hypothèse plaide une source italienne selon laquelle la nièce de Simon I^{er}, qui avait refusé de se convertir à l'Islam, avait été envoyée en Perse munie d'une lettre du Sultan et du titre très élevé de *çaus*.¹⁹ Or Antonio Gouvea et Iskender Munşı attestent que le Sultan avait chargé Gülcara de cette mission diplomatique en Perse. Aussi peut-on supposer que Gülcara et la nièce du roi Simon n'étaient qu'une seule et même personne. Il ne faut pas oublier que d'après Iskender Munşı Gülcara était une parente de Simon, ce qui donne une grande force à notre hypothèse.

La guerre qui recommençait compliquait les choses. Néanmoins, les Géorgiens qui se trouvaient à Istanbul ne perdaient pas espoir et tentaient de toutes leurs forces de délivrer leur roi. Les sources européennes affirment que le prince Davit rencontra les ambassadeurs de France et de Venise. On est en droit de penser que Davit leur demanda de l'aider à faire libérer Simon; il dut probablement adresser la même demande aux représentants des autres Etats d'Europe, mais sans grand succès. A ce moment-là, en effet, les pays européens trouvaient leur avantage à la continuation de la guerre entre la Perse et la Turquie, qui affaiblissait les deux Etats et diminuait le danger turc en Europe. De plus, les pays d'Europe avaient intérêt à conserver de bons rapports avec la Turquie afin d'intensifier leurs activités commerciales.

En 1603. Chah Abbas reprit la guerre contre la Turquie. Comme dans les guerres précédentes, le principal champ de bataille fut la Transcaucasie. Dès le début des combats, la Turquie subissait une défaite et c'est à la faveur de cette guerre que commença le déclin de l'Empire Ottoman et que s'aggrava la crise de son système militaire et féodal. La victoire de la Perse n'était en effet pas due seulement à la réforme militaire de Chah Abbas, mais aussi à la grave situation intérieure de la Turquie et à ses déconvenues militaires en Europe. Depuis 1593, la Turquie était en guerre avec l'Autriche: il lui fallait donc combattre et en Occident et en Orient, ce qui était alors manifestement au-dessus de ses forces. Il y avait en outre des troubles à l'intérieur même du pays; en Anatolie, les insurrections paysannes, connues sous le nom de “révolte des Dželal”, avec à leur tête Kara Yazydži-Deli Hasan (1599-1603) et Kalender-oğlu (1607-1609) se poursuivaient. L'insurrection se développait plus particulièrement dans les régions situées aux frontières de la Perse, ce que Chah Abbas exploitait habilement à son bénéfice. Enfin, les peuples du Caucase et leurs rois, ou leurs gouvernants, qui éprouvaient tout le poids de la domination ottomane, s'étaient alliés à la Perse dans l'espoir de se défaire du joug turc. Tout cela explique le succès des Persans. Avant le début des hostilités, en effet. Chah Abbas s'était tourné vers les rois de Kartli et de K'axeti en leur demandant de prendre part à la guerre contre la Turquie: les forces géorgiennes avaient combattu dans le camp de la Perse et contribué ainsi à chasser l'armée turque de Transcaucasie. Chah Abbas remporta en fin de compte de grands succès: il chassa les forces turques d'Azerbaïdjan, d'Arménie orientale, de Géorgie orientale, du Luristan et d'une partie du Kurdistan. Après l'expulsion de la garnison turque de Tiflis, en 1608, le Kartli se trouva pratiquement affranchi de la domination ottomane (1578-1606): l'une des périodes les plus noires de l'histoire géorgienne prenait fin. Cependant, bien que Chah Abbas reconnût au Kartli et en K'axeti des rois attachés à la religion chrétienne et bien qu'il eût chassé les garnisons turques des forteresses du Kartli, le pays n'avait pas pour autant recouvré la liberté: les Persans y avaient seulement pris la place des Turcs. Et la guerre s'acheva par la défaite de la Turquie, affaiblie par la guerre contre l'Autriche qui durait toujours, d'une part, et par les désordres intérieurs, d'autre part. La Turquie n'était pas en état de gagner

18 Belokurov 1889. p. 498.

19 “Nipote di Simon georgiano ricusa di farsi Turco. – Casnedar eletto per portar la lettera Impériale a la Signoria con titolo maggiore di Ciaus”. Febr. 1604; Hammer.

cette guerre, écrivait l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople. Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac. elle ne l'a conduite que pour le prestige.²⁰

Il fallait trouver d'autres voies pour délivrer le roi Simon. Le 22 décembre 1603, le Sultan Mehmet III s'éteignit et Ahmed I^{er} (1603-1617), âgé de quatorze ans, monta sur le trône; ce fut sa mère qui administra, de fait, l'Etat. Il est intéressant de remarquer que peu de temps après l'avènement d'Ahmed I^{er} fut promu le Gurdži (Géorgien) Mehmet-paşa, qui reçut le titre de kapudžybašy. Il avait déjà occupé dans le passé de très hautes charges, ayant même exercé à trois reprises les fonctions de Grand Vizir.²¹ Il est possible que Mehmet-paşa soit venu, dans une certaine mesure, en aide à la délégation géorgienne.

C'est dans ces circonstances que Gülcara tenta de réaliser ses desseins. Elle se rapprocha de la mère du Sultan et gagna ses bonnes grâces. La difficile situation où se trouvait l'Empire Ottoman contraignait son gouvernement à rechercher la paix avec la Perse. Le Sultan et sa mère demandèrent donc à Simon, qui était en captivité, de mener des pourparlers de paix avec Chah Abbas. Il est possible que l'idée leur ait été suggérée par Gülcara, sur les instructions de Simon lui-même. L'ambassadeur du Portugal, Antonio Gouvea, écrit:

"Simon han & sa femme estants partis de Constantinople & ayans déjà cheminé six ou sept journées, le G.S. lui commanda de retourner. & que sa femme sculle s'en allas! avec les lettres de la part de sa mère."²²

La position du Sultan était très claire, il lui fallait un homme d'Etat expérimenté comme Simon, qui, en son temps, avait joui d'une grande influence en Perse et y avait conservé un poids certain dans les cercles politiques: dans la guerre de 1578-1590, Simon s'était allié au Chah; en 1595, Simon, le roi de K'axeti Alexandre et Chah Abbas avaient conclu une alliance dirigée contre la Turquie; en 1598 enfin. Simon avait repris la guerre contre la Turquie et c'est alors qu'il avait été fait prisonnier par les Turcs, comme nous l'avons vu. La médiation de Simon se justifiait aussi par le fait que dans cette guerre encore la "question géorgienne" était l'une des principales questions en suspens: son règlement était, à coup sûr, de nature à faciliter la signature de la paix entre les deux puissances. En outre, le fils du roi Simon, Giorgi X, était l'allié de Chah Abbas, ce qui lui donnait peut-être une certaine influence sur lui: tout cela était vraisemblablement de nature à faciliter sa mission. De son côté, la Géorgie avait elle aussi intérêt à l'établissement de la paix entre la Turquie et la Perse, car elle mettrait fin à une guerre sanglante dont le principal champ de bataille était une nouvelle fois la Transcaucasie, la Géorgie plus particulièrement. En un mot, l'ancien allié de Chah Abbas, maintenant prisonnier des Turcs, le roi Simon, devait proposer au Chah la conclusion d'un traité de paix.

Pourtant le Sultan changea bientôt d'avis: Simon et Gülcara se trouvaient en route lorsque, sur l'ordre du Sultan, Simon fut ramené à Istanbul et Gülcara envoyée porter au Chah une lettre du roi, sous la conduite du *çauş* turc Murad-ağa. De la sorte, toute la responsabilité de la mission devrait être assumée par Gülcara. Pour quelle raison le Sultan était-il revenu sur sa décision première? Selon Antonio Gouvea, la cause ne tenait pas seulement au risque que Simon ne revînt plus, mais à la crainte qu'il ne révélât au Chah le véritable état de choses: la discorde et la confusion qui régnaien à Istanbul, ainsi que la piètre situation de l'Empire. Il pensait aussi que Gülcara agirait avec plus d'énergie et d'abnégation s'il lui fallait obtenir la libération de Simon.²³ Le Sultan craignait enfin que, s'il recouvrat la liberté, Simon n'employât pas toutes ses forces pour parvenir à un traité de paix entre la Turquie et la Perse.

Gülcara se consacra activement à l'accomplissement de sa délicate mission diplomatique. Sans aucun doute, elle dut rencontrer les personnes influentes de la cour du Chah qui avaient connu Simon et l'appréciaient, elle dut utiliser l'autorité du roi. Il est fait état de son action dans les sources orientales comme dans les sources européennes, qui toutes soulignent le rôle joué par cette femme énergique, douée d'un esprit et d'une grandeur d'âme hors du commun, dans l'affaire du traité de paix entre la Turquie et la Perse. Chah Abbas lui réserva un accueil digne d'elle, avec tous les honneurs (il se trouvait alors près du lac Sevan), mais il n'accepta d'interrompre les opérations militaires qu'à la condition que fussent reconduites les stipulations

20 Salignac. p. 302

21 *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*. 1956. s. 1848.

22 Gouvea, p. 313

23 *Ibid.*

du traité turco-persan de 1555,²⁴ en vertu desquelles la Perse recouvrerait tout le territoire perdu à la suite de la guerre de 1578-1590 (la Géorgie orientale, la partie orientale du Samcxe-Saatabago, l'Arménie orientale, le Šaki, le Širvan, le Karabax, l'Azerbaïdjan, le Kurdistan...). Il ne souffrit aucune modification des conditions du traité de 1555. Pour sa part, le gouvernement turc n'était pas disposé à renoncer aux avantageuses conditions du traité de 1590 pour revenir à celles du traité de 1555. Les pourparlers n'aboutirent donc à aucun résultat, mais ils ne s'achevèrent pas pour autant. Gülcara alla plusieurs fois de la cour de Chah Abbas à celle du Sultan, négociant inlassablement avec eux.

Comme nous l'avons brièvement rappelé, durant ces mêmes années la Turquie poursuivait toujours la guerre contre l'Autriche. Aucun avantage décisif n'intervenant ni d'un côté ni de l'autre, la guerre ne faisait qu'affaiblir les forces des deux Etats. L'évolution de la situation en Europe favorisait également l'ouverture de pourparlers de paix entre les deux pays. Le 11 novembre 1606, à Sítvatorok (Hongrie), la paix fut conclue entre la Turquie et l'Autriche. Aucune des deux parties ne recevait de nouveaux territoires. Le Sultan renonçait au tribut annuel que payait l'Autriche, remplacé par le versement de 200.000 ducats en une seule fois. Les deux parties se reconnaissaient les mêmes droits. C'était la première fois, par exemple, que dans un traité le souverain autrichien était nommé "Empereur" et non "Seigneur de Vienne". Ce traité fut le premier signe du déclin de l'Empire Ottoman.²⁵ Ayant mis fin à la guerre en Europe, le Sultan pouvait désormais renforcer sa pression sur la Perse et y jeter les troupes ainsi libérées. Il est hors de doute que Chah Abbas, politique sage et avisé, comprenait la signification de ces événements pour la Perse et s'attendait à ce que la Turquie reprît l'offensive.

Aussi en 1607 les Persans s'emparèrent-ils d'Axalcixé, principale place-forte et point stratégique décisif en Géorgie du Sud-Ouest. Ce faisant, ils recouvrèrent pratiquement tout le territoire attribué à la Perse par le traité de 1555. Mais cette fois le Chah ne se contenta pas de ce qu'il venait d'obtenir: il méditait une vaste offensive en Turquie: conquérir la Géorgie occidentale et l'Ouest du Samcxé, déboucher sur les rives de la Mer Noire et, de là, par la voie la plus directe, s'ouvrir un accès à l'Europe. Pour réaliser ce plan, il comptait sur l'aide des puissances européennes. C'est pourquoi, en 1608, il envoya en Europe une ambassade, avec R. Šerli à sa tête.²⁶ Les dirigeants des Etats européens se bornèrent à faire des promesses et n'entreprirent aucun préparatif de guerre contre la Turquie. N'ayant pas tardé à s'en convaincre, Chah Abbas décida de conclure la paix avec les Turcs.

En Turquie, l'insurrection paysanne n'avait rien perdu de son intensité. Le gouvernement du Sultan prit des mesures énergiques et le 5 août 1608 se déroula dans la vallée de l'Aladža une bataille entre les Dželal et les troupes du Sultan, au cours de laquelle Kalender-oğlu fut battu. La paix avec l'Autriche conclue et la révolte intérieure matée, les Turcs entreprirent de renforcer leurs positions en Transcaucasie. En 1608, des troupes turques nombreuses, sous le commandement de Dželal-paşa (sardar du Khan de Crimée), envahirent le Samcxé et, à la fin de l'année, reprirent Axalcixe. En 1609, les troupes turques passèrent de nouveau à l'offensive avec les Tatars de Crimée et, passant Trialeti, pénétrèrent au Kartli. Les Géorgiens, sous le commandement de Giorgi Saak'adzé, les défirerent près de Kvišxeti. En avril 1610, une armée turque considérable marcha contre la Perse, se disposant à entrer dans Tabriz et à s'emparer de l'Azerbaïdjan. Cette armée ottomane connut d'abord un certain succès et prit Tabriz. Mais elle ne put s'y maintenir et bientôt les Turcs durent abandonner la ville.

En 1610, Chah Abbas, qui se trouvait en Azerbaïdjan, fit venir auprès de lui les rois de Kartli et de K'axeti, Luarsab et Teimuraz. Selon Iskender Munşı, ils adressèrent au Chah les requêtes suivantes: Teimuraz exigeait le châtiment de quelques féodaux k'axetiens insoumis, Luarsab demandait le retrait de la garnison persane de la place-forte de Tiflis et la restitution de la ville. Le Chah donna satisfaction à Luarsab et rendit Tiflis au roi de Kartli.²⁷ Comment expliquer ce geste? Il est évident qu'il n'impliquait pas un changement de politique du Chah à l'égard de la Géorgie, le cours ultérieur des événements suffit à prouver le contraire, les plans d'agression contre les royaumes géorgiens reprenant de plus belle. Iskender Munşı remarque que "la place-forte de Tiflis fut concédée au neveu du roi Simon pour sa fidélité et son dévouement au Chah".²⁸ Il est hors de

24 Ibid.: Iskender Munşı, p. 148

25 Novicev 1963. T. I. pp. 139, 140: Hammer.

26 Gabašvili.P. 100; A Chronide Of The Charmelites In Persia, 1939, P. 147; Bayam. pp. 67, 68.

27 Iskender Munsi, p. 816.

28 Ibid.

doute que le chroniqueur a ici en vue la médiation de Simon dans les pourparlers turco-persans, auxquels le roi lui aussi était intéressé au premier chef. En outre, Chah Abbas redoutait que les Turcs ne missent à profit la présence de Davit à Istanbul pour le placer sur le trône du Kartli, aussi acquiesça-t-il à la demande de Luarsab²⁹. La guerre contre la Turquie contraignait le Chah à compter avec ses alliés et à satisfaire leurs requêtes.

Les opérations militaires se déroulèrent avec un bonheur inégal. Les deux parties étaient donc intéressées à la conclusion de la paix. Les négociations engagées reprirent avec célérité. Cette fois encore, la Géorgienne Gülcara y prit une part active. L'ambassadeur de France à Istanbul, Salignac, écrivait le 5 septembre 1609 au roi de France:

“Une femme qui est des confins de Perse, femme de menée et qui voit librement le G^dS^{gr} et le roy de Perse, est arrivée depuis trois jours pour tracter la paix entre eux... Cette femme dict que, pour n'en faire à deux fois elle a apporté tout ce que l'on peut espérer de ce costé là, qu'il ne faut attendre d'avoir meilleur marché que ce qu'elle propose d'elle même sans charge: mais elle se promet asseurement de venir à bout aux conditions qu'elle propose.”³⁰

Cette femme était, à n'en pas douter, Gülcara. C'est en 1606, après que les troupes turques, sous le commandement de Murad-paşa, furent passées à l'offensive, que Chah Abbas reprit les pourparlers de paix avec le Sultan. S'efforçant de parvenir à la reconduction des conditions du traité de 1555, il fit une nouvelle proposition: il s'engageait à fournir annuellement à la Turquie 200 charges de soie si le Sultan acceptait d'y revenir.³¹

Le 27 septembre 1612, la délégation persane, avec à sa tête Kadi khan accompagné de la diplomate géorgienne, arriva à Istanbul pour conclure la paix. J. Hammer remarque que c'était la même femme diplomate qui avait été naguère chargée par le grand Vizir de Turquie de négocier la paix avec la Perse.³² Il est donc clair que cette femme était Gülcara.

Alphonse de Lamartine note:

“Une ambassadrice de Géorgie, contrée où toute la politique était dans la main des femmes, étonna Constantinople par sa beauté, son luxe et son éloquence.”³³

Selon J. Hammer:

“... c'est la seconde fois que l'histoire des Ottomans signale ce rôle joué par une femme dans la diplomatie; le premier exemple en avait été donné par la mère d'Usun-Hasan, qui était venue audessus de Mohammed II, sur la route de Trébisond, pour conférer avec lui. La Géorgienne avait cette fois à neutraliser les efforts des envoyés usbegs, qui poussaient en même temps le sultan à poursuivre la guerre.”³⁴

Le 17 octobre 1612, le Sultan reçut l'envoyé persan et accepta les conditions proposées par le Chah. Le 20 novembre, la paix fut conclue à Istanbul entre la Turquie et la Perse.³⁵ On notera un fait inhabituel: côté turc, le traité de paix fut signé non par le Reysul-kutab, comme cela se faisait toujours, mais par le Şeyh-el-Islam, Mehmet Efendi.³⁶ A nos yeux, cette singularité s'explique par le fait que l'envoyé du Chah à Istanbul était Kadi khan, le chef du clergé chiite: les Turcs désignèrent un dignitaire de rang équivalent. De la sorte, à la différence des précédents traités turco-persans, le traité de paix de 1612 fut signé par les plus hauts représentants des clergés de Turquie et de Perse.

La diplomate géorgienne joua un rôle certain dans cet événement:

29 C'est alors précisément que le Sultan résolut de faire abjurer le christianisme au roi et de lui faire adopter l'Islam. Cf. la lettre du baron de Salignac au roi de France, datée du 2 novembre 1609 et intitulée: “Séquestration par les Turcs du jeune prince de Géorgie. Fière protestation de ce Prince”. Salignac, pp. 320-321.

30 Ibid., pp. 301-302.

31 *Mufassal Osmanli tarihi*. p. 1739.

32 Hammer.

33 Lamartine 1855. vol. V, livre vingt-quatrième, pp. 304-305.

34 Hammer, tome deuxième, livre XLIII, p. 346.

35 *Mussafal Osmanli tarihi*, pp. 111, 1740.

36 Ibid.; Hammer.

“Une Géorgienne négocia la paix entre la Perse et la Porte.”³⁷

Le traité stipulait le rétablissement de la paix conclue entre le Sultan Suleyman et Chah Tahmasp, c'est-à-dire le rétablissement du traité de 1555.³⁸

Une commission spéciale fut nommée pour fixer la ligne de démarcation entre la Perse et la Turquie. Du côté turc, y participaient le beyler-bey de Bagdad, Mahmud-paça, et le beyler-bey de Van, Džigal-oğlu; du côté de la Perse, le gouverneur de Čurux, Saadi Amırgune khan, et Mexmed Kuli bek. Il faut souligner que, bien que le traité de 1612 proclamât le rétablissement des conditions de celui de Suleyman-Tahmasp, il en alla tout autrement dans la réalité. D'après le traité de 1612, devaient revenir à la Turquie: la province de Šehrizol, une partie du Kurdistan et la province de Bagdad, qui au moment de la conclusion du traité se trouvaient en possession de la Perse, mais qui, selon les conditions du traité de 1555, appartenaient à la Turquie. Cependant, rien dans le traité ne stipulait que dussent revenir à la Perse les territoires lui appartenant en vertu du traité de 1555 alors sous domination turque. Au moment de la conclusion du traité, la Turquie occupait en effet la Mesxeti orientale, y compris Axalcixe, qui était possession de la Perse d'après le traité de 1555.

Iskender Munši fournit d'intéressantes précisions à ce sujet:

“Comme depuis la conclusion du traité de paix entre les deux monarques susmentionnés et maintenant défunts s'était écoulé beaucoup de temps, et à la suite de revers du sort et d'une fortune contraire, bien des points y étaient devenus litigieux: par exemple en Géorgie, la Mesxeti et l'Axalcixé qui en vertu du traité précédent appartenaient à celle partie-ci [= à la Perse] restèrent finalement en possession de la Turquie; et en revanche, quelques forteresses et régions d'Arabie, ainsi que Bagdad, qui faisaient auparavant partie intégrante de la Turquie, se trouvaient à présent en possession de la Perse. Le départ des troupes et leur évacuation rencontrant des difficultés, il valait mieux, comme le stipulait le traité, que ce qui appartenait à chacun restât inchangé.”³⁹

Ainsi, d'après Iskender Munši, la frontière entre la Turquie et la Perse fut déterminée selon le principe *utis possidetis*, l'une et l'autre conservant les territoires qu'elles possédaient au moment de la conclusion du traité. Iskender Munši approuve la manière dont le problème fut réglé: “cela valait mieux”, car un échange de territoires eût entraîné de grandes difficultés. Ce passage en dit long sur le talent diplomatique et le doigté du chroniqueur, qui a su présenter un fait désagréable au Chah de manière si voilée et si prudente qu'il en semble également favorable aux deux parties. En réalité, la Perse restitua bien à la Turquie, on l'a vu, les territoires qui appartenaient à celle-ci en vertu du traité de 1555, mais la Turquie ne lui rendit pas ceux qu'elle possédait en vertu de ce même traité. Par conséquent l'argument d'Iskender Munši n'est pas fondé. Il est possible qu'Iskender Munši, historien officiel de Chah Abbas, se soit conformé là à la volonté de son souverain, qui ne souhaitait pas reconnaître officiellement comme possessions turques, la Mesxeti orientale et l'Axalcixé, avec mention dans les articles du traité. Il est visible que c'est à la demande des diplomates persans que cela ne fut pas fixé par un protocole. Il fallut attendre le traité de 1619 pour que ce territoire fût reconnu possession turque.⁴⁰ La Perse cédait donc en fait à la Turquie une partie non négligeable de ce qui lui appartenait en vertu du traité de 1555: non seulement des territoires dans la région de Bagdad et de Šehrizol, mais aussi la Mesxeti orientale. C'est pourquoi les conditions du traité de 1612, quant à la fixation des frontières, n'étaient nullement la réplique de celles de 1555. En outre, à la différence de ce qui se passa en 1555, la Perse s'engageait à fournir à la Turquie 200 charges de soie brute, ce dont le traité ne disait rien, bien que le fait soit mentionné dans les sources turques et dans les sources persanes.

On notera que c'était la première fois qu'était mentionnée dans un traité turco-persan la “question Nord-caucasienne”. Selon le traité, le Šamxal-khan et les autres chefs du Daghestan étaient déclarés “fidèles serviteurs du Sultan”. De la sorte, la Turquie parvenait à prendre pied dans cette partie du Nord-Caucase et, surtout, à disposer, en cas de nécessité, d'une base d'opérations dans une guerre avec la Perse. En outre, elle pouvait désormais suivre de près les événements de Transcaucasie orientale, du Kartli et de K'axeti notamment. Il faut

37 Hammer.

38 Naima Mustafa, c. 113, 114; Daniçmend, c. 113, 114; Hammer.

39 Iskender Munši. p. 864.

40 *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*, c. 111, s. 152; Hammer..

prêter une attention toute particulière à l'article du traité où il était stipulé expressément que, sur l'ordre du Sultan, devait être abattue la forteresse construite par les Russes sur le Terek. Comme on le voit, la Turquie visait à porter un coup aux positions de la Russie au Nord-Caucase et s'efforçait en même temps de faire obstacle à l'extension croissante de l'influence russe dans la région. Par ce traité, elle exigeait que la Perse observât la neutralité qu'elle avait déjà pratiquée lors de l'expédition d'Astrakhan en 1569.⁴¹ L'analyse attentive du traité montre que la Turquie, tout en reconnaissant les droits de la Perse sur une série de pays transcaucasiens, s'efforçait de l'inciter à des actions anti-russes au Nord-Caucase. Le traité turco-persan mentionnait la Russie au premier rang des données du "problème Nord-caucasien". Tout cela témoignait de l'influence grandissante de la Russie au Caucase.

Bien que rien ne fût dit dans le traité à propos de la Géorgie, il rétablissait pour l'essentiel les conditions de celui de 1555, qui partageait la Géorgie en deux parties: le Kartli et la K'axeti restaient possessions de la Perse, la Géorgie occidentale et le Samcxe revenaient à la Turquie. Il faut remarquer qu'au moment où fut conclu le traité les garnisons persanes avaient évacué les forteresses du Kartli et de K'axeti. On peut supposer que le Sultan suggéra au Chah que fût instituée entre la Perse et la Kartl-K'axeti la même forme de rapports politiques qu'entre la Turquie et la Géorgie occidentale (prélèvement d'un tribut et non-intervention dans les affaires intérieures du pays). Rien de tel ne figure dans le traité, mais le cours ultérieur des événements rend plausible une telle supposition.

Dans l'historiographie géorgienne est répandue l'opinion selon laquelle, en vertu du traité de 1612, la Turquie et la Perse se sont partagé le Samcxe: la partie occidentale de l'atabagat à la Turquie, l'orientale, avec l'Axalcixé, à la Perse. Le fait est qu'au cours de cette guerre les Turcs s'emparèrent de la partie orientale du Samcxé, avec l'Axalcixé, mais le traité n'en souffle mot. Par là, le traité de 1612 ne reflétait pas tout à fait exactement l'état de choses instauré à la suite de la guerre. En réalité, le traité rendit la position de la Turquie plus forte qu'en 1555, car elle réussit à mettre la main sur la partie orientale du Samcxé et sur l'Axalcixé, qui avaient une importance politique et stratégique décisive. Comparé à celui de 1590, le traité de 1612 avantageait largement Chah Abbas. Ce dernier n'en était pourtant pas satisfait, parce qu'il ne reprenait pas intégralement les conditions du traité de 1555.

Quelles ont été les conséquences de cette guerre pour la Géorgie?

Les royaumes de Kartli et de K'axeti furent délivrés de la domination turque. Bien que les Persans y eussent pris la place des Turcs, le Chah ne réussit pas à rétablir au Kartli et en K'axeti les anciennes positions de la Perse. Il dut faire des concessions, en évacuant ses troupes de Géorgie et en reconnaissant pour rois Luarsab et Teimuraz malgré leur appartenance à la religion chrétienne, sans exiger d'eux qu'ils se convertissent à l'Islam. Une telle politique était imposée par deux faits: la lutte sans merci du peuple géorgien contre ses envahisseurs et les dissensions turco-persanes, que les Géorgiens avaient su exploiter à leur avantage. On en a un exemple éclatant avec la participation de la Géorgienne Gülcara à la conduite des pourparlers de paix entre la Turquie et la Perse. La Turquie, privée de son pouvoir au Kartli et en K'axeti, s'efforçait par tous les moyens d'affaiblir l'influence de la Perse sur ces pays. Ainsi, la guerre eut pour résultat d'améliorer considérablement la situation politique du Kartli et de la K'axeti mais, malheureusement, ce répit fut de courte durée.

Le traité de 1612 marque le déclin de la puissance ottomane, puisque la Turquie perdait les territoires acquis lors de la guerre de 1578-1590. C'était la première fois que la Turquie abandonnait par traité des terres conquises. Les capacités offensives de l'Etat turc étaient figées. Bien que la Turquie dût bientôt reprendre la guerre avec la Perse et remporter certains succès, elle n'était plus en état d'apporter des modifications importantes aux conditions du traité de 1612.

Il est hors de doute que Gülcara, qui avait pris une part si active à la conclusion du traité de paix turco-persan, fut l'instigatrice et l'organisatrice du transfert dans sa patrie des cendres du roi Simon, qui s'était éteint en 1611 à Yedi-Küle. Ses restes furent inhumés dans la Cathédrale de Mcxeta, et les Géorgiens révérèrent la mémoire de ce roi qui pendant près d'un demi-siècle avait lutté sans cesse contre les envahisseurs étrangers.

(Traduit par Georges Charachidzé)

41 Naima Mustafa, c.11, s.114

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A VERSION OF 'WĪS O RĀMĪN' BY NĀMĪ EŞFAHĀNĪ*
(Preliminary Communication)

Hitherto only one – Gorgānī's – version of 'Wīs o Rāmīn' has been known in the Persian language. Recently another version of the poem has been discovered in the Cairo National Library (Dār al-Kotob). The author of the latter version is the Iranian poet and statesman Nāmī Eşfahānī (d. 1791). The first indication of this was given in the catalogue of the Persian *fonds* of the cited library. However, the description of Nāmī's 'Khamsa' preserved there expressed a doubt about the fifth poem being 'Wīs o Rāmīn'.¹ The Iranian philologist Aḥmad Monzavī also quoted this evidence of the catalogue with the same query.²

The sources and the first students are silent about Nāmī's 'Wīs o Rāmīn'. Neither his contemporary scholar 'Abd al-Rezāk Donboli (1762–1827) says anything in his *tazkera* about the poem of our present interest, though he lists Nāmī's other poems; 'Nāmī has many poems: 'Dorg-e Gouhar', 'Khosrov o Shīrīn', 'Leylī o Mağnūn', 'Jūsef o Zelikha', 'Wāmek o 'Azrā'. He has also ķaṣidas and ghazals and the author (of this book) was closely acquainted with him.'³ Maḥmūd Mirzā names Nāmī's two poems only: 'Khosrov o Shīrīn' and 'Leylī o Mağnūn'.⁴ Reḍa-Ḳolī Khān Hedajat had heard about Nāmī's third poem 'Wāmek o 'Azrā' but never seen it.⁵ Āzer too gives similar information.⁶ Nāmī Eşfahānī's 'Wīs o Rāmīn' is not recorded in the catalogues of Ībn Jūsef⁷, H. Ethe⁸, W. Heinz⁹, Sachau-Eihe¹⁰ and Āghā Bozorg.¹¹ According to S. Nafīsī, five poems belong to Nāmī: 'Dorğ-e Gouhar', 'Khosrov o Shīrīn', 'Leylī o Mağnūn', 'Jūsef o Zelikha', and 'Wāmek o 'Azra'.¹² In G. Aliev's view, the final, fifth, part of Nāmī's 'Khamsa' is the poem 'Jūsef o Zelikha' which is not to be found in the complete manuscripts of his quintuplet, and was apparently left unfinished.¹³

Meanwhile, the new edition of Dār al-Kotob's catalogue of Persian Manuscripts states unequivocally that the manuscript contains the poems 'Dorğ-e Gouhar', 'Khosrov o Shīrīn', 'Leylī o Mağnūn', 'Wāmek o 'Azra' and 'Wīsa o Rāmīn'.¹⁴ According to the catalogue, its number is 2414.

As a comprehensive study of this poem by Nāmī – so far unknown to most scholars – is a matter of the future, I shall here present preliminary information about it.

The extant manuscript of Nāmī's poem, which is suggested by the fact that the closing pages of the Cairo MS are not missing (the last page has enough space for some twenty lines), but the text breaks off. This unique

* First published in: *Bulletin of Kutaisi University*, 1993, № 1, pp. 135–144.

1 فهرس المخطوطات الفارسية التي تقتنيها دارالكتب، p.80. 1963

2 فهرست نسخه های خطی فارسی، جلد چهارم، نگارنده احمد منزوی، تهران، p.2303.1351

3 نگارستان دارا ، تالیف عبد الرزاق دنبلي، بکوشش دکتر خیامپور، تهران، p.271. 1343

4 سفينة محمود از محمود میرزا قاجار، جلد دوم، بتصحیح و تحریش دکتر خیامپور، تبریز، p.339. 1346

5 رضا قلی خان هدایت، مجمع الفصحا، بخش سوم از مجلد دوم، بکوشش مظاہر مصafa p.1082. 1340

6 آتشکده آذر، تالیف لطفعلی بیگ آذر بیگدلی، مقدمه و فهرست و تعلیقات سید جعفر شهیدی، p.420. 1337

7 فهرست کتابخانه مجلس، تالیف ابن یوسف شیروانی، جلد سوم، تهران، p.181. 1318

8 Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, II, p. 246.

9 Heinz, W. H. Persische Handschriften, Teil 1, Bd 1, Wiesbaden, 1868, p. 62.

10 Sachau-Ethe, Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu in Ecdlean Library. Oxford, 1889, 725

11 زریعه، جلد 8. 9. قسم سوم، جلد 19 p.111. 19

12 تاریخ جهانگشای، با تصحیح و تقدیمه سعید نفیسی، تهران، p.319. 1318

13 Г. Ю. Алиев, Темы и сюжеты Низами в литературах народов Востока, М., 1985, стр.164

14 فهرس المخطوطات الفارسية القسم الثاني، القاهرة، p.209. 1967

text covers 29 pages, with 423 beyts. The prologue comprises four untitled chapters but blank spaces for titles to be filled in red ink. Only the first two chapters of the story have survived and the MS is defective: in the first chapter six beyts are missing (198 r), and in the last chapter there is only the beginning of one beyt, the remaining space being blank (203 v). Owing to seepage of ink from page to page the text of the last six pages is rendered almost illegible.

Judging by the content, the first chapter of the prologue is a praise of God; the second chapter seems to be dedicated to the word (verse), the third to love, and the fourth to beauty. The text is interspersed with fables dealing with various stories, including those of Mağnūn. The prologue expounds Sufi love.

The first two chapters tell the following story: 'As the versifiers of this fascinating story tell us', Nāmī begins the narration, 'there reigned a king in Iran; he had an innumerable army; his sway extended from Mashriķ to Maghrib. He had a son, Rāmīn by name...' Then almost two pages are taken up by the description of Rāmīn's beauty. Then again a fable intervenes, describing Mağnūn's falling in love with Leylī at school. When Rāmīn was fourteen he went hunting, where he met Wīsa (in Nāmī's poem this female character is called not 'Wīs' but 'Wīsa'). Rāmīn fainted on seeing Wīsa. He instantly fell in love with her. The same happened to Wīsa on seeing Rāmīn. They both engage in a Monāzare of the type that took place between Khosrov Parwīz and Farhād in Neżāmī's 'Khosrov o Shīrīn'. Wīsa asks Rāmīn 'What is your name?' Rāmīn answers with a pun; 'I shall hence be called „your humble servant”'. Wīsa asks: 'Where do you hail from?' Rāmīn replies: 'From the land of the luckless', etc. Then Wīsa asks Rāmīn to visit her. The sweethearts feast the whole night, drinking wine and listening to music. Wīsa is mere daring and active than Rāmīn. The author compares this feast to that of Shīrīn and Parwīz. Here the text breaks off.

Thus, we have only the beginning of Nāmī's poem (the author appears to have failed to complete it), but what has survived is of considerable interest, for Iranistics is now in possession of another version of this highly interesting poem, i. e. an analogue of a work that had been known by a single version. Now 'the second version' always acquires great importance in deciding any problem arising in regard to the 'first' and only version.

The first to claim the student's attention in Nāmī's Wīsa o Rāmīn is its plot. It is the ġawāb rather than the nażīra of Gorgānī's poem coinciding with the plot of the Turkish poet Lāmei's (d. 1532) poem. Nāmī preserves Gorgānī's metre (hazağ-e mosad das-e maḳṣūr → ु - - - / ु - - - / ु - - -) as well as some plot functions. The artistic world of Nāmī's poem is influenced rather by Neżāmī's 'Khosrov o Shīrīn' than by Gorgānī's 'Wīs o Rāmīn'. As I noted earlier, prior to Gorgānī, i. e. by the 11th cent., there must have existed at least six versions of 'Wīs o Rāmīn' in the Iranian world. Gorgānī's statement regarding the source of his poem, viz, it is the product of six compilers, should be taken to mean that he had at least six predecessors.¹⁵ Gorgānī's version has preserved the mixed character of different subjects based on this plot and inconsistencies of content.¹⁶ In Nāmī's poem we are dealing with one of the unknown popular (or even literary) plots not invented by Nāmī. As already noted Wīsa and Rāmīn met each other at hunting. This is an elaboration of the motif of a chance meeting of the beloved and their falling in love at first sight. (C.f. 'Khosrov o Shīrīn', 'The Man in the Panther's Skin'). Incidentally, this motif is to be found in Gorgānī's version as well, along with the other motif of the sweethearts being reared together (on this see infra). It is not clear whether Nāmī Eāfahanī himself introduced this motif into his poem, or he found it in the plot used. Nāmī did use a definite plot, for he writes about the story he versified: 'The reciters of this captivating song have sung it in this way'¹⁷ Here two pieces of information attract our attention: (a) Nāmī refers to his predecessors in the plural, i.e. he had not one but at least two predecessors and (b) the story of his poem and that of his predecessors' works were basically identical. According to Nāmī's evidence to date scholarship is aware of at least four authors of the poem written on the same plot (including Gorgānī and Nāmī himself).

Nāmī's poem throws light upon Lāmei's 'Wīs o Rāmīn' regarding some rather obscure and controversial

¹⁵ Magali Todua, *Studies in Georgian-Persian Literary Contacts*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1971 (in Georgian)

¹⁶ ویس و رامین از فخرالدین گرگانی، تصحیح مائالی تودوا و الکساندر گواخاریا، تهدان، 1970. p.21.

¹⁷ Wīs and Rāmīn, edited by Alexander Gvakharia and Magali Todua, Tbilisi, 1964 (in Georgian)

questions and in general the principle by which this poet constructed plots. The leading characters of Lāmeī's 'Wīs and Rāmīn' meet each other either while hunting or just sporting in the bosom of nature. There seems to have existed such a beginning of the story of Wīs o Rāmīn. Now it can be assumed more positively that the Turkish poet did not invent this or that episode in his various poems.

There are all indications that the love story of Wīs and Rāmīn was widespread in the East and that in the early stage before Persian epic came to accept the poetics of the identity of stories, (i. e. prior to the 11th cent.), it succeeded in creating several variants frequently differing in content and ideas.

Long ago V. Minorsky noted confusion in the geographical environment in Gorgāni's Wīs o Rāmīn, e. g. the baby is sent to Khūzestān to a nurse because of the agreeable climate of the place. In fact the air in present-day Khūzestān is far from being salutary. In Minorsky's view, reference here must be to another geographical point of the same name.¹⁸ Again Wīs is from the country of Māh, but according to one episode of the poem she lives in Gūrāb. Minorsky believes Wīs must have been sent to Gūrāb temporarily for consideration of safety, and so on.

M.-G. Mahğüb noted three unusual developments in Gorgāni's poem:

1) Rāmīn and Wīs are reared by the same nurse. Rāmīn loves Wīs from childhood, but when she is brought to Moubad we are told that he saw her for the first time and fell in love with her.¹⁹

2) Wīs' nurse was a sorceress. She would charm Moubad to sleep. However, once when she stools in need of saving herself by this means she found herself to be devoid of this craft.²⁰

3) The dialogue between Wīs and Rāmīn in the snow is very long.²¹ There is nothing special in the second and third examples cited by *Mahğüb*, for we are after all dealing not with a naturalistic novel but a poem allowing for a wide scope of conventionality. As for the first example, it is noteworthy. However, M.-G. *Mahğüb* considers all the three examples as weak points of Gorgāni's skill.

I have already had an opportunity to note other textual inconsistencies of the poem.²² Here I shall reiterate some of them:

1) Wīs weeps in his confinement 'Why did I not listen to and follow you, Rāmīn. (Wīs. 1970., p. 244). However, the poem does not afford a relevant situation, and Rāmīn did not ask Wīs to go with him. (Moreover, Wīs says that Rāmīn had gone away without seeing her (p. 246).

2) Wirū reproaches Wīs: 'What did you rind in Rāmīn to make you love him so intensely? He is a sot and owns nothing except his two-stringed musical instrument. He lias pawned his clothes with tavern-keepers, and hence is on friendly terms with Jews. He can do nothing but play his instrument'. For her part Wīs confirms Wirū's words (p. 172) and this takes place when, according to the same poem, Rāmīn is a wealthy, powerful prince and the heir apparent of a vast kingdom.

3) Rāmīn is weary of the hazards connected with his love of Wīs and makes up his mind to drop her and leave Marw. At the farewell meeting Wīs implored Rāmīn not to depart. However, Rāmīn's letter from Gtirab says: 'You are to blame for our parting; it is you who banished me from Marw'. (p. 420).

4) L. Memarnishvili observes that when Zard comes to take Wīs with him his arrival coincides with the wedding of Wīs and Wirū. Naturally, Wiru was present at the ceremony (and Zard did see him there). Now Wīs warns Zard to go away, for her husband will soon come back from the chase and he will fare badly.²³

5) The nurse says to Wīs who has shared her bed only with Rāmīn (their liaison having started only recently): 'When the drops of your sins gather at one place a great torrent will rise' (p. 175). However, according to the text, Wīs has shared her bed only with Rāmīn and, even so, their relation is quite new.

6) Wīs answers her nurse: 'As for Rāmīn, though he is good and handsome, you too know how charming

18 p.412.1337 فخر الدين گرگانی، ویس و رامین، به اهتمام محمد جعفر محبوب.

19 Ibid., p.87

20 Ibid., p.88

21 Ibid.

22 Wīs and Rāmīn, op.cit.

23 L.Memarnishvili, Reader's Note; "Literaturuli Sakartvelo", 1964, № 37 (in Georgian)

he is, he is nothing but sweet and hollow words, never seeking sincerity in love. His tongue shows sugar but in reality makes you eat colocynth' (p.175). Yet according to the poem Rāmīn has so far not done anything of the kind.

7) In the same passage Wīs says about Moubad and Rāmīn 'One is like bane - a permanent chastiser of the soul, and the other is to me like a stone in a glass; one's stony heart is inconstant and the other's heart is a seeker of falseness' (p.176).

8) Rāmīn says to himself: 'You are reaping the evils you have sown', (p.182). How many evils did Rāmīn sow, after all?

9) Gūl, Rāmīn's wife, says to him: 'You are Rāmīn, brother of the Shahānshāh, whose love for Wīs is equivalent to his soul. Your heart has been bound for the love of Wīs by the old nurse', (p.330). And actually Rāmīn reproaches his nursei 'You befuddled me with your sorcery and bereft me of my wit' (p.350). There is no hint of this in the poem.

10) Rāmīn, represented as young in the poem, complains of being old and describes feebleness (p. 415). He repeats his words later: 'I have grown old but my love has not... Why mention old age. Do not jeer and reproach me so much.' (p. 441). Thus, Wīs appears to have taunted him for being old. This does not seem to be an accidental detail: it will be recalled that a certain Rāmīn is mentioned among the guests at Moubad's feast, when Wīs had not yet been born.

11) Wīs says to Rāmīn: 'When I remember the thousands of pains you inflicted on me, how can there be love for you in my heart' (p. 443).

12) Rāmīn retorts: 'You reproached me, began to sulk and opened a new door of grudge. I am departing' (p. 445).

Now we shall see how Wīs and Rāmīn are represented in some monuments of classical Persian literature when their authors turn to these popular personages of the East to illustrate some occurrence.

Sadī of Shīraz (1208-1292): 'As soon as Rāmīn surrendered his heart to Wīs' love, he lost his crown'²⁴

'Emīd ad-Dīn Kermānī (d. 1391):

1) 'Once Wīs became angry with Rāmīn over a trifle and got rid of him'

2) 'Every now and then Wīs found fault with Rāmīn, constantly threatening to terminate their relations.'

3) 'Rāmīn sent Wīs ten letters, yet he failed to win her heart'. (According to Gorgānī's poem it is the other way round; we are aware of ten unresponded letters written by Wīs).

4) 'Once Rāmīn came heavily drunk to Wīs' dinner party. He was still smarting from the insult she had subjected him to; He said such things to her in bed that it is improper even to repeat them here. Rāmīn asked her in the morning: "What did I venture to tell you last night?" Wīs answered with a proverb: "Words spoken last night have gone with the night."²⁵ In a 17th-century Persian explanatory dictionary this is how Rāmīn is introduced to the reader: 'Rāmīn, the name of Wīs' lover (Wīs and Rāmīn, s story is well-known). It is also the name of a harpist'.²⁶

It follows from the latter piece of information that Wīrū's words: 'Rāmīn owns nothing except his two-stringed instrument' is not fortuitous, for memory of such a harp-playing character still lingered on in the 17th century.

We shall now list the 'apocryphal', so to say, qualities that appears to have characterized Wīs and Rāmīn, but are not perceivable in Gorgānī's poem. (Only three sources have been adduced here; with other authors one can presumably detect more deviations and inconsistencies of character in Wīs and Rāmīn).

24 كليات شيخ سعدي، با تصحیح کامل محمود فروغی، تهران، 1334، p.55.

25 St. Petersburg Saltikov-Shchedrin State Library, MS Dorn, 407, 76.

26 برهان قاطع، باهتمام دکتر محمد معین، تاران، 1331، p.933.

- 1.Wīs: 1) is a sorceress;
 2) possessor of a great number of lovers;
 3) she is constantly inclined to find fault with Rāmīn and threatening to get rid of him;
 4) she has committed so many sins that if they were collected by drops, they would create a torrent;
 5) so docile and submissive as to forgive Rāmīn his gross insults.
- 2.Rāmīn: 1) appears to have been a sort of the type who pawned his garments with inn-keepers;
 2) poor man and a tramp;
 3) a friend of Jews;
 4) one who could only play his two-stringed instrument;
 5) deceitful and unreliable,
 6) false in love;
 7) sweet-mouthed but perfidious;
 8) a betrayer of his beloved;
 9) unjust and sower of evil;
 10) much older than Wīs, even advanced in years;
 11) In general a decent woman would have shunned reading the story of Wīs and Rāmīn ('Obeyd Zakānī').
3. Now here is what happened in the various stories created about Wīs and Rāmīn that do not occur in the poem we are dealing with.
- 1) The nurse bewitched Rāmīn into loving Wīs.
 - 2) The nurse often tempted Rāmīn by sorcery.
 - 3) Frequently, Rāmīn made life troubles hard for Wīs.
 - 4) Rāmīn deceived Wīs several times.
 - 5) Wīs ridiculed Rāmīn bitterly, calling him old.
 - 6) Wīs banished Rāmīn from Marw.
 - 7) Rāmīn asked Wīs to go with him to Gūrāb but she refused.
 - 8) Wīs caviled at Rāmīn for a mere trifle and got rid of him.
 - 9) Rāmīn lost the throne because of his love of Wīs.
 - 10) Rāmīn and Wīs met each other at the chase.

It will be seen that all these inconsistencies attested both in the above-cited works and in Gorgānī's poem itself are at variance not only with the evidence of Gorgānī's text at hand but with one another as well. Take, e.g. the statement to the effect that Wīs was prone to fault-finding and she threatened Rāmīn to part with him. How does it tally with the assertion that Wīs was docile and submissive (in any case with regard to Rāmīn). I believe this is due to the fact that Gorgānī's poem was preceded not by one but several versions differing in content from one another to a greater or lesser extent. The discrepancies in content may have been present in the version used by Gorgānī.

At the same time, it is not ruled out that these discrepancies may have resulted from Gorgānī's carelessness. Another possibility should also be born in mind occasionally, it is the characters that serve as the source of information and they may be biased exaggerating or altering the facts. Thus, when Moubad's mother tells him that Wīs has again fallen in love with Wīrū and is blissfully happy with him, this may be the working of the mother-in-law's malicious tongue.

In my opinion these incongruities are rudiments of the various versions of the story. According to one version Wīs must have hailed from Gūrāb and to the other from Māh. In one version she was capricious, in

the other docile, and so on. The mixed character of evidence appears to have been reflected in the sources of the poem under discussion.

All this lends additional support to my earlier hypothesis that the six persons mentioned by Gorgānī were not members of a unified six-member editorial commission, analogously to the Shah-Nāme commission, as acknowledged in Iranistics, but were authors of six versions, creating independently of one another.²⁷

27 The story of Wīs and Rāmīn might also have been versified by Rūdakī. Some beyts written with motaqareb scattered in original sources allow to admit my supposition.

جوان جون دید آن نگار یده روی

بسان دوز نجیر مرغول موی

'When the young man saw that beautiful face
Two curls of her hair, like two chains'

(رودکی، آثار منظوم، تحت نظری برگینسکی، مسکو، 1964، p.260).

Does it mean that Rāmīn saw Wīs?

کفیدش دل از غم چو آن کفته نار

کفیده شود سنگ تیمار خوار

'The heart broke with sorrow, like a pomegranate,
Sorrow breaks even a stone' (Ibid; p.254).

Is it said about Wīs or Rāmīn's feelings?

نشست و سخن را همی خاش زد

ز آب دهن کوهرا شاش زد

'He seated and begun a harsh talk,
Drenched the mountain with slobbering' (ibid., p.252).
Is it Moubad raging over Wīs or Rāmīn?

فکند پولاد پریخ سنگ

نکر دند در کار موبد در نگ

The contents of the first line is not quite clear, the second says that Mobed (Moabad?) was ill-treated. (Ibid., p.256).

- مؤبد - Is he a character of the poem of our interest.

YAZDDJARD B. BAHANDĀDH AL-KISRAWĪ AND SOME QUESTIONS OF THE INNER STRUCTURES OF MADINAT AL-MANŞŪR*

As is known the question of the early works of Arab authors, namely the so-called *fadiā'il* works that have not come down to us but evidently contained a systematic topographic description of the cities of the Caliphate, including Baghdād, has been discussed by many researchers, notably by F. Rosenthal and J. Lassner.¹ Yazddjard b. Bahandādh al-Kisrawī also ranks among the authors of *fadiā'il* works.²

Very brief evidence on the latter author and his presumably short, no longer extant, work that in all likelihood contained a systematic topographic description of Baghdād has been preserved by Ibn an-Nadīm (10th cent.), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (*ca* 1179-1229), and Ḥadjdjī Khalifa (1609-1659).

According to Ibn an-Nadīm, Mahbundān al-Kisrawī, who lived in the times of the caliph al-Mu'taṣid (892-902), was the author of books, including *Kitāb fadiā'il Baghdād wa ṣifatihā* and *Kitab ad-dalā'il al-tawḥid min kalām al-falāsifa*.³

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, in the chapters of his geographical dictionary on Babylon (Bābil) and on al-Madā'in, refers to Yazddjard b. Mahbandār (Mahindādh) al-Kisrawī, the author of a *risala* on the merits of Baghdād, as a source contemporaneous with the history of the pre-Islamic period.⁴

According to the evidence of Ḥadjdjī Khalifa, Abū Sahl Yazddjard b. Mahmandār al-Kisrawī compiled a splendid book on the merits of Baghdād, the number of its streets, baths, food-stuffs, and finances required for everyday life.⁵

Touching on Yazddjard al-Kisrawī, J. Lassner made a special note also of the valuable evidence of two Arab authors: Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassīn b. 'Alī at-Tanūkhī (940-994)⁶ and Abū al-Ḥusayn Hilāl b. al-Muḥassīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Zakhrūn aş-Şābi' (969-1056)⁷ not only because their works contain evidence on al-Kisrawī but also because they were, in addition, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's informants.⁸

The available evidence on Yazddjard b. Bahandādh al-Kisrawī has led the present writer to the following inferences:

- (1) Yazddjard could indeed have been the author of the no longer extant book on the history of Baghdād;
- (2) His work referred to by Arab authors under various titles: *Kitāb fadiā'il Baghdād wa ṣifatihā* (Ibn an-Nadīm), *Risāla (fī tafḍīl Baghdād)* (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī), *Kitāb fadiā'il Baghdād al-'Irāq* (Hilāl b. al-Muḥassīn aş-Şābi')⁹ could have contained a systematic topographic description of Baghdād, and its absence in some Arabic sources that have preserved Yazddjard al-Kisrawī's evidence does not

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1 See F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden, 1952, pp. 130 ff., 381 ff.; *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, Text and Studies by J. Lassner, Detroit, 1970, pp. 27-31, 34-40

2 On the different spellings of the name Bahandādh see Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, pp. 14, 348, 480; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 148-149, 185. Two forms of spelling of this name have been identified by the present writer in the text of the chapter on Baghdād in the *Mashhad* MS: Bahandādh and Mahbundādh.

3 Ibn an-Nadīm, ed. by G. Flügel, I. p. 128.

4 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, ed. by F. Wustenfeld, I, p. 448.

5 Ḥadjdjī Khalifa, ed by G. Flügel, II, p.120.

6 On this author see also C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I, pp. 161-162. SB, I, pp. 252-253; J. Lassner adduces an English translation of the text of Yazddjard b. Bahandādh al-Kisrawī, as related by al-Muḥassīn b. 'Alī al-Muḥassīn b. 'Alī at-Tanūkhī, who lived in the time of the caliph al-Muqtadir, (908-932), on the number of baths in Baghdād, and other evidence (see J. Lassner, *ibid.*, p. 38; cf. p. 229, note 64).

7 On the latter see C. Brockelmann, *ibid.*, I, pp. 394-395, SB, I, pp.556-557.

8 On al-Muḥassīn b. 'Alī at-Tanūkhī see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo ed., I, pp. 117, 119, 123; on Hilāl b. al-Muḥassīn aş-Şābi', pp. 71,99, 100, 102, 105, 117, 118.

9 J.Lassner, *ibid.* in reference to Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa, ed. by M.Awad, Baghdād, 1964, pp.38, 230, note 66.

necessarily mean that it might have lacked such description;

- (3) Yazddjard b. Bahandādh was apparently the author of a work not only on the history of Baghdād but also on philosophy (Ibn an-Nadīm);

It cannot be ruled out that the initial part of al-Kisrawī's text in the Mashhad MS, with a somewhat philosophical bent of the author's thinking on the advantages of Baghdād, was borrowed by Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamādāni precisely from the indicated work, although it can also be assumed that his book on the *fādail* of Baghdād might have contained this part of the text;

- (4) Probably the material of Yazddjard b. Bahandādh al-Farisi, estimating the approximate population of Baghdād and borrowed by Hilālb. al-Muḥassin aş-Şabi'¹⁰, and the material on the same theme, contained in the chapter on Baghdād and belonging to Yazddjard, involved one and the same work of the latter;

- (5) Finally, the differing dates of the life of al-Kisrawī, found in the works of Arab authors, are worth noting.

Ibn an-Nadīm points out that he was a contemporary of the caliph al-Mu'tađid (892-902), whereas according to al-Muḥassin b. 'A1i at-Tanūkhi he was a contemporary of the caliph al-Muqtadir (908-932). It is interesting to note that in the text of the Mashhad MS Yazddjard b. Bahandādh mentions Shah b. Mīkāl, alias 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Mīkāl,¹¹ the ruler of al-Ahwāz and Fārs in the reign of the same caliph al-Muqtadir. It follows from this that already in the 10th century the person of Yazddjard was, for some reason, little known, just as was his work on the history of Baghdād. Another inference of no less significance is that if the above two latter data on the time of life of Yazddjard al-Kisrawī are true to fact, then the floruit of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamādāni should be revised. However, for lack of additional evidence the present writer refrains at this stage from attempting this and instead accepts the prevalent view according to which Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamādāni was a geographer of the second half of the 9th century.

As noted above, the Mashhad MS of the work of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamādāni also contains the material of Yazddjard on Baghdād, which is, incidentally, reminiscent to some extent of the synopsis of his book given by Hādjdjī Khalīfa.

At the same time the Mashhad MS contains al-Kisrawī's evidence on the population of Baghdād, though in his turn he refers sometimes to other persons, e.g. to the above cited Shāh b. Mīkāl, and to Tāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh.

As is known, the question of Baghdād's population in the early Middle Ages (8th-10th cent.) has engaged the interest of researchers to the present day. Various contradictory and at the same time highly conjectural data on the number of the inhabitants of Baghdād have recently been presented – though not without scepticism – by K. Rührdanz. According to this data, in al-Manṣur's time – only ten years after the foundation of the city – Baghdād's population already totalled 700,000; by the year 900 it reached 900,000, but toward the end of the 10th century it dropped to 120,001). According to other data, in the saint' 10th century Baghdād had 1.5 million inhabitants.¹²

A. A. Hurt, in his well-known article on Baghdād in the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, after presenting a number of statistical data – based on the evidence of Arab writers – on the number of baths, mosques, etc. in Baghdād, also points out that its population in the 10th century totaled 1,5 million,¹³ However, he notes that the number of baths and mosques in Baghdād must have been exaggerated.

Bearing in mind the complex situation obtaining in Baghdād in the second half of the 10th century, its population must have been much less than the figure cited above.

As is known, Baghdād suffered considerable material losses from the social movements of the 'ayyārūn,

10 See above, note 6.

11 On the latter see Ibn an-Nadīm, I, p. 153; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Udabā'*, ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, I, pp. 343-346; Ibn Khallikān, ed. by M. G. de Slane, III, p. 38; cf. C. Brockelmann. *ibid.*, I, p. 113, SB, I, p. 172; J. W. Fück, EI, NE, p. 757.

12 K. Rührdanz, *Bagdad-Hauptstadt der Kulissen*, Leipzig, 1979, p. 53.

13 EI, NE, I, p. 899.

i.e., the lower strata of urban population, as well as from the ‘*asabiyya* socio-religious organization; the latter were obviously often used by various political groupings in their own interests;¹⁴ the indicated movements gained momentum in the last quarter of the 10th century. Suffice it to refer to the fact – albeit of a somewhat later period – of an almost total devastation of the city at, the time of *Burdjarnī*, a well-known leader of the ‘*ayyārūn* and actual ruler of *Baghdād* for four years, between 1030 and 1033.¹⁵

The frequent fires that broke out in *Baghdād*, especially in *al-Karkh*, one of its trade and economic centres, obviously resulted from the utter lack of control on the part of the authorities – both central and local, urban, being the logical consequence of the gradual weakening of the Abbasid Caliphate and its ultimate political collapse. Thus in 920-921 *al-Karkh* twice suffered considerable material damage from fires.¹⁶ Within slightly more than a decade, in September 934, a small fire, breaking out lower *al-Karkh* in buildings of the owners of henna and powder, caused a conflagration in *al-Karkh* itself which destroyed the quarters of jewellers, ointment sellers, drug sellers and the facilities of dyers and warehouses. Traces of that fire were noticeable many years later, notes *aş-Şūlī*¹⁷ In 971 *al-Karkh* was all but burnt to ashes as the result of riots that broke out in the town. The fire destroyed 33 mosques.¹⁸ Two years later, in 973, most of the buildings of *al-Karkh*¹⁹ were again destroyed. Therefore it would seem that the hard times in the life of *Baghdād*, especially after the entry of the Buyids into the city in 945, could in no way have had a positive influence on the quantitative growth of its population. Just the reverse, such a situation should have had a negative effect on the number of *Baghdād*'s population. Bearing this in mind, the figure 125,000 would seem appear more trustworthy.

However, as far as is known to the present writer, no researcher has hitherto dealt with the number of residents of al-Mansūr's structure itself, i.e., the so-called Madinat al-Manṣūr al-Mudawwara (“The Round City of al-Manṣūr”).

At present this question can, in the present writer's view, be posed on the basis of, it would seem, a highly important piece of evidence provided by *Yazddjard b. Bahandādh* (or *Mahbundādh*) *al-Kisrawī*, preserved in the chapter on *Baghdād* of the *Mashhad* MS of *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī*'s geographic work.

Yazddjard al-Kisrawī's estimations of the population of *Baghdād*, as well as of that of other cities, are based exclusively on conjectures. It should be noted in fairness, however, that he himself appears to be somewhat skeptical about these estimations.

Yazddjard is certainly not an exception in his choice of the method of estimating the population of *Baghdād*.

A. A. Dūrī points out that, according to tradition, each bath served about 200 houses; he refers to the MS of the works of *Ibn al-Faqīh* and *Hilāl aş-Şābi*.²⁰

However, the *Mashhad* MS of *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī*'s work would seem to indicate that this tradition was, in all probability, based on perfectly acceptable data.

Al-Kisrawī concedes the possibility of one bath serving 200 houses, i.e. families, in *Baghdād*, referring by way of an example to Madinat al-Manṣūr in which, as indicated by him, all the baths served over 400 houses found in it.²¹

14 Cf. *aş-Şūlī*, ed. by J. H. Dunne, p. 89.

15 *Ibn al-Djawzī*, *Muntażam*, ed. by F. Krenkow, VII, pp. 75-76; for the social movements in the cities of the mediaeval East: ‘*ayyārūn*, *fityān*, ‘*asabiyya*, etc. see Claude Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge*, *Arabica*, V/3, 1958, pp. 225-250; VI/1, 1959, pp. 25-56; VI/3, pp. 234-265; in particular, for *Burdjarnī* see VI/1, pp. 39-40.

16 *Ibn al-Athīr*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg, VIII, pp. 89, 95.

17 *aş-Şūlī*, p. 68.

18 *Ibn al-Djawzī*, VII, p. 60; *Ibn al-Athīr*, VI I I , p. 207.

19 *Ibn Miskawayh*, ed. by H.A. Amedzoz, II, p. 327.

20 A. A. Dūrī, *ibid.*

ثم فرضنا ايضاً بهذا التقرير والممكن المقربون به لكل حمام مائتين منزل قياساً على ترتيب المنازل والحمامات المعدودة بمدينة المنصور فانّا وجدنا بحق كل حمام بها من المنازل نيفاً على اربع مائة منزل

Thus, Yazddjard b. Bahandādh seeks to substantiate his suggestion on the possibility of each bath in Baghdād serving 200 houses by the fact that each bath in Madīnat al-Manṣūr – and there were more than two in number (cf. his use of *hammām* in the plural) – obviously served much fewer than 200 houses.

It should be noted here that the number of houses in Madīnat al-Manṣūr is estimated by Yazddjard not by conjecture but as a self-evident fact. Taking into account the social composition of the residents of al-Manṣūr's structure²² and the much lower – mixed, to say the least – social strata of the population of Baghdad itself, it would appear quite realistic to suggest that each bath in Madīnat al-Manṣūr served fewer people than its counterpart situated beyond its limits.

In the same text al-Kisrawī assumes the average number of persons (able-bodied men, women, children, and old-age people) for each family to be eight.²³ Thus, if we multiply the number of houses in Madīnat al-Manṣūr by this average number for each family we obtain the total of 3,200 persons inhabiting al-Manṣūr's structure; to be more precise, the number should be slightly higher, for according to Yazddjard there were, as noted above, 400 houses in Madīnat al-Manṣūr. To be sure, the population of Madīnat al-Manṣūr might have been even less than just indicated, if live persons are taken as the average number for a family, as assumed by A. A. Dūrī in the article cited above.

The question involuntarily arises as to whether this population could involve the 4,000 persons quartered in the vaulted galleries²⁴ as guards of Madīnat al-Manṣūr.²⁵ In the present writer's view the answer here must of necessity be negative. In the first place because the rank-and-file members of this guard, i.e., excluding its commanding officers, obviously the same *ghulāms* of al-Ya'qūbī,²⁶ could not have belonged to those representatives of the upper social class whom al-Manṣūr settled in his structure. On the other hand, if al-Kisrawī's purpose in calculating the average number of houses served by a bath was to determine the total population of Baghdād, the same should, in the present writer's view, be said – with a higher degree of certainty – in regard to Madīnat al-Manṣūr. Yazddjard's indication of 400 houses must refer to the total population of al-Manṣūr's structure, whereas the number of 4,000 considerably exceeds that estimated by the present writer on the basis of Yazddjard al-Kisrawī's evidence on the population of Madīnat al-Manṣūr.

With more confidence this can be said about other lower social strata of Madīnat al-Manṣūr serving its residents, in particular, of the barbers, stokers, cleaners, and, possibly, of bath owners, provided the baths were private, who, according to Yazddjard, had to serve them.

This evidence of al-Kisrawī, preserved in Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī's work, – to whom we must feel indebted – permits also to make other inferences of no less importance.

In his two earlier articles, the present writer touched on the problem of the character of the inner structure of Madīnat al-Manṣūr according to the evidence of Arabic sources. In those articles, the author calculated the width of each street of Madīnat al-Manṣūr, which led him to suggest that – by a rough estimate – it must have amounted to 150–200 m, i.e., it must have contained houses with plots of land attached.²⁷

The above evidence of Yazddjard al-Kisrawī on the presence of over 400 houses in Madīnat al-Manṣūr on an area of about 500 ha must refer only to the plots of land attached to the buildings. This number does not seem to include the buildings situated in Dār al-Khilāfa.²⁸ Otherwise he would have referred to the

22 For this see al-Ya'qūbī, ed. by M. J. Goeje, p. 211; *idem*, History, ed. by M. Th. Houtsma, II, pp. 449–150: ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī, *Mashhad* MS, chapter on Baghdād.

23 فاجتمعنا لنا في كل منزل ثمانية نفر رجالاً ونساء صغاراً وكباراً

24 al-Ya'qūbī, p. 239; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, I, p. 76.

25 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, I, p. 77.

26 al-Yaqubi, *ibid.*

27 See: "Two Questions Connected with the Topography of the Oriental City in the Early Middle Ages, JESHO, vol. X1V, Part III, 1971, pp. 319–320; Concerning the character of the inner buildings of some *shahristāns* of Central Asia and Madīnat al-Manṣūr, in Coll.: *Gruzinskoye istochnikovedenye* "Georgian Source Studies", III, Tbilisi, 1971, p. 58 (In Russian)

28 On the structure of Madīnat al-Manṣūr see the present writer's: *On the History of the City of Baghdād* (Materials on the History of the Origin and Development of a Feudal City in the Near East), Tbilisi, 1968 (in Georgian, with a Russian summary); On One Evidence in Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī, *Moambe* (Bulletin of the Acad. Sci. Georgian SSR), vol. 53, N1, 1969, pp. 253–256 (in Georgian, with summaries in Russian and English), the same article in JESHO, vol. XIII, fasc. 1, 1970, pp. 88–90; *al-Madjalla at-Ta'rīkhīyya* (The Historical Journal Issued by the Iraqi Historical and Archaeological Society), 2, Baghdād, 1972, pp. 118–127;

caliph's palace and the houses of his young children, as well as to special-purpose buildings. Judging by the text, Yazddjard was interested in the number of baths and houses not together with the caliph's residence – which was pointless to him – but in their number beyond the caliph's residence, allowing to draw significant conclusions. This – in the present writer's view – is confirmed also by an analysis of the text of Yazddjard al-Kisrawī.

If the circumference of Madīnat al-Manṣūr equalled roughly 8,000 m, then each plot of land must have been about 150-200 m long. This length of the plot coincides with the width of 150-200 m of each street of Madīnat al-Manṣūr suggested above.

Taking into account al-Kisrawī's evidence, it can also be suggested that each of the 40 streets of Madīnat al-Manṣūr (*sikak* and one *darb*) must have had slightly more than 10 dwelling-houses, on the average. Any other disproportionate arrangement of these houses does not seem to have been feasible bearing in mind the strictly executed plan of construction of Madīnat al-Manṣūr. Incidentally, this is further indicated by the numerically proportional arrangement of its streets between the gates.²⁹

The foregoing idea is further suggested by the size of circumference of Madīnat al-Manṣūr. If its circumference total led 8,000 m. and the length of each land-plot was about 150-200 m. then it follows that in the Madīnat there must have been approximately 40 houses in each row along the circle. Multiplication of 40 houses by 10 houses of each street yields the 400 houses referred to by Yazddjard al-Kisrawī.

Regrettably, neither the width of the plots, nor – for that matter – their average area is amenable to estimation. However, one should assume that these plots of land could not have been particularly large in size, bearing in mind that of the 500 ha of Madīnat al-Manṣūr 20 ha accommodated the caliph's residence, and the presence on 480 ha of 400 house without houses and other communal facilities, including the few baths which, as has now become known thanks to the text, were situated within the area of Madīnat al-Manṣūr, as well as the square that ran round Dār al-*Khilāfa* like a road (*fariq*)³⁰ is rather impressive. To attempt to calculate the area of all the 400 plots of Madīnat al-Manṣūr by recourse to various numerical indices, proceeding from the width of each plot and the radius of the circle, would hardly be justified.

The following can be said with certainty: moving toward the centre of the Madīnat, the width of the plots – bearing in mind that they must necessarily have been of the same size – must have increased, and their length correspondingly decrease. Hence the length of the plots has here been taken roughly at 150-200 m, with account of the circumference of Madīnat al-Manṣūr.

And finally this point: The area of Madīnat al-Manṣūr together with the residence of the caliphs has here been set at 500 ha by taking a cubit to be 49 cm, this being an average between the 46.2 cm and 51.8 cm taken by researchers in estimating its area.³¹ There are of course other estimations as well. Thus, for example, according to J. Lassner the area of Madīnat al-Manṣūr totaled 453 ha.³² However, 442 ha, including the caliph's residence on 18 ha, is the smallest estimated size, derived from assuming a cubit to be 46.2 cm.³³

In that case the circumference of Madīnat al-Manṣūr equals the round number of 7,400 m. According to these estimations the length of each plot will of course be a little less than 200 m, i.e., 185 m. Thus, this length of a plot of land in Madīnat al-Manṣūr also coincides with the values of the width of streets set at 150-200 m, suggested by the present writer earlier.

However, the major conclusion that can be made on the basis of the evidence of Yazddjard b. Bahandadh al-Kisrawī, in juxtaposition with the evidence of other Arab authors, is that every fact present in Arabic sources, no matter how insignificant it may appear at first sight, deserves the most scrupulous attention and – after consideration of the entire complex of their data – trust.

Thus, evidence is gradually accumulating supporting, in the present writer's view, the correctness of

Ḩawl ta'rikh Madīnat, Baghdād, al-Madjalla at-ta'rikhiyya, *ibid.*, pp. 86-118.

29 al-Ya'qūbī, pp. 240-241.

30 al-Ya'qubī, p. 241.

31 See A. A. Dūrī, *ibid.*, pp. 896-897; K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1958, p. 163, note 4.

32 J. Lassner, *ibid.*, p. 169.

33 As is known, this measure of a cubit with a conversion to the metric system was proposed by M. D. ar-Rayys. See *at-Kharādj wa an-nuzum al-māliyya li-d-dawla al-islāmiyya, at-lab'a ath-thāniya*, al-Qāhirah, 1961, pp. 279-298.

the plan of Madīnat al-Manṣūr, suggested by him earlier, as a structure “Moulded or founded into a large fortress,”³⁴ to borrow a phrase from the famous al-Djāhiz, or which “...with its fortifications and its inner plan looks like a big fortress,”³⁵ and that “...certain architectural features of the Round City give the impression that it was constructed as a governmental complex that retained some of the outward features of an integrated city, but which was more correctly a palace precinct of which the Caliph’s residence-mosque in the central court was the major element.”³⁶

34 كأنما صبّت صبّاً في قالب أو افرغت افراغاً في دز بزرك
Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadānī, *Mashhad* MS, Chapter on Baghdād.

35 A.A.Dūrī, *ibid.*, p.895

36 J.Lassner, *ibid.*, p.143

LE CHEIKH SANA'AN ET TIFLIS/TBILISSI*

Résumé

L'histoire de la vie du cheikh Sana'an était fort bien connue en Orient médiéval. Cette histoire a inspiré plusieurs poètes, entre autres Farid al-Din 'Attar, Mir 'Alichir Nava'i, Golchahr, Paki Tehrani. Aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles à Tiflis/Tbilissi fut rédigée la version locale de la vie du cheikh, d'après laquelle sa bien aimée chrétienne était une Géorgienne. Le cheikh devenu chrétien mourut en Géorgie et fut enterré sur le mont Mtatsminda, dans le cimetière de l'église Mamadavid. Selon la tradition populaire, le cheikh Sana'an se confondait avec David de Garedja, moine syrien qui s'installa en Géorgie au VI^e siècle, sur le même mont Mtatsminda. Au XIX^e siècle la population de Tbilissi, musulmane comme chrétienne, considérait sa tombe comme un lieu sacré.

Mots-clés: *Cheikh Sana'an, saint David de Garedja, littérature persane, Tiflis/Tbilissi, Mtatsminda, islam local, syncrétisme islamо-chrétien.*

Abstract

Cheikh Sana'an was a well-known character in the mediaeval East. A stirring history of his life inspired many famous poets, such as Farid al-Din 'Attar, Mir 'Alichir Nava'i, Golshahr, Paki Tehrani, and others. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the local version of the story of Cheikh Sana'an was developed in Tbilisi. According to this version, Skeikh's sweetheart, a Christian maiden was Georgian, christianized Cheikh who died in Tiflis/Tbilisi and was buried in the yard of the Church of St David, on the slope of the Mt Mtatsminda. Following a popular belief, Cheikh Sana'an was identified with St David of Gareja, a sixth century monk, who came to Georgia from Syria and lived some time on Mt Mtatsminda. In the nineteenth century the burial place of Cheikh Sana'an on the Mtatsminda was a venerated site for both Christian and Moslem inhabitants of Thilisi.

Keywords: *Cheikh Sana'an, St David of Gareja, Persian literature, Tiflis/Tbilisi, Mt Mtatsminda, Local Islam, Moslem-Christian syncretism.*

Le cheikh Sana'an est un personnage bien connu des ouvrages rédigés en plusieurs langues, que ce soit en persan (*La Conférence des oiseaux* de Farid od-Din 'Attar), en turc (*La langue des oiseaux* de Mir 'Alichir Nava'i et *La Conférence des oiseaux* de Golchahr) ou en kurde (*Cheikh Sana'an* de Paki Tehrani).

Dès le XII^e siècle l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an fut insérée sous le titre *d'Histoire du Cheikh 'Abd al-Razzaq Sana'an* dans le *Tohfat al-Muluk*, attribué à Mohammad Ghazali. Si le cheikh 'Abd al-Razzaq a été un personnage historique, il a dû vivre avant le XII^e siècle puisque l'ouvrage de Mohammad Ghazali fut écrit aux alentours de 1100. Il tire son nom de la ville de Sana'a au Yemen - Sana'an signifiant "de Sana'a". Le poète turc Golchahr, qui traduisit *La Conférence des oiseaux* de 'Attar en turc, en transcrivit une partie sous le titre suivant: *L'histoire du Cheikh 'Abd al-Razzaq*. Le professeur Modjtaba Minovi affirme qu'il n'est pas parvenu à trouver une personne de ce nom dans les livres d'histoire, mais il précise qu'il y eut un célèbre *muhaddith* (narrateur de *hadiths*), du nom de 'Abd al-Razzaq Ibn Hamami Sana'an qui vécut de 126 à 211 de l'hégire, soit de 747 à 832 de l'ère chrétienne.¹ D'autres identifient le cheikh Sana'an comme le *faqir* Ibn al-Saqa du VI^e/XI^e siècle qui, selon la tradition, serait tombé amoureux d'une chrétienne à Roum². Si l'on en croit le professeur B. Forouzanfar, l'histoire d'Ibn al-Saqa, sa romance avec une jeune-fille de Roum, sa renonciation à l'islam et

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1 Minovi, 1340/1961, vol. VIT, n° 3, 1340/1961, p. 13.

2 'Attar 1369/1990, p. 137

sa conversion au christianisme étaient si populaires que Khaqani Chirvani mentionne son nom dans sa *qas-sideh*: "J'attacherai mon cœur avec une ceinture comme Ibn Saqa".



Le cheikh Sana'an gardant les porcs de sa bien-aimée.

Ms. Suppl. Turc 996. © BnF, Paris.

L'histoire du cheikh Sana'an fut particulièrement populaire en Perse/Iran au XIII^e siècle, dans la littérature soufie où elle occupa une place très importante parce qu'elle illustrait d'une manière saisissante l'idée essentielle du soufisme: la fusion de l'ego individuel avec l'ego cosmique. Le grand poète mystique 'Attar emprunta l'histoire dans son poème *La Conférence des oiseaux* en consacrant quatre cents beyts au cheikh amoureux d'une jeune-fille chrétienne. L'histoire constitue le point culminant du poème tout en en constituant une partie séparée, en dépit de ses liens directs avec la trame principale de l'intrigue. Selon le professeur E. Bertels:

En Orient on connaissait le caractère autonome de l'histoire. C'est la raison pour laquelle l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an a été très souvent copiée indépendamment du poème.³

Quand les étudiants comparent l'*Histoire du cheikh Sana'an* de 'Attar avec le passage correspondant de l'ouvrage de Mohammad Ghazali, ils en arrivent à la conclusion qu'il n'y a pas de différence entre eux et qu'une même histoire constitue la base des deux livres.⁴ Quant aux autres versions poétiques, ce sont surtout des traductions du poème de 'Attar. C'est la raison pour laquelle je m'appuie sur la version de 'Attar quand j'évoque l'*Histoire du cheikh Sana'an*.

³ Bertel's 1965, p. 75, 79, 400-401.

⁴ Mo'in 1375/1996, vol. V, p. 1037-1038.

L'HISTOIRE DU CHEIKH SANA'AN

C'est l'histoire d'un cheikh qui vivait il y a bien des années dans la ville de La Mecque en Arabie. Il consacra cinquante années de sa vie au service de la religion et avec ses quatre cents (sept cents dans certaines versions) disciples ou *mourids* il passait ses journées à prier. Les personnes qui venaient à La Mecque lui rendaient visite. Par son souffle il guérisait même les malades. Une nuit, le cheikh vit en rêve une belle jeune-fille. Quand il s'éveilla son cœur le pressa d'aller à Roum avec ses disciples. En approchant des faubourgs de Roum, ils entendirent chanter et par la fenêtre de l'église ils virent une jeune chrétienne aussi belle que le soleil. Au premier regard le cheikh tomba amoureux et il passa la nuit entière sous sa fenêtre. Ses disciples tentèrent vainement de le ramener à la raison. La jeune-fille lui posa quatre conditions: adorer une idole, brûler le Coran, boire du vin et abandonner sa religion, mais elle lui permit de choisir une seule de ces conditions. Le cheikh choisit de boire du vin. On l'emmenga au temple zoroastrien et devant ses disciples en larmes il prit une coupe de la main de son objet d'amour et la but⁵. Puis il enleva sa *kherqe* et se ceignit du *zonnar*. Cependant la jeune-fille exigea plus du vieil homme: qu'il s'acquitte d'une importante somme représentant le *prix de la fiancée* ou bien qu'il aille garder les cochons. Le cheikh satisfit toutes ses exigences. Ses disciples tentèrent de nouveau de le ramener à la raison et ils retournèrent à Roum avec le disciple le plus proche du cheikh⁶. En le voyant le cheikh fut si honteux qu'il déchira ses vêtements et accomplit les ablutions rituelles. Il revêtit sa *kherqe* et se dirigea vers le Hedjaz. Quant à la jeune-fille, une fois seule elle entendit une divine admonestation. Elle regretta sa conduite, suivit le cheikh et adopta l'islam. Cependant, incapable de maîtriser l'émoi que lui procurait la vue du cheikh, elle s'effondra et mourut dans ses bras.

Tel est l'essentiel de la version de l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an par 'Attar. Nava'i l'a reprise presque mot pour mot en y ajoutant quelques détails tels que la description du monastère, ainsi que la cérémonie et la fête qui marquent le moment où le cheikh abandonne l'islam et où l'on brûle le Coran. D'une certaine manière Nava'i a aggravé la faute du cheikh puisque, non content de préciser que le cheikh gardait les porcs durant le jour, il a ajouté qu'il entretenait le feu dans l'*atechgah*, durant la nuit.

Outre ce qui a été dit ci-dessus, il existe aussi une version populaire de *l'Histoire du Cheikh Sana'an*, dénommée *Les trois cheikhs*⁷. Elle n'est qu'un lointain écho des versions poétiques: ici le cheikh est remisé à l'arrière-plan (son adoption du christianisme est mentionnée par hasard) et l'attention principale est accordée aux aventures du disciple du cheikh.

LE CHEIKH SANA'AN ET LA GÉORGIE

En Géorgie et en particulier à Tiflis/Tbilissi on connaissait le cheikh Sana'an et son histoire. Aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, on en colporta à Tbilissi une version populaire locale selon laquelle les événements se seraient déroulés en Géorgie et la jeune-fille aurait été géorgienne. La fin de l'histoire était elle-aussi différente. Le cheikh chrétien mourait à Tbilissi et était enterré dans la cour de l'église Saint David (*Mamadaviti*), sur la pente du Mont Mtatsminda (la Sainte Montagne) près de la ville. De plus, selon une croyance populaire, le cheikh Sana'an était assimilé à Saint David de Garedja (David Garedjeli), moine syrien révéré arrivé en Géorgie au cours de la première moitié du VI^e siècle. Selon la tradition géorgienne, Saint David en quête de solitude se serait établi dans une grotte sur la pente du Mont Mtatsminda; il y aurait passé quelque temps avant de partir pour le désert de Garedja. La date exacte de la fondation du monastère sur le Mont Mtatsminda nous reste inconnue. Il aurait vraisemblablement été édifié au X^e siècle, un peu plus tôt peut-être. En 1542, deux moines du Mont Athos, frère Nikoloz et frère David Gabachvili, reconstruisirent sur le Mont Mtatsminda le monastère, qui, abandonné au XVIII^e siècle, retomba en ruines. Les pèlerins pouvaient à peine atteindre les

5 Bertel's 1965, p. 401: le mélange des termes chrétiens et zoroastriens est courant dans la littérature musulmane.

6 'Attar 1963, p. 320: dans les travaux dédiés à l'explication de termes soufis, le cheikh Sana'an est souvent considéré comme le professeur de 'Attar et c'est le disciple qui, en fin de compte, sauve son maître.

7 L'histoire a survécu dans un manuscrit persan du XVIII^e siècle, conservé à Saint-Pétersbourg (département de l'Institut des sciences orientales de l'Académie des Sciences russe, B 256). Traduction russe: *Devyat' vstrech* 1988, p. 195-232.

bâtiments délabrés en se frayant un chemin à travers les buissons épais. On construisit en 1810 la chapelle de la Transfiguration sur les ruines de la première église et entre 1859 et 1871 on érigea la nouvelle église de Saint David couronnée d'un dôme.⁸

On célébre la fête religieuse *Mamadavitoba* (le jour de père David) le premier jeudi qui suit l'Ascension, quarante-sept jours après Pâques, jour choisi pour commémorer saint David de Garedja. Au XIX^e siècle la fête religieuse était couplée à une fête publique à laquelle on ajoutait procession, musique, danse, foire, combats de boxe, combats de bœufs et autres composantes habituelles des fêtes de Tbilissi. On enflammait des tonneaux de poix et on allumait de grandes lampes sur la pente du Mont Mtatsminda. La montagne illuminée était visible de tous les quartiers de Tbilissi.

Le jour de *Père David* des centaines de personnes faisant des vœux gravissaient le Mont Mtatsminda pieds-nus, pour accomplir leurs vœux. Il était de pratique courante de se soumettre à plusieurs rites dans l'église de Saint David. Les femmes déroulaient trois fois un fil de coton tressé autour de l'église. Elles apelaient sur elles la *bonne fortune* en lançant des cailloux sur le mur septentrional de l'église. Si un caillou se plantait dans le mur, c'était de bon augure. La chute d'un caillou signifiait que le souhait ne se réalisera pas. Saint David étant considéré comme le patron des femmes stériles, des femmes de toutes confessions venaient le prier et implorer son aide. Il existait en outre une source sur la colline près de l'église. Son eau était réputée pour ses pouvoirs de guérison et tous ceux qui gravissaient la montagne en buvaient.⁹

Des témoins oculaires disent que dans la ville de Tiflis/Tbilissi du XIX^e siècle, *Mamadavitoba* était vraiment une célébration multiethnique et multi-confessionnelle, une fête commune à toute la population de la ville.¹⁰ Dans le cadre de mon étude, la participation des musulmans revêt beaucoup de sens. De toute évidence elle signifiait que les habitants musulmans de Tbilissi considéraient le Mont Mtatsminda comme le lieu de la tombe du cheikh Sana'an. Par Conséquent le Mont Mtatsminda était un lieu vénéré et un centre de pèlerinages à la fois pour les chrétiens et pour les musulmans.

Mirza Hossayn Farahani, Iranien qui visita Tiflis/Tbilissi en 1885 écrit dans son *Safamameh (Journal de voyage)*:

Au milieu de la ville, sur le sommet méridional d'une montagne, il y a une église; on dit que la tombe du cheikh San'a s'y trouve. Les Géorgiens ont une grande vénération pour le cheikh San'a et c'est un lieu de pèlerinage. Une fois par an la plupart des habitants de la ville et des villages alentour viennent en foules immenses en pèlerinage au sanctuaire du cheikh, pour y déposer des vœux et y faire des implorations.¹¹

Des renseignements encore plus précis sont fournis par Madjd os- Saltaneh, Iranien qui visita et décrivit Tbilissi en 1894:

Au pied de la montagne il y a une église près de laquelle se trouve la tombe du célèbre cheikh Senan. Cette tombe est un lieu de culte à la fois pour les musulmans et pour les chrétiens. Maintenant encore les gens la révèrent et la considèrent comme un lieu saint.

Dans ses commentaires de la traduction géorgienne de l'œuvre de Madjd os-Saltaneh, le docteur M. Mamatsachvili note:

Cheikh Senan et Père David ne font qu'un. Selon la tradition musulmane Cheikh Senan tomba amoureux d'une femme géorgienne, il adopta le christianisme et devint prêtre - Père David de Garedja.¹²

Dans l'introduction de son livre le professeur Poutouridzeh remarque: "il semble qu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle circulait une légende vivace qui associait le cheikh Senan à père David de Garedja".¹³

Aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, le nom de Cheikh Sana'an était si étroitement associé à la Géorgie et à celui

8 Iosseliani 1866, p. 44-46.

9 Berzenov 1851, 43; Matcharachvili 1895, p. 13-14; Kandelaki 1955, p. 8-10; Antchabadzé Volkova 1990, p. 105-112, pour la fête de Saint David sur le Mont Mtatsminda.

10 Armstrong 1997, p. 256. Tbilissi n'est pas à cet égard un exemple unique. Il existe des cas similaires dans le monde. Au X^e siècle, des Musulmans ont participé d'une manière profane aux fêtes chrétiennes de Jérusalem. À Enkainia on célébrait le début des vendanges ; le jour de la fête de Saint Georges on pratiquait les semaines; le festival de Sainte Barbara marquait le début de la saison des pluies.

11 Farahani 1342/1963, p. 85; 1990, p. 82.

12 Madjd os-Saltaneh 1971, p. 40, 52.

13 Poutouridzé 1971, p. 10.

de Tiflis/Tbilissi que le poète azéri Molla Panah Vaqif (1717-1797) amoureux d'une femme géorgienne, se compara lui-même au cheikh:

Moi, Vaqif, après avoir vu ses yeux et son corps plein de charme,
J'ai oublié le minbar et le mihrab, la foi de tous les musulmans.
Je réalise seulement maintenant ce qui est arrivé à Cheikh Sana'an;
J'inonderai Tbilissi de mes larmes tant le chagrin me submerge,
Ou elle sortira simplement de l'église baignée de son amour pour moi.¹⁴

La professeure D. Alieva commente brièvement ce poème en reprenant la même légende à ceci près qu'elle n'aborde pas la question de l'assimilation du cheikh Sana'an à Saint David de Garedja. Le poète iranien de l'époque qadjare Abou Nasr Fathollah Khan Ibn Mohammad Kazem Cheybani Kachani (1825-1891) associe aussi dans son œuvre le cheikh Sana'an à la Géorgie. Dans un poème dédié à la Géorgie, le panégyrique de la femme géorgienne est basé sur l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an.¹⁵

Dans ce monde la sagesse vient de Tabriz et la beauté, de Géorgie,
Comme est belle la ville qui contient à la fois sagesse et beauté!...
Sagesse et beauté d 'une telle intensité résident là où est le paradis.
Aussi, aujourd'hui, Tabriz est-elle l'unique lieu du paradis,
La beauté y est piégée et la sagesse y règne ...
Se rappelant le temps du cheikh Sana'an, le vieillard Cheybani souhaitait
Etre appelé par les beautés à garder les porcs.
Qu'il soit lentement élevé au ciel
Pour garder les porcs des beautés!
Pour être tout proche de Jésus dans le ciel
Courbez vos têtes devant les chrétiens dans ce monde.
J 'adresserais ces mots aux chrétiens de Tbilissi,
Si je n'avais pas si peur des Turcs d'Azerbaïdjan.
Parce qu'ils diront de moi: Moi, vieil homme j'ai abandonné l'islam,
Nourrissant en secret l'amour pour une femme chrétienne.
Une belle jeune-fille chrétienne l'a trouvé,
Elle lui a fait garder les porcs.
Toi, dis aux gens de Tabriz qui ne sont pas au courant,
Qu'une jeune chrétienne m'a dérobé mon esprit et mon âme.
Le jour je garde ses porcs, la nuit
Je garde sa porte en versant des larmes de sang.
J'adore la croix et je vais à l'église,
Parfois en secret, en cachette des musulmans, parfois ouvertement ...
Je sacrifierai mon âme à ma bien aimée chrétienne,
Qui fait don de son cœur, comme Jésus, à son amoureux.¹⁶

Mirza Reza Khan Arfa 'od-Dowleh (1853-1937) qui a édité et introduit les poèmes choisis par Cheybani a été consul général iranien à Tiflis/Tbilissi de 1888 à 1894.

SYNCRÉTISME MUSULMANO-CHRÉTIEN

L'assimilation du cheikh Sana 'an au saint de l'Église géorgienne de Tiflis/Tbilissi est très intéressante en elle-même. Elle traduit d'une manière frappante le climat de tolérance et de confiance mutuelle qui régnait au sein de la ville multi-ethnique et multi-confessionnelle aux dix-huitième et dix-neuvième siècles. Cette as-

14 Vaqif 1949, p. 163, 1968, p. 138; Alieva 1958, p. 38; *Somxuri da azerbaijanuli literaturis ...* 1968, p. 288-289 ; Eradzé 1972, III, p. 272; Bellingeri 1985, 22, p. 86.

15 J'exprime ici ma gratitude au docteur Grigol Beradzé qui m'a parlé de ce poème.

16 *Montakhabî Cheybâni* 1308/1890-91, p. 3; Rypka 1959, p. 333; Machalski 1965, 1, p. 29; Bamdad 1968, 1, p. 507; Arianpour 1351/1972, 1, p. 133; Levkovskaia 1975, p. 214; Guiounachvili 1985, p. 244; *Khaterat-e Prins Arfa'* 1378/1999.

similation d'un saint chrétien au cheikh qui, bien que devenu chrétien, fût l'objet d'une grande vénération de la part des musulmans, ne pouvait se réaliser que dans une société portée à la tolérance et à la paix religieuse. Que le cheikh Sana'an ait été confondu avec un saint du sixième siècle, avant l'islam, renvoie aux racines populaires de la légende, même si cette légende n'a jamais été reconnue par les érudits chrétiens ou musulmans!

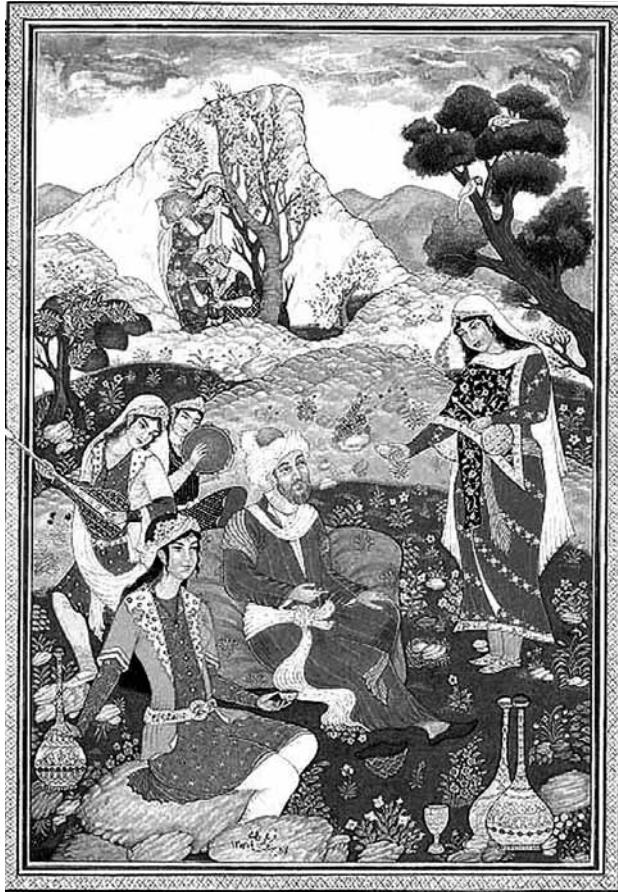
Quelles bases concrètes ont conduit à cette identification? La similitude de certains traits biographiques peut avoir joué: saint David et le cheikh Sana'an venaient tous deux de lointains pays d'Orient - le premier de Syrie, le second du Yemen ou du Hedjaz. La légende de *Saint David et de la femme* peut avoir constitué un second facteur. Selon cette légende qui remonte sans aucun doute à une période récente (on ne la trouve pas dans les versions *métaphrastiques* de la vie de saint David et sous sa forme écrite elle n'apparaît qu'au neuvième siècle),¹⁷ les *adorateurs du feu*, dérangés par les prêches de saint David et par son influence grandissante, décidèrent de ternir sa réputation parmi les croyants en lui reprochant d'avoir engrossé une des religieuses qu'ils avaient soudoyées. Devant toute la congrégation saint David fit un miracle: il fit dire la vérité à l'enfant dans le ventre de sa mère. Indignés, le peuple jeta des pierres sur la femme et abandonna son corps *parmi les pierres/ Kvata shua*, d'où viendrait *Kvashveti*, le nom de l'église. Selon une autre version, le peuple aurait accédé aux supplications de saint David et aurait eu pitié de la femme qui aurait donné naissance à une pierre *Kva shva*, d'où *Kvashveti*.¹⁸

La légende et l'histoire de cheikh Sana'an n'ont rien en commun sauf le fait que "les fautes" des deux personnes sont associées à une femme. On peut difficilement croire que ce détail aurait été le grain d'où aurait germé l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an devenant saint David de Garedja. Néanmoins la tombe d'un cheikh devenu chrétien semble sûrement réellement trouvée dans la cour de l'église saint David sur le mont Mtatsminda, associée au cheikh Sana'an dans la tradition musulmane. Le fait que cette tombe fût dans la cour et que la tombe de saint David n'y fût pas a pu pousser les musulmans à confondre les deux personnes.

Les légendes sur les supposées tentations par des femmes peuvent aussi avoir compté. De nombreuses inexactitudes sont liées à ce thème dans les ouvrages des voyageurs iraniens et dans les traditions populaires: selon Madjd os-Saltaneh "cette tombe est un lieu de culte et de prières à la fois pour les musulmans et les chrétiens". On a peine à croire que les musulmans et les chrétiens aient jamais eu un même lieu de culte. Un autre voyageur, Mirza Hossayn Farahani fait preuve d'une plus grande prudence quand il évoque l'appartenance religieuse des pèlerins de la tombe de Sana'an; il les désigne comme "Géorgiens". Que la tombe ait été dans la cour de l'église laisse entendre qu'il doit y avoir eu la tombe d'un chrétien ou celle d'un musulman converti. Si c'était la tombe d'un chrétien, pourquoi les musulmans devaient-ils y aller? Peut-être parce qu'ils connaissaient la fin de la version orientale de l'histoire de cheikh Sana'an, selon laquelle le cheikh était retourné à sa première foi. Madjd os-Saltaneh, qui connaissait cet épilogue, a émis l'hypothèse d'un culte rendu par les musulmans sur la tombe du cheikh. Mais comment explique-t-il le fait que la tombe ait été dans la cour de l'église? Après tout il était tout à fait possible que la tombe n'ait pas été exactement dans la cour mais à côté, "quelque part à côté" comme l'a écrit Madjd os-Saltaneh.

17 Sakartvelos Samotkhe 1882, p. 268-269.

18 Tsintsadzé 1994, p. 118.



Feryal Vafi, Le cheikh Sanan et la jeune chrétienne

Gouache et aquarelle, 35,5 x 46 cm.

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La popularité de l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an en Géorgie est confirmée par le fait que le prince David Bagrationi (1769-1819), fils du dernier roi géorgien Guiorgui XIII, l'a empruntée comme arrière plan de son roman sentimental *Akhali Chikhi / Le nouveau cheikh*, dont l'écriture est influencée par Jean-Jacques Rousseau. C'est l'histoire d'un couple d'amoureux, Peria (Fairy) et Chikh (Cheikh).¹⁹ L'édition russe du roman en 1804 comporte une introduction qui contient une brève présentation de l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an, différente des versions littéraire et populaire: le cheikh ne renonce pas à l'islam, il se sépare de Peria dont il gagne le cœur au moyen de lettres d'amour. Le prince David rédigea son œuvre à Saint-Pétersbourg, où les Russes l'avaient exilé après l'annexion de la Géorgie. On considère généralement qu'il a utilisé l'histoire du cheikh Sana'an pour contourner la censure russe. On pouvait assimiler le prince David, en exil forcé, à son cheikh, tandis que Peria personnifiait la Géorgie.

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PLACEHOLDER VERBS IN MODERN GEORGIAN*

Many languages have filler nouns like English *thingummy*, or German *Dingsbums* and *Dingens*, known also as ‘oblitive’ nouns. They refer to a person or thing whose name the speaker has forgotten, does not know or does not wish to mention. Modern Georgian has developed filler verbs that substitute for lexical verb forms in discourse, and thus function as placeholder verbs. This paper describes the form of the Georgian placeholder verbs and their use in discourse. Normally, the placeholder verbs are employed as a repair strategy in lexical access failure. However, the present paper deals with another use, namely, when placeholders are inserted in the speech intentionally, in order to make the implicated verb form either difficult or easy for the hearer to guess.

Keywords: Placeholder verbs; Georgian; pragmatically motivated substitution; multiple agreement marking

1. Filler items: Introduction

Irrespective of the genetic affiliation of languages, speakers might experience cognitive difficulties in their speech and try to improve the utterance by linguistic means available in their language. Such means are repair strategies and might include restarting and reorganizing the utterance or inserting a filler.

Some languages use hesitation markers (like the English *um*, *uh* or *er*), filler nouns and/or verbs that substitute for lexical items, in order to repair a speech error caused by a lexical retrieval failure or by the lack of knowledge or information about a lexical item. Among such filler nouns are the English *thingummy*, German *Dingsbums* and Italian *coso/cosa* (derived from the noun *cosa* ‘thing’). There are filler verbs of various origin across languages that serve as placeholders for verbs in discourse. For instance, Skorik 1977 and Dunn 1999 report Chukchi filler verbs based on the interrogative/indefinite stem *req-* meaning ‘do what’, ‘do something’. Some languages use an inflected dummy stem derived from the lexical item *thing* (see Italian *cosare* (1), English *thingo* (2)); others make use of a grammaticalized root originally meaning ‘do’ (e.g. Japanese *are suru* (3) or Georgian *imaskna*(4), (5), the focus of this paper).

- (1) Italian (Elisa Roma, personal communication)

<i>Lo</i>	<i>cos-a</i>	<i>lei.</i>
3SG.MASC.DAT	<i>cos-</i> 3SG.FEM.INDIC.PRES	3SG.FEM.NOM
‘She VERBs it/him.’		

- (2) English (Powers 1991)

He umm[...] thingoed with High Distinction, uhh[...] graduated.

- (3) Japanese (Kitano 1999: 390)

raisyuu, mata are simasu?
next.week again that do
‘Next week, will we VERB again?’

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- (4) Georgian (Zoshchenko 1980: 192, see also Example (60))
Ikneb samušao rame gamo-imas-v-kn-a.
 perhaps work some PV-DIST.SG.DAT-1A_{ERG}¹. SG-do-SUBJ
 ‘Perhaps I could VERB some kind of work there.’
- (5) *ga-v-a-imas-v-ken-i.*
 PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-DIST.SG.DAT-1A_{ERG}.SG-do-AOR
 ‘I VERBed {it}.’²

These items that substitute for verbs in discourse are used not only when it is hard to recall the lexical item, or when there is a lack of knowledge or information, but also when speakers avoid uttering lexical items for some reason. For instance, in the following Turkish and Hungarian examples, the filler predicates *sey et-tir-me*(6) and *izélt-ek* (7) are used euphemistically.³

- (6) Turkish (Bariş Kabak, personal communication)
Ana-ni sey et-tir-me ban-a!
 mother-ACC thing AUX-CAUS-NEG I-DAT
 ‘Don’t make me VERB your mother!’
- (7) Hungarian (Edith Moravcsik, personal communication)
Péter és Mari ott izél-t-e a bokorban.
 Peter and Mary there izél-PAST-3P the in.bush
 ‘Peter and May were doing you-know-what in the bush.’
 (presumably a sexual innuendo)

Hayashi and Yoon (2006, this volume) distinguish between the two types of filler items, namely, interjective hesitators and placeholder fillers. If the former category of fillers is used to merely delay the production of the target word and gain time until the search for word is successful, the latter category carries appropriate morphology of the target form, behaves as a constituent and occupies an appropriate syntactic slot in a clause. The examples above also illustrate the placeholder use of fillers: each filler item in (1)–(7) carries morphosyntactic characteristics of clausal arguments.

This paper will deal with Georgian placeholder verbs as seen in Examples (4) and (5). In the Georgian linguistic literature there is no discussion of the placeholder verbs. However, there have been concerns expressed orally by some teachers of Georgian both at the high school and university level that such forms impoverish the language. There are concerns that speakers of a certain class and age, such as school children and teenagers with relatively poor performance and possibly with learning problems, may turn in oral discourse to the use of placeholder verbs like those in (8a)–(11a), instead of manipulating the rich lexical resources available in Georgian. In this context the use of placeholder verbs is interpreted by native speakers as a sign of being less literate. Also, some inappropriate expressions are sometimes used while inserting placeholder verbs, in order to avoid the use of vulgar lexical verb forms. Such use of placeholder fillers is considered by speakers as a sign of being rude.

However, the placeholder verbs are not characteristic exclusively of speakers of a certain age, gender and/or social class. They can in principle be used by anyone, including an educated speaker. And it is not necessary for the context to be an inappropriate expression. The placeholder verbs are also used when a speaker avoids mentioning a verb form for some reason. For instance, the speaker may simply prefer to be only half understood, that is, understood by some hearers (who have some knowledge of the issue discussed) but remain vague for others.

The placeholder verbs appear not only in the spoken language but also in literary (both original and

1 The indices of the agreement markers indicate the case of the argument triggering it.

2 In the translation of placeholder verbs the theme argument will be given in braces. This is because placeholders could replace not only transitive verbs taking a theme argument, apart from the agent argument, but also intransitive verbs. This remark applies to the examples like (8a), (9a), (10a), (11a), (16), (20a), (23a), (26).

3 For the euphemistic uses of the Georgian placeholder verbs see the Examples (52), (62), (63) in Appendix A.

translated) texts reflecting the spoken language. Appendix A offers some examples of the Georgian placeholder verbs in literary works and media (see the Examples (52)–(64)). Placeholder verbs appear in originally Georgian literary works as early as in Javakhishvili (1960 [1924]) in the early 1920s and the recent publications from 2002 and 2003 (Morchiladze 2002; Morchiladze 2003), as well as in translated works from the 1980s (Zoshchenko 1980). The latter is a translation from Russian into Georgian. Although Russian does not have regular verbal placeholders (Podlesskaja 2006, this volume), in the Georgian translation, Zoshchenko (1980), the placeholder verbs are used in order to comply with the (informal) style of the original.

Because of the non-existence of spontaneous speech or text corpora for Georgian, this paper is based on data elicited and actually observed by the author, as well as on occasionally found examples in literary works of Georgian writers and in the media.

After considering the form of Georgian placeholder verbs in the tense-aspect mood (TAM) Series in general, in Section 2, it will be discussed how lexical verb forms are substituted for by placeholder verbs in discourse, when the replacement is pragmatically motivated. This paper studies the use of placeholder verbs as a pragmatic tool, when placeholders are used intentionally, to ambiguise certain formation or, to the contrary, give a hint regarding the implicated lexical verb forms. In Section 3, the role of the grammaticalized distal demonstrative, inserted among the prefixes of placeholder verbs (Example (4)), will be dealt with. Although, as argued previously by Fox et al. (1996), repair strategies are highly constrained by morphological characteristics of particular languages, it will be argued that placeholder fillers do not have to necessarily obey morphosyntactic principles of languages. Section 4 will consider a typologically rare phenomenon of having an agreement marker registered in a form more than once, termed recently as *exuberant agreement* (Harris 2008). Although doubly occurring agreement morphemes are rare in Georgian, placeholder verbs may illustrate more than one occurrence of the same agreement morpheme (Example (5)). Section 5 describes future work. Section 6 will summarize the paper.

2. Form and use of Georgian placeholder verbs

Georgian placeholder verbs are based on fully inflected verb forms with the suppletive root *-švr-/zam-/ken-/kn-* originally meaning ‘do’ (cf. (8a) vs. (8b), (9a) vs. (9b), (10a) vs. (10b), (11a) vs. (11b)).

(8) Present Indicative, Present Sub-Series of the TAM Series I

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| a. | (<i>me</i>) ⁴ | { <i>mas</i> } | <i>imas-v-švr-eb-i.</i> |
| | I.NOM | it.DAT | DIST.SG.DAT-1A _{NOM} .SG-do-TS-INDIC |
| | | | “I am VERBing {it}.” |
| b. | (<i>me</i>) | (<i>mas</i>) | <i>v-švr-eb-i.</i> |
| | I.NOM | it.DAT | 1A _{NOM} .SG-do-TS-INDIC |
| | | | “I am doing it.” |

(9) Future Indicative, Future Sub-Series of the TAM Series I

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|----------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. | (<i>me</i>) | { <i>mas</i> } | <i>imas-v-i-zam.</i> |
| | I.NOM | it.DAT | DIST.SG.DAT-1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do |
| | | | “I will be VERBing {it}.” |
| b. | (<i>me</i>) | (<i>mas</i>) | <i>v-i-zam.</i> |
| | I.NOM | it.DAT | 1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do |
| | | | “I will be doing it.” |

(10) Aorist Indicative, TAM Series II

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | (<i>me</i>) | { <i>is</i> } | <i>imas-v-ken-i.</i> |
| | I.ERG | it.NOM DIST.SG.DAT-1A _{ERG} .SG-do-AOR | |
| | | | “I VERBed {it}.” |
| b. | (<i>me</i>) | (<i>is</i>) | <i>v-ken-i.</i> |
| | I.ERG | it.NOM 1A _{ERG} .SG-do-AOR | |
| | | | “I did it.” |

4 In Georgian examples, those pronouns that could freely be dropped out unless emphasized, will be given in parentheses.

- (11) Perfect, TAM Series III

- a. (me) $\{is\}$
I.DAT it.NOM
imas-m-i-kn-i-a.
DIST.SG.DAT-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
‘I have VERBed {it}.’
- b. (me) (is) $m-i-kn-i-a.$
I.DAT it.NOM 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
‘I have done it.’

The placeholder verbs can be construed for any of the three TAM Series, provided that they carry appropriate TAM marking. Consequently, depending on a context, they can substitute for lexical verb forms in any TAM Series when speakers have accidentally forgotten, are not sure of or avoid mentioning the exact lexical verb form for some reason. For instance, the placeholder verb *imas-v-ken-i* in (10a) can substitute for lexical verb forms in (12), irrespective of the fact that the forms belong to different verb classes (see also (57)).

- (12) Aorist Indicative, TAM Series II

- a. (me) $da-v-i-t'anj-e.$ (Passive/Unaccusative)
I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-torment-AOR
‘I suffered.’ (Lit.: I got tormented [by somebody else].)
‘I suffered.’ (Lit.: I got tormented.)
- b. (me) $da-v-ber-d-i.$ (Unaccusative)
I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-age-INTR-AOR
‘I got old.’
- c. (me) $v-i-t'ir-e.$ (Unergative)
I.ERG 1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-cry-AOR
‘I cried.’
- d. (me) (is) $a-v-a-šen-e.$ (Transitive)
I.ERG it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-build-AOR
‘I built it.’
- e. (me) (mas) (is) $ga-v-u-gzavn-e.$ (Ditransitive)
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-send-AOR
‘I sent it to him/her.’

What has to match though, when substituting a placeholder for a lexical verb form, is the person and number of the subject argument and the TAM characteristics. For instance, the reason why the placeholder verb *imas-v-ken-i* (10a) cannot replace the lexical verb forms in (13) is that the placeholder verb and the verb forms do not share either the person (cf. (10a) vs. (13a)), the number feature of the subject (cf. (10a) vs. (13b)) or the TAM categories, here the tense (cf. (10a) vs.(13c)), the aspect (cf. (10a) vs. (13d)) and mood (cf. (10a) vs. (13e)).

- (13)

- a. (is) $da-i-t'anj-a.$
(s)he.NOM PV-PRV-torment-3A_{NOM}.SG.AOR
‘(S)he suffered.’ (Lit.: (S)he got tormented.)
- b. $(čven)$ $da-v-ber-d-i-t.$
we.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-age-INTR-AOR-PL_{NOM}⁵
‘We got old.’
- c. (me) $v-i-t'ir-eb.$

⁵ The indices of the plural marker indicate the case of the argument triggering it.

- I.NOM 1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-cry-TS
 'I will cry.'
- d. (me) (is) *a-m-i-šen-eb-i-a.*
 I.DAT it.NOM PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-build-TS-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 'I have built it.'
- e. (me) (mas) (is) ga-v-u-gzavn-o.
 I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-send-SUBJ
 'I would/should send it to him/her.'

The placeholders can replace only lexical verb forms with the same TAM characteristics. For instance, the TAM Series II placeholder *imas-v-ken-i* (10a) can substitute for the TAM Series II lexical verb forms in (12) but not for those in other Series (see (14), (15)). Or, for instance, the TAM Series I placeholder *imas-v-švreb-i* (8a) can only substitute for the TAM Series I lexical verb forms in (14) and not for those in other Series (see (12), (15)). Similarly, the TAM Series III placeholder verb *imas-m-i-kn-i-a* (11a) can replace any of the Series III lexical verb forms in (15) but none of those in other Series (see (12), (14)).

- (14) Present Indicative, Present Sub-Series of the TAM Series I
- a. (me) *v-i-t'anj-eb-i.*
 I.NOM 1A_{NOM}.SG -PRV-torment-TS-INDIC
 'I am suffering.' (Lit.: I am being tormented [by somebody else].)
 'I am suffering.' (Lit.: I am being tormented.)
 - b. (me) *v-ber-d-eb-i.*
 I.NOM 1A_{NOM}.SG-age-INTR-TS-INDIC
 'I am getting old.'
 - c. (me) *v-t'ir-i.*
 I.NOM 1A_{NOM}.SG-cry-INDIC
 'I am crying.'
 - d. (me) (mas) *v-a-šen-eb.*
 I.NOM it.DAT 1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-build-TS
 'I am building it.'
 - e. (me) (mas) (mas) *v-u-gzavn-i.*
 I.NOM (s)he.DAT it.DAT 1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-send-INDIC
 'I am sending it to him/her'
- (15) Perfect, TAM Series III
- a. (me) *da-v-t'anjul-var.*
 I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG -tormented-CLNOM.SG
 'I have (apparently) suffered.'
 (Lit.: I have (apparently) been tormented [by somebody else].)
 'I have (apparently) suffered.'
 (Lit.: I have (apparently) been tormented.)
 - b. (me) *da-v-berebul-var.*
 I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-aged-CLNOM.SG
 'I have gotten old.'
 - c. (me) *m-i-t'ir-i-a.⁶*
 I.DAT 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-cry-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 'I have cried.'
 - d. (me) (is) *a-m-i-šen-eb-i-a.*

6 The TAM Series III unergative verb form *m-i-t'ir-i-a* (15c) illustrates the Set A agreement suffix *-a* that is triggered by an optional (theme) argument for unergatives. According to Amiridze (2006: 20), TAM Series III verb forms could serve as a piece of evidence for glossing unergatives as ordinary transitives ((15d), (15e)), that is with an affix for a theme argument in other TAM Series forms as well.

- I.DAT it.NOM PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-build-TS-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 'I have built it.'
- e. (me) (mis-tvis) (is)
 I.DAT (s)he.GEN-for it.NOM
ga-m-i-gzavn-i-a.
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-send-PERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 'I have sent it to him/her.'

Also, it is important to know that the placeholders substitute for lexical verb forms with which they share grammatical categories coded by the inflectional affixes and lexical information coded by the derivational affixes. For instance, the placeholder verb *gada-imas-m-i-kn-a* in (16) is used as a substitute for any of the verb forms in (17) but for none of those in (18). This is because the placeholder verb *gadaimas-m-i-kn-a* in (16) and the verb forms in (18) do not share either the preverb (cf. (16) vs. (18a)), the person feature of the indirect object (cf. (16) vs. (18b)), the TAM categories, here the tense (cf. (16) vs. (18c)) or the transitivity feature, here expressed lexically, by the root (cf. (16) vs. (18d)).

- (16) (man) (me) {is}⁷
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT it.NOM
gada-imas-m-i-kn-a.
 PV-DIST.SG.DAT-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-3AERG.SG.AOR
 '(S)he VERBed it for/to me from one place/thing to another.'
 '(S)he VERBed me from one place to another.'

- (17)
- a. *gada-m-i-zid-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-carry-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he carried it across [some location] for me.'
 - b. *gada-m-i-yeb-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-paint-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he painted it for me a new.'
 - c. *gada-m-i-cér-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-write-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he copied it for me.'
 - d. *gada-m-i-tex-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-break.TRANS-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he broke it (in two) for me.'

- (18)
- a. *čamo-m-i-zid-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-carry-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he carried it for me downwards.'
 - b. *gada-g-i-yeb-a.*
 PV-2B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-paint-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he painted it for you.SG anew.'
 - c. *gada-m-i-cér-s.*

7 The theme argument of the placeholder verb *gada-imas-m-i-kn-a* (16) is given in braces since the placeholder verb can replace not only 3-argument verbs (like those in (17a), (17b), (17c), (17d)) but also 2-argument verbs (for instance, those in (i) and (ii) below).

- (i) (man) (me) *gada-m-i-ar-a.*
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-walk-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he walked/drove over me.'
- (ii) (man) (me) *gada-m-i-q'van-a.*
 (s)he.ERG I.NOM PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-take-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he took me from one place into another.'

- PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-write-3A_{NOM}.SG
 '(S)he will copy it for me'
- d. *gada-m-i-t'qd-a.*
 PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-breakINTR-3A_{NOM}.SG.AOR
 'It broke (in two) to me.'

The intransitive verb form *gada-m-i-t'qd-a* in (18d) can rather be substituted for by the intransitive place-holder verb *gada-imas-m-i-kn-d-a* (19) with a specifically marked intransitive suffix *-d*.

- (19) (me) (is) *gada-imas-m-i-kn-d-a.*
 I.DAT it.NOM PV-DIST.SG_{DAT}-1BDAT.SG-PRV-do-INTR-3A_{NOM}.SG.AOR
 'It VERBed for/to me (from one place/thing to another; into two pieces, etc.)'

The less information coded in placeholder verbs by inflectional and derivational morphemes, the less restricted they are in substituting for lexical verb forms in discourse. For instance, the placeholder verb lacking a preverb such as *imas-m-i-kn-a* (20a) can replace not only preverbless lexical verb forms (21) but also those with preverbs (e.g. (17), (18a), (22)).

- (20)
- a. (man) (me) {is}⁸
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT it.NOM
imas-m-i-kn-a.
 DIST.SG_{DAT}-1BDAT.SG-PRV-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he VERBed it for/to me'
 '(S)he VERBed me'
- b. (man) (me) (is)
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT it.NOM
m-i-kn-a.
 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he did it to me'

- (21)
- a. *m-i-zid-a.*
 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-carry-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he was carrying it for me'
- b. *m-i-yeb-a.*
 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-paint-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he was painting it for me'
- c. *m-i-c'er-a.*
 1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-write-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he was writing it for me'

8 The theme argument *is* 'it' of the 3-argument placeholder verb *imas-m-i-kn-a* (20a) is given in braces, since the placeholder can replace not only 3-argument verbs ((17), (18a),(21), (22)) but also 2-argument verbs (e.g. (i) and (ii) below, sharing the agreement markers *m-* and *-a* with the placeholder verb):

- (i) (man) (me) *m-i-q'vir-a.*
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT 1BDAT.SG-PRV-shout-3AERG.SG.AOR
 '(S)he shouted at me.'
- (ii) (man) (me) *m-i-k'bin-a.*
 (s)he.ERG I.DAT 1BDAT.SG-PRV-bite-3AERG.SG.AOR
 '(S)he/it bit me'

(22)

- a. *gamo-m-i-zid-ax.*
PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-carry-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
'(S)he carried it/them out for me.'
- b. *še-m-i-yeb-a.*
PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-paint-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
'(S)he painted it for me.'
- c. *da-m-i-c'er-a.*
PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-write-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
'(S)he wrote it for me.'

However, as soon as a certain preverb is specified on a placeholder verb, it can replace only lexical verb forms having this same preverb. For instance, the placeholder verb *gada-imas-m-i-kn-a* in (16) can replace the lexical verb forms having the preverb *gada-* in (17). However, it cannot replace verb forms having another preverb (e.g. (18a), (22)) or those lacking preverbs altogether (21), although the placeholder (16) and the verb forms in (18a), (22) and (21) do share TAM categories and person and number information of the arguments.

Similarly, the more information encoded in the placeholder verbs, the more restricted they are in substituting for lexical verb forms in discourse. For instance, the placeholder verb *imas-v-u-ken-i* (23a) marked for the subject and the indirect object arguments, respectively via the 1st person singular Set A prefix *v-* and the voice marker *u-*, can replace only those verb forms of shared TAM characteristics that are marked for both arguments (e.g. (12e), (24)) but cannot replace those that lack the voice marker (12d). On the contrary, the placeholder *imas-v-ken-i* (10a), that lacks the voice marker *u-*, is less restricted and can replace lexical verb forms both with the voice marker (e.g. (12e), (24)) and without it (12a), (12b), (12c), (12d).

(23)

- a. *(me) (mas)* *{is}⁹* *imas-v-u-ken-i.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM *imas-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-do-AOR*
'I VERBed {it} to him/her.'
- b. *(me) (mas)* *(is)* *v-u-ken-i.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM *1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-do-AOR*
'I did it to him/her.'

(24)

- a. *(me) (mas)* *v-u-q'vir-e.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT *1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-shout-AOR*
'I shouted to him/her.'
- b. *(me) (mas)* *ga-v-u-yim-e.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-smile- AOR
'I smiled at him/her.'
- c. *(me) (mas)* *(is) da-v-u-mal-e.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-hide-AOR
'I hid it from him/her'
- d. *(me) (mas)* *(is) a-v-u-šen-e.*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-build-AOR
'I built it for him/her'
- e. *(me) (mas)* *(is) ga-v-u-gzavn-e.(Repeated from (12e))*
I.ERG (s)he.DAT it.NOM PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-send-AOR
'I sent it to him/her'

⁹ The theme argument *is* 'it' of the 3-argument placeholder verb *imas-v-u-ken-i* (23a) is given in braces, implying that the placeholder can replace not only 3-argument verbs ((24c),(24d), (24e)) but also 2-argument verbs ((24a), (24b)), sharing the voice marker *u-* with the placeholder verb.

It seems that the placeholder verb *imas-v-u-ken-i* (23a) is comprehended as an active verb, since it replaces only unergatives (24a), (24b) and transitives (24c), (24d), (24e) but not unaccusatives (25a), (25b), even though the latter might share the same voice marker *u-* with the placeholder verb. Probably this is due to the transitive verb form *v-u-ken-i* (23b), which as a part of the placeholder verb *imas-v-u-ken-i* (23a), no longer carries its original lexical semantics ('do') but, presumably, still thematically constrains types of the subject argument of the substitutable verb forms. This would mean that the verbal basis of placeholder verbs, that is the inflected suppletive root -švr-/zam-/ken/-kn-, is delexicalized but not fully grammaticalized.

(25)

- a. (me) (mas) *mo-v-u-k'vd-i.*
I.NOM (s)he.DAT PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-die-AOR
'I died to him/her.'
- b. (me) (mas) *cxvirc'in*
I.NOM (s)he.DAT in.front.of.nose
a-v-u-ortkl-d-i.
PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-steam-INTR-AOR
'I have disappeared (lit.: evaporated) right in front of him/her.'

When substituting for the lexical verb forms carrying the voice marker *u-* (e.g.(12e), (24)), the speaker would use the placeholder verb *imas-v-ken-i* (10a), lacking the voice marker, if there is an intention to underspecify the information coded by this very marker. Instead, the placeholder verb *imas-v-u-ken-i* (23a) would be used if the speaker intends to specify the presence of the indirect object argument among the arguments of the lexical verb forms that are substituted for by the placeholder.

Similarly, when substituting for the verb forms carrying the preverb *gada-*(17) the speaker would use the preverbless placeholder verb *imas-m-i-kn-a* (20a), if there is an intention to underspecify the spacial information coded by the preverb. As for the placeholder verb *gada-imas-m-i-kn-a* (16), it will be used if the speaker, on the contrary, intends to specify that information.

Therefore, inflected placeholder verbs can be used either to underspecify or, on the contrary, to specify information coded by verbal affixation. Sometimes a choice between two possible placeholder verbs might depend on the speakers' intentions to make an implicated lexical verb more or less easily decipherable for the hearer.

Thus, placeholders are a powerful tool to make certain information coded by the verbal affixes more or less ambiguous, depending on the intentions of the speaker. Recovering the lexical verb form, for which a placeholder verb stands indiscourse, depends on the overall context in which the placeholder verb is used, the common knowledge and the shared information between the speaker and the hearer.

3. The element *imas-* in the placeholder verbs

The Georgian placeholders illustrated in the previous section have the DAT form of the 3rd person singular distal demonstrative pronoun *imas* immediately preceding the agreement prefix of the base verb form (cf. (8a) vs. (8b), (9a) vs. (9b),(10a) vs. (10b), (11a) vs. (11b)). Note that the *imas* has no deictic function in the placeholder verbs (cf. (10a) vs. (26a)), like it has as a distal demonstrative in contrast with the proximate and medial ones (26b):

(26)

- a. (me) {is} **amas-v-ken-i /*
I.ERG it.NOM PROX.SG.DAT-1A_{ERG}.SG-do-AOR
**magas-v-ken-i.*
MED.SG.DAT-1A_{ERG}.SG-do-AOR
'I VERBed {it}'.
- b. *imas/ amas/ magas*
DIST.SG.DAT / PROX.SG.DAT / MED.SG.DAT
v-cér

1A_{NOM}.SG-write
I write that/this/that(MED)?

Since the item *imas-* of placeholder verbs does not function as a distal demonstrative pronoun, it will further be glossed simply as *imas-*, rather than as 'DIST.SG.DAT'.

The placeholder verbs in (8a)–(11a) are all construed by preposing the distal demonstrative to the inflected verbs originally meaning 'do'. It seems that both the demonstrative and the inflected verb forms are grammaticalized, with neither of them keeping their original lexical meaning in placeholder verbs. Since the distal demonstrative as well as the verb forms making up the placeholder verbs can appear also independently, keeping their original lexical and deictic meaning (cf.(8a) vs. (27)), the placeholder forms in (8a)–(11a) might seem to be a compounding of a verb and its theme argument (represented by a demonstrative pronoun) rather than a single synthetic form.

(27)	Present Indicative, Present sub-Series of the TAM Series I		
(me)	<i>imas</i>	<i>v-švr-eb-i.</i>	
I.NOM	DIST.SG.DAT	1A _{NOM} .SG-do-TS-INDIC	
'I do that.'			

However, as illustrated by other placeholder verbs like *gamo-imas-v-kn-a* (4) or *gada-imas-m-i-kn-a* (16), the element *imas* is inserted among the prefixes such as a preverb (*gamo-/gada-*) and an agreement prefix (*v-/m-*). Since in Modern Georgian preverbs are a genuine part of verb forms, the material that follows the preverb can be considered as a part of the finite verb form as well.

Unlike Modern Georgian, in Old Georgian, preverbs could be separated from the rest of the morphemes of the verb form by an inserted particle, a pronoun or a connective. This phenomenon is called *t'mesi* 'tmesis' in the literature (see Shanidze 1976: 73–74, Sarjveladze 1997: 90). Obviously preverbs used to be more independent than they are today. Example (28a) from Old Georgian (which would be ungrammatical as a sentence of Modern Georgian) illustrates the preverb *mo-* split away from the rest of the verb (-*k'ud-e-s*) by inserted material (*tu-vinme-*) such as both a connective (*tu* "if") and a pronoun (*vinme* "someone"). Example (28b) illustrates the later stages of the language when a preverb cannot be separated from the rest of the verbal morphemes by any other material.

Note that the insertion of certain material immediately after the preverb in Old Georgian verb forms (*tmesis*) and the insertion of the item *imas* immediately after the preverb in the Modern Georgian placeholder verbs (16) are not the same phenomena. In Old Georgian, in the cases of tmesis, the inserted material keeps its semantics, whether it is a pronoun, a connective or a combination of those (see Example (28a)). However, in placeholder verbs, the item *imas-* has no semantics of a distal demonstrative pronoun (16), like it has when taken separately, in contrast with the proximate and medial demonstrative pronouns (see (26b) and cf. (29a) vs. (29b), (29a) vs. (29c)).

- (28)
- a. Matthew 22:24 cited in Shanidze (1976: 73)

<i>mo-tu-vinme-k'ud-e-s</i>	<i>u-švil-o-č ...</i>
PV-if-someone.NOM-die-SUBJ-3A _{NOM} .SG	CIRC-child-CIRC-NOM
'If someone dies childless ...'	
 - b. Matthew 22:24 from *axali aytkmač* [New Testament] (2001: 75)

<i>uk'ue+tu</i>	<i>vinme</i>	<i>mo-k'ud-e-s ...</i>
if	someone.NOM	PV-die-SUBJ-3A _{NOM} .SG
'If someone dies ...'		
- (29)
- a. (me) *imas* *v-a-k'et-eb.*

I.NOM	DIST.SG.DAT	1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do-TS
'I am doing that.' (distal)		

- b. (me) *amas* *v-a-k'et-eb.*
 I.NOM PROX.SG.DAT 1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-do-TS
 ‘I am doing this.’
- c. (me) *magas* *v-a-k'et-eb.*
 I.NOM MED.SG.DAT 1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-do-TS
 ‘I am doing that.’ (medial)

The use of negative particles could be brought as another argument that the sequence of the distal demonstrative *imas* and the verb root at issue is a single word, not a phrase. It is known that in Georgian the negative must immediately precede the verb (Harris 2002: 236). As (30a) illustrates, the negative *ar* immediately precedes the whole sequence at issue. It is important that the negative does not occur between *imas* and the verb root (30b), which would be expected if these two were different words.

- (30)
- a. *ar imas-šv-eb-od-a.*¹⁰ (see the whole sentence in (62))
 NEG *imas*-do-TS-IMPERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 ‘(He) was not VERBing (her).’
- b. **imas ar šv-eb-od-a.*
 imas NEG do-TS-IMPERF-3A_{NOM}.SG
 ‘(He) was not VERBing (her).’

The status of the element *imas* in Georgian placeholder verbs raises some questions. As is well known, Georgian verbal affixation rules allow up to three prefixes in the finite forms (31) and exclude the insertion of any kind of material in between the prefixes (see Chikobava 1950; Shanidze 1973; Damenja 1982; Anderson 1984; Hewitt 1995; Boeder 2002 among many others):

- (31) PV-AGR-PRV-Root-

However, as the Examples (4) and (16) illustrate, the placeholder verbs violate these rules by allowing the item *imas-* to be inserted in between the preverb and the agreement prefix.

In the placeholder verbs, the *imas-* looks like incorporation, but Modern Georgian does not have productive incorporation in finite forms (32). Even in non-finite forms, where incorporation is allowed, the incorporated material is placed immediately preceding the left most morpheme, the preverb (33). As for the item *imas-*, it immediately follows the preverb in placeholder verbs (cf. (16) vs. (34)). Therefore, the *imas-* cannot qualify as incorporation in the inflected placeholder verbs.

- (32)
- a. **murman-ma sul-ga-q'id-a.*
 Murman-ERG soul-PV-sell-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 ‘Murman sold his soul.’
- b. **murman-ma ga-sul-q'id-a.*
 Murman-ERG PV-soul-sell-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 ‘Murman sold his soul.’
- (33) *sul-ga-q'id-ul-i *ga-sul-q'id-ul-i murman-i*
 soul-PV-sell-PPART-NOM PV-soul-sell-PPART-NOM Murman-NOM
 ‘Murman having sold his soul’
- (34) **imas-gada-m-i-kn-a.*
 imas-PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 ‘(S)he VERBed it for/to me from one place/thing to another.’
 ‘(S)he VERBed me from one place to another.’

10 The placeholder verb form *imas-šv-eb-od-a* in (30) illustrates the root *-šv-*, a colloquial variant of the root *švr-* ‘do’ (see (8)), used in the Present Sub-Series of the TAM Series I.

The item *imas* might look like a clitic in placeholder verbs. However, it has the ‘wrong’ case for the role it seems to represent. Observe that the theme argument *imas* in (27) is a dative form of the distal demonstrative pronoun. The placeholder *imas-v-švr-eb-i* (8a), based on the inflected verb form *v-švr-eb-i* (see (8b), (27)), also takes a DAT theme argument. This might make the item *imas-* of the placeholder verb in (8a) a seemingly good candidate for being a clitic.

However, the verb form *v-ken-i* (10b), on which another placeholder *imas-vken-i* (10a) is based, does not take a DAT argument. Thus, the item *imas-* is neither a copy nor a reduced form of any of the possible arguments of the verb form *v-ken-i* (10b), on which the placeholder in (10a) is based. Therefore, the item *imas-* of Georgian placeholder verbs, in general, cannot qualify as a clitic.

According to Fox et al. (1996), the formal means used in repair strategies are highly dependent on the morphological characteristics of the language. For instance, in order to construct a placeholder predicate, Turkish makes use of the same mechanism as in the case of lexical predicates, namely, verb compounding. The placeholder noun *sey* gets compounded with the auxiliary *ol-du-k* (35a), just the same way as any other lexical nominal would do, in order to form a lexical predicate (35b). Or, for instance, in Quechua or Hungarian, the placeholder verbs, correspondingly *na-* (36) and *izél-* (Examples (7), (37)), are conjugated like any other lexical verb, using affixation. Some languages, employing both affixation and analytical formation, may illustrate placeholder predicates both as an affixed dummy root and as compounded with an auxiliary. For instance, (1) illustrates the inflected Italian placeholder verb *cosare*. Additionally, in Italian it is possible to compound a non-finite, placeholder participle with an auxiliary (38):

- (35) Turkish(Bariş Kabak, personal communication)

- a. *Bilet-i* [sey et-tir-di-m].
ticket-ACC sey AUX-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'I had the ticket VERBed.' (=confirmed/canceled/exchanged/etc.)
- b. *Fatura-lar-i* *babam-a* [hesap et-tir-di-m].
bill-PL-ACC father-DAT calculation AUX-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'I had my father calculate the bills.'

- (36) Quechua(Adelaar 1997: 181)

- na-yár* rura-yár.
na-INFL do-INFL
Lit.: VERB it, do it.
'(Just) do no matter what (then), (but) do it!'

- (37) Hungarian(Edith Moravcsik, personal communication)

- Ebben a hivatalban sokat izél-nek a folyamodványommal.*
this.in the in.office much.ACC izél-3PL.PRES the with.my.application
'In this office, they are doing a lot of God-knows-what with my application.'

- (38) Italian (Elisa Roma, personal communication)

- Così ti (si) [sar-ebbe cos-ato] tutto.*
so you.DAT REFL be-COND.3SG cos-PPART everything
'In such way everything would be VERBed (i.e. be OK/be spoiled/etc.) for you.'

Although placeholder verbs in Georgian do resemble the lexical verbs they replace in discourse by sharing TAM, person and number characteristics, derivational morphology and syntactic behaviour, the placeholder verbs in Georgian are different from previously described repair strategies (Fox et al. (1996)) in that they do not obey the morphosyntactic principles of the language.

4. Doubly given agreement marker

Formally not only is the insertion of an item in between the prefixes exceptional for the morphosyntactic rules of Georgian, but also the double appearance of agreement prefixes is rare (see the doubly given prefix *v-* in the placeholder verbin (39)).¹¹

- (39) *ga-v-a-imas-v-ken-i.* (Repeated from Example 5)
 PV-1A_{ERG}.SG-PRV-*imas*-1A_{ERG}.SG-do-AOR
 'I VERBed {it}'.

According to Corbett (2001: 200), there are languages, where several slots in a formagree with a single controller in respect of different features. Corbett (2001: 200) mentions Maltese imperfective verb forms that agree with their subject prefixally in terms of person and suffixally in terms of number. A similar case can be illustrated by the Georgian verb form in (13b).

However, multiple occurrence of the same agreement morpheme, termed recently as *exuberant agreement* (Harris 2008) (principally different from clitic doubling and a subtype of extended (or multiple) exponence (Matthews 1972)), is cross-linguistically extremely rare. According to Harris (2008: 265), several languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian (Northeast Caucasian) family illustrate the phenomenon. Example (40) below illustrates a nominal form of Archi (Nakh-Daghestanian) where the same (gender) agreement marker *r-* is given several times. Other examples of multiple agreement marking, from Tsova-Tush (known also as Batsbi, of the Nakh-Daghestanian family), are presented in (41a) and (41b):

- (40) Archi, from Kibrik (1977), cited in Corbett (2001: 196)
d-a-a-r-ej-r-u--u-r *#anna.*
 II-of.me-SELF-II-SUFF-II-SUFF-ADJ-II wife
 'my own (emphatic) wife.'
- (41) Tsova-Tush (Batsbi), cited in Harris (2008: 272)
- a. *ik'u-y-n* *šalt*
 Ik'o(v)-OBL-DAT dagger(y).ABS
y-ux-y-erc'-y-in-as. (light verb complex)
y-back-y-return-y-AOR-1SG.ERG
 'I returned the dagger to Ik'o.'
- b. *šobi-lō* *xširoš v-uyt'-v-ay-o-s.* (verb compounding)
 Pshavs-ALL.II often *v-go-v-come-PRES-1SG.ERG*
 'I often come and go among the Pshavs.'

As described in Harris (2008: 269–273), there are several diachronic sources for the emergence of exuberant agreement in Tsova-Tush, among them light verb complex formation (41a) and verb compounding (41b). In the first case both the light verb and the lexical verb have an agreement marker. Since in Tsova-Tush a light verb complex constitutes a word, as a result there is a double occurrence of the same marker in the light verb complex. As for the compounding, both of the compounded verbs show the same morpheme, and as a result, the compound is marked twice by the same marker.

Unlike Tsova-Tush, in Georgian, a light verb complex does not constitute a single word, hence, there is no exuberant agreement in such complexes. As for compounding though, in Georgian, like in Tsova-Tush, an agreement marker shows up twice, one for each compounded verb (see the doubly given prefix *m-* in (42) for Georgian and the twice appearing class marker *v-* in (41b) for Tsova Tush):

- (42) *(is) (me) c'a-m-i-q'van-c'amo-m-i-q'van-s.*
 (s)he.NOM I.DAT PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-take-PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-take-3A_{NOM}.SG

¹¹ The forms of Georgian unaccusatives in TAM Series III, such as *da-v-t'anjul-var* (15a), *da-v-berebul-var* (15b) can be argued to be an example of 'doubly occurring agreement morphemes'. The forms have originated from an analytical construction made of a participle and the inflected verb 'to be'. The agreement marker *v-* in between the preverb and the stem has been an innovation in the history of the language, as for the final *-var*, it is synchronically a single morpheme.

Lit.: (S)he me (s)he.will.take.me.away.(s)he.will.bring.me.back
 '(S)he will take me away and bring me back.'

However, the doubly given agreement markers in Georgian placeholder verbs are not a result of compounding of several verbs (see (39)). The multiple marking in the placeholders must have a different diachronic pathway than in the exuberant agreement cases discussed in the literature (Harris 2008).

5. Future work

A quick look at the earlier examples of placeholder verbs from the 1924 work by Mikheil Javakhishvili (Javakhishvili 1960 [1924]) reveals the element *imas-* being inserted not in between the preverb and the agreement prefix of the placeholder verbs (as, for instance, in (4) and (16)), but rather fused with the root of the base verb form (see (43), (52)).

- (43) From Javakhishvili (1960: 20), originally dated 1924 (see also Example (52))
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>šen</i> | <i>(me)</i> | <i>ert-i</i> | <i>švil-i-c</i> | <i>ver</i> |
| you.ERG.SG | I.DAT | one-NOM | child-NOM-ADD | NEG |
| <i>ga-m-i-imas-kn-e ...</i> | | | | |
| PV-1B _{DAT} SG-PRV- <i>imas</i> -do-AOR | | | | |
| you.SG.VERBed.it.for/to.me | | | | |
| 'You could not even VERB a child to/for me ...' | | | | |

Whether such variation in form reflects diachronically earlier and later formations still has to be thoroughly investigated and will be left for future research. Synchronously, the present-day data illustrates the fused and non-fused forms as parallel forms. For instance, if placeholder verbs of modern use usually illustrate the item *imas-* placed far leftwards from the suppletive root, namely, in between the preverb and the agreement affix (4), (16), an extract from a 2005 newspaper publication (44) illustrates the item *imas-* fused to the root:

- (44) From Chachanidze (2005a)
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| <i>rodik'-ma</i> | <i>k'i</i> | <i>sulac</i> | <i>ʒaldaut'aneblad</i> |
| Roddick-ERG | though | at.all | without.using.much.force |
| <i>ga-Ø-a-imas-kn-a /</i> | | | |
| PV-3BNOM.SG-PRV- <i>imas</i> -do-3AERG.SG.AOR | | | |
| <i>*ga-imas-Ø-a-kn-a</i> | | | |
| PV- <i>imas</i> -3B _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do-3A _{ERG} .SG.AOR | | | |
| compatriot-NOM | | | |
| <i>mečogne.</i> | | | |
| tennis.player.NOM | | | |
| As for Roddick, he VERBed his compatriot tennis player without much effort.' | | | |

Perhaps this is because of the preverb *ga-* that is monosyllabic (44). Normally, it is placeholders with a monosyllabic preverb that favor the item *imas-* being fused with the root (45a) while bi-syllabic preverbs have both options available (45b):

- (45)
- a. *?ča¹²-imas-m-i-kn-a /*
 PV-*imas*-1B_{DAT}SG-PRV-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
ča-m-i-imas-kn-a.
 PV-1B_{DAT}SG-PRV-*imas*-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR
 '(S)he VERBed it for me downwards (away from the 1st/2nd person).'
 - b. *čamo¹³-imas-m-i-kn-a /*

12 The preverb *ča-* indicates downwards movement, away from the 1st/2nd person. However, in some cases the preverb may be lexicalized.

13 The preverb *čamo-* indicates downwards movement, towards the 1st/2nd person. However, in some cases the preverb may be lexicalized.

PV-*imas*-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR

čamo-m-i-*imas*-kn-a.

PV-1B_{DAT}.SG-PRV-*imas*-do-3A_{ERG}.SG.AOR

‘(S)he VERBed it for me downwards (towards the 1st/2nd person).’

Note that if only the type of preverbs mattered, the fused placeholder forms *ča-vimas-ken-i (46a) and *čamo-v-imas-ken-i (46b) would have to be acceptable too. The placeholder form *ča-v-imas-ken-i (46a) has a monosyllabic preverb anda fused stem (cf. 45a) and the form *čamo-v-imas-ken-i (46b) has a bi-syllabic preverb and also a fused stem (cf. 45b). However, neither of the forms is acceptable. It seems that apart from the preverb type (monosyllabic vs. bi-syllabic), there has to be further constraints on the stem formation of placeholder verbs, awaiting further research.

(46)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| a. | *ča- <i>imas</i> -v-ken-i / | *ča-v- <i>imas</i> -ken-i. |
| | PV- <i>imas</i> -1A _{ERG} .SG-do-AOR | PV-1A _{ERG} .SG- <i>imas</i> -do-AOR |
| | ‘I VERBed it downwards (away from the 1st/2nd person).’ | |
| b. | čamo- <i>imas</i> -v-ken-i / | *čamo-v- <i>imas</i> -ken-i. |
| | PV- <i>imas</i> -1A _{ERG} .SG-do-AOR | PV-1A _{ERG} .SG- <i>imas</i> -do-AOR |
| | ‘I VERBed it downwards (towards the 1st/2nd person).’ | |

Of particular interest is the behavior of placeholder verbs marked by valency changing affixes. The 2-argument intransitive verb forms, marked by passive/intransitive *e*- marker, such as the 2-argument passive verb form šemo-v-e-lanʒy-e (47a), can be replaced by the placeholder verb šemo-*imas*-v-e-ken-i (48a) and the 2-argument unaccusative verb form gada-v-e-yal-e (47b) can be replaced by the placeholder verb gada-*imas*-v-e-ken-i (48b).

(47)

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|
| a. | 2-argument passive, <i>e</i> - marker | | |
| | (me) | (mas) | šemo-v-e-lanʒy-e. |
| | I.NOM | (s)he.DAT | PV-1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-curse-AOR |
| | ‘[Without intending to do so] (s)he cursed me.’ | | |
| b. | 2-argument unaccusative, <i>e</i> - marker | | |
| | (me) | (mas) | gada-v-e-yal-e. |
| | I.NOM | (s)he.DAT | PV-1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-tire-AOR |
| | (i) ‘I got tired (because of him/her).’ | | |
| | (ii) ‘I got tired.’ (There is a possessive relationship (including but not limited to kinship) between the referents of the arguments of this verb form) | | |

(48)

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|
| a. | (me) | (mas) | šemo- <i>imas</i> -v-e-ken-i. |
| | I.NOM | (s)he.DAT | PV- <i>imas</i> -1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do-AOR |
| | ‘[Without intending to do so] (s)he VERBed me.’ | | |
| b. | (me) | (mas) | gada- <i>imas</i> -v-e-ken-i. |
| | I.NOM | (s)he.DAT | PV- <i>imas</i> -1A _{NOM} .SG-PRV-do-AOR |
| | ‘I got VERBed to him/her across some place/time/point.’ | | |

However, it still needs to be checked whether monovalent verb forms with certain voice marking can be substituted for by a placeholder verb having a corresponding voice marking. For instance, it is not clear whether it is acceptable for native speakers to replace the forms carrying the passive/intransitive prefix *i*- in (49a) and (49b) by the placeholder *imas*-v-i-ken-i (50), or to replace the verb carrying an intransitive suffix -*d* (49c) by the placeholder *imas*-v-kn-d-i with the same suffix (51).

(49)

- a. (me) *ga-v-i-lanʒy-e.* (Passive, *i*- marker)
I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-curse-AOR
'I got cursed (by somebody)?'
 - b. (me) *da-v-i-yal-e.* (Unaccusative, *i*- marker)
I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-PRV-tire-AOR
'I got tired.'
 - c. (me) *ga-v-šter-d-i.* (Unaccusative, *-d* marker)
I.NOM PV-1A_{NOM}.SG-stupid-INTR-AOR
'I was astounded.'
- (50) (me) *imas-v-i-ken-i.*
I.NOM *imas-1A_{NOM}*.SG-PRV-do-AOR
'I got VERBed.'
- (51) (me) *imas-v-kn-d-i.*
I.NOM *imas-1A_{NOM}*.SG-do-INTR-AOR
'I got VERBed.'

The forms in (49) can all alternatively be substituted for by a single placeholder verb form *imas-v-ken-i* (10a). However, this does not help us identify the constraints on the use of the placeholder verbs marked by the intransitive *i*- or *-d* affixes.

Further research is needed to investigate how and why certain placeholder verbs get associated with certain particular verb forms and get lexicalized. Javakhishvili's most widely used placeholder masdar *gaimaskneba* 'VERBing' lexicalized into 'taking care of' would serve as an example, as well as his past and future participles, correspondingly *gaimasknebuli* (55) and *gasaimasknebeli* (54), lexicalized as 'taken care of' and 'to be taken care of', respectively.

6. Summary

The paper has been concerned with Georgian placeholder verbs that substitute for lexical verb forms in discourse. The placeholder verbs can vary according to person, number, tense, modality, and aspect and consequently can be used as a substitute for verbs of any semantic class in any TAM Series. They are used when the speaker cannot recall a lexical verb form because of problems in lexical retrieval; when (s)he cannot choose the right form because of lack of education, knowledge or information; or when (s)he intentionally avoids verbalization for different pragmatic reasons.

In this paper the use of the Georgian placeholder verbs as a pragmatically motivated substitution for lexical verb forms in discourse has been discussed inconsiderable detail. The use reveals the possibility of manipulating the presence of particular verbal affixes in the form of placeholder verbs, in order to drop a hint regarding the implied lexical verb form. Or, on the contrary, by the absence of certain affixation in placeholder verbs, it is possible to underspecify certain information coded by those affixes and, thus, make it difficult (and sometimes, even impossible) for the hearer to guess the implied lexical verb form. This turns placeholder verbs in Georgian into a pragmatic tool to make utterances more or less ambiguous in discourse.

From the morphological side, the Georgian placeholder verbs illustrate a phenomenon that is exclusive to Georgian verbal affixation – the insertion of a grammaticalized item (here, the distal demonstrative *imas-*) among the verbal prefixes. As argued in this paper, the item does not qualify either as a clitic or as an incorporated element in placeholder verbs. Additionally, the placeholder verbs illustrate a cross-linguistically rare phenomenon, namely multiple occurrence of the same agreement marker, called 'exuberant agreement'. All these peculiarities reflect exceptional morphological behaviour of Georgian placeholder verbs, which otherwise serve as a unique repair and pragmatically motivated replacement strategy.

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Appendix A

Some examples of Georgian placeholder verbs:

- (52) From Javakhishvili (1960: 20), originally dated 1924.
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|--------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| šen | erti | švilic | ver | gamiimaskne | da |
| you.SG one | child.ADD | | NEG | you.SG.VERBed.it.for/to.me | and |
| sxvisi | švilic | | ar | miq'ardes? | |
| other's | child.ADD | | NEG | I.love.SUBJ.him/her | |
- 'You could not even VERB a child to/for me and am I not allowed to love somebody else's child?'
- (53) From Javakhishvili (1960[1924]: 32)
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------------|-----|------------|
| k'vač'i | sayamoze | dabrundeba | da | q'velapers |
| Kvatchi in.the.evening | | he.will.return | and | everything |
| gaaimasknebs. | | | | |
| he.will.VERB.it/them | | | | |
- 'Kvatchi will return in the evening and will VERB everything'
- (here, will arrange everything).
- (54) From Javakhishvili (1960[1924]: 316)
- | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| oriode | sakme | hkonda | gasaimasknebeli. |
| nearly.two | business | he.had.it/them | to.be.VERBed |
- 'He had a couple of things to be VERBed' (here, to be taken care of).
- (55) From Javakhishvili (1960[1924]: 350)
- | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|
| atiode | gaimasknebuli | sakme |
| nearly.ten | VERBed | business |
- 'Nearly ten VERBed businesses' (here, taken care of)

- (56) From Zoshchenko (1980: 9)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| <i>- tokši p'alt'os ar</i> | <i>vizlevio,</i> | <i>-</i> | <i>meubneba,</i> | <i>-</i> |
| in.rope coat | NEG | I.used.to.give.QUOT | - | he.says.to.me |
| <i>agre rom iq'os,</i> | <i>q'vela</i> | <i>gamomasknida</i> | <i>magistana</i> | |
| so if it.were | | everybody | (s)he.would.VERB.it.outsuch | |
| <i>tok's da amdeni</i> | <i>p'alt'o</i> | <i>saidan</i> | <i>davxat'oo.</i> | |
| rope and so.many | coat | from.where | I.draw/paint.SUBJ.QUOT | |
- ‘– I don't give a coat in return for a rope, – he said to me, – if it were so, anybody could VERB out such a rope and where would I take [then] so many coats from?’
- (57) From Zoshchenko (1980: 17)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>ap'arat'ic, gulaxdilad</i> | <i>vayiareb,</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>imasvkeni.</i> | <i>q'velaperi</i> |
| photo.camera.too | I.confess | I | I.VERB.ed.it | everything |
| <i>abazanaši makvs</i> | <i>gadamaluli.</i> | <i>c'amiq'vaneto</i> | <i>miliciaši.</i> | |
| in.bathroom I.have | hidden.away | you.PL.take.me.QUOT | to.police | |
- ‘I honestly confess, I have VERBed the photo camera as well. I have hidden away everything in the bathroom. ‘Take me to the police’, she said.’
- (58) From Zoshchenko (1980: 151)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>axla</i> | <i>zižebi</i> | <i>tavsaq'relad</i> | <i>ar</i> | <i>gegonot,</i> |
| nowadays | babysitters | abundantly | NEG | you.PL.believe.SUBJ.it |
| <i>čemze</i> | <i>k'idev taciaoba</i> | <i>iknebao.tkvens</i> | | <i>lek'vtan</i> |
| about.me | again battle | it.will.be | [with.]your.PL | with.puppy |
| <i>sam manetamde</i> | <i>žlivs</i> | <i>imasvšvrebodi</i> | | <i>dyeši, net'avi</i> |
| three ruble.up.to | hardly | I.was.VERBing.it | | in.a.day I.wonder |
| <i>ras maq'vedrito!</i> | | | | |
| what | you.PL.reproach.me.QUOT | | | |
- ‘‘Don't hope that nowadays babysitters are all around. Just wait, there will be even battles about me. With your baby I used to VERB no more than three rubles a day. I wonder why you reproach me!’, he said.’
- (59) Zoshchenko (1980: 153)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| <i>damprtxali</i> | <i>molare</i> | <i>c'ivis,</i> | <i>sibnelešipuli</i> | <i>aravin</i> |
| startled | cashier | she.is.screaming.in.darkness | money | nobody |
| <i>imasknaso.</i> | | | | |
- (s)he.would.VERB.it.QUOT
- ‘The cashier, startled, is screaming that somebody could VERB the money.’
- (60) From Zoshchenko (1980: 192)
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>isev kalak minskši unda</i> | <i>c'avide,</i> | <i>ikneb</i> | <i>samušao</i> |
| again city in.Minsk | should I.go.SUBJ | perhaps | work |
| <i>rame gamoimasvkna.</i> | | | |
| some I.could.VERB.it.out | | | |
- ‘I should go to the city of Minsk again, perhaps I could VERB out some kind of work there.’
- (61) From Zoshchenko (1980: 219)
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>xelebi rayacnairi,</i> | <i>gansxvavebuli</i> | <i>akvs:</i> | <i>marjvenaze</i> |
| hands kind.of | different | he.has.them | on.the.right[.one] |
| <i>savsebit čveulebrivi,</i> | <i>marcxenaze</i> | <i>titebi</i> | <i>ar</i> |
| fully normal | on.the.left[.one] | fingers | not |
| <i>moučans.</i> | | | |
| they.are.visible.on.him | | | |
| <i>- eg raa,</i> | <i>megobaro,</i> | <i>titebi</i> | <i>omši</i> |

that what.is.it Friend.VOC fingers in.war
imasgiknes-metki? – *vk'itxe.*
 they.VERBed.it.to.you-QUOT I.asked.him
 'He has kind of different hands. The right one [is] fully normal, on the left one none of the fingers can be seen. – 'What's that, [my] friend, did they VERB you your fingers in the war?' – I asked him.'

(62) From Mochiladze (2002: 86)

<i>arc</i>	<i>aravin</i>	<i>icis,</i>	<i>rogori</i>	<i>iq'o</i>	<i>namdvili</i>
NEG.ADD	nobody knows		what.kind	he.was	real
<i>uolesi.</i>	<i>q'ovel</i>	<i>šemtxvevaši,</i>	<i>avst'raliuri</i>	<i>akcent'it</i>	<i>ar</i>
Wallace.	[In.]anyin.case,	Australian	with.accent	NEG	
<i>lap'arakobda</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>inglisis</i>	<i>dedopals</i>	<i>ar</i>	
he.spoke	and	of.England	Queen	NEG	
<i>imasv'eboda.</i>					

he.was.VERBing.her

'Nobody knows what kind of person the real Wallace was. At least, he didn't speak with the Australian accent and was not VERBing the Queen of England.'

(63) From Mochiladze (2003: 97)

<i>k'aci</i>	<i>kurdia,</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>maťarebelši</i>	<i>gacnobili</i>	<i>da</i>
man	thief.is	woman	in.the.train	met	and
<i>t'amburši</i>			<i>uk've</i>	<i>gaimasknebuli</i>	<i>mart'oxela</i>
in.the.vestibule[.of.the.train]			already	VERBed	single
<i>deda,</i>	<i>bic'is</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>k'i</i>	<i>ucnobia.</i>	
mother	boy's	father	CONJ	unknown.is	

'The man is a thief, the woman is a single mother, met in a train and already VERBed in the vestibule of the train, as for the boy's father, nobody knows about him.'

(64) From Chachanidze (2005b)

<i>rojeris</i>	<i>šurisžieba,</i>	<i>serenas čaimaskneba.</i>	... <i>serena</i>
Roger's	revenge,	Serena's VERBing.down	... Serena
<i>uiliamsma</i>	<i>p'irvelad</i>	<i>čaiplavaprančeska</i>	<i>sk'ivonestan.</i>
Williams	first.time	lost	Francesca Schiavone.with
'Roger's revenge, Serena's VERBing down. ... Serena Williams lost first time against Francesca Schiavone.'			

Abbreviations

1/2/3 1st/2nd/3rd person

A Set A agreement marker

ABS absolutive

ACC accusative

ADD additive particle

ADJ adjective

AGR agreement marker

ALL allative

AOR aorist

AUX auxiliary

B Set B agreement marker

CAUS causative

CIRC	circumfix
CL	clitic
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunctive
DAT	dative
DIST	distal demonstrative pronoun
ERG	ergative
FEM	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMPERF	imperfect
INDIC	indicative
INFL	inflectional morpheme
INTR	intransitive
MASC	masculine
MED	medial demonstrative pronoun
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PAST	past
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PPART	past participle
PRES	present
PROX	proximate demonstrative pronoun
PRV	pre-radical vowel
PV	preverb
QUOT	quotation particle
REFL	reflexive
SELF	intensifier
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
SUFF	suffix
TRANS	transitive
TS	thematic suffix
VOC	vocative

THE PROTO-KARTVELIAN AND PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN COMMON TYPOLOGICAL FEATURE: AN ACTIVE ALIGNMENT (?)*

Abstract

The split-ergativity of the Kartvelian languages defined by the TAM categories and verb classes' restrictions is represented as a result of hierarchically organized changes of linguistic structures. Various levels of hierarchies reflecting dynamic synchronic processes of linguistic structuring are interpreted as the stages of minor-syntactic constructions' development based on the 'appearance' of certain grammatical categories (Telicity, Transitivity, TAM, S/O). The hierarchies reveal that the Proto-Kartvelian alignment system is semantically oriented an active one. Taking into consideration the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European alignment as an active one (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1994/95) it seems possible to speak about a typological closeness of those proto-languages that further developed in different ways giving nowadays either the nominative (IE) or ergative (K) languages.

Keywords: *arguments structure, ergative alignment, split ergativity, linguistic structuring, conceptual structures.*

1. Introduction

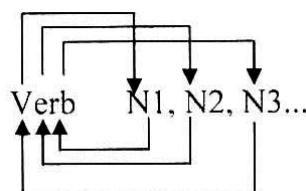
Comparative-historical linguistics makes it possible to represent diachronic changes of conceptualization and linguistic structuring of reality. Changes of a language system mirror changes within various social-cultural spheres of human being such is art, religion, ethnic traditions, economy, civilization, culture, etc. On the basis of the comparative-historical methodology, a reconstructed proto-language and its diachronic development helps us to get complete information about the historical existence of the speakers including ecological environment (fauna, flora, geographic surrounding, climate) and human habitation, and migration in the environment as well as culture in the broadest sense (including both, material and spiritual culture).

In this respect the most decisive are syntactic constructions, which reflect various models of linguistic structuring and create some picture of linguistic "world view".

Syntactic constructions are built on the basis of a verb and its argument structure. Number of arguments (resp. Nouns) is defined by a verb valency and can be maximum four; e.g. in Georgian some constructions with two dative nouns can be interpreted as an argument structure showing four nouns formally linked with a verb:

- (1) *mi-m-i-k'er-a ma-n me γil-i kaba-s///-ze*
 PV-IO.1-OV-sew-AOR.S.3.SG s/he-ERG 1.SG.DAT button-NOM dress-DAT//[DAT]-on
 'S/he sewed me a button on (my) dress.'

Various types of formal relations between a verb and its arguments are cross-linguistically specific and bilateral: a verb can define arguments' form (resp. cases) while arguments themselves can trigger a verb form (resp. person-triggering markers).



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Thus, arguments' case patterns and verb concord models (resp. alignment type of a concrete language) define the basic frame of a simple syntactic construction that can be reconstructed on the basis of morphological reconstructions reflecting the grammatical relations between a verb and arguments.

2. The Proto-Kartvelian alignment system

2.1. The main models of case patterns in the Kartvelian languages

In the Kartvelian languages (Georgian, Megrelian, Laz, Svan) structures of simple syntactic constructions are defined by the verb valency and three main models of arguments' case patterns.

I. *Nominative pattern*: {A-argument is represented in Nominative (*-i/-0), B-argument – in Dative (*-s), C-argument – in Dative (*-s)}¹;

(2) Georgian:	<i>k'ac-i</i>	<i>saxl-s</i>	<i>a-g-eb-s</i>
	man-NOM	house-DAT	NV-build-THM.-PRES.S.3.SG
“A man builds a house.”			
(3) Megrelian:	<i>k'oč(i)</i>	<i>'ude-s</i>	<i>o-g-an-s</i>
	man.NOM	house-DAT	NV-build-THM.-PRES.S.3.SG
“A man builds a house.”			
(4) Laz:	<i>k'oči-k</i>	<i>oxori</i>	<i>k'od-um-s</i>
	man-ERG	house.NOM	NV-build-THM.-PRES.S.3.SG
“A man builds a house.”			
(5) Svan:	<i>māre</i>	<i>kor-s</i>	<i>a-g-em</i>
	man.NOM	house-DAT	NV-build-THM(PRES.S.3.SG)
“A man builds a house.”			

II. *Ergative pattern*: {A – in Ergative (*-ma/m)², B – in Nominative (*-i/0), C – in Dative (*-s)};

(6) Georgian:	<i>k'ac-ma</i>	<i>saxl-i</i>	<i>a-a-g-o</i>
	man-ERG	house-NOM	PV-NV-build-AOR.S.3.S
“A man built a house.”			
(7) Megrelian:	<i>k'oč(i)-k(i)</i>	<i>'ude</i>	<i>da-g-u</i>
	man-ERG	house.NOM	PV-build-AOR.S.3.SG
“A man built a house.”			
(8) Laz:	<i>k'oči-k</i>	<i>oxori</i>	<i>do-k'od-u</i>
	man-ERG	house.NOM	PV-build-THM.-AOR.S.3.SG
“A man built a house.”			
(9) Svan:	<i>māre-m</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>ad-g-e</i>
	man-ERG	house.NOM	PV-build-AOR.S.3.SG
“A man built a house.”			

1 The reconstructed case markers here and below are given in accordance to the works by Oniani (1978, 1989) and Machavariani (2002).

2 A reconstruction of the ergative case is the most problematic as all Kartvelian languages show various allomorphs:

- Georgian: /-ma/~/-m/∞/-n/
- Megrelian: /-k/
- Laz: /-k/
- Svan: /-d///-em/~/-em/∞/-nem/
- Conventionally, we indicate it as */ma/.

III. Dative pattern: {A – in Dative (*-s), B – in Nominative (*-i/0), [C disappears as an argument of a verb and transforms into a Prepositional Phrase]};

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (10) | Georgian: | <i>k'ac-s</i>
man-DAT | <i>saxl-i</i>
house-NOM | <i>a-u-g-i-a</i>
PV-SINV.3.CV-build-PF-
OINV.3(SIVN.3.SG) |
| “A man has built a house.” | | | | |
| (11) | Megrelian: | <i>k'o-s</i>
man-DAT | <i>'ude</i>
house.NOM | <i>du-g-ap-u(n)</i>
PV(SINV.3)CV-build-THM-
OINV.3(SIVN.3.SG) |
| “A man has built a house.” | | | | |
| (12) | Laz: | <i>k'oči-k</i>
man-ERG | <i>oxori</i>
house.NOM | <i>u-k'od-un</i>
(SINV.3)CV-build-THM-
OINV.3(SIVN.3.SG) |
| “A man has built a house.” | | | | |
| (13) | Svan: | <i>māra-s</i>
man-DAT | <i>kor</i>
house.NOM | <i>x-o-g-em-a</i>
SINV.3-CV-build-THM-
IONV.3(SINV.3.SG) |
| “A man has built a house.” | | | | |

2.2. Restrictions of the case patterns

The case-marking patterns are determined by the verb (conjugation) class in interaction with its tense/aspect/mood (resp. TAM categories) properties. Following the Georgian grammatical tradition TAM categories based on their morphosyntactic features are classified into three series: Series I: Present (Indicative and Subjunctive), Future (Indicative and Subjunctive), Imperfect, Conditional; Series II: Aorist Indicative, Subjunctive-II; Series III: Present Perfect, Past Perfect, Subjunctive III. The Kartvelian verbs are divided into four conjugation classes: class I mainly involves active transitive verbs (including derived causatives); class II involves dynamic-passives; class III involves active-intransitive verbs; and class IV contains constructions with an experiencer (resp. affective) and static-passive (including, so called, medio-passive) verbs (Compare with Shanidze (1973) and Harris (1981)).

Conjugation classes can be defined by the features of Transitivity, Dynamicity, Telicity.

Table 1.

Verb classes	Transitivity	Dynamicity	Telicity
I-class: Affected objects	+	+	+
II-class: Achievements	-	+	+
III-class: Active processes	-	+	-
IV-class: All others (Agentive states, Passive states, Experiencer)	-	-	-

The conjugation classes together with the series determine different case patterns shown below in the tables 2-4.

Table 2. Georgian and Svan

	Series I			Series II			Series III		
Arguments	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Class I	NOM	DAT	DAT	ERG	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	(PP)
Class II	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
Class III	NOM	-----	DAT	ERG	-----	DAT	DAT	-----	(PP)
Class IV (static) (experiencer)	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM

Table 3. Megrelian

	Series I			Series II			Series III		
Arguments	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Class I	NOM	DAT	DAT	ERG	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	(PP)
Class II	NOM	-----	DAT	ERG	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
Class III	NOM	-----	DAT	ERG	-----	DAT	DAT	-----	(PP)
Class IV (static) (experiencer)	NOM	-----	DAT	ERG	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM

Table 4. Laz

	Series I			Series II			Series III		
Arguments	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Class I	ERG	NOM	DAT	ERG	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	(PP)
Class II	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
Class III	ERG	-----	DAT	ERG	-----	DAT	DAT	-----	(PP)
Class IV (static) (experiencer)	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT	NOM	-----	DAT
	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM	DAT	-----	NOM

2.3. Verb concord in Kartvelian

The Kartvelian language has two types of verbal person affixes denoting the person agreement; so called, the V-type and M-type affixes.

Georgian:

	V-type			M-type	
	sing.	pl.		sing.	pl.
I	$\nu-$	$\nu-$ -t		$m-$	$g\nu-$
II	-	- -t		$g-$	$g-$ -t
III	-s,-a,-o	-n,-en,-an, -nen, -es		$h-,s-,\emptyset-$ $\emptyset-$	$h-,s-,\emptyset-$ (-t) $\emptyset-$

Megrelian:

	V-type			M-type		
	sing.	pl.		sing.	pl.	
I	v-	v-	-k	m-	m-	-t, -n, -(n)en, -an, -es
II	-	-	-k	g-	g-	-t, -n, -en, -(n)an, -es
III	-s, - n, -o	-an, -a, -n, -na(n), -es		ø-	ø-	

Laz:

	V-type			M-type		
	sing.	pl.		sing.	pl.	
I	v-	v-	-t	m-	m-	-t, -n, -(n)en, -an, -es
II	-	-	-t	g-	g-	-t, -n, -(n)en, -an, -es
III	-s, -n, - u	-n, -(n)an, -es		ø-	ø-	

Svan:

	V-type			M-type		
	sing.	pl.		sing.	pl.	
I-excl.	(x)	(x)û-/m-	-d	m-(η)-	gû-	
incl.	û-/m	l-(η)-	-d		n-(η)-	
II	x-	x-	-d	ž-	ž	-x
III	l-/-s, - a, -e	l-	-x	*h-, x-	*h-	-(x)

Traditionally the V-type affixes are considered to be the subject markers, while the M-type are qualified as the object markers. However, this is not always the case: In the Perfect³ tense forms and also with the affective (psychological) verbs, the subject appears with the M-type and the object with the V-type affixes. For that reason most Georgian scholars qualify these forms as the inversive ones.

To avoid such inconsistency of functional interpretations, it seems better to analyse these markers without any functional qualification, simply by their relation to cases.

1. Noun in the Dative always triggers the M-type affixes;
2. Noun in the Ergative always triggers the V-type affixes;
3. Noun in the Nominative triggers either
 - (a) V-type (if there is no ergative linked with the verb as well), or
 - (b) M-type (in case there is an ergative linked with the verb), or
 - (c) Zero (if both ergative and dative appear in the construction).

2.4. Interpretation of the case patterns and verb concord models

On the basis of semantic-functional analysis of above presented models some regularities can be observed:

³ The Kartvelian Perfect demonstrates an additional semantic nuance: “apparently”, “it seems”, “probably”. It represents the following aspectual situation: The speaker sees the result of an action, (s)he does not pay any attention to Ag (or (s)he is not sure; or (s)he does not actually know; or (s)he merely forgets, who was the Agent of the action), but because of the actually presented result (Patient), (s)he says, what “apparently” happened; e.g. *dauxat'avs* ‘It seems that (s)he has drown’, *ucxovria* ‘Apparently (s) he has lived’, *augia* ‘Apparently, (s)he has built it’, and so on.

1. The first or second personal pronouns (I or II) in all Kartvelian languages have no case endings. As for a verb concord, they behave similarly as Ergative, Nominative or Dative nouns. Consequently, we can speak about I/II Ergative (always triggers V-type person markers), I/II Dative (always triggers M-type person markers) and Nominative (triggers either M-type, or V-type, or \emptyset -).

2. Constructions with an affective verbs and experiencer subject (class IV-experiencer) are the most consecutive; they always exhibit the Dative system: an experiencer (A) that functionally might be qualified as the subject is represented by the Dative case and a stimulus (C) – as the object, consequently, represented by the Nominative case;

3. The ergative is the only case strictly linked to one and only one grammatical function: if ergative, then the subject. Any other case is polyfunctional: the Nominative refers either to a subject or a (direct)-object; the Dative represents an indirect object, a subject-experiencer and class I or class III verbs' subject in series-III, also, a direct object in series I (except Laz).

4. The ergative construction appears if two conditions are met – the ergative construction arises if and only if:

- (i) a verb is of class I (transitive) or class III (intransitive-atelic);
- (ii) a verb is in the series II.

Thus, there is a split-ergativity (Dixon 1979, Harris 1981) in the Kartvelian languages: Nominative and Ergative constructions are distributed and defined by the verb-classes and TAM categories. The restrictions are functioning in the Kartvelian languages variously:

- *Megrelian keeps to only (ii):* Any kind of verbs in series II trigger the ergative case pattern and, consequently, follow the V-type verb concord models, while any kind of verbs in series I show the nominative construction;
- *Laz – only (i):* Any kind of transitive (or broadened along the activity category⁴ intransitive-atelic) verbs trigger the ergative case pattern and, consequently, follow the V-type verb concord models, while all other kind of verbs show the nominative construction; and this regularity is canonical for all series;
- *Georgian and Svan case patterns are defined by the both, (ii) and (iii), restrictions:* Only transitive or broadened along the activity category intransitive-atelic verbs, and only in series II show the ergative construction, while all other cases show the nominative construction.

5. Interpretations of morphosyntactic variations according to syntactic functions are more complicated (see 6.) and cannot be defined simply by syntactic functions: there are no unequivocal, simple correspondences between the syntactic functions and cases. It seems better to analyze the formal models according to the semantic roles that can be differentiated by the semantic feature 'Free Will of Arguments'. The feature 'Free Will' is regarded as the main characteristic feature for describing and distinguishing the semantic roles:

- Agent – +[FW] (an argument who acts and controls an action);
- Addressee/Experiencer/Agentunknown – -[FW] (an argument who does not control an action);
- Patient – \emptyset (an argument who is under an action and its controlling is logically excluded; so, for the patient the feature 'Free Will' is redundant).

According to this feature the appearance of different verb concord models can be described by the following hierarchically organized rules I>II>IIIa/>IIIb/>IIIc/>IIId:

- I. *An argument whose free will is not included in a situation (or it is unknown whether its free will is included or not) triggers the M-type affixes. (Semantically such are: Addressee, Experiencer, and an actually 'unknown' Ag of Perfect tense forms);*
- II. *An argument that acts according to its free will triggers the V-type affixes (such is Ag).*
- III. *An argument left after the application of I>II rules, triggers either*
 - a. *The V-type, if it is only argument linked with a verb (P); or*
 - b. *The V-type, if other argument's free will is not meant in a situation (constructions: {P-Ad}, or {P-Exp}, or {P-unknownAg}); or*

4 See the work by Winfried Boeder, who analyses the Georgian "ergative construction" as not being the typical one but as a construction broadened along the activity category (Boeder 1979); also, the work by Irine Melikishvili (Melikishvili 2012).

- c. *The M-type, if other argument's free will is meant in a situation (construction Ag-P);*
- d. *Zero, if both other arguments (with +[FW] and with -[FW]) are linked with a verb (construction : {Ag-P-Ad}).*

Taking into account all above given discussion, a reconstruction of ergative alignment is well-grounded, yet, it is difficult to define one function and to reconstruct one morpheme for the ergative case (see reference 2).

Yet, there exists another restriction as well:

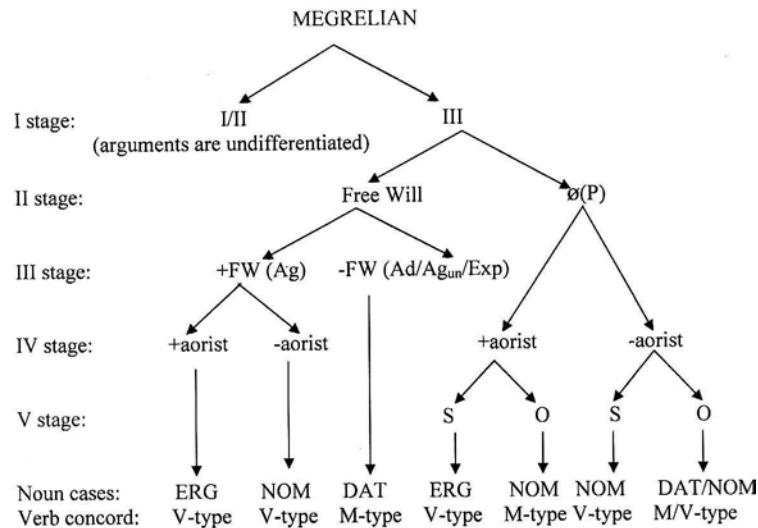
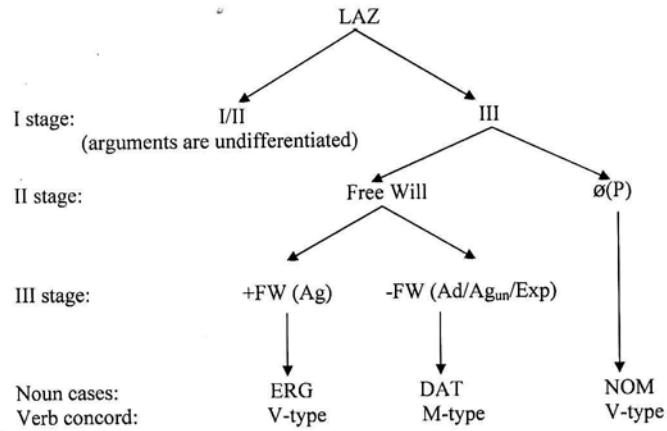
(iii) an argument must be the third person represented either by the third Personal Pronoun or a Noun.

The last restriction functions in every Kartvelian language and this regularity leads us to suppose that Kartvelian languages, first of all, strive for formal markedness of I/II versus III persons dichotomy and the arguments for such an interpretation are the following (Asatiani 1999):

1. *Case patterns:* I and II pronouns are undifferentiated according to the cases, while III (pro)nouns show very developed case systems: there are seven functionally and formally differentiated cases in Georgian and Laz, nine cases – in Megrelian, six cases – in Svan;
2. *Verb concord:* I/II person singular always triggers *prefixes* in verb forms, while III person either singular or plural – mostly *suffixes* (except Svan);
3. *Variation of III person allomorphs:* Allomorphs of I/II are pure and mostly defined by various phonetic processes, while III person allomorphs are rich; they are morphologically restricted and defined by various features: animateness, active-passive opposition, tense-mood differences, functionally defined competitive situations and so on;
4. *Number agreement:* I/II person always agrees with a verb in number, while III person is semantically and functionally more restricted from this point of view;
5. *Main function of polypersonality* of the Kartvelian verb is *the obligatory formal markedness of I/II persons:* the person markers of I/II persons (despite their functions – as subjects so objects) are always presented in verb forms in combinations with III person;
6. *Category of version:* if an action is directed/oriented to I/II person, a verb has *-i- prefix; while in case an action is directed/oriented to III person, a verb has either *-i- (when III person is subject) or *-u- (when III person has functional qualification of indirect object);
7. *Category of direction:* if an action is directed towards I/II persons, verb forms are denoted by one kind of prefixes (so called, preverbs) expressing direction, while other kind of preverbs are used in case an action is directed towards III person.

The arguments show that in the Kartvelian languages the tendency of formalization of person dichotomy is in privileged position and the dominant category which defines the process of linguistic structuring of events is the deictic anchoring: first of all, the grammaticalization of *I/II versus III dichotomy* is decisive. Appearance of nominative or ergative constructions are restricted and characteristic mostly for III person subsystem, first of all, defined by the semantic roles and the semantic feature 'Free Will of Arguments'. The tense-mood, telicity, transitivity and functional S/O categories play an important role as well.

We offer to represent the alignment systems of Kartvelian languages as hierarchically organized subsystems reflecting the restrictions and morphosyntactic features that define the appearance of case patterns and verb-concord models.



The hierarchies are defined according to the priority given to marked categories during the surface realizations. They reflect dynamic synchronic processes of linguistic structuring of relations existed between a verb and its arguments.

We suppose that the hierarchies can explain diachronic linguistic processes as well: Various levels of hierarchies could be interpreted as the stages of minor-syntactic constructions developed on the basis of appearance of certain grammatical categories (S/O, TAM, telicity):

I-II stages – I/(>II):III – Morphosyntactic models are defined through the dichotomy of communicative act participants – Georgian/Megrelian/Laz/Svan;

III stage – [+FreeWill](Ag);[-FreeWill](Ad);∅(P) – Morphosyntactic models are defined through the opposition of semantic roles (Ag:Ad:P) – Laz;

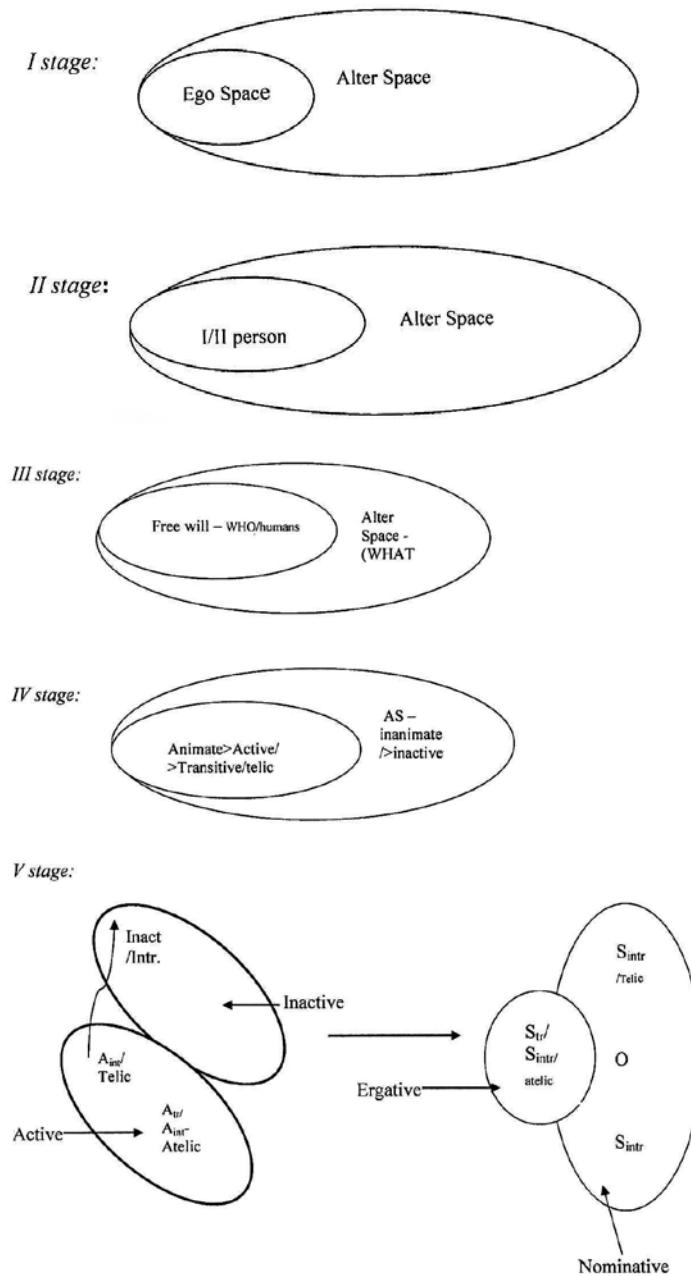
IV stage – [+Aorist];[-Aorist] – Morphosyntactic models are defined through the opposition of TAM categories – Georgian/Megrelian/Svan;

V stage – Subject:Object – Morphosyntactic models are defined through the syntactic functions – Georgian/Megrelian/Svan.

Supposedly, development of constructions might be the result of some changes of Kartvelians' world cognition that is reflected by the changes of certain linguistic structures creating a picture of linguistic "world view". Cognitive broadening of a world goes from a speaker (resp. I person, Ego Space) via a listener (resp. II person, close to Ego Space) to other world around (resp. III person, Alter Space). Entities of a world that are conceptually more close to a speaker are conventionally excluded from an Alter Space and included into the Ego Space in accordance with the Silverstain's hierarchies (Silverstain 1976): I Person/>II Person (I/II stage)>Humans (III stage) >Animates />Actives (IV stage) and developed in accordance with the specific

linguistic cognition of the Kartvelians reflecting by the rising of grammaticalized semantic-functional oppositions: Active-transitive and Intransitive-telic verbs are opposed Inactive-intransitive and Intransitive-atelic verb forms (IV stage). Consequently, step by step, first of all active constructions and afterwards broadened ergative constructions have arisen (V stage):

Figure 1.



2. Proto-Indo-European as a language of active alignment

Thomas Gamkrelidze and Viacheslav Ivanov have reconstructed the Proto-Indo-European language as a language of active alignment (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1994/95). Very briefly, their arguments for such a reconstruction are based on the analysis of following data:

- The formation of *-os and *-om genitive and their correlation with the binary classification of nouns into active and inactive;
- The nominative *-os and accusative *-om as original markers of active and inactive noun classes;
- Doublet verb lexemes as a reflexes of the binary semantic classification of nouns into active and inactive;

- The two series of verbal endings, **-mi* and **-Ha*, associated with active and inactive arguments;
- The suffix **-nths*' interpretation as a marker of membership in the active class.

These and some other arguments lead the authors to the conclusion (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1994/95: 238):

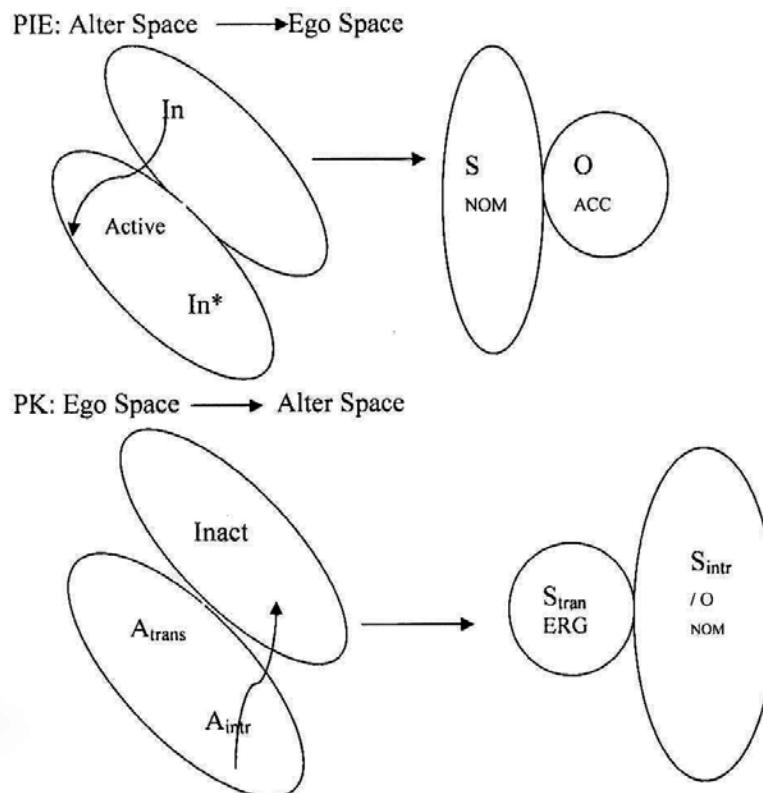
"It is clear that a basic structural-semantic principle of early Indo-European was a binary classification of nouns into active and inactive based on the character of their denotata. The active class included nominal formations referring to people, animals, trees, and plants, i.e. those whose denotata are alive, while the inactive class referring to objects lacking life cycles."

Afterwards they are developing their reasoning: Naturally active denotata are cognitively broadened and inanimate objects viewed by speakers as expressing the active principle or endowed with the capacity for action are structurally unifying: **-s*, **-os* turns into the marker of active class (correspondently, of an structurally active argument of a verb) and **-om*, **-t'*, **-th*, **-kh*, **-Ø* becomes the marker of the inactive class (correspondently, of an structurally inactive argument of a verb):

Active: <i>*-s/*-os</i>	Active (A): <i>*-s/*-os</i>
Genitive: <i>*-om</i>	Inactive (In): <i>*-om</i> , \emptyset
Structural inactive: <i>*-[o]m</i>	Structural-syntactic inactive (Ain): <i>*-m/*-om</i>

Further development of constructions in the Indo-European languages is presented as a process of changes of linguistic "world view": Semantically oriented Active Constructions have been transformed into the functionally oriented Nominative Constructions.⁵

Figure 2.

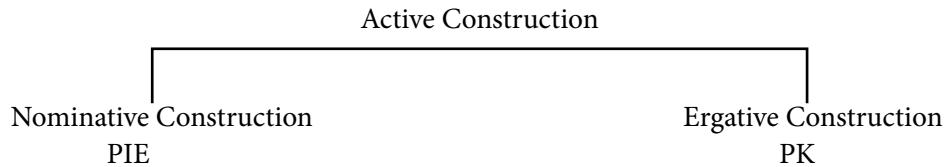


If the authors' diachronic analysis of the Proto-Indo-European alignment system changes are concurred then some general results could be established.

5 „The breakdown of the active/inactive dichotomy in nouns and the rise of the transitivity opposition in verbs bring about the rise of subject-object relations and triggers the functional identification of the originally inactive argument of a one-place verb with the historically active argument of one-place (intransitive) and two-place (transitive) verbs. Thus the inactive argument of a one-place intransitive verb is syntactically opposed to the former structural inactive with two-place verbs, which becomes the case (accusative) of the direct object of a transitive verb. From the Proto-Indo-European active type shown in figure 4 we get the typical morphosyntactic structure of the accusative type, shown in figure 5" (see here *figure 2*, R.A.). (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1994/95: 273).

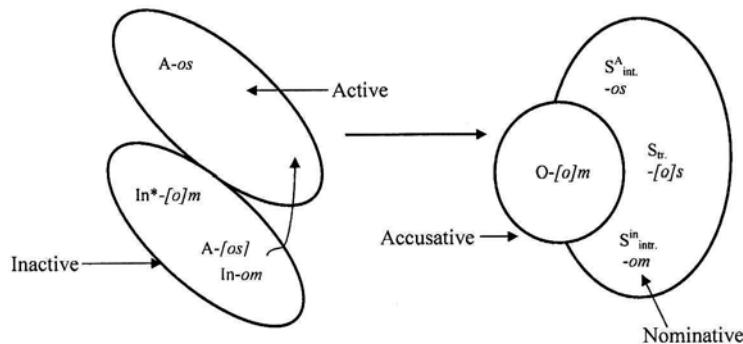
3. Conclusions

- The Proto-Indo-European alignment system can be qualified as an Active/Inactive one;
- The Proto-Kartvelian alignment system (actually, V stage of its development) is qualified as an Active/Inactive one;
- Both systems show that a semantically oriented system is transferred into a functionally oriented system;
- This common typological feature raised in various backgrounds has differently developed in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian.



- The different resulted systems supposedly are implied by various cognitive processes in progress reflecting their specific way of linguistic structuring.

Figure 3.



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GEORGIAN JEWS IN THE ERA OF PERESTROYKA*

Amidst the economic problems that have engulfed our country, the ethnic issue occupies a position of major importance. And, against this background, the Jewish question has flared up once again. The voice of Georgian Jewry too, with its unique destiny, has made itself heard.

The history of Georgian Jewry still awaits its researchers, yet the efforts of those researchers must perforce remain futile as long as they are unaccompanied by any attempt to restore the true make-up of Georgian Jewish history. The history of Georgian Jewry was enormously influenced by the early adoption of Christianity by a large section of the Jewish population of the city of Mtskheta at the hands of Nino, an action which brought about its dissolution among the Georgian people. While these Jews, who became the first Christians in Georgia, laid the basis for the Georgian-Jewish ethnogenesis, they were irretrievably lost to Jewry.

The breakaway of the Jews of Mtskheta from their co-religionists both reduced the Jewish population of Georgia and had a negative impact on the development of Judaism among Georgian Jews. This, among other things, resulted in Judaism's gradually losing its creative sources and ossifying. The Jewish communities in Georgia found themselves subordinated to the rule of dogma, which for a long time remained the basis of the power of the predominantly orthodox Jewish clergy. The Jewish clergy became the sole arbiter of the behaviour and way of life of the population and replaced the Talmud, which was virtually unknown in Georgia.

The interlinked phenomena of religiosity and messianism played a dominant role in the mass consciousness of Georgian Jewry and guided their social and spiritual life.

Beginnings of national revival

The first quarter of the twentieth century saw a marked national and spiritual revival. The qualitatively new ideologies of this century and the expanded political perspectives filled the historical experience of Georgian Jewry with new content: the religious and instructive ideas of the *Tarbut* and *Maccabi* associations became a programme and *raison d'être* for forward-looking circles of Georgian Jewry. Zionist ideology too spread to some extent. This was possibly the first time ever that the Georgian Jew experienced a feeling of national pride and dignity. Unfortunately, documentary evidence of this development is still unavailable to world Jewry.

The newspaper *Maccabi*, edited by the leading Georgian Zionist Natan Eliashvili, assisted by Herzl Baazov, became during its brief existence the expression of Georgian Jewish life. No small number of Jewish youths from every corner of Georgia began their public and/or literary career here. Now, alas, there stands a shop beneath the very room which housed the editorial offices of *Maccabi*.

A reflection of the continuing desire of Georgian Jews to assert their cultural ideals is the Historical and Ethnographic Museum of the Jews of Georgia. The Museum was able to publish three volumes of its works, but documentary materials depicting its fascinating and rich scholarly activities have still not seen the light of day. The Museum was shut down in 1949.

Among those arrested in the antisemitic wave of Stalin's last years was the eminent leader of Tbilisi's Ashkenazi synagogue, Rabbi Kupchan. On 13 January 1953 all synagogues in Georgia were shut down, while the synagogue belonging to the Tskhinvali community in Tbilisi was completely routed. Aron Dzhindzhikhashvili, a synagogue official, did everything he possibly could to restore the synagogue but he did not succeed in recovering it for the community.¹

Also of great interest as a social phenomenon are the 1950s and 1960s, which saw the rise of the workshops and cooperative associations in which many Jews were involved. One aspect of this phenomenon is the so-called black economy, with its fantastic wealth of 'unaccounted for production'. Of equal interest are the careers of those involved in the 'black economy', whom the Soviet system drove underground but whose talents would be of great value in the emerging free market.

* First Published in: *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, 1990, 20:2-3, pp. 45-53.

The establishment of Israel

The rise of the State of Israel strengthened the national consciousness of Georgian Jews enormously. Notwithstanding the iron walls which divided us from the world, ideas and knowledge still managed to penetrate our midst. Even then there were some who were bold enough to venture to find a crack in the walls. Though it was no more than a drop in the ocean, the very fact that people had found their way to Israel set a courageous example to the Jews of Georgia.

The part played by Georgian Jewry in the movement of emigration to Israel after the 1967 Six Day War has been well documented. No less remarkable is the pride shown by some community leaders in the face of the enormous pressures then exerted by the Soviet authorities. The *Hakham* (oriental rabbi) of the Tbilisi Religious Association, Kimanuil Davidashvili, refused to join the officially sponsored Soviet anti-Zionist campaign. A document in Georgia's archives reads as follows:

In 1970 the *Hakham* of the Tbilisi Religious Community, Kimanuil Davidashvili, refused to sign a document condemning the leadership of the state of Israel. Moreover, in 1971 he refused to go to Moscow to participate as a representative of Tbilisi Jews in a conference condemning Zionism and Zionist slander against Jews in the Soviet Union by the Brussels conference.²

In those days such behaviour was fraught with the most serious consequences.

Religious and national consciousness on the rise

Now too the Jewish question comprises various elements, from the political and economic to the psychological. The Russian scholar B. F. Porshnev, who sought to combine social psychology and history, remarked that history without psychology is history without living people. It is this psychological factor that has played perhaps the most decisive role in the exodus of Jews from Georgia, which has brought about such a reduction in the country's overall Jewish population

which also includes a large Ashkenazi community.

In 1979 there were 8,500 Georgian Jews in Georgia. In 1989 there were 16,000.³ In 1985 alone there were 21 functioning registered religious associations. The biggest synagogue in Georgia – that in Tbilisi – was then serving 6,000 believers, while the synagogues in Kutaisi and Oni served 5,000 believers each.⁴

According to figures supplied by the Statistical State Committee of Georgia, in 1979 there were 7,974 Georgian Jews in Georgia—in the Abkhazian ASSR 1,976 and in Tbilisi 3,374. In 1985 there were 14,314 Georgian Jews in Georgia—in Abkhazia 1,426 and in Tbilisi 6,645.⁵

Thus regardless of the steady emigration to Israel, the Georgian Jewish population of the republic has tended to increase.

The most characteristic sign of the times is an insatiable craving for self-identification, which has been conducive to a radical change in the centuries-old character of the Georgian Jew. There has developed a mass aspiration for studying their own language, religion and history and young people, many of whom previously never visited a synagogue, are now doing so. Spiritual contact between representatives of various age groups has intensified and 'alienation' between parents and children has vanished. The synagogue has become the centre of religious life and a centre of attraction for people from various spheres of Georgian public and economic life.

This process has been facilitated to no small degree by the active involvement in synagogue life of people with an advanced education in both humanities and technology. One such example is Ariel Levin, a programmer by profession who became the head of the synagogue's Ashkenazi community. Levin organized a Hebrew circle there. In particular, he published Jewish religious material.

The city of Tskhinvali has always been known as a Habad centre. The well known Rabbi Khvoles, who left a noticeable mark on the history of Georgian Jewry of the early twentieth century, was active here. Regrettably, the activities of Khvoles, as of other well known leaders of Georgian Jewry, were far from appreciated. But the Habad tradition lives on at Tskhinvali, no small thanks for this being due to Elion Vilenchik.

In Tbilisi the Habad movement is led by Khaim Shtok, a physician. Shtok derives his authority from Rabbi Khaykin in Brussels. He also teaches Modern Hebrew.

In the winter of 1989 a Georgian Jewish religious association headed by Abram Tetruashvili was formed. We have no information about its activities as yet but its founding in the Tbilisi synagogue gives room for hope that it will at last be possible to introduce order into the old Georgian cemetery where the stones are being plundered and desolation reigns.

A further sign of the times is the tendency to establish various Jewish associations and societies. These bodies represent new viewpoints and various forms of activity. They should represent the movement's true democracy, its tolerance and a respectful attitude towards other points of view.

Present-day Jewish activities

Of undoubted interest is the Association for the Study of Georgian-Jewish Relations of the Georgian Academy of Sciences which was established on 7 September 1988. The very existence of the Association is of the greatest significance, reflecting, as it does, a shift in the ideological structure of our state. At the present time, the Association is functioning and has been registered as a body attached to the Georgian Council of Ministers. The Association has set out to regulate all matters pertaining to Georgian Jewry. As we have noted, it operates under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences and has an officially recognized identity which enjoys full government support. The involvement of eminent Georgian personalities gives it unquestioned respectability and fully promotes its specific purpose. Being essentially a roof organization, the Association has been able to strengthen its organizational structure by creating a student organization of a similar character although it is a single organization with a single leadership and regulations.

The Association is headed by Academician A. Apakidze and Professor G. Gambashidze. Its sphere of interests includes a whole number of problems which testify to its presence in Georgian cultural life. A special department has been created in the Association to research the history of Georgian Jewry. Much of the activity of this department, which is headed by Shalva Tsitsuashvili, is taken up by efforts to restore the Historical and Ethnographic Museum of the Jews of Georgia.

On 24 January 1990 yet another society, the Association of Georgian Jewry, came into being in Tbilisi. The programme of this unregistered society includes broad educational activities with the teaching of modern Hebrew and the promotion of the right of repatriation.

The society is headed by V. Pichkhadze and L. Yanovsky. At the beginning of 1990 the 'Digest of the Jewish Information Centre', under the editorship of L. Somovsky, V. Katson and M. Yakobashvili, began to appear. Unfortunately, the 'Digest' ceased to exist although several issues were put out. The 'Digest' contained a special column entitled 'Israel and Georgia: Contacts and Cooperation' which included practical advice and information for those emigrating to Israel.

An effective form of public movement of Georgian Jewry are Hebrew study circles. The most intensive of these are classes at Tbilisi Secondary School No. 25 which are conducted by the school's headmaster L. Yanovsky. Hebrew is taught by Shalva Tsitsuashvili in a former synagogue building. Unfortunately, we lack enthusiasts and Hebrew specialists, such as the prematurely deceased Moshe Mamistvalov and Nisan Bablikashvili, whose activities in this sphere began long before such favourable circumstances for this work arose. However, even now all this selfless activity is founded exclusively on enthusiasm and personal initiative.

A significant contribution to popularizing Hebrew studies has been made by the newspaper *Sakhalkho ganatleba* (Popular Education). The fact that the paper is edited by Apollon Silagadze, a semitologist and professor at Tbilisi University, could not fail to be reflected in its contents in the most beneficial way. This is also the basis of its interest in Jewish matters which began from a high starting point – publication of the article 'At the gates of the prayer home', written by the well-known Georgian scholar Zurab Kikhadze together with Timur Mirzashvili. The article deals with the origins of Christianity in Georgia and the leading role of the Jews.⁶ In this connection, it should be noted that a Hebraics department was finally opened last year in the semitology chair at Tbilisi University.

Sakhalkho ganatleba regularly publishes informative and publicistic articles by the journalist V. Pichkhadze. Also worthy of note is the article 'Something about the Jews' by the young Georgian Jews Iosif Kozhikashvili and Mikhail Megrelishvili.⁷

There has developed a sort of conceptual and political accord between *Sakhalkho ganatileba* and the Israel journal *Drosha*, the chief editor of which is Khaim Khubelashvili. If the editors of these publications were to collaborate, many other previously hidden possibilities for the spiritual life of Georgian Jewry would undoubtedly be opened up.

The question of what is the real character and role of the Georgian Jewish movement remains a subject for debate. The writer Guram Batiashvili outlined his vision in the newspaper *Komunisti*.⁸ He opposed creating new structures broadly reflecting the views and interests of Georgian Jews on the basis that to do so would create nothing but harm. He said that today, at a time when ethnic and social relationships are in crisis, to establish Jewish societies with their programmes and functions might be used by hidden forces which would instantly set in motion the hellish mechanism of xenophobia already present throughout the country. Was it not preferable, he asked, to make do with the programme of activities offered by the Association for the Study of Georgian-Jewish Relations?

It is noteworthy that in an introductory note the editors of *Komunisti* stressed that they were in total agreement with him. He also obtained the support of other members of the Georgian-Jewish intelligentsia who were resolutely opposed to any societies not part of the organizational and ideological framework of the Association.

A recent example of this opposition of views was the attack against the youth sports organization *Maccabi* at the inaugural meeting of this organization, and a sharply critical article by the journalist M. Yunaev in the sports newspaper *Lelo*. The founding of the organization was thus aborted.

A propos, the fears of Batiashvili and the like-minded are far from baseless. The times are extremely dangerous and the fate of Georgia troubles Georgians and Georgian Jews in equal measure, whether they are in Georgia or in Israel. Nonetheless, one has the feeling that Batiashvili sees the movement of Georgian Jewry too much in ideological terms and is overrating its demands and thus imagining it being burdened with problems which Georgian Jews do not and cannot have. Georgian Jewry has never carried and does not now carry any political charge and its aims are remote from anything that characterizes the movements of other ethnic groups.

There is, however, another side to the problem – the ethnic and spiritual particularities of the Jews and, in particular, Georgian Jews, which cannot be ignored. To assert the existence of this factor is not, and must not be seen as, a ‘malicious attempt’ to create a sort of separatist tendency in the centuries-old epic of Georgian Jewry. It seems to us that neither the Association, with all its activities meriting undoubted respect and acknowledgment, nor any other ‘roof organization can replace a structure capable of reacting to the profound aspirations of Georgian Jewry.

Georgian-Israeli relations

The ‘new political thinking’ in our country has given rise to unexpected results in the field of Soviet-Israeli relations. It is extremely important that, in the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Georgia should fulfill the function of a diplomatic go-between between Israel and the Soviet Union. This amazing model of unofficial diplomatic relations has come about through the unforgotten sons and daughters of Georgia who have become Israeli citizens. And this new significant aspect of the life of our times has enriched the spiritual life of Georgian Jews. There has developed yet another previously unknown form of relations between Georgians and Georgian Jews. The authorship of this phenomenon, known as ‘popular diplomacy’, belongs to Georgian Jews who are pioneers in this field. Recently Georgia has become a bridge carrying a lively two-sided traffic. Constant meetings in Israel and Georgia have involved a large number of people, something that has not only broadened their character but has also widened the framework of mutual contacts and opened up perspectives for fruitful collaboration. The Georgian media regularly comment on this process of mutual attraction. And although the process also has its undoubted costs, the main thing is that behind it is perceptible a powerful and positive tendency that has taken Georgian-Jewish relations to a qualitatively new turn. Many representatives of Georgian public circles have a natural desire to see the country that has given them Christianity and to visit the Monastery of the Cross, which was once Georgian

and built by Georgians, and to visit many other Christian holy places. And, of course, the greatest curiosity is provoked by the Jewish state itself, which has risen from the ashes, with its social and political relations and its *kibbut-sim*, about which our home-grown Marxists can only dream.

It is significant that a visit to Israel evokes almost identical feelings among people. Referred to in our press only in negative terms, Israel is seen in an entirely unexpected light. There can be no doubt that all this has inspired Georgian Jews and raised their spirits. However, we are far from regarding the new mood in the country idyllically.

The profound changes in our country ought to have brought about a re-evaluation among Georgian Jews of many artificially generated and false values of the previous era. For Georgian Jews can hardly remain indifferent to political conflicts both in the Middle East and the Gulf region. Georgian Jews are waiting to hear what their intelligentsia has to say. The latter should interpose themselves between world public opinion, with its frequent tendentiousness both towards Israel and the Jews in general, and the real concerns of the Jews. Our writing and thinking brethren might have expressed an opinion about the 'Palestinian problem', at least in the paper *Komunisti*, and thus offered readers the opportunity to find out the views of the editors of this important republican paper on this issue. Moreover, members of the Georgian Jewish intelligentsia might discuss in that paper and in other papers what is meant by the fact that in the Soviet press places of confinement are described in one case as 'Arab prisons' and in another as 'Israeli torture chambers'! Indeed, all these misleading clichés call for sympathy for the 'unfortunate Palestinians' and angry condemnation of the 'Israeli hawks'. Thus the inertia of the 'old thinking' continues to manipulate the mass consciousness and to lead astray the reader who is not always competent in the arts of great politics!

Georgian Jewry wishes to know why the Soviet government decree of 1967, in accordance with which individuals who emigrate from the USSR on an Israeli visa are deprived of their Soviet citizenship, orders and other awards they have earned in blood and sweat, is still in operation.

Why does the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee still exist? Can we forget the vile role of sowing discord it has played among Soviet Jewry? From the very start, this institution has distorted the consciousness of the masses and depraved them morally. The official state ideology created an elitist system and awards and state prizes were generously distributed securing a *dolce vita*. And this process, which was consistent and purposeful, corrupted our society. It did not bypass Georgian Jews either.

Despite the fact that the exodus of Jews from Georgia is no longer of a mass character, it continues. Those who depart leave their homeland with sadness and regret. Their mood was expressed by Gera Yakobashvili, the head of the Kutaisi Religious Community. In an interview he gave on 27 July 1990 to the Tbilisi television correspondent Genrgy Zhorzhiani, Yakobashvili remarked that despite the fact that Jews were leaving Georgia, the country remained in their hearts. The Jews are leaving in order to acquire their home and their true place in life and on earth, but they are sad that Georgia is going through difficult times. One cannot follow the complex developments in our society without being upset. But who knows the hand of fate? Perhaps in Israel Georgian Jewry is being called to play some role also in Georgia's fate by becoming a dependable diaspora for their former homeland.

Notes:

1. Sarra and Khaim Baazov family archive.
2. GSSR, *Arhhiv Oktyabrskoy revolyutsii* (Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic: Archives of the October Revolution) (Tbilisi), file R-1880, op. 1, doc. 192, 68.
3. 'Digest of the Jewish National Centre in Tbilisi', no. 1, 1990, 9 (abridged). (According to the official census, there were 28,300 Jews in Georgia in 1979, of whom approximately 10,000 spoke Georgian, and 24,700 in 1989 of whom 14,300 spoke Georgian - Ed.)
4. *Archive of the October Revolution*, 'Council of Religious Affairs', fund, 30 July 1985.
5. *Komunisti* (Georgian-language newspaper), 24 March 1990.
6. *Sakhalkho ganatleba*, 13 September 1989.
7. *Ibid.*, 10 and 13 September 1989.
8. I. G. Batiashvili, 'Let us look at phenomena realistically', *Komunisti*, 5 May 1990.

HISTORICAL TOPOONYMS, HYDRONIMS AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAME CHANGES IN TURKISH OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY*

Abstract

Anatolia, the Balkan Peninsula, and the surrounding territory have been a place where people of Hittite, Urartu, Lydians, Armenians, Luwians, ancient Georgian tribes, left cultural diversity, various linguistic, and political trail for centuries. With the rise of Greek colonization, a Hellenization of local toponyms had begun, lasting for two thousand years. When Turkmenian tribes populated these territories and during the whole ruling period of the Ottoman Empire the Turkization of local toponyms seemed like a natural issue, rather than political matter. First, the process was based on phonetical similarities: "Speri" – was renamed to Ispir, "Sparta" – Isparta, etc. The most well-known example is Istanbul. The "stipoli" which means "in the city", the Turkish people perceived as "Istanbul".

The situation had been dramatically changed by the beginning of the 20th century. Ittihadist people were changing toponyms, spreading nationalistic policy; that matched the Balkan Wars period. During the First World War, the process was being accelerated, the Turkish nationalists targeted to rename every geographical name – cities, lowlands, mountains, forests... From the beginning of the Republic period up to nowadays, every non-Turkish name is still being changed on Turkish territory. According to the international treaty of Lausanne, non-muslims (Greeks, Armenians...) were recognized as an ethnic minority. But the resentment against Greeks and Armenians made the Government to turn ire on non-Turkish origin Muslim population (Kurds, Georgians, Lazes). Hence Kurdish and Kartvelian toponyms were changed. For this purpose "The Name Change Council" was established in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

During the entire existence of The Ottoman Empire the nowaday Samsun region, known as Chaneti (originally Georgian name) was called Janic/Janit/Janeti. Lazistan region suffered the same fate. It was totally abolished and the districts of Rize and Artvin have been formed there instead. That caused the riot of Lazes, suppressed by the Turkish government. Since then historically Georgian toponyms were being systematically changed to Turkish namings.

Keywords: *Toponymy, renaming, Turkization, nationalism, history.*

As is known Anatolia, the Balkan Peninsula and the nearby areas have been the cradle of various linguistic, cultural and political system unions for centuries that left a sensitive trail (people of Hittite, Urartu, Lydians, Luwians, ancient Georgian tribes, etc.).

The Hellenization of local toponyms began with the onset of Greek colonization lasting about 2000 years. More intensively this process has been taking place during the reign of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic kingdoms. The same process was held by the invasion of Seljuks and the formation of Turkmenian political units. The Sultanate of Rum (Sultanate of Iconium) is particularly noteworthy. In public places, it was banned to speak other languages except Turkish. As a result, the Greek Orthodox Church had to translate the New Testament (using the Greek alphabet) and conduct the liturgy and preaching in Turkic. Because of this autochthonous Christian populations of different origin gradually had lost their language. Those who stayed Christians consider themselves as Greeks, but those who converted to Islam saw themselves as Turks. Their Christian descendants are called Karamanlis, (the majority of the population live in Greece and Turkey). It is worth mentioning that Greeks of Tsalka and most of Meskhetian Turks are considered to be Georgian inhabitants of Spare, Basiani, Meskhet-Javakheti and partly of Lazet-Chaneti (historical Georgian territories).

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At the very beginning, the Ottoman Empire didn't consider this matter to be a rigorous one, because it regarded itself as a successor to the Byzantine Empire. Therefore during all this time until the beginning of the 20th century, the toponym change has been regarded as a natural issue rather than a political matter. First, the process was based on phonetical similarities. The most well-known example is Istanbul. The "stipoli" which means "in the city", the Turkish people perceived as "Istanbul". The Greek city "Smyrna" was renamed to Izmir. "Adrianopolis" – as Edirne, etc. Toponyms were often translated. E.g. "Argiropolis" (silver city) was translated as Gümüşhane (same meaning); "Sebastia" – Sivas, "Caesarea" – Kayseri, "Nicaea" – Iznik, "Ikonia" – Konya, "Brusa" – Bursa, "Speri" – İspir, "Riza (Rizaeon)" – Rize, "Maradid" – Muratlı... etc.

The situation changed dramatically at the beginning of the 20th century. In 2003 Murat Koraltürk an Associate professor of Marmara University established an article in the "Toplumsal Tarih" journal with the headline "Nationalistic Reflex: Turkization of Toponyms" (Koraltürk 2003, 98-99), and it provided a lot of feedback and criticism by nationalist groups of scientists. Basically, we base on material from an article due to inaccessibility to Turkish archives.

Ittihadist people were changing toponyms; it was their policy of settlement that matched the Balkan Wars period. During the First World War, the process began to accelerate, every geographical place – cities, lowlands, mountains, and forests have been being renamed (Toprak 1995, 60-63; Koraltürk 2003, 98; Dündar 2001, 81-84).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Turkish nationalism starts its implementation as Ottomanism. In 1908, as a result of the takeover, Ittihadists who were expressing Turkish nationalism took State power. Turkish nationalism was influenced by Greek and Balkanian Slavic peoples' nationalism (Yerasimos 1995, 18-19).

In January 1916, Enver Pasha ordered to rename all Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian (non-muslim) districts, regions, cities, villages, mountains, and rivers to Turkish-based names. But the execution of order had to be canceled to avoid confusion during the war. But in that short period, lots of toponyms were changed (Yüksel 2002, 19-37).

In 1921, the member of Turkish parliament Besim Atalay Bey from Kyutahya introduced the bill stating to change non-Turkish origin toponym names (TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 11, 100). Another member of parliament from Gaziantep required the changing name of Greek castle Rumkale for Halfeti (TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 11, 100). That draft law was considered on 2 July 1921. Yasin Bey stated that "An ancient Turkish land so-called "Greek citadel" is not inhabited by Greeks. The land was taken from Greeks a long time ago and then what?... I don't want to leave our conscience, existence, and future to be called with the name of those who attacked us like dogs... I require to change that Greek name right now!" (TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 11, 100).

In spite of the fact that his speech sounded angry and agitative, he demanded to implement the bill but it was canceled. Then he sent a request to the head of the office of parliament – Ata Bey asking grounds for refusal. An answer was declared on 17 of August 1922 in parliamentary session: "a large number of places should be renamed only until the end of hostilities" (TBMMZC, Devre-1, 22, 243). Nevertheless, at the same time legislators were attempting to change toponyms. E.g Yozgat was renamed to Bozok. But that case, as well as other name-changing examples, have caused many problems with creating land-surveying documentation.

Hence the government has made two statements (BCA, Yer № 21.65.12; BCA, Yer № 15.115.69) where Yozgat was mentioned as Bozok. But again, to avoid some problems related to its name change government made a bill dated 1927, which returned Yozgat's previous name (TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 15, 234; TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 16, 55; TBMMZC, Devre-1, c. 28, 142; TBMMZC, Devre-2, c. 33, 681). In 1925, Kırşehir (Kirşehir) was about to change its name for Gulshehir (Gülşehir) but the parliament of Turkey refused to adopt that project (TBMMZC, Devre-2, c. 18, 326). Meanwhile, the new draft was being considered to change all non-Turkish naming for places all over the territory of Turkey. (TBMMZC, Devre-2, c. 15, 64). This fact was connected to the confusion of postal service when a post from abroad was being sent to an Istanbul, an address was indicated under an old manner – Constantinopole. That caused the outburst of nationalism (TBMMZC, Devre-2, c. 5, 524; Koraltürk, 2003, 99).

The most acute debates about changing toponyms took place in 1924 for renaming Kirkilise (Kirkkilise – forty churches) to Kırklareli (TBMMZC, Devre-2, c. 11, 190-1939). It turned out that instead of following the nationalistic suggestions proposed by some deputies, the government was going to make a concrete plan of renaming toponyms and follow it. Accordingly, the head of the office of parliament Rejef Bey declared

to the deputies: "Many toponyms have to be redesignated, although if we start altering them in a short period it will cause confusion in mail services, public registry, and numerous other procedures. Therefore the Chancery of the parliament appealed to its members to rename vilayets, big cities, and district centers first of all. Provinces, villages, small towns, and other toponyms should be renamed only afterwards" (Koraltürk 2003, 99). At first sight, the government was trying to console parliament members but at the same time, intentional and intensive changes of toponyms were clearly in evidence. On 28 October 1922, according to one of the documents, names of provinces covered in regions of Syon, Konya, Izmit, Lazistan, Isparta had nothing in common with Turkish and Ottoman namings, therefore, they all had to be promptly renamed (BCA, 13.113.58). Accordingly, Canli district (Nahiye) of Ayancik region in Sinope area (Kaza) was renamed to Osmanlı; Ayadon district to – Türkeli, Davgan district of Bayshehir region in Konya area was renamed to Doğanbey; Ermishe district in Izmit to – Budaklar, Makriali district in Hopa region in Lazistan area renamed to – Kemalpaşa, Aghros district of Isparta region – to Atabay, Pavlus district to – Cebel...

Prime Minister's office received a document dated 14 January 1924 from the Ministry of Internal Affairs which referred to changing names that have nothing in common with Turkish namings in Sinope region (BCA, 2.9.17).

All non-Turkish naming districts of Edirne center were changed according to Government decree dated 12 February 1925: Iskarletoglu – to Lalashahinpasha, Aya Istarat – to Doğan, Aya Yorgi – to Hasil Bey, Aya Yani – to Isapaki, Aya Istapanos – to Midhat Paşa, Aya Nikola – to Hajibetrettin, Papa Kachanos – to Mimarsinan, Panagia – to Dilaverbey, Papazoğlu – to Kadripaşa, Feristos – to Yalishipaki, Mikhalkoch – Malkoçbey, Karapolit – to Yakuppasha, Madanoğlu – to Talatpasha, Tujjar Napoiat – Devleti Islam... (BCA, 10.5.16). According to regulation dated 14 February 1925, Khachin district in Kosan region, destroyed by Armenians was also renamed to Saimbeyli, a member of the national liberation war.

According to the international treaty of Lausanne, non-Muslim people (Greeks, Armenians...) on the territory of Turkey were recognized as an ethnic minority. But the resentment against Greeks and Armenians made the Government to turn ire and revenge on Muslim but non-Turk population like Kurds and Georgians (Lazs). Hence Kurdish and Kartvelian toponyms changed. For this purpose "The Name Change Council" was established in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Tan 1984, 279-283).

Throughout the entire life of the Ottoman Empire, the area of Samsun was called

Janic/Janit/Janeti. The original name of this territory was Georgian – Chaneti (Karadeniz 1969, 11). Lazistan region suffered the same fate. It was totally abolished and the districts of Rize and Artvin have been formed there instead. It happened in 1927 that caused the riot of Lazs, brutally suppressed by the Turkish government. Since then historically Georgian toponyms were being systematically changed to Turkish namings.

This process started with Ittihadists during the Balkan Wars and WWI and lasted intensively during the national liberation war and continues nowadays (Akhalia 2015, Aksamaz 2000, 48-52).

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AMONG THE CHOSEN CITIES: TBILISI IN THE SHI'I TRADITION* **

Following the setting up in the late 730s - early 770s A.D. of the Tbilisi emirate,¹ its administrative centre Tbilisi, the former capital of the Christian kingdom of Kartli (Eastern Georgia), now run by the Arabs, became involved in the political-religious and cultural life of the Caliphate, becoming one of the important strongholds of Islam in South Caucasus.² Hence, it is not surprising that, beginning with the mid-8th century A.D., the written sources often refer to Muslim scholars and other persons whose biography and activities are to some extent connected with the city of Tbilisi (in Arabic lettering texts: *Tiflīs/Taflīs/Teflīs*) and who accordingly bore the *nisba* “al-Tiflīsi”.³ The majority of such persons were Sunnis, which is quite natural if we recall that official Sunni Islam dominated in the Tbilisi emirate (as well as in other parts of the Caliphate) and that followers of orthodox Sunni *mazhab*s (denominations) prevailed in the intellectual circles of the local Muslim community.⁴ At the same time, Shi‘is are also mentioned in the sources among the earliest Muslims bearing the above *nisba*. Although concrete evidence on the activity of the latter in Arab-occupied Tbilisi is very scanty, it still points to the rather early penetration of the oppositional Shi‘ism and Shi‘i propaganda into the indicated region.

The activists of the Shi‘i movement in Tbilisi emirate in the 8th-early 9th centuries A.D., will be referred

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- 1 On the Tbilisi emirate, see Javakhishvili, 1965, 36, 89-90, 93-94, 96-100, 105, 115-116, 140-142, 144; Janashia, 1952, 391-407; Lordkipanidze, 1951, 185-201; eadem, 1963, 84-96; eadem, 1973, 489-506; eadem, 1975, 525; eadem, 1979b, 611; eadem, 1987b, 543; eadem, 1988, 349-353; eadem, 1991, 37-43, 55, 69, 71-74, 78, 81-82, 92-93; eadem, 1997, 179; eadem, 1998, 179-182; eadem, 2002a, 519; eadem, 2002b, 917; eadem, 2002c, 928-929; eadem, 2002d, 1004; eadem, 2014, 587-588; Minorsky and Bosworth, 1981, 488-489; Sikharulidze, 1976a, 139-143; *Tbilisis istoria*, I, 1990, 62-68, 94-98; Silagadze, 1991, 107ff, 139ff; Alasania, 1999, 21-26; eadem, 2007, 3-14, 535; Djaparidze, 1999a, 72-74; idem, 1999c, 105-106; idem, 2014, 11-43; Fähnrich, 2010, 165-168, etc. See also below, notes 46 and 48.
- 2 As is known, Tbilisi was recaptured and liberated from the Muslim political rule by King David IV the Builder (r. 1089-1125) only four century later, in February 1122. King David again made it the capital of the Kingdom of Georgia, and treated the religion, culture, and customs of the local Muslim residents with great tact and respect. This is attested by the Arabic sources as well. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi, who visited Tbilisi in 548 A.H. (1153 A. D.), reports: “He (i.e. King David IV, - G. B.) guaranteed to the Muslims everything they wished, according to the pact which is valid even to-day... He was extremely kind to the Muslims; he honoured the scholars and *sūfīs* by respecting their rank (?) and (granting them) what they do not enjoy even among the Muslims. I witnessed all these privileges (*shurūt*) when I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153. And I saw how the king of the Abkhaz, Dimitri (1125-1156), in whose service I was, arrived in Tiflis and sojourned there some days... And I witnessed on his part such esteem towards the Muslims as they would not enjoy even if they were in Baghdad”; see Minorsky, 1949, 33-34 (= idem, 1978, Art. IV, 33-34). On the same topic, see also Amedroz, 1902, 791-792; Tsereteli, 1949, 70-71; idem, 2001, 23 (= idem, 2004, 119); Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi, 1959, 6-7 (editor’s introduction in English); Sikharulidze, 1985, 89; Puturidze, 1942, 140-141; Kiknadze, 1960, 123-125 (= idem, 1992, 97-99); Tskitishvili, 1967, 204-205, 211-212; Metreveli, 1990, 218-219; Djaparidze, 1995, 235ff, 243; Asatrian and Margarian, 2004, 34-35, etc.
- 3 On this subject, see Djaparidze, 1989, 77-88; idem, 1990, 65-78; idem, 1983, 795-804; idem, 1985, 12-13; idem, 1995, 200, 242-243, 255; idem, 1999b, 75-76; idem, 2002, 547; idem, 2012, 46-82; Grenard, 1901, 553; MCIA, III/1, 1917, 36 (No. 23), 81-82 (No. 49); Marr, 1934, 37; RCEA, VII, 1936, 207 (No. 2725); XI/2, 1942, 126 (No. 4189), 248 (No. 4378); XIII, 1944, 76 (No. 4911); XVIII, 1991, 121-123 (Nos. 791014-791015); Afshar, 1957, 279-287; Kakhiani, 1965, 13, 63-64; Nafisi, 1965, 128, 177-179; Amiranashvili, 1968, 15; Cahen, 1968, 251; Yetkin, 1970, 44; Aslanapa, 1071, 106; idem, 1989, 116; Tiflisi, 1976, 13-61 (editor’s introduction); Sikharulidze, 1976c, 45-53; V. Gabashvili, 1976, 293-294; M. Gabashvili, 1976, 183-184; eadem, 1981, 91-92; Tskitishvili, 1980, 108; Riyahi, 1981, 620-625; Lordkipanidze, 1991, 66-67, 69, 92; Dowlatabadi, 1991, 88, 353, 356-358, 360-361, 363; DAF, V, 2003, 118, 132-133, 166, 168, 209-211, 303, 337, 433-436, 455, 476; Amir Ahmadian, 2003, 734; idem, 2004, 344-345, 347-349; Karimian, 2003, 745; Asatrian and Margarian, 2004, 31, 36; Yazici, 2004, 415-416; Pakatchi, 2008, 14-17; Ahmadi, 2008, 18; Razavi Borqe'i, 2008, 575-580; İsmayıllı, 2010, 14-17; Yıldız, 2014, 183; Vacca, 2015, 534, 539, 548 (notes 89-90); Memmedli, 2018, pp. 45-54, etc.
- 4 This is specially noted in some Arabic sources. Thus, for example, according to Ibn Hauqal who visited Tbilisi in mid-10th century A.D., in his day the Muslim residents of the city were followers of the Sunni Islam and showed great reverence for the science of the *ḥadīth* and its representatives; see Ibn Hauqal, 1939, 237 (cf. Ibn Hauqal, II, 1964, 333); Sikharulidze, 1976b, 34, 36; Vacca, 2015, 539; eadem, 2017, 22-23.

to below. First, however, special attention should be paid to a little-known Shi‘i tradition whose content seems to have a direct bearing on the aspect of the history of Tbilisi discussed here.

The tradition to be discussed below is found in a number of Arabic and Persian sources of which earliest is *Tārikh-e Qum*, a medieval chronicle on the history of the city of Qum (or Qom; Arab. Qumm), the famous Shi‘i centre in Iran. It was composed originally in Arabic apparently in 378/988-89 by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Qumi (d. 406/1015-16). The Arabic original has, regrettably, not survived. Only the Persian translation of its first five chapters, done in early 15th century A.D. by Ḥasan b. ‘Ali b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Malik Qumi, has come down to us.⁵

Here I shall not go into a detailed description and assessment of this important historical source.⁶ I shall only touch upon the eighth section of the first chapter which is devoted to extolling the excellent qualities and distinctive virtues of Qum and its inhabitants. In this section of the text the “exclusiveness” of Qum and its significance as a bastion of Shi‘ism is illustrated with numerous legends and traditions containing sayings of great religious authorities.⁷ The majority of the sayings cited in this work are ascribed to the sixth Shi‘i Imam Abu ‘Abd-Allah Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq (d. 148/765).⁸ It is in one such authoritative dictum that we find the mention of the name of Tbilisi (Tiflis), in a very curious and somewhat unexpected context.

The translator of this historical work, proceeding from the text of the Arabic original, adduces in Persian translation a Shi‘i tradition (*ḥadīth, riwāya*) referring to Kufa, Qum, and Tiflis as the three choice cities of God. The opening *isnād* at the beginning gives the chain of transmitters; then follows a report to the effect that once the sixth Imam uttered the words on God’s special favour towards the three cities just mentioned:

و هم از وی روایتست از حسن بن یوسف و او از خالد ابی یزید و او از
ابی عبد الله علیه السلام که او فرمود که حق جن و علا از جمیع شهرها کوفه
و قم و تفلیس را برگزیده است.

From him also is⁹ a report from Ḥasan b. Yūsuf who [transmitted] from Khālid Abī Yazīd¹⁰ who

5 The text of this translation, based on a manuscript of ca. 1000/1592-93, was published in 1313 Sh./1934 in Tehran by Sayyid Jalal al-Din Tehrani (see KTQ, 1934). A new critical edition of the work, based on 15 manuscripts (the oldest dates to 837/1433-34), appeared in 1385 Sh./2006 in Qum, with an introduction, notes and indices by Muḥammad-Reza Anṣari Qumi (see TQ, 2006). *Tārikh-e Qum* belongs to a certain category of Iranian local (or city) histories of the pre-Mongol period about which the late Prof. Clifford Edmund Bosworth (1928-2015) remarks: “It is noteworthy that many of the earlier of these histories were first composed in Arabic but then had Persian translations or epitomes – presumably aimed at a wider audience than the narrow circle of those scholars literate in Arabic – made from them, often with continuations; and not infrequently, it has been the latter versions, rather than the Arabic originals, which have survived till today” (see Bosworth, 1998, 235; cf. Cahen, 1982, 125).

6 For more information on this historical work, see Anṣari Qumi, 2006, 06-082; idem, 2011, 311-326; Rieu, 1895, 59-60; Storey, 1936, 348-349; Storey/Bregel, II, 1972, 1008-1009; Lambton, 1948, 586-596; eadem, 1990, 322, 325 ff.; eadem, 1991, 229, 233-234; Spuler, 1952, XXV-XXVI (cf. *Oriens*, IV/1, 1951, 187-189); idem, 2003, 40; Wilber, 1952, 271-272; Sezgin, 1967, 352-353; Rosenthal, 1968, 160-161; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, III, 1983, 276-278; Lawasani, 1959, 105-122; Danesh-Pazhuh, 1960, 75; idem, 2011, 15-25; Modarresi Tabataba‘i, 1974, 12-43; Monzavi, VI, 1974, 4264-4265; idem, II, 1996, 893-894; Dustov, 1989, 25-26; Ṣadri Afshar, 1993, 115-119; Anṣari Qumi, 1998, 101-102; Drechsler, 1999, 11-14, 21-24, 47 ff., 368; idem, 2005; idem, 2008, 49-53; Faqihī, 1999, 21-32; idem, 2001, 241-243; Naṣer al-Shari‘a, 2004, 44-49 (editor’s introduction); Rezayi Moqaddam, 2006, 301-302; Rafī‘i ‘Alamravdashti, 2011, 98-99; Sepehri and Aramuji, 2015, 71-89; Hanaoka, 2016, 54-57, 99ff., 109-118, 183ff.; Bayati and Rajabi, 2017, 78-97.

7 KTQ, 1934, 90-100 (= TQ, 2006, 256-280); cf. Ibn al-Faqih, 1885, 364; Schwarz, V, 1924, 561, notes 9-10; Hamadani, 1996, 471-472 (= Tusi, 1966, 259-260).

8 For a general information about Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq, see Hodgson, 1991, 374-375; Halm, 1988, 34-36; Prozorov, 1991, 60-61; Buckley, 1999, 37-58; Sanikidze, 1999, 223; Gleave *et al.*, 2008, 349-366.

9 Although this introductory phrase (“From **him** also is . . .”) does not contain the narrator’s (*rāwī*) name, it may be surmised, with a measure of probability, that reference in this case is to the *naqib* of Ray Abu Muqatil al-Daylami, a companion of the tenth Imam ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Hadi al-Naqi (d. 254/868) and one of the narrators of Shi‘i traditions, whose name is mentioned twice in the same paragraph of the *Tārikh-e Qum*. The tradition of our present interest (i.e. the saying on the chosenness of Kufa, Qum, and Tiflis) is quoted by the author (→ translator) of the *Tārikh-e Qum* immediately after the other two traditions narrated exactly by the above-named *naqib* of the city of Ray (see KTQ, 1934, 96-97; cf. TQ, 2006, 269-270). About Abu Muqatil al-Daylami, see Naṣer al-Shari‘a, 2004, 28 (editor’s introduction), 157 (note 1); Ḫusayni, Jalali, 2012, 135.

10 Although the spelling ‘Khālid-e Abī Yazīd’ is found in the oldest manuscripts of the *Tārikh-e Qum*, some scholars suggest that the correct reading of the name should be ‘Khālid b. Yazīd’; see al-Majlisi, LX, 1985, 213, note 1; al-Nuri al-Tabarsi, X, 1991, 205, note 11/1.; TQ, 2006, 270, note 5.

[transmitted] from Abī ‘Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!) who was pleased to say: “Of all the cities the Most High and Glorious God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.¹¹

The tradition under consideration occurs in various other Persian and Arabic written sources too. Thus, for example, in the Persian historico-geographical work *Khulāṣat al-Buldān*, compiled in ca. 1079/1668-69 by Ṣafi al-Din Muḥammad b. Muḥammad-Hashem Ḥusayni Qumi,¹² a special long section (*fasl-e dovvom-e bāb-e chahārom*) is devoted to the sayings of the Shi‘i Imams about the city of Qum and its praiseworthy virtues.¹³ The author presents 40 Shi‘i traditions of such type, the 26th of which reads as follows:

حَدِيثٌ يَبْسُطُ وَشَمْ: حَسَنُ بْنُ يُوسُفَ ازْ خَالِدٍ بْنِ يَزِيدٍ وَأَوْ ازْ حَضْرَتِ اِمامٍ يَهُ حَقُّ نَاطِقٍ
جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ الصَّادِقِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ رَوَى يَحْمَدُ كَهْ فَرَمَدُ كَهْ: حَقُّ سَبَّاهَةٍ وَتَعَالَى ازْ
جَمِيعِ شَهْرَهَا كُوفَّهُ وَقَمُّ وَتَفْلِيسُ رَاهْ بَرْ كَرْيَدَهُ اسْتَ.

The 26th *hadīth*: Ḥasan b. Yūsuf [transmitted] from Khālid b. Yazīd who transmitted from Imām Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) who was pleased to say: “Of all the cities the Most High and Almighty God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, the Arabic original of the above *hadīth* is found in the widely known *Bihār al-Anwār*, a fast encyclopaedic compendium of Shi‘i traditions compiled in Arabic by the great Imāmi scholar Muḥammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1110/1698-99 or 1111/1699-1700).¹⁵ This is what Majlisi, “a most prolific *hadīth* collector and unprecedently influential author in the world of the Twelver Shi‘a”,¹⁶ says in his *magnum opus*:

وَعَنِ الْخَسَنِ بْنِ يُوسُفٍ عَنْ خَالِدِ بْنِ يَزِيدٍ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ:
إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَّةً وَقَمًّ وَتَفْلِيسًا.

[It is transmitted] on the authority of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf on the authority of Khālid b. Yazīd on the authority of Abī ‘Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!) who said: “Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.¹⁷

Later, this *hadīth* found its way (via *Tārīkh-e Qum* and/or *Bihār al-Anwār*) into a number of works written by 19th and early 20th-century Shi‘i authors. Thus, for example, in his short Arabic treatise *Tafsīr Āyat al-Amānah*, Sayyid Muḥammad-Baqer Tabatabā’i Ḥāeri Yazdi (1239-1298/1823-1881) makes reference to Majlisi’s *Bihār al-Anwār* and writes:

عَنِ الصَّادِقِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: “إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَّةً وَقَمًّ وَتَفْلِيسًا”.

[It is transmitted] on the authority of [Imām Ja‘far] al-Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) who said: “Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.¹⁸

¹¹ KTQ, 1934, 97 (cf. TQ, 2006, 270-271). This evidence of *Tārīkh-e Qum* was first discussed in Beradze, 1983, 54-60; see also Beradze, 1993, 15-17; idem, 1997, 128, 133; idem, 1998, 42-45; idem, 2003-2004, 37, 40; Djaparidze, 1989, 80; idem, 1999d, 230; idem, 2012, 51; Lordkipanidze, 1991, 66-67; Giunashvili, 1995, 18; idem, 1997, 70; idem, 2001, 60; idem, 2003, 43; idem, 2012, 33, 51, 160, 211; Muliyanī, 2000, 40-41; Baindurashvili, 2003, 567-568; Amir Aḥmadiyan, 2003, 734; idem, 2004, 344-345; Alasania, 2008, 211; Alexidze, 2009b, 106; eadem, 2011, 32; Delshad, 2016, 90.

¹² On this work, see Modarresi Tabatabā’i, 1974, 56-59; idem, 1975, 92-96; idem, 2011, 131-142; Moḥit Tabatabā’i, 1974, 607-610, 692-696; idem, 1975, 173-177, 256-260; idem, 2011, 109-130; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, VI, 1983, 216; Lambton, 1990, 322; Sava-ghēb, 2001, 98, note 1; idem, 2013, 14; Drechsler, 2008, 27.

¹³ Ḥusayni Qumi, 1976, 50-82; idem, 2011, 11-40; Shimamoto, 1991, 104-107.

¹⁴ See Ḥusayni Qumi, 1976; idem, 2011, 30.

¹⁵ For a general information about Majlisi’s *Bihār al-Anwār*, “one of the chief monuments of all Shi‘i scholarship” (Algar, 1991, 705), see Pampus, 1970; Kohberg, 1989, 90-93; Davani, 1991, 142-165; Taromi, 1996a; Taromi, 1996b, 268-275; Moti‘, 2002, 370-375.

¹⁶ Hairi, 1985, 1086; cf. Browne, 1959, 366 (“... Mullá Muḥammad Báqir-i-Majlisí, perhaps the most notable and powerful doctor of the Shi‘a who ever lived”); Davani, 1991; Mazzaoui, 1995, 27-28; Taromi, 1996a; Brunner, 2006, 460-461; idem, 2011.

¹⁷ See al-Majlisi, 60, 1985, 213-214 (*bāb* 36, *riwāya* 25). On this evidence, see Beradze, 1998, 42, 44; idem, 2003-2004, 37, 41.

¹⁸ See Tabatabā’i Ḥāeri Yazdi, 2007, 328.

Another Iranian author of the same period, Ḥaj Mirza Shaikh Muḥammad-‘Ali Qarachedaghi Anṣari Tabrizi (d. ca. 1310/1892-93), presents the following Persian paraphrase of the same *ḥadīth* in his *Faḍā’el-e Qum* (completed in Sha’ban 1284/November-December 1867):

و از حضرت صادق علیه السلام روایت است که : خداوند عالم ممتاز
نمود از میان جمیع بلاد کوفه و قم و تفلیس را .

Ḩaḍrat [Imām Ja’far] Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) is reported as having said: “Of all the cities the Lord of the World (= God) chose (distinguished) Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.¹⁹

In the Arabic-language *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il*, a highly reputable multi-volume *ḥadīth* collection, compiled in 1295-1313/1878-1895 by the eminent Shi’i cleric and scholar Ḥaj Mirza Ḥusayn Muḥaddith Nuri Tabarsi (d. 1320/1902),²⁰ we read:

و عن الحسن بن يوسف ، عن خالد بن أبي يزيد ، عن أبي عبد الله
(عليه السلام) قال: إن الله اختار من جميع البلاد كوفة ، و قم ، و تفلیس .

[It is transmitted] on the authority of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf on the authority of Khālid b. Abī Yazīd on the authority of Abī ‘Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!) who said: “Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.²¹

The Shi’i tradition we are dealing with can be found also in a three-volume Persian work on the history of Qum entitled *Anwār al-Moša’sha’in*, compiled in the early 20th century by Shaikh Muḥammad ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali b. Baha’ al-Din Qumi (d. 1335/1916-17). The tradition appears in the first volume of the work (comp. in 1327/1907)²² in connection with the interpretation of the epithet *Mukhtār al-bilād*,²³ one of the numerous *laqabs* and epithets of Qum.²⁴ Thus, in the 13th paragraph, called *Nūr-e moša’sha’-e sīzdahom* (lit. “The 13th radiant light”), of the eighth chapter, quoting Majlisi both in Arabic and in Persian translation, the author cites the *ḥadīth* containing the saying of the sixth Imam concerning the three cities being God’s cities of choice:

نور مشعشع سیزدهم در ذکر حدیثی که دلالت دارد بر بودن قم مختار البلاد
همچنان که علامه مجلسی در بحار میفرماید: و عن الحسن بن يوسف عن خالد بن
أبی يزيد عن أبی عبد الله عليه السلام قال: إن الله اختار من جميع البلاد كوفة و قم
و تفلیس یعنی امام جعفر صادق علیه السلام فرمودند: خدا اختیار نمود از جمیع
البلاد کوفه و قم و تفلیس [را].

The 13th Radiant Light on the mentioning of the *ḥadīth* which argues that Qum is really *Mukhtār al-bilād*. As ‘Allāma Majlisī states in his *Bihār [al-Anwār]*: “[It is transmitted] on the authority of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf on the authority of Khālid b. Abī Yazīd on the authority of Abī ‘Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!), who said: “Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”, which means [in Persian] that Imām Ja’far Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) was pleased to say: “Of all the cities God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs”.²⁵

19 See Qarachedaghi Anṣari Tabrizi, 2005, 52-53. On this work, see Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, XVI, 1983, 293; Modarresi Tabatabā’i, 1974, 129

20 On this 19th-century Shi’i scholar, see Bamdad, 1968, 430; Moshar, II, 1961, 713-718; Ḥabibabadi, 1985, 1461-1471; Naṣiri, 2005, 143-144; Falahzadeh Abarqu’i, 2008, 78-98; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirza_Husain_Noori_Tabarsi.

21 See al-Nuri al-Tabarsi, X, 1991, 205.

22 The volume one of this three-volume work was first published in 1327/1909 in Tehran as a lithographed edition (see AM, 1909). The complete text of the work (in three volumes) was edited by Muḥammad-Reza Anṣari Qumi in 1381 Sh./2002 in Qum (further: AM, 2002). On this historical work and its author, see Anṣari Qumi, I, 2002, 011-017; Storey/Bregel, I, 1972, 528-529, and Storey/Bregel, II, 1972, 1009-1010; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, II, 1983, 441; idem, III, 1983, 279; Moshar, IV, 1963, 348-350; Modarresi Tabatabā’i, 1974, 132-159; Shcheglova, 1975, 52-53; eadem, 1989, 37-38; Dustov, 1989, 28; Monzavi, II, 1996, 825; Anṣari Qumi, 1998, 103; Ṣadeqi, 2002, 53-62 (= idem, 2011, 143-162); Shafī’i Ardestani, 2003, 129-130 (= idem, 2011, 163-168); Rafī’i ‘Alamravdashti, 2011, 104-105.

23 Arab. ‘mukhtār al-bilād’ (> Pers. ‘mokhtār ol-belād’), ‘the choice city’, ‘the chosen among cities’.

24 The author lists and explains about thirty different epithets of the city of Qum; see AM, I, 2002, 261-262, 266-326, 464; cf. Faqīhi, 1999, 13-18; TF, 2000, 48-49; Sameni, 1993, 44-49, 70, 96, 183, 185, 250, 250, 254, 266, 295, 297; Amirkhani, 2005.

25 AM, I, 2002, 313 (= AM, I, 1909, 121). On this evidence, see Beradze, 1993, 16; idem, 1997, 129, 134; idem, 1998, 42, 45; idem,

The Shi'i *hadīth* of our present interest is quoted also by the Iraqi scholar Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Buraqī al-Najafī (1261-1332/1845-1914)²⁶ in his *Tarīkh al-Kūfa*:

وَفِي الْبَحَارِ وَتَارِيخِ قُمْ : عَنْ الْحَسْنِ بْنِ يُوسُفَ عَنْ خَالِدِ بْنِ أَبِي يَزِيدٍ عَنْ أَبِي
عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ : إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَةً وَقُمًّا وَتِفْلِيسًا.

In the *Bihār [al-Anwār]* and *Tarīkh Qum* [we read]: [It is transmitted] on the authority of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf on the authority of Khālid b. Abī Yazid on the authority of Abī 'Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!) who said: "Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs".²⁷

Special mention should also be made here of the recently published four-volume Persian work *Tuhfat al-Fatemiyyīn fi Aḥwāl Qumm wa al-Qummīyyīn*, compiled in 1351/1932 by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Qumi (d. 1367/1948).²⁸ The Persian-language version of the *hadīth* on the chosenness of Kufa, Qum, and Tiflis occurs in this chronicle twice in the second chapter of the volume one:

وَإِذْ حَضَرَ إِمَامُ جَعْفَرٍ صَادِقَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ رَوَى إِنَّهُ قَرِئَ عَلَى
أَنَّ كُلِّ الْمُجْمَعِينَ مِنْ كُلِّ الْمُجْمَعِينَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَةً وَقُمًّا وَتِفْلِيسًا.

Hadrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) is reported as having said: "Of all the cities the Most High God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs".²⁹

وَإِذْ حَضَرَ إِمَامُ جَعْفَرٍ صَادِقَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَرِئَ عَلَى
أَنَّ كُلِّ الْمُجْمَعِينَ مِنْ كُلِّ الْمُجْمَعِينَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَةً وَقُمًّا وَتِفْلِيسًا.

As for the fact that the city of Qum was named *Mukhtār al-bilād*, there is a *hadīth* according to which Ḥaḍrat [Imām Ja'far] Ṣādiq (Peace be upon him!) was pleased to say: "Of all the cities God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs".³⁰

The Arabic text of the *hadīth* appears in Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Qumi's other work, *Kitāb al-Arba'in fi Faḍā'il-i Qumm wa al-Qummīyyīn*, published (as an appendix) in the fourth volume of his above-mentioned *Tuhfat al-Fatemiyyīn*:

الْحَدِيثُ السَّادِسُ : وَعَنْ الْحَسْنِ بْنِ يُوسُفَ ، عَنْ خَالِدِ بْنِ أَبِي يَزِيدٍ ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ
عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ : إِنَّ اللَّهَ اخْتَارَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْبَلَادِ كُوفَةً وَقُمًّا وَتِفْلِيسًا.

The 6th *hadīth*: [It is transmitted] on the authority of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf on the authority of Khālid b. Abī Yazid on the authority of Abī 'Abd-Allāh (Peace be upon him!) who said: "Of all the cities surely God chose Kūfa, Qum, and Tiflīs".³¹

The same *hadīth*, with references to the *Tarīkh-e Qum*, *Bihār al-Anwār* and/or *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, is also repeatedly quoted by contemporary Shi'i scholars in their various modern publications.³²

2003-2004, 37, 41; Amir Ahmadiyan, 2004, 344-345.

26 On this Shi'i author from Iraq and his works, see Elhami, 1996, 616; Shabibi, 2009, 17-22.

27 See al-Buraqī al-Najafī, 1987, 61; cf. idem, 2009, 82.

28 The complete text of this work was edited by 'Alī Rafī'i Alāmravdashti and Muḥammad Husayn Darayati in 1391 Sh./2012 in Qum (see TF, 2012). On this historical work and its author, see Rafī'i Alāmravdashti, 1999, 63-90; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, III, 1983, 460-461; Modarresi Tabatabā'i, 1974, 176-190; Ṣadra'i Kho'i, 1997, 50-54; idem, 2004, 49-52, 58-59; Anṣari Qumi, 1998, 108; Khoshnezhadiyan, 2012, 65-70.

29 TF, I, 2012, 100; cf. TF, 2000, 46.

30 TF, I, 2012, 111; cf. TF, 2000, 51.

31 TF, IV, 2012, 146.

32 See, for example: al-Namazi al-Shahrudi, VIII, 1998, 298; Tabasi, II/2, 2009, 39; Fatemi, 2000, 12; Shafa, 1999, 288; Kochakzadeh, 2001, 13; Amir Ahmadiyan, 2003, 734; idem, 2004, 344-345; Mehdipur, 2003, 277; Mir Husayni, 2003, 158; 'Abbasi Fordo'i, 2005, 43; Amirkhani, 2005, 311; Ḥorabadi, 2005, 248; Sharifi, 2006; Tabatabā'i Amiri, 2006, 53-54; Ḥamidi, 2007, 32; İsmayılpaz, 2010, 12; 'Aliyannezhadi, 2011, 62-63; Shafi'i Sarvestani, 2012; <http://janat1.ir/hadith/?subject=qom> ("Majmu'e-ye aḥadīth wa ḫawāyid dar bare-ye Qum"), etc.

For the time being I shall leave open the highly interesting question of the authenticity of this *ḥadīth* and to what extent the chain of authorities (*isnād*) via which it is transmitted is trustworthy, leaving the issue to the scholars specializing in *ḥadīth* studies.³³ At present I shall restrict myself to the statement and general appraisal of the fact that a tradition with such a curious content was widespread in the Shi‘i world almost throughout the Middle Ages and Modern times. The saying recorded in this tradition, irrespective of whether it is authentic (i. e., actually pronounced by the sixth Imam) or a figment of later imagination, acquires the significance of a highly valuable piece of evidence on the religious-political history of medieval Tbilisi.

Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq, to whom the *ḥadīth* concerning the divine chosenness of the three cities (Kufa, Qum, and Tiflis) is ascribed, is considered by the Imami Shi‘is as an absolute authority on religious questions, second only to the first (and the greatest) Imam, ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (d. 40/661), and his name is held with exceptional reverence.³⁴

The mention of the city of Tbilisi in a *ḥadīth* attributed to Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq along with such universally acknowledged strongholds of the early Shi‘ism and Shi‘i learning as Kufa (in Iraq)³⁵ and Qum (in Iran) may be thanks to some special “service” (real or legendary) that it had rendered to the history of the Shi‘i movement. Otherwise, it would seem that medieval and modern Shi‘i authors citing the saying in question, as well as the numerous Muslim readers of their works, must have been surprised and even shocked at the appearance in such a purely Shi‘i tradition of the name of a city without an appropriate *renommée* after the names of the two real and prominent centres of the early Shi‘ism.

To be sure, in analyzing the tradition in question, the possibility of a later interpolation or of a spelling mistake cannot be disregarded. Theoretically, it is not ruled out that the name “Tiflis” may have appeared by chance in one of the written versions of this tradition in place of some other, earlier mentioned geographical name of an approximately similar graphic outline, and that subsequently it became absorbed in the text (*matn*) of the given *ḥadīth*. However, even in such a case the “intrusion” and subsequent “consolidation” of the name “Tiflis” in the saying of the sixth Imam will attest to the popularity of this geographical site among the Imami Shi‘is, that is, on the inward readiness of the latter (including such an authoritative Imami scholar as Majlisi) to accept without any doubt the words concerning God’s special favour towards the city of Tbilisi. Perhaps the fact that in the Iranian world this Georgian city has retained up to the modern time the epithet *Dār al-surūr* (“Abode of Joy”, “House of Joy”, “Paradise”),³⁶ is a remote echo of a long-standing reverential attitude of Iranian Shi‘is toward Tbilisi. This reverential attitude to the city of Tbilisi found certain reflection in Persian literature as well. I shall adduce here only two poetical examples of relatively modern period.

In his poem *Ta‘rīf-e balade-ye Teflīs* (“In praise of the city of Tbilisi”) the 18th-century Iranian author Ṣafi Khalkhali³⁷ writes:

چه تفليس است اين رشك بهشت است
به پيشش گلشن فردوس زشت است

What [a beautiful city] is Tiflis; it is a rival of Paradise,
Compared to it even Eden looks plain.³⁸

³³ An example of the textual criticism of some *ḥadīths* or *riwaya* regarding the city of Qum can be found in Ḥusayni and Jalali, 2012, 129-153.

³⁴ On this, see above, note 8. See also Jafri, 1979, 259ff.; Momen, 1985, 38-39; Prozorov, 2004, 300-302. In this connection, it is interesting to recall the following characteristic detail connected with the history of Qum: according to al-Muqaddasi (d. 390/1000), the *kunya* (agnomen or teknonym) “Abū Ja‘far” in honour of the sixth Imam was uncommonly popular and most widespread in Qum (see al-Moqaddasi, 1906, 398; Schwarz, 1924, 561; Spuler, 1952, 220; Hanaoka, 2016, 54-55)

³⁵ As is well known, the city of Kufa (al-Kūfa) was a prominent centre of early Shi‘ism and Shi‘i learning. Kufa was able to export its Shi‘i consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Qum especially. By the 9th century A.D. the city of Qum, being indeed a projection of Shi‘i Kufa (as Balkh, Marv and Nishapur were a projection of Sunni Başra), had replaced Kufa as the most prominent Shi‘i centre of learning; see, for instance, Djait, 1980, 349-350; Prozorov, 1980, 14-16ff; idem, 2004, 254-255; Scarcia Amoretti, 1981, 134-137; Kohlberg, 1983, 301.

³⁶ See, for instance, Steingass, 1892, 496; Haim, I, 1985, 780; Gaffarov, I, 1974, 317; Brugsch, II, 1863, 399; La‘li, 1943, 41; Nakhjavani, 1964, 712; cf. Ter-Oganov, 2000, 399; idem, 2009a, 262; Alexidze, 2011, 32; Sanikidze, 2018, 165.

³⁷ The unique manuscript of this interesting poetical work, written in the form of *shahrashub*, is preserved in St. Petersburg. Its Persian text was edited and translated into the Georgian language by the late Prof. Magali Todua (1927-2016); see Todua, 1975, 195-220, 294. See also Marr and Chaikin, 1976, 65, 68-69; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, IX/2, 1983, 585; Tarbiyat, 1999, 324; Dowlatabadi, 1966, 401; Khayampur, 1993, 540.

³⁸ Todua, 1975, 202, 212. On this, see also Ter-Oganov, 2000, 399; idem, 2009a, 262-263; Beradze, 2001, 147-149; *Tbilisi. Entsik-*

The following lines were written in 1889 by the eminent Iranian poet of the Qajar period Abu Naṣr Fath-Allah Khan Sheybani (1825-1890):

پس بهشت امروز در عالم بجز تفلیس نیست
کاندر آنجا حسن دارد مکمن و دانش مکان
ای نسیم صبح اگر از ری پرگستان روی
این پیام پنده شبیانی بر آن جنت رسان

So today's Paradise on Earth is nowhere but in Tiflis,
The abode of beauty and knowledge is located there.

O morning breeze! If you move from [the ciy of] Ray to Georgia,
Deliver, please, this message of (God's) servant Sheybani to that paradise.³⁹

After this small poetical “intermezzo” let us return to our basic theme and continue our meditation upon the possible reason(s) of the appearance of the name “Tiflis” in the above-quoted Shi‘i tradition.

I am so far unaware of what might have been the supposed “service” (real or legendary) done by Tbilisi that became the basis for the origin and spread among the Twelver Shi‘is of the view on the chosenness of this Georgian city. It would seem, however, that if Tbilisi was really covered with “Shi‘i glory”, that glory must have been somehow related to the history of the city itself, with the process of formation (in the 8th-early 9th cent. A.D.) and subsequent development of a Imami Shi‘i segment within the Muslim part of its population. Regrettably, our present knowledge of this process is so far too superficial, because the religious-ideological aspects of the history of Tbilisi of that period have been poorly studied.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as noted earlier, a few concrete facts are available, pointing directly or indirectly to the penetration of Shi‘i propaganda into Tbilisi in the rather early stage of the existence of the Tbilisi emirate.

It should be noted in this connection that an active rôle in the introduction and dissemination of the religious and political ideas of Shi‘ism in Arab-occupied Tbilisi, as could be assumed from fragmentary evidence of the written sources, was played by Shi‘i missionaries from Kufa, and among them – which is particularly noticeable – pupils and adherents of the sixth Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq, the “author” of the curious saying commented above.

As is known, in the time of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq (d. 148/765) the Tbilisi emirate was in process of formation and consolidation. It is natural to assume that this great leader of the Shi‘is would take all measures to create a firm foothold for himself in this new and important frontier point of the Caliphate with help of his numerous active followers.⁴¹ According to the medieval Imami *rijāl* works (i.e., biographical dictionaries of the *hadīth* narrators and transmitters), one such activist was al-Faḍl b. Abi Qurra al-Tamimi al-Samandi al-Tiflisi, a Shi‘i traditionalist of the 8th century A.D. He was one of the pupils of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq, had heard *hadīths* from him and compiled a *hadīth* collection. He subsequently transferred his activities to the cities of South Caucasus, including Tbilisi.⁴² The sources have preserved the name of one of his fellow-members of

lopedia, 2002, 63; Maşumi, 2003b, 167; Alasania, 2008, 215. Reference should be also made here to Mulla Panah Vaqif (1717-1797), one of the classics of the Azerbaijani literature, in whose verses Tbilisi is referred to as *Paradise on Earth*; see Vaqif, 1968, 133 (= Vaqif, 2004, 195); Vaqif, 1949, 160; Alieva, 1958, 37; Eradze, 1972, 271; Bellingeri, 1985, 87; idem, 2003, 237.

39 Sheybani, 1890/91, 4; Alexidze, 2016, 647; cf. Ter-Oganov, 2000, 402-403; idem, 2009a, 266; Alexidze, 2001, 79; eadem, 2009b, 22-23; eadem, 2011, 40. It should be also noted that in some 19th-century Persian travel books the city of Tbilisi (Tiflis) is referred to as ‘*balad-e behesht-āyīn*’ (“Paradise-like city”); see Tabatabā'i Tabrizi, 2007, 87.

40 Meanwhile, study of these aspects, as correctly pointed out by the late Prof. Valerian Gabashvili (1911-1985), is of considerable interest not only for the history of Tbilisi proper, but also on a broader scale for the elucidation of the problem of historical contacts of medieval Georgia with the religious-ideological systems of the Near and Middle East; see Gabashvili, 1968, 74ff.; idem, 2016, 77ff.; Djaparidze, 1995, 199ff.

41 Djaparidze, 1989, 80; idem, 2012, 50-51.

42 See al-Tusi, 2006, 269, 436; cf. al-Najashi al-Asadi al-Kufi, 1997, 308. Evidence on this person is also found in the works of al-Barqi (d. 274/887-88 or 280/893-94) and al-Hilli (d. 740/1339-40); see al-Barqi, 1963, 34 (cf. al-Barqi, 2012, 214); al-Hilli, 1963, 271, 492; see also Ibn Shahrashub al-Mazandarani, 1961, 91; al-Ardabili al-Gharawi al-Ḥāeri, II, 1993, 4; al-Mazandarani, V, 1995, 193; al-Nuri al-Tabarsi, VIII, 2008, 302; al-Musavi al-Kho‘yi, XIV, 1993, 299-301; al-Tabrizi, XI, 2009, 309-310; al-Tustari, VIII, 1996, 397; Shabestari, II, 1997, 566; al-Sobhani, II, 1997, 445-446; Djaparidze, 1989, 79-81; idem, 1999b, 75; idem, 2012, 49-52; Pakatchi, 2008, 14.

the circle of the sixth Imam, who was also connected with Tbilisi. This was Abu Muḥammad Sharif b. Sabiq al-Tiflisi who, it is reported, came to Tbilisi from Kufa to take up residence in the city.⁴³

Apart from the persons just mentioned, the sources refer also to Busr (or Bushr) b. Bayan b. Ḥumran al-Tiflisi and Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Tiflisi among the Imami traditionalists of the 8th-9th centuries A.D., connected with Tbilisi. The former was a follower of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq, and the latter a disciple of the Imams Musa al-Kazim b. Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq (d. 183/799) and ‘Ali al-Riḍa (d. 203/818).⁴⁴ Special mention should also be made here of some persons of ‘Alid origin bearing the *nisba* “al-Tiflisi”. For instance, the sources refer to Ḥamza Mullaḥin b. ‘Ali al-Tiflisi (mid-9th century A.D.) and his son Abu Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Asghar al-Tiflisi, who, it is reported, were direct descendants of the third Imam, Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali (d. 61/680).⁴⁵

Unfortunately, precise dates or any other additional details related to the Tbilisi period of the biographies of the above-named persons are not indicated in the sources available to me. However, there can be hardly any doubt that this period in their biographies and activities was of special significance. Had the link of these Imamis with Tbilisi been of little importance and non-prestigious, the geographical *nisba* “al-Tiflisi” would have hardly stuck to their names.

Before ending my paper, I should like to draw attention to the Muslim family of Ja‘farids (*Banū Ja‘far*), hereditary *amīrs* who ruled in Tbilisi for two centuries, from the 880s (or 890s) A.D. Rather than discussing the political history of the Tbilisi Ja‘farids, I shall only touch upon a concrete question connected with their names and confessional affiliation, which seems to be of certain interest from the viewpoint of the topic discussed above. Of particular interest is the name *Banū Ja‘far* itself and the frequent appearance of the anthroponyms ‘Ali, Ja‘far, and Ḥasan among the names of the representatives of this family,⁴⁶ in which one might see the expression of their ‘Alidophil orientation and sentiments.

In this connection, the following piece of evidence found in Ibn al-Qifti’s (d. 646/1248) work must be mentioned. In a brief report related to the Shi‘i scholar and poet of the turn of the 10th-11th century A.D. Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Bundar al-Tiflisi and his works (religious and philological treatises, panegyric odes in praise of the Shi‘i Imams, etc.), Ibn al-Qifti notes that one of the treatises of this author entitled *Al-Manāqib wa al-Mathālib* was dedicated to his contemporary Ja‘farid *amīr* of Tbilisi Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Ja‘far (r. from ca. 386/996 to 419/1028).⁴⁷

Reference should be also made here to a Persian panegyric ode of the Iranian poet Qatran Tabrizi (d. after 465/1072) in praise of the Ja‘farid *amīr* Abu’l-Faḍl Ja‘far b. ‘Ali (son and successor of the above-named Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Ja‘far), in which the latter is referred to as *sayyid*.⁴⁸ This attracted the attention of Dr. Aḥmad Kasravi (1890-1946), who suggested that the above-named *amīr* of Tbilisi may have been of ‘Alid origin, and hence Qatran honoured him with the appellation *sayyid*.⁴⁹

43 On this, see al-Najashi al-Asadi al-Kufi, 1997, 195-196; al-Tusi, 2006, 428; al-Hilli, 1963, 461; al-Kashshi, 2009, 245 (cf. al-Tusi, 2006b, 289); Ibn Shahrashub al-Mazandarani, 1961, 59; Ibn al-Ghaḍa’iri, 2001, 66; al-Ardabili al-Gharawi al-Ḥa’eri, I, 1993, 329; Astarabadi, VI, 2009, 157; al-Ḥurr al-‘Amili, 2006, 138; al-‘Amili, II, 424; al-Musavi al-Kho’yi, X, 1993, 21-22; idem, XIV, 1993, 301; al-Tustari, VIII, 1996, 398; al-Sobhani, III, 1997, 285-286; Djaparidze, 1989, 81; idem, 2012, 52; Pakatchi, 2008, 14-15.

44 See al-Barqi, 1963, 51; al-Tusi, 2006, 173, 370; al-Hilli, 1963, 569; cf. al-Barqi, 2012, 312; al-Ḥurr al-‘Amili, 2006, 273; al-‘Amili, III, 626; al-Mamaqani, XII, 2002, 191, 245-247; al-Tabrizi, XI, 2009, 106; al-Musavi al-Kho’yi, IV, 1993, 221, 280; idem, VI, 1993, 175-176; al-Tustari, II, 1989, 323, 413; idem, III, 1990, 202-203, 391-392; idem, XI, 2001, 494; Shabestari, I, 1997, 230; Djaparidze, 1989, 78-79, 81; idem, 2012, 48, 52; Pakatchi, 2008, 15. The Arabic sources refer also to Busr (or Bushr) b. Bayan b. Ḥumran’s brother, Muḥammad b. Bayan b. Ḥumran al-Mada’ini al-Tiflisi; according to al-Sam‘ani (d. 562/1166-67), he was a Sunni traditionalist from Tiflis; see al-Sam‘ani, III, 1963, 66; Sikharulidze, 1976c, 47, 50-51; Djaparidze, 1989, 78-79, 81; idem, 1999b, 75; idem, 2012, 48-49; Pakatchi, 2008, 15.

45 See Djaparidze, 1989, 82-83; idem, 2012, 53-54. It is also of interest in this connection to mention Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali (late 9th - early 10th cent. A.D.), a descendant of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq’s eldest son Isma‘il (d. 138/755), who spent his last days in Tbilisi. According to Abu’l-Faraj al-İsfahani’s *Maqātil al-Tālibiyīn* (comp. in 313/925), he was killed in Tbilisi in the time of Caliph al-Muqtadir (295/908 – 320/932); see Djaparidze, 1989, 84; idem, 2012, 55-56; Pakatchi, 2008, 15.

46 On the Ja‘farid amirs of Tbilisi, see Javakhishvili, 1965, 36, 105, 140-142, 144; Lordkipanidze, 1951, 196-201; eadem, 1973, 502-506; eadem, 1991, 41-43, 55, 69, 71-74, 81-82, 93; eadem, 1997, 161-163; eadem, 1987a, 45-47; eadem, 1987b, 543; eadem, 2002d, 1004; Meskhia, 1962, 23-29, 58-59, 63, 72; Minorsky, Bosworth, 1981, 489; *Tbilisis istoria*, I, 1990, 67-68, 94-98; Djaparidze, 1999a, 73-74. See also below, note 48.

47 See al-Qifti, I, 1986, 325; Djaparidze, 1989, 85-86; idem, 1999a, 75-76; idem, 2002, 547; idem, 2012, 57-58, 305 (note 3).

48 Qatran Tabrizi, 1983, 45-46, 284-286, 420-424.

49 Kasravi, III, 1930, 27 (= idem, 2006, 282); cf. Beradze, 1997, 135; idem, 2008, 213; Maşumi, 2003a, 46.

As far as I know, Qatran's panegyric ode is the only literary source in which one of the Ja'farid *amīrs* of Tbilisi is called *sayyid*; no example of this kind has been found in other Persian and Arabic written sources. Only recently, Qatran's above literary evidence was confirmed to some extent by the contemporary numismatic material. Reference is to the previously unknown two coins of the Ja'farid *amīr* Abu Naṣr Maṇṣur b. Ja'far (son of Abu'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. 'Ali, mentioned by Qatran), preserved in the collection of the *Orientalische Münzkabinett* in Jena (Germany) and published in 2005. On both of these coins (unfortunately, with neither date nor mint indicated), the obverse is furnished with an Arabic inscription containing the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Qa'im (r. 422-467/1031-1075), the reverse bearing the name of the Ja'farid *amīr*. In both cases – which is noticeable – the *amīr*'s name and title are engraved on the coins in the following form: *[al-a]mīr al-sayyid Abū Naṣr Maṇṣur b. Ja'far*.⁵⁰ The same honorific title *al-sayyid* occurs also on a number of recently discovered other *dirhams* of the above-mentioned two Ja'farid *amīrs* of Tbilisi⁵¹ – Abu'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. 'Ali and his son Abu Naṣr Maṇṣur b. Ja'far.⁵²

The materials and facts discussed in the foregoing are, figuratively speaking, only small fragments and remains of an “early-Shi'i ornament” on the very multicoloured “historical carpet” of the city of Tbilisi. It is to be hoped that in the course of future research new evidence will be discovered, shedding some additional light on those aspects of the history of medieval Tbilisi that have been dealt with only in a general way in the present paper.

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⁵⁰ On these rare coins, see Mayer, 2005, 110, Nos. 285-286, Figs 1005-1006; cf. Beradze, 2008, 213; Paghava and Turkia, 2011, 12; eidem, 2014, 348-349, 350, Pl. XI; Paghava, 2015b, 48-49, 52.

⁵¹ For more details on the presently known coins of the Ja'farid amirs of Tbilisi, see Pakhomov, 1970, 46-49, 289-291; Kapanadze, 1944, 183-190; idem, 1955, 50, 53, Pl. III.; idem, 1961, 71-78; idem, 1966, 62-63, Pl. I, Fig. 3; idem, 1969, 55-57; Lang, 1955, 13-16; Meskhia, 1962, 23-24, 72; Dobrovolsky, 1974, 62, 66, Pl. I, Fig. 3; idem, 1977, 162, Pl. I, Fig. 4; Jalagania, 1979, 62-68; Antadze, 1986, 121-125, Pl. X; Djaparidze, 1991, 132-150; idem, 1997, 204-216; idem, 1998, 97-107; idem, 2012, 304-322; Lordkipanidze, 1991, 42-43, 69; Gagoshidze et al., 2000, 34-35, 204-207, Nos. 44-47 (cf. Dundua et al., 2003, 24-25, Nos. 44-47); Molchanov, 2001, 58-60; idem, 2003a, 93-95; idem, 2003b, 7-8; Mayer, 2005, 110, Figs 1005-1006; G. Dundua and T. Dundua, 2006, 175-179, Pl. VII, Figs. 45-48; Turkia and Paghava, 2008, 5-11; Paghava and Turkia, 2009, 7-9; eidem, 2011, 11-13; eidem, 2012, 205-212; eidem, 2014, 347-360; Album, 2011, 160; Paghava and Bennett, 2012, 11-12; Bennett, 2014, 33-42, Nos. 75-95; Paghava, 2014, 251-255; idem, 2015a, 9-61; idem, 2015b, 3-4, 11-13, 33-63, 205-206, 207-214; idem, 2016a, 88-89; idem, 2016b, 256-257, Figs. 13-15; idem, 2017, 1155-1158; idem, 2018, 27-28; <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=37>; <https://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=1827>.

⁵² These newly discovered rare Ja'farid coins of the 11th century A.D., found in 2008-2015 in Tbilisi, were published and discussed in detail by the Georgian scholars Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia; see Paghava and Turkia, 2011, 11-13; eidem, 2014, 347-360, 454-455, Pl. XI; Paghava, 2015a, 9-61; idem, 2015b, 45-47, 49, 52-54. In addition, it should be noted that in the same period in the South Caucasus the title *al-amīr al-sayyid* appears almost regularly on the *dirhams* of the Shaddadid rulers of Ganja (i.e. the southeastern neighbours of the Tbilisi Ja'farids), issued from 393/1003 to 431/1040 (see Lebedev and Koifman, 1997, 98, 102; Lebedev et al., 2006, 20-21, 25-29, 35-36, 38-40, 71; Kuleshov, 2014, 204-205; Paghava and Turkia, 2011, 12-13; eidem, 2014, 357-358; Paghava, 2015a, 32; idem, 2015b, 55-56). In this context, it is worth recalling that in the 8-line Arabic inscription of 455/1063 on the famous iron gate of Ganja, now preserved at the Gelati Monastery, the Shaddadid ruler Abu'l-Aswar Shavur b. Faḍl (r. 441-459/1049-1067) is referred to as *al-amīr al-sayyid al-ajal* ('the amīr, the most exalted sayyid'); as is known, the iron gate was captured in 1139 by the Georgian king Demetre I (r. 1125-1156) who brought the trophy from Ganja to Georgia and donated it to the Gelati Monastery (near the city of Kutaisi); see Frähn, 1835, 538-539; idem, 1838, 232; idem, 1926, 42; Brosset, 1836, 178; Eichwald, I, 1837, 237; Dorn, 1846, 314-315, 318, 322; Defrémery, 1849, 38; RCEA, VII, 1936, 155-156, No. 2649; Alesker-zade, 1947, 369-370, Pl. 97, Fig. 1; Enikolopov, 1948, 111, 116; idem, 1980, 172, 173; Al'tman, 1949, 25-28, 33, 35; Minorsky and Bosworth, 1981, 490; Asatiani, 1968, 42; Khachatrian, 1987, 80, Pl. XI, Fig. 61; Stepnadze, 1990, 43; Blair, 1992, 132, No. 49; Mgaloblishvili and Mikashvili, 2000, 80; Lebedev et al., 2006, 9; Sharifi, 2011, 254; Paghava and Turkia, 2011, 13; eidem, 2014, 358; Paghava, 2015b, 56.

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SOME PECULIARITIES OF CENTRAL ASIAN ARABIC FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY OF ARABIC LANGUAGE*

1.0. Central Asian Arabic, like Maltese, became isolated from the Arab World and over the course of the time developed as a peripheral Arabic dialect. This, with newly emerged elements due to independent development carries signs of the oldest characteristics of phonological, morphological and syntactic signs of Semitic languages and in particular Arabic language.

In the following article I present examples recorded in the Central Asian regions of Bukhara and Qashqa-daryā, which clearly shows general Semitic language peculiarities preserved in Central Asian Arabic up to nowadays. I will distinguish important morphological and lexical material which, in our opinion, is important from the prospect of the history of Arabic language.

Formation of plural.

Plural nouns in both gender categories use the *-āt* suffix element.

sabiyāt gālaw: - naḥnāt bōyatīn kibīra walatūmāt insōr.

“The boys said, “We are the sons of a Great Bey” (QAD)**.

zōkāt isnēyta i_darb dahal mad. ziklōnāt salās iōm dard sāraw.

“They (the two of them) set out in a journey. They walked for three days” (QAD).

In the above sentence the *sabiyāt* “the boys”, *naḥnāt* “we” and *walatūmāt* “his sons” were formed by *-āt* suffix. From here, *naḥnāt* – is the 1st person plural pronoun, which expresses a dual pronoun with suffix *-āt*. Dual is not uncommon in Central Asian Arabic verb formations as well.

-ey, adəmiyāt, kul-kumāt ta'āluwāt

“Hey, people, all of you gather here (come)” (QAD).

nāb gāil: -i_dilmurād fat faras intuāt!

“The old man says, “Give Dilmurad a hourse!” (QAD).

salās walad salās bint šāfawāt

“The three boys fell in love with the three girls” (QAD).

In northwestern Semitic languages, we find masculine suffix **-āt* in addition to suffixes *-ū/-ī(m)*... We find such examples frequently in Hebrew and Syriac languages. Parallelism of suffixes is also typical. For example, in Hebrew *'āb* “cloud”: pl. *'ābīm/abōt*; m.g. *dōr*: *dōrim/dōrōt* “generation”, “relation” “family”, “tribe”; in Ugaritic *riš*: *ršm/ršt* “head”; in Phoenician *im*: *imōt/imū* “day”. In some cases it is possible for these forms to appear analogous to one another. For example, the influence of the words *'umm* (“mother”) and *lil* (“night”) explains the existence of the suffix *-āt* in plural forms of the nouns *'b* (“father”) and *yum* (“day”).

At times, forms with **-ū* and **-āt* suffixes are in contradiction to each other as is evidenced in the case of collective plural, for e.g. Meshn. *yāmīm* “day/days” (pl.): *yāmōt* “season” (collect.), *šānīm* “years” (pl.): *šānōt* “age”, “time” (collect.).

Central Asian Arabic formation of plural utilizing *-āt* suffix follows the pattern of northwest Semitic languages where, in masculine gender along with suffixes *-ū/-ī(m)*..., we have **-āt*. Consequently, the existing condition of Central Asian Arabic, despite its relation to Ugaritic or Hebrew, is significant from the perspective of general Semitic language. It is possible that the formation of plural with the suffix **-āt* may not reflect the oldest stage of language development, but could instead be the result of its internal development. In this case first suffix **-āt* should have developed as a marker for masculine plural, and afterwards spread analogous

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** QAD – Qashqa-daryā dialect.

to the verbal forms. In any case we deal with element of general Semitic formation, whose area of functioning is large in the peripheral Arabic dialect of Central Asia.

2.0. It is significant to mention the forms of broken plural, which carry singular meaning in Qashqa-daryā and Bukhara dialects.

i-kulhum beitum hast. binti bonka šugl misū.

suhūr zēn hast.

“Everyone has a house. My daughter works in the bank.

My son-in-law is a good [man]” (BAD)^{***}.

dük iyāl-ke kēyin ‘andun

“He had one son” (BAD).

ilay qubūr salās yumāt qaraúlya sú!

“Guard my grave for three days!” (BAD).

In the Classical Arabic for the broken plural forms *fu’œl*, *fu’ul* and *fi’äl* we have the following formation of the singular ones: *fu’ül*:

a) *fa’l*.

b) *fīl*.

c) *fu’l: baḥr-buḥūr* “sea”, *baḥṭ-buḥūṭ* “study”, “research”, “discussion”; *ḡild-ḡulūd* “skin”, *ḥilm-ḥumūl* “load”, *ḡund-ḡunūd* “army”, *burd-burūd* “(woman’s) jacket”, “blouse”, “top”, “cloak”, “cape”.

d) *fa’al*, e) *fa’il*, f) *fā’il: ’asad - ’usūd* “lion”, *malik - mulūk* “king”, *ḡālis - ḡulūs* “sitting”.

fu’ul: a) *fa’l*, b) *fa’al*, c) *fa’il*, d) *fa’ul: saqf - suquf* “roof”, *’asad - ’usud* “lion”, *namir - numur* “leopard”, *dabu‘ - ḍabu‘* “hyena”.

e) *fa’al*, f) *fī’al*, g) *fu’al: ṣāna‘ - ṣunu‘* “doer”, *dilāt - dulūt* “quick-footed”, *kurā‘ - kuru‘* “bracelet”.

h) *fa’il*, i) *fa’ül: nadīr - nuḍur, ṣabūr - ṣubur* “patient”.

j) *fa’lat: madīnat - mudun* k) *fā’il: tāğir - tuğur* “merchant”.

fī’äl: a) *fa’l*, b) *fu’l*, c) *fīl: baḥr - biḥār* “sea”, *rumḥ - rimāḥ* “spear”, *dīb - ḍī’āb* “wolf”.

d) *fa’al*, e) *fa’ul*, f) *fa’il*, g) *fa’il*, h) *fu’al*, i) *fa’il*, j) *fa’lānu//fa’lānun//*

fu’lānun, k) *fu’la: ḡamāl - ḡimāl* “camel”, *rağul - riğāl* “man”, *ḡarib - ḡirāb* “scabby”, “mangy”; *kabīr - kibār* “big”, *ruṭab - riṭāb* “newly plucked date”, *ṣāḥib - ṣiḥāb* “friend”, *ḡaḍbān - ḡiḍāb* “angry”, *humṣān - himās* “hungry”, *’unṭā - ’ināt* “woman”, “female” (Lekiašvili 1963: 34-35; Wright 1967: 25, 26).

A number of broken plural forms in the Classical Arabic are used in singular as well. Among them are *fu’ül// fu’ul* and *fi’äl* constructions, which are present in Central Asian as well. The abovementioned examples from Central Asian Arabic clearly show that in literary Arabic the forms of broken plural with plural connotation, such as *iyāl* “sons”, *qubūr* “graves” and *ṣuhur* “sons-in-law” carry singular meanings in dialect. We can suppose that Central Asian Arabic reflects the old case with regards to development of the language. According to the presenting material we can assume that forms $C_1uC_2\bar{u}C_3//C_1uC_2uC_3$ and $C_1iC_2aC_3$ initially expressed the singular form and gained the Plural meaning in the following stage of language development progress.

3.0. In Qashqa-daryā Arabic we find the formation of plural with $m \times m$.

adrūn ḥōyīt kisīr hamrayām kānat

“There was a lot of gold (golden coins) in the house” (QAD).

ziklonāt hamrayām-tangayām ḥazuwa, ḡaduwa

“They took gold and silver [and] went away” (QAD).

kokōyata kulla hamrāt ḥazuwa, kisatumāt-kisayām hašuwa

“The brothers took the whole gold [that was there]; filled the purses” (QAD).

The forms *ḥazuwa*, *ḡaduwa* and *hašuwa* (Comp. with Arabic *haša* (*u*)) represent plural forms of the

*** BAD – Bukhara dialect.

3rd person (*hazaw*, *gadaw*, *hašaw*). With the addition of the pronominal suffix we get *hazuwa*, *gaduwa*, *hašuwa*.

i_čoyğōna kisīr mōšīnām ademiyāt kānaw.

“In the tea-house there was a lot of people, who came for entertainment (walkers)“.

mōšīnām contains the following elements *mōš-īn-ām*. From the two forms of presented plural one is used with *mīm*.

nahnāt madīna nağade, pōšō binta inšūfa, salāsatnam nağade,
fahadna hama bint noħusa.

“We shall go to the town; we shall see the daughter of the Pasha; the three of us’ll come [and] one of us’ll marry this beauty (daughter) (we shall take this girl for one of us)“.

In the word *salāsatnam* *m* is added to the pronominal suffix of the plural form of the 1st person. From one side, this might express dual plural form or, from the other, 2nd and 3rd person plural pronominal suffixes, developed in analogy with the forms of the construction. In both cases the expression of plural should be taken into consideration with *m*×*m*, the reflection of which in the Classical Arabic is the construction of plural for 2nd and 3rd persons with *m*: comp. *-kum// -hum*: *baytukum* “your house”, *baytuhum* “their house”.

zōka i_ibsoł i_wača 'abu 'umma isimumāt nasaǵa

“He made an embroidery of the names of his mother and father [parents] on the carpet”.

The plural form of *ism* in dialect differs from literary Arabic *isimumāt* and is constructed with dual plural form. From the forming elements (-*um*-*āt*), -*um* containing *m*×*m* is notable.

ugub il-hōyīt dahalt, il-morti rōsa gaseyta, il-bōyām qatalta, il-bētī maddeyt.

“Then I went into the palace, cut off my wife’s head, killed the Bey too and returned home”.

In this sentence the form *il-bōyām* is plural. Even though it has a singular meaning, it is important because of its construction. This example has been evidenced in only one circumstance and is actually a mistake made by an Informant during his speech.

ziklōnāt moyōtumāt ufragat.

“They have their water finished”.

mūy “water” is a feminine form. The plural of *muyōt*<*muyāt* is constructed with plural *mīm* suffix *-um// -ūm*. The dual plurals of the same pattern words are constructed with *-āt*, i.e. we get a duplicate of the forming element. In the end we get a tripled form of plural.

The subject matter regarding the *mīm* plural in QAD appears naturally. Plural *mīm* construction is typical for northwest Semitic languages – Ugaritic and Hebrew. In Ugaritic, masculine nouns in the status absolutus plural have the ending -*m* [-ūma] in Nominative and -*m* [*īma*] in Genitive-Accusative form. We can compare the presented elements to suffixes of regular plural in literary Arabic -*ūna*/*īna*. It is worth mentioning that in both dialects of Central Asian Arabic the numerals are fundamentally different from the Classical Arabic in the second decade (10+1) and correspond fully with Ethiopian. We often find the same pattern of construction in Phoenician and Nabatean (Akhvlediani 1985: 47; Brockelmann 1908: 489).

In Biblical Hebrew the nouns of masculine gender in plular have -*īm* suffixes: *sūs* > pl. *sūsīm* “hourses”. We also find some instances when this rule is of not followed, i. e. when -*īm* forms the plural from the feminine nouns as well: *śānā* > pl. *śānīm*. From the masculine nouns from time to time we find other forms for the formation of plular: -*īn*, -*ī*, -*ay*, and -*ām* (Tsereteli, K. 2001: 75). Some of the masculine nouns add suffix -*ōt*, -*āb* “father” – -*ābōt*, *śēm* “name” - *śemōt* (look above, 1.0.).

The element -*īn* is analogous to plural forms in Chaldaic and Syriac. It is often found in Old Testament books of later age and in poems from the oldest periods. For e.g. *meleḥīn* “kings”, Proverbs 31, *yamīn* “days”, Daniel 12, 13 etc. (Gezenius 1874: 332).

In the element -*ī* - *mīm* is dropped. As for -*ām* it is a rarely used archaic form *sullam* < *salal* “stairs” (Gezenius 1874: 332).

The feminine plural is constructed with the suffix *ōt*. If in singular the feminine noun ends with *ōt// īt*, in the feminine form *īm* is added: *almenūtīm* “widowhood”, “widows”.

Some words have double plural forms. This lexeme ending with *ōt* in plural additionally receives *im* // *īm*: *ħōma* “wall” > *ħōmōt* > *ħōmōtīm* (Gezenius 1874: 335).

Some words we find only in plural forms, for e.g.: *metīm* “people”, “human beings”, “mortal”, *elōhīm* “God” are presented only in the plural form.

In addition to Ugaritic and Hebrew, the element *-m/-īm* is characteristic in Phoenician (*īm*). With regard to Aramaic and Ethiopian, in these languages consequently is found *īn* and *ān* forms. In Classical Ethiopian the element of feminine plural *-āt* is found in masculine nouns as well: *kāhem* “priest” – *kāhenāt*, *falāsefāt* “philosophers”. In Arabic in indirect cases, as we know we have ending *īn* and in Nominative case we have ending *-ūn*.

In Akkadian, plural masculine forms are constructed with *-ē*, *-ani*, *-ānu*, *ūti*, and less often with *ū*. For e.g.: *sīsē* “horses”, *ilāni* “Gods”, *duppānu* “earthenware plates”, *rabūti* “big”, *tabbanūtu* “buildings”, *paršū* “decisions”. Feminine plural in Acadian is constructed with suffix *-ātī*.

Mimation is typical for Akkadian. The names in status absolutus receive *-m* and sometimes it is replaced with *-ma*. We also find parallel forms without mimation in the language: *bītum* // *bītu* “house”, *rieum* // *rieū* “shepherd”. Predictably mimation is dropped in the words in status constuctus and with pronominal suffix forms. Mimation is also characteristic for Epigraphic South Arabic, where an indefinite noun ends with (-*m*).

4.0. To explain the plural form of *mīm* in QAD dialect I believe we must consider linguistic factors as well as extra-linguistic ones.

In my opinion the existing toponym in the Karshi area of the Qashqa-daryā side is noteworthy, and is linked to the old Arab tribe in the area. Qakhrai must be distinguished, as it derives from *qaḥtān* and is an indication of southern Arab tribe.

Arabs from the Arab Peninsula in the pre-Islamic period were divided into two groups: Arabs of pure blood (*al-‘arab al-‘ariba*) and non-native Arabs, i. e. assimilated Arabs (*al-‘arab al-musta‘riba*). There existed a third group of Arabs, which were unified groups of Aramaic descent (*al-bā’ida* = “lost”, “unknown”). The pure Arabs (*al-‘ariba*) related themselves to the *yoktān*, i. e. *qaḥtān*. Joktan (Qahtan) was the son of Eber. He was a founder of the southern Arab tribe of Qahtan. It is known that southern Arabs, i.e. Yemenites, were distinguished in one way with their originality and in the other with the linguistic peculiarities of their language contacts. This was the main reason for having Hebrew Community beside the other southern Arab tribes in the area. Influence of Hebrew in southern Arabic and Ethiopian languages has been documented on numerous occasions by specialists. Southern Arabic is linguistically closer to Hebrew and Ethiopian than to northern Arabic. G. Tsereteli in his article “Newest Theories about the Place of Origin of Semites” quotes A. Lain’s following words, “Himyarite dialect, the area of which is surrounded with al-Yemen, is closer to the Ethiopian and Hebrew than to *ma’dad* (i.e. to the pure classical Arabic of northern Arabic tribes)” (Tsereteli, G. 2004: 172).

According to A. Ungnad, southern Arabic dialect is further from northern Arabic than from Hebrew. The similarity of southern Arabic and Hebrew is apparent in morphology, grammar and onomastics. The remarkable resemblance is in nomenclature of Old Hebrew – Israelites and Minaeans and Sabeans (Tsereteli, G. 2004: 172). As for Wolf Leslau, he purports that the influence of the Hebrew Community of southern Arabia on Ethiopian is noticeable. The evidence of Judaist elements in the Ethiopian church, which then spread later in Coptic (Leslau 1965: 5) is also noteworthy. It is necessary to mention that mimation is usual in southern Arabic epigraphic inscriptions as opposed to northern Arabic. In the aforementioned inscriptions, the name becomes indefinite, gaining [m] in the end. Thus *mīm* as a formative element is not unfamiliar for the southwestern Semitic language (Bauer 1966: 47-48; Grande 1972: 43). The abovementioned indicates linguistic contact of Qakhrai’s southern Arab tribe with Hebrew, which explains the existence of the Hebrew element of plural formation in QAD. The southern Arabic toponym’s fixation in Qashqa-daryā region gives us a basis to relate Arabs living in Jeinau and Kamashi if not entirely, at least partially to Joktan (Qahtan) descendants.

4.1. Arab-Hebrew linguistic contacts are not peculiar within the Arabic speaking world. In addition to the aforementioned southern Arabia, we can mention the Fertile Crescent and in particular Baghdad’s eastern province Al-’anbār in Iraq. There lives an Arab tribe Dulaym, in the speech of which it is characteristic to use element *mīm* in the 3rd person plural perfect verb.

e.g. *akalam* < *’akalū* “(they) have eaten”

śarabam < *śarabū* “(they) have drunk”

katabam < *katabū* “(they) have written”

In Imperfect it is *ioklūn*, *išrabūn* and *iktubūn*. For plural in Arabic it is difficult to argue the influence of the Hebrew language alone in the foreign originated formations, but in our opinion emergence of *mīm* in verb constructions is interesting must be indicative of certain language contacts¹.

4.2. In the Fertile Crescent and southern Arabia, as well as in internal regions of the Arabian Peninsula the existence of Jews has been historically documented. The State of Israel, as we know, was established in the second part of the last century of the 2nd millennium B.C. In the second part of the 8th century in Asia Minor, Assyria rose to power, took control of Syria in 738 B.C. and became a danger to Israel. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) attacked Israel and took over the northern part of Galilee including the eastern side of the river Jordan, added the territory and began a system of taxation on the rest of Israeli Kingdom. In 727 B.C., after the death of Tiglath-pileser III, rebellion in Syria and Palestine broke out against Assyria. In response, the Assyrians conducted a punishment campaign, they arrived with a big army and after 3 years of siege in 722 B.C. took the capital of Israel Samaria. The king of Assyria, Sargon the 2nd (722-705), took a majority of the Israeli population captive and returned with them to Mesopotamia (Mamulia 1988: 304).

In the end of 7th century B.C. the Fertile Crescent was ruled over by the Babylonian Kingdom or Chaldean Babylonia. The greater role of its creation and the further existence played by Semitic tribes of Chaldeans living around the Persian Gulf had relocated from Arabia in the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. The Bible is an important source in studying the history of Babylon, in particular the Books of the Prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. The value of the inscriptions found due to archeological searches combined with the written accounts of antiquity about Babylon is colossal, including Herodotus (5th century B.C.); Xenophon (5th-4th B.C.) Ktesion (5th -4th B.C.) and others.

In 605 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.) was able to conquer Assyria and acquired a vast majority of its territories. At this point he decided to take over Syria, Phoenicia and Judea, which he robbed and then forcibly relocated to Babylon thousands of Judeans (according to some recourses 7 000), mostly from dignified households (Mamulia 1988: 327). Nebuchadnezzar put on the thrown of Judea Zedekiah and took over all of Palestine.

In 587 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar once more struck Jerusalem with his army, due to the disloyalty of Zedekiah and other small kingdoms. Judea was not ready to fight Babylon and turned for help to Egypt. Ezekiel describes this story in the Bible: "But he rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such things? or shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?" (Ezekiel 17, 15).

The Egyptian army did not save Judea, they retreated and left it alone facing the enemy. The large army of Nebuchadnezzar attacked and burned down the city. Again, thousands of Judeans were taken away to Babylon.

After Judea, Nebuchadnezzar forced Tyros to surrender. In 574 B.C., the King of Tyros, Ithobal, made a fettering peace agreement with the king of Babylon. Like the conquered Judeans, Phoenicians were taken to Babylon. Such Jewish-Phoenician migration waves were habitual in Mesopotamia in the abovementioned time period. It is known that Nebuchadnezzar during his reign conducted a military operation to Yemen. The enchanted wealth of this country has attracted every strong kingdom. According to the story, Nebuchadnezzar reached Yemen's western boarders and than decided to stop and not overtake the army and did not continue the operation (Maksutov 1905: 331). The beauty and wealth of Yemen was very attractive for forcibly relocated Jewish people in Babylonia. Babylonia during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar had a highly advanced culture which was only possible with highly developed trade conditions. In Babylonia local and imported trade property and their barter were protected by law. The traditional sphere of this business was prospective to the forcibly displaced Jews.

From the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish Community migrated to Arab and other, among them Semitic and non Semitic, populated areas. Thus we do not see it impossible to consider the plural suffix (*mīm*) found in QAD to be a reflection of these circumstances in Arab-Hebrew linguistic contacts, which predates the migration of Arabs of the Qakhlaï tribe from southern Arabia to Central Asia. As for preserv-

1 The information about the mentioned peculiarity of the tribe Dulaym's speech was given to me by an Iraqi Doctorate student of Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa Adnan Jasim

ing the abovementioned plural forming element in Central Asian Arabic, it is mostly due to QAD's century long isolation.

The plural formation with mīm is not seen today in Yemenite dialect. In 1989 during field work conducted at Aden, located in Abyan Province, and to Mukalla in Yemen, I recorded the dialectological material where the abovementioned construction has not been evident. Since we do not have the written source of the old Arabic dialect of Yemen, it is impossible at this stage to know if there was ever in this dialect linguistic contacts showing plural formation with mīm. Only the data from QAD gives us the possibility to relate this construction to the Yemen Qakhlaï tribe. Therefore, the material of Peripheral Arab dialects is important and must be taken in serious consideration from the perspective of researching the Arabic dialects and, in general, the history of Arabic language.

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GORJI – MARKER OF GEORGIAN IDENTITY IN IRAN*

Abstract

The contemporary society is widely informed about population of Georgian roots residing outside of Georgia, namely in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This population is called as Georgians of Iran. For a long period, this ethnonym used to unite Georgians of Fereydan, Georgian nationals who four centuries ago were captured and resettled to Fereydan, the central province of Iran.

Even the contemporary days have preserved a strong “trace” of Georgian material and spiritual culture in this Region – they speak Georgian, there are Georgian villages and Georgian surnames. Both Georgian and foreign sources prove that Georgian captives were settled in other provinces too, besides the central region of Iran, namely: western districts of Iran, southern coastline of the Caspian Sea, Khorasan and others. However, the interest in descendants of resettled Georgians was mainly related to Fereydan and less attention was paid to the Georgian culture heritage beyond this territory in Iran.

In case of Fereydan, geographic environment and conditions have preconditioned survival of the Georgian community and the Georgian culture in it. However, contemporary research works have showed that there are regions in Iran, besides Fereydan, where descendants of Georgians live even today and they partly have maintained their national identity – not in religion or language, but in ethnonyms, toponyms and in certain mythologized historical memory.

In the 21st century, the term of “Georgians of Iran” unites one additional ethnonym – Georgians of Mazandaran. The northern province of Iran, Mazandaran is located on the southern coastline of the Caspian Sea, to the east of Gilan.

Keywords: *Gorjī, Mazandaran, Georgians of Mazandaran*

The contemporary society is widely informed about population of Georgian descent residing outside of Georgia, namely in the Islamic Republic of Iran.¹ This population is known as Georgians of Iran. For a long time, this ethnonym used to unite Georgians of Fereydan, Georgian nationals who four centuries ago were captured and resettled to Fereydan, the central province of Iran.

Tens of thousands of people live in four shahrestans of the region of Fereydan, in the ostan of Isfahan. These people consider themselves to be descendants of the resettled Georgian ancestors, to be precise, Georgians of Fereydan. 90 percent of Georgians of Fereydan are descendants of those Georgians who were resettled by Shah Abbas I (1588-1629) to Fereydan. Even the contemporary days have preserved a strong “trace” of Georgian material and spiritual culture in this region – they speak Georgian, there are Georgian villages and Georgian surnames.²

Both Georgian and foreign sources suggest that Georgian captives were settled in other provinces too, besides the central region of Iran, namely: western districts of Iran, southern coastline of the Caspian Sea, Khorasan, and others. However, the interest in descendants of resettled Georgians was mainly confined to Fereydan and less attention was paid to the Georgian cultural heritage beyond this territory in Iran.³

In case of Fereydan, geographic environment and conditions have preconditioned survival of the Georgian community and Georgian culture. However, contemporary studies have shown that there are regions in Iran, besides Fereydan, where descendants of Georgians live even today and they have partly preserved their national identity – not in religion or language, but in ethnonyms, toponyms, and in certain mythologized historical memory.⁴

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In the 21st century, the term “Georgians of Iran” includes one additional ethnonym – Georgians of Mazandaran. The northern province of Iran, Mazandaran is located on the southern coastline of the Caspian Sea, to the east of Gilan.

In August 2014, jointly with a group of Georgian scholars, I visited the multiethnic province of Mazandaran for the purpose of exploring the speech, everyday life, and culture of “Georgians of Mazandaran”.

The scientific expedition was carried out with the financial support of the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation. In 2014-2016, three scientific expeditions were organized to the province of Mazandaran.

During these expeditions, we were following the trace of Georgian element “Gorji” preserved in the name of villages and toponyms.⁵ We have visited settlements of Gorji Mahalleh, Gorji Kola, Kusan-i Gorji.

In the northern province of Mazandaran, descendants of resettled Georgian ancestors live in the village of Gorji Mahalleh (the district of Georgians/ a Georgian district), which is located 10 km from the city of Behshahr to the direction of Sari.

During the expedition to the village of Gorji Mahalleh we recorded texts that reflect historical memory and oral legends of the population of Georgian descent that preserve information on their forced resettlement. They know and they openly speak that they are descendants of Georgians and their ancestors were resettled by Shah Abbas from Georgia. Previously, Persians used to call Georgians “Gorjis”, including in official documentation such as passports and trading cards.⁶ In Iran, even today Georgians are called Gorjis. Personal identification papers of the population with Georgian roots in the village of Gorji Mahalleh contain the ethnonym of Gorji – Georgian (For example: the ethnonym of Gorji has been preserved in surnames - Haydari Gorji, Syami Gorji, Ishaqhi Gorji), which openly may be considered a marker of ethnic identity.

Pierre Oberling, based on H. L. Rabino, mentions the village of Kusan-i Gorji near the city of Behshahr.⁷ The ethnographic fieldwork has revealed that the toponym of Kusan-i Gorji has disappeared. However, according to legends preserved by the elders of the villages of Gorji Mahalleh and Asiab Sar, the current village of Asiab Sar is the same Kusan-i Gorji. The village of Asiab Sar is located between the villages of Rostam Kola and Gorji Mahalleh. This village is settled by families with the surname of Eliasi of Georgian origin.

Another village of Gorji Mahalleh is located 7-10 km from the city of Behshahr, to the direction of Gorgan. We have learnt from our conversation with the village head and the local residents that this village has completely lost historical memory and the residents’ surnames did not contain the term Gorji (i.e. Georgian). Seemingly, local Georgians have been entirely assimilated by the local population of Mazandaran.

In the village of Gorji Kola, which is located 5 km from the city of Sari, the Georgian trace has completely disappeared. The only trace that can be detected is the toponym containing the marker of Georgian identity – Gorji.

There is a threat that the toponyms may soon be replaced in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Namely, as a result of urban development, the government of ostan of Mazandaran proposed to expand the settlement of Rostam Kola by integrating the village of Gorji Mahalleh in it. This initiative could root out the name of Gorji Mahalleh.

History of “Georgians of Mazandaran”

According to historical sources, settlement of Georgians in Iran started in the mid-16th century, during the reign of Shah Tahmasb I (1524-76). The process intensified during military campaigns of Shah Abbas I in the Caucasus, first of all, in the K’akheti region (1614-1617).⁸ The process continued in the 18th century under the Avshars and Zends, and later under the Qajars dynasty (1794-1925).

According to historical sources, a part of Georgians was settled in the Caspian Sea coastline area, which was the Shah’s favorite, namely Fahrabad and Ashraf.⁹

Fahrabad (or Farahabad) is a city in Mazandaran, the northern province of Iran. Ashraf – today’s Behshahr, the full historical name is Bilad Al-Ashraf – “honest place (country)”. Farahabad, as well as another small city of Ashraf in Mazandaran, was founded by Shah Abbas.

Objectives of Resettlement

Shah Abbas needed new Georgian settlements to defend strategic regions.¹⁰ According to historical sources, a special military detachment – *Sipāh-i Vizha* - was created of Georgian warriors who were to defend

the northern border of Iran.¹¹ Besides military objectives, the Shah also intended to promote economic and cultural development of Iran.

Shah Abbas intended to monopolize the silk trade, while the K'akheti Region was developed in terms of Silk culture and this is confirmed in the report by famous Italian traveler Pietro Della Valle to His Holiness Pope Urban VIII in 1627. When describing the K'akheti Region, he mentions that "they manufacture silk in huge volumes at villages."¹² Georgian silk used to compete even with Shirvan silk on the international market.¹³ Not only raw silk was exported from Georgia, but also Persian raw silk was transited through Georgia – via Tbilisi to the Black Sea seaports. Three routes for transiting Persian silk are known: Western Route – to the city of Aleppo in Turkey and the Black Sea seaports; Northern Route – the Caspian Sea and Russian Kingdom; Southern Route – Bandar Abbas.

The oldest, Western, route went through Aleppo and the lands of the Turkish Empire. The Shah was trying to set control on the trade routes and to suppress the Sultan. Therefore, the Shah arranged a new caravan route via the capital city of Isfahan. Shah Abbas was interested in shifting international trade routes from northern regions to Central and South Iran. These plans required intensification of Iran's efforts and influence in the Persian Gulf.¹⁴ Resettlement of Armenians and Georgians served the same goal.

Conversion to Islam and Armenization

Contemporary "Georgians of Mazandaran" confess Shi'i Islam. Conversion of resettled Georgians to Islam started in 1620 and the process reached its peak in the 1660s, when Georgians abandoned their religion and confessed Islam.¹⁵

Armenians, who were resettled to Iran jointly with Georgians, enjoyed religious freedom. Persians did not persecute Armenians for their religion and did not force them to change the religion.¹⁶ Catholicism was not persecuted either. Resettlement of Armenians to Iran was aimed at enlivening trading component in Iran. To this end, Shah Abbas annihilated the international silk trading center of Julfa and founded so-called New Julfa in the suburb of Isfahan. Shah Abbas intended to employ Armenians for developing trade relations with Europe.¹⁷ Many Georgians managed to avoid Islamization by confessing the religion of Armenians.¹⁸

Therefore, the following references by Pietro Della Valle, who travelled to Mazandaran in 1618, should be considered questionable, namely: "Georgians and Armenians were entitled to build as many houses and churches as they wanted".¹⁹ Supposedly, this reference was only true in relation to Armenians.

Language of Georgians of Mazandaran

Initially, Georgians residing in Mazandaran spoke Georgian.²⁰ At home and secretly they used to learn Georgian alphabet by manuscripts. The Georgian alphabet was preserved after conversion to Islam, too, until 1700. But in the 18th century their native language was forgotten and they lost their mother tongue.²¹

Today, the population of Georgian descent and the whole population in Mazandaran are bilingual. The Mazandaran language is their native language. At the same time, they fluently speak Persian. They use the Mazandaran language in everyday life.

The Mazandaran language is spoken in Mazandaran, the northern province of Iran, and belongs to the northwestern group of Iranian languages.²² Geographers of the 10th century mention Mazandaran as Tabaristan and the Tabari language. Huge written heritage has been preserved in the Mazandaran language.²³

The Mazandaran language has also undergone historical development like all other modern Iranian languages of the western group. Inflectional forms in morphology were replaced by analytical forms (the declension system was lost). Phonological value of vowel length was almost entirely lost.

Persian is the official language of Iran. The Mazandaran language suffers strong influence from Persian in bilingual environment and this influence is reflected in vocabulary and phonology. This influence is so huge that this Northwestern Iranian language is on the verge of extinction for various social, economic, and cultural reasons, including factors such as speakers' age group and gender.

Notes:

- * Throughout the notes, for the Georgian language, I used the national system of romanization adopted in February 2002 by the State Department of Geodesy and Cartography of Georgia and the Institute of Linguistics, Georgian Academy of Sciences. <http://transliteration.eki.ee/pdf/Georgian.pdf> (Accessed 15 July 2016)
- 1 E.g., Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, Abridged and edited by Sir William Foster (London: Routledge, 1995); John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being Nine Years Travels 1672-1681*, 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1909-15); James Baillie Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London: Longman, 1825); James Bassett, *Persia, the Land of Imams: A Narrative of Travels and Residence 1871-1885*, (New York: Scribner, 1886); David Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1041-1797* (London & New York: Routledge, 1988); Paata Japaridze, Zviad Tskhvediani, "The Settlement of Georgians in Mazandaran," *Perspectiva* – XX, 10 (2008); Sayyid Muliani, *Jaygah-i Gurjiha dar tarikh va farhang va tamaddun-i Iran* (Iran, Isfahan: Yekta, 1379/2000).
 - 2 Pierre Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," *Scientific-bibliographic collection 2-3* (1964): 62-75; Giorgi Ch'ipashvili, "iranis kartveli mosakhleoba" (The Georgian population of Iran), *Mnatsobi* 8 (1972): 86-91; Zurab Sharashenidze, *Pereidneli "gurjebi"* (Gurjis of Fereydan) (Georgia, Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1979), 111; Zakaria Ch'ich'inadze, *Kartvelebi konstant'inepol'shi da sparseshi* (Georgians in Constantinopol and Persia) (Georgia, Tbilisi: Merani, 1990), 110-111; Babak Rezvani, "The Islamization and Ethnogenesis of the Fereydani Georgians", *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 36, no.4 September (2008): 593-623; Rezvani, "Iranian Georgians: Prerequisites for a Research," *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009): 197-203.
 - 3 Pierre Oberling, Georgia, viii. Georgian communities in Persia. Encyclopaedia Iranica, edited by Ehsan Yarshater, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/georgia-iv--2> (Accessed 15 July 2016); Ch'ich'inadze, *Kartvelebi konstant'inepol'shi*, 87.
 - 4 Nik'oloz Nakhutsrishvili, "akhali inoprmatsia iraneli kartvelebis shesakheb (kartvelebi mazandaranshi)" (New Information about Georgians in Iran (Georgians in Mazandaran), *Kartvelologija* 5 (2008): 100-103; Nakhutsrishvili, "Kartuli ts'armoshobis mazandaraneli mts'erali 'Abd al-ali haydari-Gorji" ('Abd al-ali haydari-Gorji – Mazandarani writer of Georgian Ancestry), *The near east and Georgia* VIII (2014): 126-132.
 - 5 Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," 70.
 - 6 Ch'ich'inadze, *Kartvelebi konstant'inepol'shi*, 105.
 - 7 Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," 70.
 - 8 Rudi Matthee, Georgia.vii. Georgians in the Safavid Administration. Encyclopaedia Iranica. ed. Ehsan Yarshater, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/georgia-vii-> (Accessed 15 July 2016); Sargis Kakabadze, *Sakartvelos istoria, akhali sauk'uneebis ep'oka (1500-1810)* (History of Georgia, Epoch of New Centuries (1500-1810) (Georgia, T'pilisi, 1922), 50-52.
 - 9 [Arakel Davrizhetsi] *Arakel Davrizhetsi tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb* (References by Arakel Davrizhetsi about Georgia), Trans. Ed. and commented by Karlo K'utsia (Georgia, Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1974), 34-35; [Eskandar Beg Monshi] *Iskander munshis tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb* (References by Eskandar Beg Monshi about Georgia), Trans. Vladimer Puturidze (Georgia, Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1969), 94; Zurab Sharashenidze, *Akhali masalebi pereidneli kartvelebis shesakheb* (New References about Georgians in Fereydan) (Georgia, Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1969), 6; Pierre Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," 69.
 - 10 Avtandil Songhulashvili, *iranshi kartvelta nak'valevze* (Footprints of Georgians in Iran) (Georgia, Tbilisi: 2005), 108; Pierre Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," 67.
 - 11 Nakhutsrishvili, "akhali inoprmatsia iraneli kartvelebis shesakheb," 101.
 - 12 [Pietro Della Valle] "An Account of Georgia. Presented to His Holiness Pope Urban VIII By Pietro della Valle in 1627," trans. A. Ch-a, *Iveria* 3 (1879): 29-64; Kakabadze, *Sakartvelos istoria*, 53.
 - 13 Roland Burch'uladze, "Iranis agresiuli p'olit'ik'is ek'onomiuri ts'inamdzghvrebi k'akhetis samepos ts'inaaghmdeg XVI-XVII sauk'uneebshi" (Economic preconditions of Iran's Aggressive Policy against

Kakhetian Kingdom in XVI-XVII centuries), *Near East History Issues* II (1972): 85–92.

- 14 Givi Zhordania, “Kartuli abreshumis k’ult’uris ganadgurebis erti tsdis shesakheb” (About Attempts for Annihilation of Georgian Silk Culture), *Tsiskari* 5 (1963), 140-151.
- 15 [Monshi] *Iskander munshis tsnobebi*, 117; Zakaria Ch’ich’inadze, *Kartvelebi k’onst’ant’inepolshi*, 112; [Davrizhetsi] *Arakel Davrizhetsis tsnobebi*, 36.
- 16 Songhulashvili, *iranshi kartvelta nak’valevze*, 84.
- 17 Burch’uladze, “Iranis agresiuli p’olit’ik’is ek’onomiuri ts’inamdzghvrebi,” 89.
- 18 Ch’ich’inadze, *Kartvelebi k’onst’ant’inepolshi*, 118.
- 19 [Pietro della Valle], “The Travels of Pietro Delle Valle in Persia”, in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, ed. John Pinkerton, Vol. IX, (London: 1811), 52.
- 20 Ch’ich’inadze, *Kartvelebi k’onst’ant’inepolshi*, 65; ‘Ali Akbar Ujaka, *Tarikhcha-yi rusta-yi Gorji-Mahalleh* (Iran, Sari: 1382/2003), 21.
- 21 Ch’ich’inadze, *Kartvelebi k’onst’ant’inepolshi*, 114.
- 22 Habib Borjian, “Māzandarān: Language and people,” *Iran and the Caucasus* 8.2 (2004): 289-328.
- 23 Ibid., 291.

THE TEXTUAL VALUE OF THE OLD GEORGIAN VERSION OF ECCLESIASTES*

Abstract

The earliest source for the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes is the Oshki Bible (978). O (Oshki), J (Jerusalem), and S (Mtzhketa) represent one recension. O and J stand together almost everywhere. The scribe of S mostly follows O and J, but sometimes corrects his text according to the Armenian Bible, which in turn was revised on the basis of the Latin Vulgate. Where S is not corrected in this way, it can be used as a control, because it seems that its Georgian *Vorlage* was a good source(s), which, unfortunately, has not survived. The editor of the Mtzhketa Bible, Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, who was a very good philologist, carefully followed his sources and did not correct anything (e.g. grammatically) himself. Thus O, J, and S may represent the first, original, translation. The comparison between the Old Georgian text, on the one hand, and the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes as well as the Armenian translation, on the other, has revealed the following: a) the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was translated from Greek independently of the Armenian translation; b) the *Vorlage* of AGeo is a derivative of the early Egyptian Text Group, c) Nonetheless, it is a literal translation and faithfully represents all the peculiarities of the Greek syntax and word-building.

1. Introduction:

Recent studies show two sources of different provenance from which the Holy Scripture were translated into Old Georgian: (1) Palestinian, on the one hand, and (2) Antiochian / Constantinopolitan, on the other. The precise date of these translations are unknown, but the earliest translations of the Georgian Bible are presented in the lower script of palimpsests, the so-called *Xanmeti* fragments. *Xanmeti* is a term already used by *George the Athonite* (1065) and denotes the text where the *x-* prefix is employed to mark the second subject and the third object persons in the Old Georgian verb. This prefix has not occurred in the inscriptions since the 7th Century. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the texts. Based on paleographical data, these fragments are dated from the 5th to the 7th centuries (J. Gippert, L. Kajaia, A. Kharanauli). Codicological study of the folio size reveals that they are fragments of quite large codices, and it can be assumed that these codices included several books of the Bible (A. Kharanauli, T. Otkhmezuri).

On the issues and problems of representing Greek in Old Georgian one might consult the following studies:

M. Van Esbroeck, Les Versions orientales de la Bible: une Orientation Bibliographique, 465-480.

J. Gippert hg. (mit Zurab Sarjveladze and Lamara Kajaia) The Old Georgian Palimpsest Codex Vindobonensis georgicus 2, Band I. Brepols, 2007.

J. Krašovec, hg. Interpretation of the Bible. International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament. Congress Volume, Ljubljana 2007. Leiden: Brill, 2010;

A. Kharanauli, Einführung in die georgische Psalterübersetzung. Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen, Symposium in Göttingen 1997. Anneli Aejmelaeus und Udo Quast, hg. MSU XXIV, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 248-308;

idem, Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia - Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik. Oriens Christianus, 85, 2001, 204-236;

idem, Ein Chanmeti-Fragment der georgischen Übersetzung von Esdra I (Fragen der Authenzität, Vorlage und Übersetzungstechnik), Le Muséon, 116-Fasc.1-2 2003, 181-216.

The Old Georgian Sources for Ecclesiastes

I was asked by P. Gentry, Editor of Ecclesiastes for the forthcoming critical edition in the Göttingen

Septuaginta Series to collate the Old Georgian text of Ecclesiastes against the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes. The present study is based on my collations and analysis done in collaboration with P. Gentry.

The oldest recension of the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes, is preserved by three manuscript which we have designated by the sigla O, J and S as follows:

Athos, Ἰβήρων, Ath 1; 978. „Oshki Bible“. Siglum: O

Jerusalem, Jer. 113; XIII – XIV. Siglum: J

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 51; XVII – XVIII „Mtzheta Bible“. Siglum: S.

In addition to these manuscripts the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes has been preserved through other manuscripts as well (Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 1418 and S 1349, also the Printed Bible of Prince Bakar, Moscow (published in 1743). We have not collated these sources because the text of the translation was later revised. Therefore, we have used only the above mentioned manuscripts, i.e. so-called Old Georgian translation, and designate the agreement of the three manuscripts in the Edition by the siglum AGeo.

The earliest source for the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes is the Oshki Bible (978). O (Oshki), J (Jerusalem), and S (Mtzheta) represent one recension. O and J stand together almost everywhere. The scribe of S mostly follows O and J, but sometimes corrects his text according to the Armenian Bible, which in turn was revised on the basis of the Latin Vulgate. Where S is not corrected in this way, it can be used as a control, because it seems that its Georgian *Vorlage* was a good source(s), which, unfortunately, has not survived. The editor of the Mtzheta Bible, Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, who was a very good philologist, carefully followed his sources and did not correct anything (e.g. grammatically) himself. Thus O, J, and S may represent the first, original, translation.

The Purity of the Old Georgian Sources

As a matter of first principle, a comparison was made with Arm Eccl, because the Armenian version is often regarded to be the *Vorlage* of the Georgian translation. Nonetheless, the Old Georgian supports significant variants against Arm in many places and in general does not transmit *Sonderlesarten* of Arm. We will present examples to show that AGeo is different from Arm (we selected the biggest differences, namely, examples of change of phrase or lexica, addition and omission):

I. Geo = LXXvar contra Arm, which means that the Old Georgian and Armenian have different sources:

1. *Change of phrase or lexeme*:

10.1 ὀλίγον Ευαλιατήκι ἡს [Arm] λογος B* 998 252mg SaII სიტყუად AGeo

2. *Addition*:

1.11 γενομένοις ρωμελνο ყოფილ არიან ირ ქსელი ხს [Arm] + απο εμπροσθεν ημων 998 Co: ex 10c +უწინარშს ჩუენსა AGeo

3. *Omission*:

1.17 καὶ ἔδωκα καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν τε ხსու զիրտ իմ գիտել զիմաստութիւն Arm] > 253 L (-106 125) 130 d-254' k 68 248'txt (= Compl; καὶ ἔδωκα — τοῦ γνῶναι 248'mg) 296' 311 338 443 547 705 Clem II 37 Dion 212 Ol AGeo^{OJ}

II. Geo=LXX contra Arm Sonderlesarten:

1. *Change of phrase or lexeme*:

9.2 ματαιότης αმառებად AGeo] ხს ուսայնութիւն է [and vanity is] Arm

2. *Addition*:

6.5 անապասուց զանցուցենենադ AGeo] pr զիւշ է [what is] Arm

3. *Omission*:

4.1 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς παρακαλῶν და არა ვინ არს მათდა ნუგეშინისმცემელ Geo^{OJ}] > Arm

III. In spite of the fact that noun phrases are uncommon in Old Georgian, unlike Greek and Armenian, we still find a lot of them in translated texts under the influence of the language of the *Vorlage*. Also in the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes there are many examples when we have **noun phrases**, whereas we have **verb phrases** in Armenian:

1.2 ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης ἀδιαιρέσιμα ἀδιαιρέσιμα, υποβελούσει ἀδιαιρέσιμο AGeo] οἰνωψίαν οἰνωψίαν, αιμένων ήτις οἰνωψίαν +ε Arm

IV. The same can be said concerning **participles** in Old Georgian *versus* **descriptive constructions** in Armenian:

2.16 αἱ ἐρχόμεναι θωμάζαντα AGeo] η φωτιστική Arm

V. Old Georgian has a very rich **preverbal** system in contrast to Armenian. Thus, the preverbs in Old Georgian represent exactly the preverbs in Greek in contrast to the Armenian verbs which have no adverbial prefixes. It should be also noted, that in the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes we find examples of adverbial prefixes which correspond to adverbial prefixes in Greek only formally and have no corresponding meaning in Old Georgian:

2.26 περι-σπασμὸν θιδητοῦ AGeo] φραγμῆς Arm

1.13 περι-σπᾶσθαι θιδητοῦ θιδητοῦ AGeo (cf οὐθαζεθοδοιαν) φραγμῆς Arm

8.15 συμ-προσέσται ταῦτα-ογούς AGeo (cf ογούς) τετραγῆς Arm

Thus, on the basis of these data we can assume that the Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was not translated from Armenian, and we have also no reason to suppose that it was first translated from Armenian and then later revised on the basis of the Greek.

Now we will bring the examples showing that the Old Georgian recension is translated from Greek. The collation of AGeo Eccl against the Greek produces a list of approximately 183 variant readings. From this group of variants 42 were selected as demonstrating genetically significant textual variation. Some of the variants shared with Greek witnesses are intrusions from parallel passages, a feature that is characteristic of AGeo. What is most remarkable are the number of variants shared almost uniquely with early members of the Egyptian Group such as 998, B („codex Vaticanus“), and S („codex Sinaiticus“). [Examples are given on the slide and in your handouts.] We have 10 instances of AGeo agreeing with 998 B; 8 with 998 B-S; 1 with B-S; 3 with 998 alone; 3 with S alone; and 1 with B alone. Thirteen of these are virtually singular agreements. Some 18 of these variants are supported by various Coptic witnesses. Another 8 variants not supported by 998, B or S or any combination thereof, are supported by one or more Coptic witnesses, some uniquely.

2_{6b} ξύλα] > B-534 998 GregAg 804 Amb Isa 4,25 AGeo Fa¹² Sa¹ (sed hab Did 37,15 Ol Syh = Gra M)

2_{15e} τότε] > B-S*-534' 998 C'-^{571c} 443 547^{txt} 645 705 Dion^{lem} 220 GregNy 361,17 Ol^{lemΑΓΕΖΙΚΜΝ} Ol^{com} (sed hab Met II.6,5) Hi^{lem} 269,271 AGeo Arm Sa¹ (sed hab Hi^{LXX} 269,285-289 Syh), contra Μ

2_{15f} ὅτι — ματαιότης] διοτι αφρων εκ περισσευματος λαλει 534: homoiar (16a); + διοτι (> Aeth; + o B-613 998 d Sa¹) αφρων εκ (+ του 613) περισσευματος (+ καρδια AGeo) λαλει (+ (sub ~ Syh) οτι (και ιδου pro οτι Syh) και γε τουτο ματαιοτης O Syh) B-613 998 O d 336' 542 766^{II} Aeth AGeo Arab Sa¹ Syh (sed hab Hi^{lem} 269,271s) = Pesch, contra Μ; pr (sub ÷ 788 (οὐ κεῖται παρ' ἔβραιοις 788^{mg}); + και 299) διοτι (οτι Dion-com 221 GregNy 364,19; > Dam; + o 390-574-601-c^{II} GregNy 361,18ap 364,19ap) αφρων (ἀ ν σ 547txt) εκ περισσευματος λαλει (+ οτι αφρων εκ περισσευματος λεγει post fin 443) rel (HiLXX 269,285-289 GregNy 361,18 364,19 Met^{lem et com} II.6,6s,102s II.7,7s Ol Proc CatP 22,154 Arm^{te et ap}) = Ra: ex Matth 1234 (par Luc 645)

5_{7d} om ὅτι B-68' 998 PsChr AGeo (sed hab Hi Syh = Ald Sixt M)

5_{15c} τίς] > B-68 998 357 Amb Nab 6,28 AGeo Fa^{1,2} Sa⁶ (sed hab Dam Did 160,4 Met^{lem et com} V.3,10,90 Ol Arm Sa^{1,II} Syh = Ald Sixt Ra)

7_{1a} ἔλαιον] ελεον B-S-68 A O 797-cII⁻²⁶⁰ k 296' 311 336' 339 698 706 795 Dam^{-V^{EOMi}} Did^{lem et com} 196,11 196,15 196,20 196,25 PsChr^{com} AGeo Arm^{te} Sa³ (sed hab Anton 1129 Ol Fa^{1,2} Hi Syh = Sixt)

8_{5b} κρίσεως] γνωσεως 998 357 AGeo

10_{1b} ὀλίγον] ολιγω 68 (sed hab Ald); o (> 998 252^{mg}) λογος B* 998 252^{mg} AGeo Sa^{II} (absc Fa¹)

11_{9c} καρδίας σου 357 542 Dam^{Lc} Hilem et com 348,156 351,68 = Ra Vulg] καρδια σου 788; ἀμώμων ἡ καρδία σου 539; (+ σου AGeo Sa^{1,II}) ἀμώμων B-68' 998 336' Antioch 1485 (ἀμώμων) Did 333,4s 335,26s PsChr AGeo Fa^{1,2} Sa^{1,II}; ἀμώμων 766; > σου 338*; + ἀμεμπτος Dam^{M^P}; + ἀμωμα 613; + ἀμώμων 254'; + (~ Syh) ἀμώμων rel (788 Anton 960 1057 1208 Dam^{-L^{C^{M^P}} Max II 968 Met 334,2 Ol Amb Exh virg 10,69 Spec 473,15 Hi Pach 144,13 Aeth Arab Arm CPA Syh Ald Sixt)}

The *Vorlage* of AGeo is clearly a derivative of the early Egyptian Text Group. In addition, note that there

are 15 agreements with 357, one of perhaps two manuscripts that are at the head of the stemma; all other witnesses at the head of the stemma are hypothetical ancestors. This is another witness to the early date of the Vorlage behind AGeo. Similarly, AGeo Eccl has 28 agreements with 336' (*prime*), a manuscript pair that is probably a derivative of the early Egyptian Group.

The following chart shows agreements of AGeo plus one, two, three, and four text groups. The vertical column on the left side indicates an agreement between AGeo plus the group listed. Then one can consider whether this agreement is unique (+ 0 Group) or attested by other groups (+ 1, 2, 3, or 4 Groups).

AGeo + ? +	0 Group	1 Group	2 Groups	3 Groups	4 Groups
B-S 998 Co	$1_{11b}, 1_{14ab}, 2_{6b}, 5_{3c}, 5_{7d}, 5_{15c}, 8_{5b}, 8_{12c}, 10_{1b}, 1_{19c}$	$2_{8d}, 2_{15e}, 2_{24b(2)}, 4_{3c}, 5_{17a}, 7_{1b}, 8_{15a}$	$2_{15p}, 10_{13b}$	$1_{17c}, 3_{10a}, 3_{17a}, 7_{1a}$	$1_{16b}, 4_{17d}, 5_{6b}, 10_{19b}$
O	$2_{12b}, 6_{3b}$	$2_{14a}, 5_{17a}, 8_{15a}, 12_{12a}$	$1_{13c}, 2_{15c}, 2_{15p}, 2_{24b}, 5_{3d}$	$1_{17a}, 3_{17a}, 7_{1a}$	$1_{16b}, 4_{17d}, 5_{6b}, 10_{19b}$
L	5_{3d}	3_{17b}	$1_{13c}, 2_{15c}, 10_{13b}$	$1_{17a}, 3_{10a}, 9_{7c}$	$1_{16b}, 4_{17d}, 5_{6b}, 10_{19b}$
C'		$2_{15e}, 7_{1b}$	$1_{13c}, 2_{24b}, 5_{3d}$		$1_{16b}, 10_{19b}$
C''			2_{15c}	1_{17c}	4_{17d}
C'		2_{14a}			
cII	5_{8b}	12_{12a}	10_{13b}	$3_{10a}, 3_{17a}, 7_{1a}, 9_{7c}$	
d	12_{4d}	$2_{8d}, 3_{17b}, 4_{3c}$	2_{15f}	$1_{17a}, 1_{17c}, 3_{10a}, 3_{17a}, 9_{7c}$	$1_{16b}, 4_{17d}, 5_{6b}, 10_{19b}$
k		4_{3c}	2_{24b}	$1_{17a}, 1_{17c}, 7_{1a}, 9_{7c}$	5_{6b}

Agreements of AGeo with one, two, three, and four text groups produces the following totals: O 18; L 12; C' 7; C'' 3 (entire Catena); C' 1; cII 7 (small second catena); d 14; k 7. Since cII is cited with other C groups in C'' or C', the number of agreements with cII is 11. The cII group is probably earlier than C' and developed from the early Egyptian Group in part. AGeo Eccl is not a hexaplaric text, nor is it a strong Lucianic representative: agreements with O, L, and C'' derive from the influence of the early Egyptian text on these groups. The only contrary examples are 117a and 63b.

58b είργασμένου] ειργασμενου 548; ειργασμενος 336' Dam^{M^M}; > AGeo; + και ισθι πιστος εν (επι 339) παντι· εστι(v) βραχυ (βαρυ 336') απο του ηρπασμενου (ηρπαγμενου 336') cII 336' 339 AGeo Arm Sa^{I^{II}}

1013b ομ στόματος 2° B-68' 998 L cII 357 336' 443 Did Ol AGeo Armte Fa1 2 SaI II (sed hab Anton 800 Dam Met IX.13,3 Max II 981 = Sixt)

113c ούρανόν] ηλιον S^c O L C' -^{571c}_{798c} 161^{mg}-248^{mg}-252 339 443 543 547 549 Antioch 1469 Greg-Ny 301,4 Ol Proc 11,104 (sed hab GregAg 785 GregNy 299,24 300,3 300,13 La⁹⁴⁹⁵ Aethap AGeo (no parallel in 31b) Arm Fa¹ Sa^{1⁵} Syh; absc Fa²) Hi = Pesch Tar Vulg, contra ~~ΑΙ~~: cf 31b

117a και 1° — γνωσιν] sub ✘ V 788 Syh; > 253 L (-¹⁰⁶¹²⁵) 130 d⁻²⁵⁴ k 68 248^{'txt} (= Compl; και ξδωκα — τοῦ γνῶναι 248^{'mg}) 296' 311 338 443 547 705 Clem II 37 Dion 212 Ol AGeo ↓ : homoiot

417d κακόν (κακων 534)] καλον S 253-475-411 L (-¹²⁵) C' d⁻³⁵⁷ 155 248' 252txt 296' 311 339 443 539 543 547 548 549 645 698 706 795 AGeo (no parallel 912b) Arab Arm Sa^{I^{II}} Met IV.4,5 (sed hab Aug Spe 8 SedScot Misc 13,17,1 Hi Fa¹ (absc Fa²) Syh = Compl Gra. ~~ΑΙ~~ Vulg): cf 912b

56b ὅτι σύν] οτι συ B-S-534 998 637-411 L 139^c-425-563-571-797^c-798 d k 252 311 336' 338 339 443 542 543 547 549 698 766^{II} 795 GregAg 944 AGeo Arm Syh (sed hab Ol^{AΓΝlem et} Ol-B^{com} = Gra Ra ~~ΑΙ~~)

117c ὅτι] pr εγω B-S-534' 998 411 C' d k 336' 645 705 Ol^{ΒΔΕΗΘΙΚΜΝ} AGeo Sa¹ = Ald;

63b ἐτῶν] pr των C L 563c(vid)-571 534' Ol^A; ζωης O^V-411 AGeo: cf 519a

3. Conclusion:

Thus, to conclude: the comparison between the Old Georgian text, on the one hand, and the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes as well as the Armenian translation, on the other, has revealed the following:

- the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was translated from Greek independently of the Armenian translation.
- The *Vorlage* of AGeo is a derivative of the early Egyptian Text Group.
- Nonetheless, it is a literal translation and faithfully represents all the peculiarities of the Greek syntax and word-building.

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K. Kekelidze, *targmaneba ek'lesiast'isaj*, 1920.

http://212.34.228.170/bible_27E/tEccles_1.htm (Zohrab)

Sources, recensions and manuscript groups:

B Rom, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1209; IV. Jh. „codex Vaticanus“.

S London, British Library, Add. 43725 (früher Leningrad, Öff. Staatsbibliothek, Gr. 259); IV. Jh. „codex Sinaiticus“. Sigel bei Swete: Ια.

998 Hamburg, Staats- und Univ.-Bibl., P. bil. 1; Um 300. Inhalt: Bl. 15 — 21 Eccl (griech.) Bl. 22 — 28 Eccl (kopt.).

357 Bologna, Bibl. Univ., 3640; XII. Jh. Die erst Spalte 11 — 8 ἐμπλησθήσεται ὀφθαλ[μός ist kaum lesbar. Die letzte Spalte endet mit 1211c οὐ παρά. Die folgenden Worte bis zum Schluß sind im XIV.—XV. Jahrhundert ergänzt worden.

Athos, 'Ιβήρων, Ath 1; 978. „Oshki Bible“.

Jerusalem, Jer. 113; 13th c - 14th c.

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 51; 17th c - 18th c „Mtzheta Bible“.

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, S 1349; 18th c.

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 1418; 18th c - 19th c.

O = V-253-475-637 + 411

L = 106-125-130-261-545 125' = 125-261

C = 139-147-159-299-390-415-503-504-522-540-560-563-571-574-732-798

cI = 157-425-601-609-797

157' = 157-797

cII = 260-295(ab 312)-371-561-752(ab 312)

(CCSG 11: 295=O; 371=E; 561=P; 752=T, Abschrift von O; CCSG 24=260)

C' = C + cI

C'' = C + cI + cII

d = 254-342-357-754 254' = 254-754

k = 46-337-631 46' = 46-631

336' = 336-728

THE FORMATION OF A HERO IN *DIGENES AKRITES* *

The present study proposes to examine the nature of Digenes as a hero in *Digenes Akrites*.¹ For that purpose I seek to analyze the poem allegorically in order to identify and better understand the value-system of the work and to clarify the function of the poem in its historical context.

The poem consists of two parts, the *Lay of the Emir* and the *Digeneid*. Some geographical and historical elements are revealed in both parts that allow us to identify events reflected in the poem. The evidence of the Digenes epos shows that the historical background is the period of Byzantine-Arab peace in the tenth century that was established after the Byzantines reached Syria and the eastern borders of the empire had advanced to the Euphrates. In the *Digeneid* the action is centered well to the east in Commagene, beside the Euphrates in the neighborhood of Samosata. This part cannot have come into existence before the imperial advance eastwards from Cappadocia during the campaigns of John Kouroukas, who reached Melitene in 931. The historical context of the *Lay of the Emir*, in contrast, is the Cappadocian frontier before the imperial advance had begun. Here there are as well reflections of the bloody Byzantine-Arab wars: the *Lay* begins with an Arab campaign, the slaughter of Byzantine captives, and Byzantine Arab combat.² The poem preserves and exalts the memory of a frontier society that was vital to the empire's existence for four hundred years, maintaining the defence against the Byzantines' chief ideological enemy and providing military leaders for the *reconquista* on all fronts in the ninth and tenth centuries.³

The historical and geographical references in the texts have been a major concern.⁴ But excessive focus on historical identifications and their importance has led to a paradoxical and illogical conclusion – that the Greek versions of *Digenes Akrites* have survived in such modified and distorted form that they have almost nothing in common with the archetype. As G. Huxley points out, epics with historical contexts are not necessarily epics about historical individuals.⁵ Moreover, the poem evokes a world that was lost: "not only the mythical exploits of Digenes but also the world in which he moves are the products of creative and selective

* First published in: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 50, Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 437-460.

- 1 Six Greek versions of *Digenes Akrites* are preserved: Grottaferrata (G: 14th c.), Escorial (E: 15th c.), and the so-called TAPO group (Trebizond, Andros, Prose, Oxford: 16th c.). The principal editions are: C. Sathas and E. Legrand, *Les Exploits de Digénis Akritas*, Paris 1875; S. Lambros, *Collection de Romans grecs*, Paris 1880, 111–237; J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, Oxford 1956; E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites: Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen*, Vienna 1971; S. Alexiou, *Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης*, Athens 1990; D. Ricks, *Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, Bristol 1990; E. Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, the Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions, Cambridge 1998. I do not intend to address the relative priority of the different versions as I consider that the story of Digenes is equally narrated in all of them.
- 2 S. Alexiou, *Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ Ἀρμούρη*, Athens, 1985, 54; G. Huxley, Antecedents and Context of *Digenes Akrites*, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 317–327, discussing historical aspects of the *Lay of the Emir* including possible historical identifications.
- 3 P. Magdalino, *Digenes Akrites* and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version, in R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds.), *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, Aldershot 1993, 1–2.
- 4 The study of *Digenes Akrites* begins with historical identifications made by its first editors, Sathas and Legrand. This trend reached its highest point in the works of H. Grégoire: *Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre: Les sources historiques de Digénis Akritas et le titre 'Μέγας Βασιλεύς'*, *Byzantium* 5, 1929/30, 327–346; *Le tombeau et la date de Digénis Akritas*, *Byzantium* 6, 1931, 481–508; *L'épopée byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque et l'épopée romane*, *BAB* V.17, 1931, 463–493; *Autour de Digénis Akritas: Les cantilènes et la date de la récension d'Andros-Trebizonde*, *Byzantium* 7, 1932 287–320; *Etudes sur l'épopée byzantine*, *REG* 46, 1933, 29–69; H. Grégoire and R. Goossens, *Les recherches récentes sur l'épopée byzantine*, *AntCl*, 1932, 419–439; 1933 449–472. On the basis of these historical and geographical identifications Grégoire created the Paulician theory, that the *Digenes* epos echoes the Paulician heresy that is reflected only in the Slavic version of the poem; the archetype of the Greek versions, especially G and E, is the result of loyalist revision: H. Grégoire, *Note sur le Digénis slave*, *Byzantium* 10, 1935, 335–339; Notes on the Byzantine Epic: The Greek Folksongs and their Importance for the Classification of the Russian Version and of the Greek Manuscripts, *Byzantium* 15, 1940/1, 92–103.
- 5 G. Huxley, *Op. cit.* 317.

imagination.”⁶ But that does not mean that we should ignore the historical context that stimulated creation of this pseudo-historic poem.

To turn to the issue of the heroic adventures of the protagonist: the problem is that Digenes’ heroic nature is questionable, because of his “suspect” heroic deeds and his at first sight unheroic death. As Theodore Papadopoulos claims, heroic action “must transcend the ordinary level of human behavior, must be exalted in relation to common experience, and must be so far as possible unique.”⁷ This issue is to some extent related to the problem of genre of this poem.⁸ E. Trapp points out a number of motifs that find parallels in hagiographic legends, and these motifs in fact form the backbone of the whole Digenes story.⁹ These include the circumstances of the hero’s childhood and up-bringing, his bravery, his living in solitude, fight with a dragon, encounter with a beautiful girl in the desert, honors paid to him by the emperor,¹⁰ his prayer to God before death, the gathering at the death-bed. R. Beaton holds that the plot structures of the G and E versions represent a kind of “secular hagiography.”¹¹ Traditional elements of Byzantine saints’ lives occur in *Digenes Akrites* in modified form and constitute the kernels of the narrative structure: the conditions of the saint’s birth and upbringing, the holy man’s superhuman strength, the congregation around his death-bed, his death without producing posterity, and the prayers and curses uttered by the faithful at the tomb. The unrealistic episode of the emperor honoring the hero in the G version also comes from Christian Fathers’ lives and is based on the tradition of noble personages and even emperors visiting and honoring hermits.¹² Thus, it is clear that the value-system of *Digenes Akrites* will be more intelligible when the work is considered from the viewpoint of hagiography as well.

The poem narrates the hero’s story from the very beginning to the end – from his birth to his death. Furthermore, there is a genealogical introduction, the so-called astrological prologue¹³ and then the exploits of his father (the *Lay of the Emir*). Thus the hero is closely connected to his genealogy. This is easily explainable when we consider that single combat between two heroes, before which each asserts his origin, ethnicity, or nationality, implies battle between two nations. Sometimes such surrogacy is all too evident.¹⁴ The best example is the fight between Menelaus and Paris in the *Iliad*. The single combat between Emir Mousour and Constantine bears similarities to that in the *Iliad*: the two sides are in confrontation because of a woman, the abductor is defeated, and the terms made are broken.

The Emir’s defeat by his future brother-in-law Constantine puts in question the Emir’s standing as a hero. He rehabilitates himself later by killing a lion during his trip to Syria. Two important interpretations have been offered of the act of killing the lion in the E version. Ricks connects this act to the dilemma faced by Digenes’ father: parents or wife, homeland or Byzantium, Islam or Christianity? Thus, the Emir is in conflict with himself, and he finds the way to end this inner conflict by killing the lion. As a proof, he takes his “trophy,” the lion’s teeth and claws, to Digenes in order to be a worthy father of his son. Thus he binds his past with his future.¹⁵ B. Fenik discusses this episode not as a dilemma faced by the Emir, but from another point

6 P. Magdalino, *Op. cit.* 1–2.

7 Th. Papadopoulos, The Akritic Hero: Socio-Cultural Status in the Light of Comparative Data, in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op.cit.* 131.

8 On identifying the genre of *Digenes Akrites* see C. Galatariotou, Structural Oppositions in the Grottaferrata *Digenes Akrites*, *BMGS* 11, 1987, 29–68; R. Beaton, An Epic in the Making? The Early Versions of *Digenes Akrites*, in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op.cit.* 64–66. Beaton calls the poem a “proto-romance,” while Galatariotou calls it an “unsuccessful romance.”

9 E. Trapp, Hagiographische Elemente im Digenes-Epos, *AnalBoll* 94, 1976, 275–287.

10 The authenticity of the last two episodes is questioned by a number of scholars. D. Ricks, Is the Escorial Akrites a Unitary Poem? *Byzantium* 59, 1989, 203: in contrast to E, in G episodes are added – the meeting with the emperor and the encounter with Hap-lorabdes’ daughter.

11 R. Beaton, The Medieval Greek Romance, Cambridge 1989, 198–200, and in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op.cit.* 55–72.

12 If the episode of meeting with emperor is not authentic, its presence in G and TAPO versions might be explained as an effect of saints’ lives.

13 The astrological prologue is considered a later addition and bears some resemblance to *Barlaam and Joasaph*. See E. Elizbarashvili, Towards the Question of the Plot and the Topic of the Poem Digenes Akrites in Connection with Barlaam and Joasaph, *Caucasian Messenger* 2, 2000, 239–243 (in Georgian).

14 See I. V. Shtal, Homer’s Epos, Moscow 1975, 74. (in Russian).

15 D. Ricks, “Digenes Akrites as Literature,” in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op.cit.* 161–170.

of view:¹⁶ the Emir's standing as a hero became questionable after losing in single combat with Constantine; in killing a lion he kills his frustrated "Me" and returns to his natural "Me" – by splitting a lion he reunifies himself. He returns to his son and so he needs testimony: the teeth and claws of the lion show his bravery. But this also helps him to overcome his unsuccessful past and go forward.¹⁷ Thus, according to both interpretations the act of killing the lion has the function of proving the hero's courage; but a significant incentive to this act is the Emir's desire to free himself from his inner conflict.

The versions differ from each other but the plot is the same in this passage of the poem. Accordingly there is no reason not to apply these interpretations to the other versions, as language and style are not so important in this case. In general, killing a lion or tiger by a hero is a wide-spread motif in the Middle Ages in both western and eastern literature. Such episodes usually have symbolic meaning and do not merely imply the physical strength of a hero.¹⁸ In principle we should analyze the *Digenes Akrites* in the context of the Middle Ages. The literary conventions of the time show underlying organic ties between west and east, which remained as an unfulfilled dream for a world divided into two parts after the fall of Byzantium. Against this background, I propose an allegorical interpretation of the episode of the Emir's journey to Syria, including the act of killing the lion: the physical journey should be understood as a spiritual journey of the hero, as an act of initiation. The dilemma facing the Emir¹⁹ and his weakened heroic status²⁰ are obstacles that are overcome by killing the lion; as a result he achieves a higher level of spiritual perfection, because the Emir must be the worthy father of his son – Digenes who now enters the scene.

All the action that follows in the poem happens around Digenes; his father appears only a few times with quite insignificant function. Henceforth the young Digenes passes through series of stages on his path to becoming a supreme hero.

The hero is marked from his birth, and extraordinary birth is naturally bound up with his exploits – a hero is always in some way predetermined. Digenes' extraordinary birth is in his διγένεια, born of an Arab father (converted to Christianity) and a Christian mother. So too his protector St. George: with his mother Greek and his father Persian, he too is διγενής. Generally, διγένεια is the proper way of making a hero, if we accept it as defined in the G and Z (TAPO) versions:²¹

λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διγενῆς ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων,
ἐθνικὸς μὲν ἀπὸ πατρός, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς ρωμαίας. (G 1001–1002)
ἐθνικὸς ἦν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Ἀγαρ,
Ρωμαῖος δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἐκ γένους τῶν Δουκάδων.
διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκλήθηκε Διγενῆς ὁ υἱός των. (Z 1309–1311)

The other name of the hero, Άκριτης, shows a token of determinism: he is one of those who guard the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire, but he is so named long before:

Άκριτης ὄνομάζεται τὰς ἄκρας ὑποτάξας. (G 1004)
Άκριτης ὄνομάσθη γὰρ ὡς τὰς ἄκρας φυλάσσων. (Z 1316)

The *Digeneid* gives us a poetically composite picture of the akritic nobility, as George Huxley notes in discussing the poem in this akritic context.²²

The hero has also the third name: Βασίλειος, the name given him when he was born:

καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννήσεως Βασίλειος ἐκλήθη. (G 1000)

16 B. Fenik, Epic Narrative Style in the Escorial *Digenis Akritis*, *Ariadne* 5, 1989, 67–70.

17 D.Ricks, in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op.cit.* 168–169.

18 I can mention here a passage from the twelfth-century Georgian epic "Knight in the Panther Skin." The protagonist Tariel kills a panther, a symbol of his lost beloved woman, with his bare hands and then dresses himself in its skin. See Shota Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, transl. Venera Urushadze, Tbilisi 1968. The symbolism of a lion or tiger or panther is most fully developed in this epic, reflected even in its title.

19 B. Fenik, *Op.cit.* 67–70.

20 D. Ricks, in Beaton and Ricks (eds), *Op. cit.*, 168–170.

21 References to the text are to the edition of E. Trapp.

22 G. Huxley, *Op. cit.* 228–238. The privileges and activities of Akritai are described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in *De Cerimoniis* and by Cecaumenos in *Strategicon*; discussed by S. Alexiou, *Op.cit.* 1990, 72–73.

καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἐν ὅδατι ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας
Βασίλειος ὡνόμαστο ἔξαετής ὑπάρχων. (Ζ 1312–1313)

It is his baptismal name, but it is the least important in the poem.²³

Digenes, to become a hero, must pass through stages of selfestablishment and accomplish something beyond everyday action that makes him unique. A. R. Dyck suggests three basic acts: the first hunt, the abduction of a woman, and the visit of the emperor, marking three stages of Digenes' integration into society.²⁴ I would urge that those acts mark not only his integration into society, but also his steps toward spiritual perfection. Thus, the first stage is his first hunt, achieved by the persistence of young Akrites, who appears on the scene at the age of twelve, the traditional age of the hero's maturity. He asks to join his father in the hunt because he desires to test himself in combat with wild beasts (G 1024–1028, E 656–663, Z 1349–1357). Digenes kills the beasts alone, sometimes with his bare hands, which sends his father and his uncle Constantine into raptures. Only his uncle helps him – with advice.²⁵

In knightly symbolism, the knight experiences catharsis in the hunt, mortifying the instincts, passions, and desires that are embodied in the wild beasts.²⁶ Of course, as P. Mackridge argues, the first hunt of Digenes becomes a proof of the hero's right to claim the most beautiful woman in the region.²⁷ It is not however a mere demonstration of his strength, but a step of consecration and catharsis. This idea is further sustained by the scene at the spring (G 1164–1204, Z 1499–1530): the successful Digenes is washed and honored and then is dressed in new attire adorned with precious stones and gold; mounted on a white horse with expensive trappings, he holds a precious lance in his right hand. In this adornment and on a white horse, Digenes evokes St. George²⁸ and other warrior saints (St. Demetrios, St. Theodore); and his bathing and being clothed in new garments suggests a ritual of second baptism.

Thereafter, Digenes is physically and spiritually ready to accomplish a great heroic deed – abducting a woman. He encounters his future bride for the first time upon his triumphal return home from killing wild beasts, and his father, called a second Samson (*δεύτερος Σαμψών*, G 975) because of his heroic deeds, finally leaves the scene to his son.

There are several successful and unsuccessful attempts to abduct a woman in the poem: in general, women are constantly at risk of being stolen. This central motif is an important topic of debate for scholars.²⁹ There is an anthropological interpretation, based on social reality.³⁰ Traces of the social status of women are of course observable in the versions of *Digenes Akrites*, and they reflect the character of Byzantine society –

23 In G the hero is called Ἀκρίτης 37 times, Διγενής 22, and Βασίλειος 11; in Z (TAPO) Ἀκρίτης 131, Διγενής 89, and Βασίλειος 22; in E Ἀκρίτης 35, Διγενής 22, Βασίλειος 2, and Βασίλης 2.

24 A. R. Dyck, The Taming of Digenes: The Plan of *Digenes Akrites*, Grottaferrata Version, Book VI, GRBS 35, 1994, 293–308: the episode of Digenes' meeting with the emperor serves to demonstrate the independence and importance of the hero, as does the meeting with the Apelatai. In particular, Digenes does not accept their invitation to become their leader, and thus strongly establishes himself as an outsider, free of any set hierarchy. It is noteworthy that Apelatai became legendary figures just after the *Digenes* cycle: L. Bénou, Les Apélates: bandits, soldats, héros. De la réalité au mythe, *ÉtBalk* 7, 2000, 25–36. Magdalino, in Beaton and Ricks, *Digenes Akrites* 6, shows that there is a reflection of local power, possessed by the military aristocracy in the 10–12th centuries in Asia Minor, or a reflection of the condition desired by powerless military aristocracy in the 12th century in Constantinople. However, some scholars consider that episode to be a later addition; cf. D. Ricks, *Op. cit. Byzantium* 59, 1989, 203; S. Alexiou, *Op. cit.*, 1990, xciv and 65–66. By contrast C. Galatariotou, The Primacy of the Escorial *Digenes Akrites*: An Open and Shut Case? in Beaton and Ricks (eds), *Op. cit.*, 39–54, at 51, argues that the meeting with the emperor is an authentic and organic part of *Digenes Akrites*.

25 The status of Digenes' uncle seems to be higher here than that of his father.

26 Z. Gamsakhurdia, Tropology of 'The Knight in the Panther's Skin', Tbilisi 1991, 257. (in Georgian)

27 P. Mackridge, 'None But the Brave Deserve the Fair': Abduction, Elopement, Seduction and Marriage in the Escorial *Digenes* and Modern Greek Heroic Songs, in Beaton and Ricks (eds), *Op. cit.*, 150–160.

28 Karl Krumbacher was the first to recognize parallels between Digenes Akrites and St. George: Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung, München, 1911.

29 M. Angold, The Wedding of Digenes Akrites: Love and Marriage in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, *Πρακτικάτου Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου: η Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1989, 201–218; D. Ricks, The Pleasures of the Chase: A Motif in *Digenes Akrites*, BMGS 13, 1989, 290–294.

30 P. Mackridge suggests that the *raison d'être* of this theme in modern Greek folk literature is to be found in the organization and customs of society, particularly exogamy: Bride-snatching in *Digenes Akrites* and Cypriot Heroic Poetry, *Epeteris Kentrou Epistimonikon Erevnon* 19, Nicosia 1992, 617–622, and in Beaton and Ricks (eds), *Op. cit.* 150–160.

women's secluded life and dependent status.³¹ The Emir marries an abducted woman, who expresses no affection for her future husband before marriage and does not participate at all in making the decision. The same applies to Digenes' future wife: she is locked in her father's castle and no one asks her opinion – though she overcomes this isolation, unlike the previous case, and elopes with her beloved Digenes. In the end, however, she finds herself secluded, living with Digenes on the frontier and with no one allowed to see her beauty except her husband.

The more important point is not some reality exhibited in the poem, but the symbolism of a woman in Christian consciousness, performed in *Digenes Akrites* in a way that conflicts with the actual status of women in Byzantium. The opinions of Byzantine writers about women's place in society will be helpful here: authors of hagiographic texts are significantly benevolent.³² An allegorical interpretation of love is another way to elucidate this matter. To see how the abduction of a woman is a type of initiation, the meaning of this metaphor should be considered. As a literary theme, the abduction of a woman is widespread in the Middle Ages and in the ancient epic. The best example is in the *Iliad*, and the motif is often called the Helen motif. The reason for abducting a woman usually is love. In the Middle Ages, physical, earthly love – thus between the Emir and his wife³³ and Digenes and his beloved – was held to be the lowest form of the spiritual love of God.³⁴ Earthly love seen as an outward expression of spiritual illumination is an old phenomenon in literature. E. Bowie argues that the Greek romance is the Hellenistic myth expressing man's solitude and his quest to be united with another creature, either human or divine. According to R. Merkelbach's hypothesis, shared by Bowie, every romance is a mystery text that conveys an allegory of the progress of a person being initiated into a *secretum*, which is attained through tribulations, death, resurrection, acknowledgement, and unity with God.³⁵ In the heroic romances there are biblical parallels – allegorical narratives of the Creation and the Fall, the story of Adam and Eve – which symbolically prompt the journey of the spirit down to the material and then to its return to God through initiation.³⁶ Thus, the allegorical meaning of love is cosmic, and the hero Digenes, having appeared in the arena, strives towards a new mental and spiritual birth. In order to understand the mystery of world, he abducts a woman, the symbol of divinity and immortality. Moreover, Digenes is the only one who may see the beauty of his wife, so he is the only one to attain the wisdom of initiation.

After the marriage Digenes leaves his father's house and settles alone (if it is accepted that his wife is a symbol of divinity and not a real woman) in a borderland. In other terms, as a genuine ascetic he renounces earthly pleasures and secludes himself in the desert. Now the hero continues up the path of spiritual enlightenment, during which Providence sends him trials. The saint and the hero realize themselves in the same way. The mature saint is a spiritual hero and superman. He struggles against the flesh and numerous seductions, the devil often appearing before him as a human being or a wild beast or an unnatural creature. Usually he works wonders, which raises him above the laws of nature. Epic heroes similarly are genuine supermen, and their exploits are as fantastic as a saint's miracles.³⁷

This trial for Digenes consists of fighting and defeating a dragon, a lion, and Apelatai (who are depicted as attempting to abduct Digenes' wife). In all, there are three attempts to capture Digenes' wife, which offers variations on the motif of the woman's abduction. The dragon-slaying should be noted especially, for it makes allusion to the biblical Paradise before the Fall: the dragon, like the Edenic serpent, tries to seduce the woman, Digenes' wife, but fails. Dragon-slaying is a common mythological motif in all times and peoples. The serpent/ dragon is a universal symbol of the netherworld – the chthonic creature linked with the world

31 On the position of women in Byzantium see C. Galatariotou, Holy Women and Witches, *BMGS* 9, 1984/5, 85–87; A. Kazhdan, Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries, *DOP* 44, 1990, 131–143.

32 For hagiographers' attitude towards women see A. Kazhdan, *Op. cit.* 131–143.

33 In the case of the Emir and his wife the meaning is evident – the Emir comes to know Christianity through love.

34 J. Chydenius, *The Symbolism of Love in Medieval Thought*, Helsinki 1970.

35 E. L. Bowie, The Greek Novel, in *Oxford Readings in the Greek Novel*, Oxford 1999, 45; R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, Munich 1962.

36 Z. Gamsakhurdia, *Op. cit.* 317.

37 On the relations between epic and hagiographic heroes and epic and hagiographic texts see K. Kekelidze, *Division into Periods of Georgian Feudal Literature*, Tbilisi 1933, 40–41. (in Georgian)

of the dead. Moreover, as a rule, the hero defeats the dragon.³⁸ In Georgian as in many other traditions, the dragon is related symbolically to water, rain, fertility, productivity. It is emphasized in Georgian popular tales that the dragon never lets someone approach a spring without a victim.³⁹ It is noteworthy that the dragon attacks Digenes' wife when she approaches the spring to satisfy her thirst. But transformed into a handsome young man, the dragon seeks to seduce the woman, not to kill her (G 2378–2381, Z 2811–2828). We see here a revision of the Fall, for Digenes' wife does not succumb to the temptation and calls to her husband for help. Digenes comes to save his beloved and kills the dragon (G 2406–2410, E 1103–1110, Z 2837–2842).

Thus, Digenes is presented as the dragon-fighter hero, who canonically embodies the grace of truth, good, and love. The dragon-fighter hero establishes life and overcomes death, delivering mankind from dark powers. St. George, St. Demetrios, and St. Theodore are his Christian counterparts. In the Middle Ages he was regarded as the embodiment of Christian dedication. The institutions of monasticism and knighthood were comparable; there were orders both of knights and of monks. The rituals of chivalry symbolically represented rituals of initiation; their theme was descent to the nether world even while alive and defeating the forces of the nether world.⁴⁰

In general, the motif of slaying the dragon so frequent in the hagiography and iconography of warrior saints derives from the scene in Revelation (12) in which the archangel Michael defeats Satan. Warrior saints repeat Michael's act in its essence – they are fighters and victors over evil. The same prodigy done by Digenes, together with other evidence in the poem, supports the idea that the poem and its image of the protagonist are influenced by the cult of warrior saints that was much developed in the Middle Ages.⁴¹ The motif can be illustrated here by some examples from the hagiography and iconography of warrior saints, a theme discussed broadly by Christopher Walter.⁴²

The *Life of St. Theodore* (BHG 1764) recounts a miracle in which Theodore slays a dragon. This scene was embroidered by Nicephorus Uranos in his *Life of Theodore*:⁴³ here Theodore rescued his mother from the jaws of a dragon while she was drawing water from a spring (like Digenes' wife). Theodore is reported to have slain a dragon already in the earliest account, the *Passio prima*:⁴⁴ in this version the dragon blocked the road; Theodore after making the sign of Cross cut off the dragon's head, and thenceforth the road was open of access.⁴⁵

In the Coptic encomium to St. Theodore Stratelates (the General) and St. Theodore the Eastern, both are dragon slayers. This text too reveals a close relation of these saints to the archangel Michael and the metaphor of spiritual battle:⁴⁶

Behold then, my beloved, the valour of these saints, who are equal with one another: the Eastern slew the dragon which was beneath the ladder, which troubled the angels coming down from heaven and adjured them in the name of the Exalted. For this reason when St. Theodore the Eastern trampled upon him, the angels rejoiced in coming down upon the earth, because there was none to hinder them again. For this reason the archangel Michael prayed for him while he did this valiance that his throne might be

38 On the dragon-fighting hero in Georgian folklore see M. Chikovani, Dragon-fighter Hero and the Holy Rider, *Studies of the Pushkin Pedagogical Institute* 7, 1949, 261–276. (in Georgian)

39 On the symbolism of the serpent/dragon in Georgian folk tradition see N. Abakelia, Symbol and Ritual in Georgian Culture, Tbilisi 1997, 5–17. (in Georgian)

40 On the institution of knighthood as Christian initiation see Z. Gamsakhurdia, *Op.cit.* 160–166; J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, London 1971, 169–172.

41 E. Trapp, *Op. cit.* 1976, 279–286, compares the Digenes epos to the two versions of the *Life of St. Theodore*: H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris 1909, Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου (151–167), and the metaphrastic version Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου (168–182). Trapp marks some parallels between passages of the epos and hagiographic texts and argues that the common episode of killing the dragon comes from the folklore tradition.

42 C. Walter, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot 2003.

43 F. Halkin, Un opuscule inconnu du Magister Nicéphore Ouranos, *AnalBoll* 80, 1962, 313–323.

44 BHG 1762d. Willy Hengstenberg, Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor, *Oriens Christianus* №.S. 2, 1912, 78–106, 241–280, assembled most of the texts relevant of Theodore's dragon slaying.

45 On St. Theodore and the dragon see Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 51–66.

46 E. O. Winstedt, Coptic Texts on St. Theodore, the General, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus, London 1910, 75–76.

placed before his own in the skies. This very saint it was, who trampled on the great dragon that fought with the angels. Again this saint too whose festival we are celebrating today, St. Theodore the General, slew the raging dragon, consoled the orphans, removed the grief of the widows, set free those in bonds, abolished unrighteous sacrifices, although none of his troop of soldiers fought with him, but he alone in the strength of Christ slaughtered this so great dragon. For this reason, when he saved the little child of the widow and slew the dragon, his sacrifice pleased the Lord, and he gave him this great valour. And he gave him power to crush every dragon upon the earth and those beneath the earth and those in hell: that, if they even hear of him, they tremble. For he it is who slew their father first; and therefore do his sons tremble before him. Again this true hero and mighty champion was not content with these favours. God gave his soul in honour to the holy Archangel Michael to take to the place of his fellow-martyr and saint, Theodore the Eastern, that their comradeship might abide forever in the heavens.

Hagiographic and iconographic works dedicated to the leader of the warrior saints' echelon provide countless scenes of St. George slaying the dragon.⁴⁷ In the Mavrukan church in Cappadocia he is represented on horseback together with St. Theodore; they are attacking two serpents twisted around a tree.⁴⁸ After Iconoclasm, portrayals of St. George as a warrior proliferated greatly, especially in Cappadocia. He figured both as the protector of soldiers and as the conqueror of evil. His iconography varies: he may be represented as a martyr, but more often, especially from the tenth century, as a soldier, whether in bust form, standing, or on horseback, sometimes killing a dragon. The type of St. George saving a princess emerged and became dominant from the eleventh century.⁴⁹

In the Grottaferrata version Digenes claims that warrior saints help him – the two Theodoses (Theodore Tiron and Theodore Stratelates), George, and Demetrios:

εἰς πολὺ δὲ οὐ γέγονεν ἡ ἐκείνων θρασύτης,
ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἔσβεσται τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος
ἔχων τε καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἀγίους Θεοδώρους,
Γεώργιον, Δημήτριον, τούτους ἔτρεψα πάντας. (G 3031–3034)
He swears by the Theodoses, martyrs of Christ:⁵⁰
μὰ τοὺς ἀγίους μάρτυρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοδώρους (G1428)
μὰ τὸν ἄγιόν μου Θεόδωρον, τὸν μέγαν ἀπελάτην (E 883)
μὰ τὸν ἄγιον Θεόδωρον, τὸν μέγαν ἀπελάτην (Z 1893)

The *Life* of St. Theodore relates a miracle in which a woman has a vision of Theodore, armed and on horseback, warding off a barbarian attack, just at the place where he had protected the city once before.⁵¹ Among the miracles of St. Demetrios recounted by archbishop John of Thessaloniki, Slav marauders attack the city and place their ladders against the fortifications; Demetrios appears on the walls in military dress and with his lance strikes the first attacker to mount the ladder, killing him and causing him to fall on those following him up.⁵² In another miracle in John's collection, a man riding a white horse and wearing a white mantel alarmed and repelled marauders, who took him to be the leader of an invisible army.⁵³ Soldiers smeared themselves with St. Demetrios' *myron* before going into battle.⁵⁴ According to Skylitzes, on one occasion when the Bulgarians were besieging Thessaloniki, the garrison prayed all night by the saint's tomb; then they

47 See Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 109–144.

48 Early seventh century, according to N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen Age en Cappadoce: l'église no. 3 de Mavrukan*, *Jsav*, 1972, 258–263; cf. Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 125.

49 Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 126–127, 140–142.

50 E. Trapp noted that in E and Z στρατηλάτην is replaced by the similar-sounding ἀπελάτην: *Op. cit.* 1976, 278.

51 H. Delehaye, *Op. cit.* 196–198; Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 47.

52 P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius* (Paris 1979–1980) I 131–133, 135–138 (§120), II 172. In an *Encomium* of St. Demetrios, Bishop John notes among the characteristics of the saint his “invisible alliance” in wars: A. Phillipidis-Braat, *L'enkômion de S. Démétrius par Jean de Thessalonique*, *TravMém* 8, 1981, 406, line 33.

53 P. Lemerle, *Op. cit.* I 144–145, 157 (§§160–161).

54 Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 82 n.57.

anointed themselves with his *myron*, went into battle, and defeated the enemy. Bulgarians who had been taken prisoner saw a young horseman leading the Greek army.⁵⁵

In a miracle reported by Anastasius the Librarian, barbarians surrounded Thessalonica; when the city was about to be captured, they saw a crowd of armed men, like a swarm of bees, coming out, led by a red-haired youth, most beautiful to behold, bearing the sign of the cross in his hands. A white horse bore him. These charged forward and attacked; terror-stricken, the barbarians sought the protection of flight. But the citizens realized that the commander was the martyr Demetrios who had put the enemy to flight together with an army of angels.⁵⁶

In the seventh century, Adamnan of Iona reports stories that the wandering bishop Arculf claimed to have heard in Constantinople concerning the shrine of St. George in Diospolis. In one, at a time when many thousands from every quarter were gathering to form an expedition, one person, a layman, mounted on horseback, entered the city. He came to the house that had the marble column on which was depicted the holy confessor George and addressed the image: "I commend myself and my horse to thee, George the confessor, that by virtue of your prayers we may both return safe from this expedition and reach this city, delivered from all dangers of wars and pestilences and waters." He joined his companions in the multitude of the army, and went off with the expedition. After many and diverse dangers in war, in which thousands perished, he returned safely to Diospolis mounted on the same beloved horse, having by God's grace escaped all evil mischances, since he commanded himself to George the servant of Christ.⁵⁷ Thus, two miracles which are attributed to warrior saints in hagiography, iconography, and legends – slaying the dragon and intervening in battle – and which involve a metaphorical perception of battle are reflected in the Digenes epos. This provides one more argument for a symbolic interpretation of Digenes' adventure: he seeks not glory on the battlefield, but spiritual perfection.

In addition, two gilded icons of the Theodores are among the wedding presents for Digenes and his wife: εἰκόνας δύο χυμεντάς ἀγίων Θεοδώρων (G 1861); δύο εἰκόνας χυμεντάς ἀγίων Θεοδώρων (Z 2227). Digenes builds for St. Theodore a temple in the middle his garden on the bank of the Euphrates:

τούτου ἐν μέσῳ ἴδρρυσε ναόν, ἔνδοξον ἔργον,
ἀγίου ἐν ὄνόματι μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου. (G 3242–3243)
ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἔκτισε περικαλλῆ νεών τε
εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ μάρτυρος ἀγίου Θεοδώρου. (Z 3930–3931)
ναὸν λαμπρόν, ἡδύτατον, ποιήσας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ
εἰς ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἔθηκεν ἀγίου Θεοδώρου. (Z 4097–4098)

Thus Digenes claims to be a "new warrior saint." He lives and fights alone. He fights not against Arabs, the historical enemies of Byzantium, but for his divine love, which is embodied in his beloved woman who is under perpetual danger of being abducted.

Before his death, Digenes changes his life style. He settles on the bank of the Euphrates, the river from Paradise, and digs a canal from the river to his own garden (G 3143–3151, E 1606–1616, Z 3771–3780). Because the Euphrates is one of the four rivers out of Eden, by bringing a canal from it Digenes makes a "new paradise."⁵⁸ But the Euphrates is not the only allusion here to Paradise. Byzantine gardens, usually walled like that built by Digenes, are allegories of Eden – a beautiful garden full of pleasant scents, brilliantly colored flowers, plenty of fruit trees blooming, bearing fruit all year round, with wafting breezes. A most significant feature is the four rivers, according to Genesis (2:10–14): the Phison (identified as the Ganges), Geon (identified as the Nile), Tigris, and Euphrates. Earlier Christian commentators held that these rivers bring the blessings of Paradise to mortals by flowing from Eden into the inhabited world and watering it.⁵⁹

55 John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn. Berlin-New York 1973, 412–414.

56 The *Passion and Miracles of St. Demetrios*, PL 129, 715–726 (BHL 2122, 2123), at 722–723.

57 D. Meehan, Adamnan's *De locis sanctis*, Dublin 1983, 115–117. Historical-legendary evidence of St. George's interventions in battles are discussed by Ch. Walter, *Op. cit.* 133–134.

58 G 3151, ἄλλον τερπνὸν παράδεισον. Cf. U. Moennig, Digenes = Alexander? The Relationship between Digenes Akrites and the Byzantine Alexander Romance in their Different Versions, in Beaton and Ricks (eds), *Op. cit.* 105.

59 See A. R. Littlewood: Gardens of Byzantium, *Journal of Garden History* 12, 1992, 126–153; Gardens of the Palaces, in H. Ma-

As in Paradise there are beautiful plants and flowers in Digenes' garden: vines, flaxes, roses, narcissuses, violets, myrtles, apple-trees, date-palms, aloes, and balsam. And this wonderful garden is inhabited by peacocks, parrots, swans, eagles, and partridges, as well as lions and panthers and even nymphs (G 3155–3179, E 1629–1644, Z 3787–3804).

Moreover, there is an interesting detail. The Byzantines had a particular idea about the location of Eden. The “paradise” built by Digenes is very close to the Byzantines’ concept of the earthly paradise not only in climate, flora, fauna, and landscape, but also in location.⁶⁰ Digenes builds a palace in this paradise and spends the rest of his life there. I think that the hero thus creates that world that is the eternal dream of sinful man excluded from Eden: in other words, he returns to the lost paradise. Holy riders, especially Theodore Stratelates, assist him on his path to initiation; that is why he builds a church of St. Theodore in the “new paradise.” Thus, there is a revision of the Fall in the act of defeating the dragon: Digenes thereby acquires a moral right to “return to paradise.” As a result, the world’s harmony, destroyed by the Fall, is restored.

A holy man either ends his life in martyrdom, i.e. sacrifices himself to his ideals; or he dies peacefully after his long ascetic life. In either case, good wins over evil, the soul over the flesh, the spiritual world over the material. The end of Digenes seems to belong to the second model of the holy man’s death.

In G, Digenes dies of an incurable disease after bathing⁶¹ in the pond in his own garden, while his friends were visiting him. When Digenes falls ill a doctor is summoned, but he cannot give any help. The hero, doomed to die, asks his wife to sit down on his bed and narrates his heroic exploits done out of love for her. Digenes’ wife begins to pray. By the end of the prayer she cannot endure seeing her husband in the agony of death, and so falls to the ground unconscious and dies. Thus Digenes and his wife die together⁶² and are buried together.⁶³ The finale of the poem is the mourning over Digenes and his wife and the long speech on the vanity of earthly life.

Thus Digenes, whose adventures are filled with heroic prodigies, dies young in his bed, weakened by an incurable disease, and not on the battlefield with a weapon in his hand like epic heroes. In light of the scenes described above, this death cannot be seen as a transition to the everlasting glory that comes of a καλὸς or εὐκλεής θάνατος. J.-P. Vernant suggests that Greek ideas of death, from archaic to Hellenistic times, represent heroes achieving self-fulfillment in battle (where a man could show his courage, chivalry, and supremacy), and they are rewarded with everlasting glory that overcomes death. They are endowed with the devotion and courage to die on the battlefield, weapons in hand, and young. That is the way to avoid decrepit old age, ordinary, quiet, resigned death, and burial in oblivion. Here was the opportunity to stay forever alive in the collective memory. The glory achieved by a καλὸς θάνατος makes the hero a model for one’s existence, a foundation of traditional culture that unifies and consolidates society and helps it understand itself. Thus for individuals social existence acquires significance and value through the valor of dead heroes.⁶⁴

In contrast to this ideology, the hero’s death in *Digenes Akrites* does not serve to underscore the bravery and strength that would be a way to achieve ever-lasting glory. To the contrary, at first sight Digenes dies under shameful conditions for a hero, lying on his bed, with weakened hands and legs, fighting against death. But the purpose is not to show the hero’s cowardice, but to make evident that there is no other way to defeat

guire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Washington 1997, 13–38; Romantic Paradises: The Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance, *BMGS* 5, 1979, 95–114; J. Wolschke-Bulmann: Zwischen Kepos und Paradeisos: Fragen zur byzantinischen Gartenkultur, *Das Gartenamt* 41, 1992, 221–228; The Study of Byzantine Gardens,” in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, Washington 2002, 1–11; H. Maguire, Paradise Withdrawn, in *Byzantine Garden Culture* 23–35; L. Brubaker and A. R. Littlewood, Byzantinische Gärten, in M. Carroll Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, 213–248; P. Booth, The Symbolic Garden: A Practical Guide for the Care of the Soul, *CahEtAnc* 34, 1998, 15–19.

⁶⁰ See E. Elizbarashvili: The Idea of Earthly Paradise in Digenes Akrites, *Caucasian Messenger* 8, 2003, 178–180 (in Georgian); The Byzantine Garden παράδεισος as an Allegory of Paradise, *Byzantine Studies in Georgia* 2, Tbilisi 2009, 246–260 (in Georgian).

⁶¹ J. Mavrogordato, *Op. cit.* 233, suggests that the episode of Digenes’ bathing is influenced by the episode of Alexander bathing in the Kydnos; E. Trapp, *Op. cit.* 1971, 67, points to an origin in folksongs. The relation between Digenes and Alexander in general and scholarly discussions on this problem (by P. Kalonaros, G. Veloudis, I. Anagnostakis, G. Saunier) are examined by U. Moennig, in Beaton and Ricks (eds.), *Op. cit.* 103–115.

⁶² In some folksongs, Digenes lying on his death-bed strangles his wife, in what seems an evident folklore exaggeration.

⁶³ In G 3604 near Τρώσις, identified with Trush near Samosata by H. Grégoire, *Op cit*, *Byzantium* 6 (1931) 499.

⁶⁴ J.-P. Vernant, *L’individu, la mort, l’amour: soi-même et l’autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1989.

him (in combat, in war) and that death is the only invincible thing for him. Death is inevitable, and is so presented in the poem, in the case of both Digenes and his parents. Death absorbs the hero's mythic force and inescapably follows upon life.

These lines begin the last book:

ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ πλάνου κόσμου τούτου
ἄδης μαραίνει καὶ δεινὸς παραλαμβάνει Χάρων
καὶ ως ὄναρ παρέρχεται καὶ σκιὰ παρατρέχει,
καπνὸς ὥσπερ λυόμενος πᾶς πλοῦτος τοῦδε βίου. (G 3368–3371)
ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ πλάνου κόσμου τούτου
θάνατος παραδέχεται, ἄδης παραλαμβάνει,
ώς ὄναρ δὲ παρέρχεται πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα πᾶσα. (Z 4229–4230)
ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ πλάνου κόσμου τούτου
θάνατος τὰ ὑπὸ κρατεῖ καὶ ἄδης τὰ κερδαίνει. (E 1684–1685)

Beyond the eternal exchange of life and death, a further point is made about the vanity of earthly life; this follows from the Christian attitude that is the ideological axis of the poem. From a Christian point of view death is a relief, liberation of the soul from the fetters of the flesh, transition to the next reality. A martyr's death is usually described as a significant and solemn event. So it is natural that the *Digenes Akrites* does not stress the strength and courage of a dying hero. In this respect, the poem is in harmony with the Fathers' lives.

Thus the four steps in the episode of Digenes' death are: bathing in water and falling ill, adventures told to his wife, death, and the funeral ceremony.

First, Digenes' bathing in water, in the Christian symbolism of water, signifies the hero's purification; the Euphrates has a sacral aura in the poem and generally in Christianity. The hero's falling ill after bathing in this "holy water" clothes the reason for his death in mystery and portrays it as a proclamation of divine will. Digenes does not die on the battlefield, but he does not die a natural death in old age. This serves as a means to avoid both, and yet to remain eternally young in the memory of the people.

Second, Digenes on his golden bed reminds his wife of all his heroic deeds devoted to her, and this is accompanied by numerous prayers and requests to God. This is typical of a scene of confession. In his deathbed speech, Digenes reminds his wife that all his feats since his marriage were performed in order to win and preserve her. Moreover, he strikes a tragic note in asserting that he could not achieve his purpose and that she remained unattainable to him:⁶⁵

ἔμὴ ψυχή, πεποίηκα, ἵνα σε ἐκκερδήσω
καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀπέτυχον, ἡμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος. (G 3489–3490)

Moreover, to sum up the hero's exploits before his death implies logically that his life has been a preparation for death. Digenes by the end of his adventures attains the ideal of heroism, the level of perfection, after which death is the only logical ending.

Third, the simultaneous death of Digenes and his wife, as though a single body and soul, besides expressing the great love between them, symbolically indicates the major achievement of his bravery: his beloved woman disappears with him.

Fourth, and most important, the lamentation on the vanity of the world has the effect of ending the poem in a tragic mode. Death is inevitable, the will of God that no one can escape. It is a punishment of Man because of his Fall and even mighty Akrites is weak facing it – that is the pathos of the final speech, which is imbued with the Christian spirit.⁶⁶

65 As Galatariotou has noted, Digenes is an unsuccessful lover, because he never really "gets the Girl," and he is his own worst enemy. This is indicated by his desperate words to his wife before his death: C. Galatariotou, Structural Oppositions in the Grottaferrata *Digenes Akrites*, BMGS 11, 1987, 62–66. On Digenes' death see E. Elizbarashvili, Interpretation of the Hero's Death in *Digenes Akrites*, *Caucasian Messenger* 10, 2004, 188–191. (in Georgian)

66 In addition to the Christian ideology of the whole poem, the main principle followed in the poem is the belief of the Byzantines that everything that is not confirmed in the Holy Scripture is false. Hence it is stressed repeatedly that the story is true and confirmed: ἀληθινὰ καὶ μεμαρτυρημένα (Z 1288). This should explain why Homer's works are called lies and fictions (G 978–979). See E. Elizbarashvili, The Christian World Outlook of *Digenes Akrites* and its Attitude towards Antiquity," *Academia* 3, 2002,

This attempt has been to interpret each stage of Digenes' life – his entering the scene, abduction of the woman, slaying the dragon, building the garden, and death – as implying Christian initiation, and to clarify that the portrayal of the hero is highly influenced by the images of warrior saints. Taking into consideration that *Digenes Akrites* was created in a society nostalgic for past imperial glory,⁶⁷ it is logical that Digenes is an idealized hero, one seeking the way to spiritual salvation.⁶⁸

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67 See R. Beaton: *Op. cit.* 1989, 46–47; Cappadocians at Court, Digenes and Timarion, in M. Mullett and D. Smyth (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos*, Belfast 1993, 332–337: Beaton dates the original composition of *Digenes* after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, when Anatolia was lost, and thus the underlying theme of *Digenes* is nostalgia for a lost frontier homeland.

68 This article is based on my unpublished dissertation, Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 2004. I would like to thank Professors R. Beaton, P. Mackridge, and E. Jeffreys for reading the abstract of my thesis and giving me the benefit of their comments. Only the author is responsible for the suggestions made in the article.

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LA POLITIQUE DE LA REINE THAMAR ENVERS LA PERSE ET L'OCCIDENT*

Résumé

La Géorgie, État puissant du Caucase et du Moyen-Orient aux XII-XIII siècles prétendait poursuivre la politique maritime de Byzance. En 1204 elle participa à la création de l'empire de Trébizonde à la tête duquel la reine Thamar intronisa son parent Alexis I^{er} Comnène chassé de Byzance et élevé à sa cour. Plus tard, la Géorgie fit campagne en Perse et prit les villes de Marand, Mianeh, Zandjan, Qazvin et Tabriz – la ville la plus importante. En contrôlant la route Tabriz-Trébizonde et la voie commerciale septentrionale reliant la Méditerranée à l'Asie centrale, la Géorgie devint un intermédiaire incontournable du commerce entre l'Orient et l'Occident. Les Géorgiens envisagèrent de contrôler les routes commerciales méridionales du Moyen-Orient, mais l'arrivée des Mongols et des Turcs fit échouer ce projet.

Mots-clés: Géorgie, Perse, Trébizonde, XII-XIII siècles, Thamar, Comnène, commerce.

Abstract

Georgia was one of the most powerful countries of the Caucasus and the Near East in the 12th-13th centuries, and claimed to be the successor of Byzantium's maritime power. In 1204 the Trabzon Empire was founded with the help of Georgia. Queen Thamar brought up her relative Alexis Comnenus expelled from Byzantium at her royal court, before making him the king of Trabzon. Later, Thamar waged a war on Persia and occupied the cities of Marand, Miyaneh, Zanan, Qazvin, and Tabriz. By controlling the Tabriz-Trabzon road and opening the way to the Northern Middle-East road, Georgia became an intermediary in the international trade between East and West. Georgia hoped to control the Southern Middle East road, but failed because of the arrival of the Mongols and Turks on the arena of the Near East.

Keywords: Georgia, Persia, Trabzon, 12th-13th centuries, Thamar, Comnenus, trade policy.

Le règne de la reine Thamar, à la fin du XIIe siècle, est l'une des périodes les plus glorieuses de l'histoire de la Géorgie. Appelée *Âge d'or*, cette époque n'a cessé d'attirer l'attention des chercheurs géorgiens autant qu'étrangers. Maintenant que la Géorgie indépendante essaie de se libérer de l'idéologie imposée pendant de nombreuses années, certaines questions doivent être étudiées sous une nouvelle optique. On peut présenter et expliciter avec une plus grande objectivité la place et le rôle de la Géorgie dans les circonvolutions de l'histoire. Cette nouvelle perspective s'applique évidemment à la période de la reine Thamar. Sa politique envers la Perse et l'Occident a été importante non seulement pour la Géorgie, mais aussi pour les pays qui avaient des relations avec le Caucase. Si le facteur géorgien avait été pris en considération, plusieurs événements historiques de cette période, jusqu'ici mal compris, auraient été clarifiés.

On a souvent analysé la politique étrangère de la reine Thamar en isolant chacune de ses principales composantes. Une telle approche ne rend pas compte de ses objectifs réels.

DEUX FACES DE LA POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE DE LA REINE THAMAR

À la fin du XIIe siècle et au début du XIIIe siècle, la politique étrangère de la reine Thamar devint plus active. Il n'existe alors aucune unité entre les pays du Moyen-Orient et l'empire byzantin était affaibli. Dans ce contexte, deux axes de la politique extérieure de la Géorgie se dégagent clairement: vers l'est la guerre con-

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tre la Perse, vers l'ouest la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde. On a pu se demander quel lien existait entre la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde en 1204 et la campagne contre la Perse en 1210. On sait maintenant que ces deux importants événements ont été programmés par la reine Thamar et exécutés par le royaume de Géorgie. Thamar (1184-1210) a commencé à mettre en œuvre cette politique d'abord dans le Caucase, puis en débordant le cadre régional. Grâce au succès de ses entreprises, les routes commerciales transcaucasiennes passèrent sous le contrôle de la Géorgie. Deux coalitions musulmanes furent défaites lors des batailles de Chamkori (1195) et de Bassiani (1202), faisant de la Géorgie l'État le plus puissant du Caucase et du Moyen-Orient.¹ Ces guerres eurent un écho et un retentissement au niveau international, et les hommes politiques de cette époque y prêtèrent une grande attention, comme l'ont prouvé les sources contemporaines (Ali al-Hossayni, Ibn Bibi, Hamdollah Qazvini, Mirkhond). Ces victoires favorisèrent le succès de la politique de la Géorgie à l'est, comme à l'ouest. Cette orientation régionale constitua longtemps un axe majeur de la politique étrangère géorgienne, dont la mise en œuvre ne fut cependant possible que sous le règne de Thamar.

LES INTÉRÊTS MARITIMES DE LA GÉORGIE

Le début de cette politique date en réalité du moment où la Géorgie opéra son unité au Xe siècle, mais le mouvement fut parachevé par Thamar. L'attention est attirée sur le fait que dans la source anonyme iranienne *Hodoud al - 'alam* la mer Noire était appelée 'mer des Géorgiens', ce qui reflète l'intérêt et l'attitude des Géorgiens pour la mer Noire, même à une période où la navigation, particulièrement importante, constituait une source de profits élevés pour les Iraniens. Abou Saïd al-Istakhri écrivit que tous les marins ou les individus engagés dans le commerce maritime étaient des Iraniens, même sur les rivages arabes du Golfe Persique. Dans la perspective dans laquelle nous nous plaçons, il est important de noter que les Iraniens tenaient compte de l'intérêt particulier des Géorgiens pour la mer Noire, ce qui peut expliquer cette appellation. Manifestement les intérêts et les objectives maritimes de la Géorgie pris en considération au niveau international.

Une question se pose au sujet des intérêts de la Géorgie en matière de la politique maritime: étaient-ils strictement liés à Trébizonde? Ou étaient-ils appelés à se porter ailleurs? À une certaine époque, Ivane Djavakhichvili et d'autres chercheurs géorgiens ont supposé que cette politique masquait de plus vastes ambitions, mais ceci n'est qu'une hypothèse qui n'est pas corroborée par l'historiographie géorgienne, essentiellement en raison du manque de sources adéquates. La clé se trouve dans un passage très connu relatif à la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde par la Géorgie.²

LA FONDATION DE L'EMPIRE DE TRÉBIZONDE

La fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde fut un événement marquant de la politique maritime de la Géorgie. Lors de la bataille pour Trébizonde, la Géorgie ajouta la Paphlagonie et les terres adjacentes à son territoire et, lors de la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde, elle sembla avoir relancé une nouvelle bataille pour ces territoires. Le combat fut mené par David Comnène, frère de l'empereur Alexis I^{er}, que les historiens médiévaux appelaient le souverain de la Paphlagonie.³ L'historien V. Loran disait que David avait réussi à réunir deux mers (la Propontide et la mer Noire) en annexant la Paphlagonie, la Nicomédie et les territoires adjacents, de grande importance stratégique. En s'étendant jusqu'au Bosphore, il fermait la route à son rival Théodore Lascar, qui se proclamait l'héritier de Byzance.⁴ Ce plan est révélateur des objectifs de David. C'est pourquoi V. Loran traite du sujet dans un article sur David Comnène, tout en considérant David et Alexis Comnène comme des souverains indépendants. Le nouvel État-tampon, fraîchement créé, ne fut probablement pas assez puissant. L'histoire de sa création devrait prendre en compte le fait que la Géorgie était le seul État du Caucase et du Moyen-Orient à pouvoir à l'époque non seulement résister à Byzance, mais même prétendre lui succéder. Le royaume de Thamar était limitrophe de ce petit empire autoproclamé qui avait de

1 L'expression Moyen-Orient utilisée au XX^e siècle a cependant été retenue ici pour désigner des régions dont la situation politique était complexe et éphémère.

2 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959 vol. II, p. 142.

3 Choniatis 1966, vol. V, p. 13 1; Georgios Acropolite 1969, vol. VII, p. 45.

4 Ianzen 1959, p. 159.

vastes ambitions politiques. Thamar fit d'Alexis Comnène, le chef de cet empire.⁵ Alexis, neveu de Thamar, était proche parent des Bagrationis. Il avait été expulsé de Byzance et élevé comme un Géorgien à sa cour. Elle fit également d'Alexis le roi de Trébizonde et paracheva ainsi une étape de la politique maritime de la Géorgie. Elle chargea David Comnène de suivre cette politique et d'enlever à Byzance certains territoires stratégiques. Selon l'ouvrage *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (*Histoire de la Kartlie*) ces territoires avaient déjà été occupés par Thamar auparavant. David, qui avait reçu des droits étendus et bénéficiait pleinement de l'accord et de l'aide d'Alexis, reçut également l'aide de l'armée des Ibères de Géorgie occidentale.⁶

Ainsi, il est impossible de dessiner un tableau exact de la politique intérieure et extérieure de Trébizonde sans prendre en compte le facteur géorgien, tout au moins dans la période initiale de son histoire. Il faut également bien voir que la Géorgie, dotée d'une économie prospère et d'une armée puissante, incarnait l'ensemble du Caucase sur la scène politique internationale. Certes, certains chercheurs disent que la Géorgie était seule à pouvoir prétendre sérieusement prendre la place de Byzance, mais ils oublient le point principal. Pour se substituer à Byzance, la Géorgie devait porter atteinte à sa politique maritime. Or la Géorgie infligea un coup très sérieux à la domination de Byzance sur les mers en fondant l'empire de Trébizonde.

La bataille pour la seconde phase de cette "politique maritime" commença plus tard; elle dura environ dix ans après la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde, avant la mort de la reine Thamar. L'axe principal de la politique maritime de Byzance était le contrôle de la mer Noire et de la mer Méditerranée. Mais tandis que David Comnène combattait pour atteindre ses objectifs, les relations se tendirent entre la Géorgie et la Perse.

En 1210, les Géorgiens entrèrent en guerre avec la Perse. Il ne s'agissait sans doute pas d'une simple coïncidence, ni d'un accident, mais plutôt d'une relation logique entre les deux faits, soigneusement étudiés par le royaume de Géorgie et qui caderaient bien avec ses projets en politique étrangère. Il nous semble qu'en étudiant ces deux événements⁷ séparément et isolément on occulte les véritables buts de la politique extérieure géorgienne et que l'on fait obstacle à la nouvelle interprétation de sa politique maritime.

LA CAMPAGNE DE THAMAR EN PERSE

Bien que de nombreux chercheurs intéressés par l'époque de Thamar aient consacré leurs travaux à cette guerre, la signification profonde de la campagne de Perse n'a jamais été vraiment élucidée. Les historiens ont insisté sur les razzias, sur le pillage des villes de Perse et sur les demandes de tributs. L'affaire est plus complexe. Cette campagne résultait d'un plan bien étudié, dont la réalisation avait été soigneusement préparée par les Géorgiens. La véritable signification de la guerre contre la Perse doit être recherchée dans le contexte international et dans celui de la politique étrangère géorgienne. Ainsi considérée, cette campagne semble n'avoir pas relevé de la politique maritime de la Géorgie.

Difficultés de la campagne

En comparant les politiques géorgiennes à l'égard de l'Ouest et de l'Est – fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde et campagne contre la Perse – dans les documents géorgiens, on peut observer que les informations concernant Trébizonde sont concises, précises et, en même temps, détaillées, alors que la campagne contre la Perse est décrite d'une manière large et factuelle. Ces sources traitent des mouvements tactiques liés à la guerre, des pertes humaines, des pillages avec une estimation générale des dommages, etc. Que la Géorgie ait rencontré plus d'une difficulté dans l'exécution de sa politique orientale et occidentale paraît évident.

On peut l'expliquer ainsi : Trébizonde avait été intégrée dans la sphère politique géorgienne depuis les temps anciens et elle était peuplée de Lazès, peuple d'origine géorgienne. Les Géorgiens rencontrèrent donc peu d'opposition dans cette région ethniquement liée à la Géorgie depuis des siècles et partageant les mêmes traditions et les mêmes coutumes. C'est sans doute là une des raisons du succès de la politique vers l'Occident. La situation à l'égard de la Perse était tout autre et les souverains géorgiens rencontrèrent plus de difficultés à l'est qu'à l'ouest. La campagne de Perse – qui relevait de la 'politique orientale' – a été menée au moment

5 Panaretos 1967, vol. VII, p. 165 – 166.

6 Choniates 1966, p. 13 1.

7 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1955, p. 104 – 109.

où la ‘politique occidentale’ avait depuis longtemps été couronnée de succès avec la fondation de l’empire de Trébizonde.

Les sources géorgiennes laissent à penser que l’idée de mener une campagne contre la Perse avait dû germer bien plus tôt qu’on ne le croyait jusqu’à maintenant. L’idée trouve son origine bien avant la guerre de Chamkori en 1195, c’est-à-dire avant la première campagne de la coalition musulmane, lors du paroxysme de la tension entre la Géorgie et Abou-Bakr Ildeguzid, le souverain de la Perse septentrionale et de l’Azerbaïdjan. Le Chirvanchah, un vassal de la Géorgie, l’appela à son secours pour combattre la Perse et défendre ses territoires contre Abou-Bakr.⁸ Dans cette affaire, il fut soutenu par le frère d’Abou-Bakr, son beau-frère Amir-Mirman, qui t’accompagna à la cour royale de Géorgie. Ils pensaient que la puissante Géorgie serait capable de conquérir la Perse et proposèrent que la fille de Thamar, Roussoudan, fût proclamée reine si la Géorgie était victorieuse.⁹

Description de la campagne

Cette information provenant des sources géorgiennes est corroborée par l’auteur oriental ‘Ali al Hossayni qui a écrit qu’Amir-Mirman avait demandé protection à la Géorgie à qui il avait également demandé d’envahir la Perse. Il lui promit d’être son vassal si Abou-Bakr était chassé de Perse où la Géorgie n’avait pas de rival.¹⁰ À ce moment Abou-Bakr, qui avait été informé des négociations entre la Géorgie et le Chirvanchah, se prépara à la guerre. Les Géorgiens surent habilement tirer parti de l’opposition politique qu’ils avaient perçue en Perse. La Géorgie par ailleurs attaquait constamment les zones frontalières d’Abou-Bakr. Grâce à une politique avisée et à long terme, elle chercha des appuis dans ce pays et les trouva, comme le montre la guerre du Chamkori. ‘Ali al-Hossayni déclare en effet ouvertement que, dans la guerre, une partie de l’armée d’Abou-Bakr combattit aux côtés des Géorgiens, avec l’espoir d’en retirer des avantages. Pour Abou-Bakr et le monde musulman de l’époque ces plans géorgiens constituaient un danger. C’est pourquoi ils formèrent une grande coalition musulmane, à laquelle les Géorgiens infligèrent une cuisante défaite dans la bataille de Chamkori en 1195.

On peut considérer la bataille de Chamkori sous l’angle de l’opposition économique et politique entre la Perse du Nord et la Géorgie. Cette opposition constante bloqua l’évolution de la ‘politique orientale’ géorgienne. L’importance de cette guerre est confirmée par le fait que les propos d’Abou-Bakr rencontrèrent un large écho au niveau international et qu’il combattit sous l’égide et avec l’aide du calife de Bagdad.¹¹ L’attention d’monde musulman, inquiet, devait être suspendue au résultat de la guerre.

La guerre de Chamkori fut aussi très importante pour la Géorgie, comme l’attestent les poèmes que Thamar lui a consacrés. Ses historiens en ont parlé longuement. Ils ont insisté sur la défaite de la Perse quoique Thamar ait limité sa conquête au Nord de la Perse et ne l’ait pas étendue aussi loin qu’elle le ferait lors de la campagne suivante en Perse. L’armée géorgienne lança des incursions dans le Nord de la Perse et atteignit la grande ville stratégique de Tabriz. Les Géorgiens pillèrent les environs de la ville et assiégièrent Tabriz où se cachait Abou-Bakr. Ils ne levèrent le siège qu’après avoir reçu une énorme contribution, puis ils rentrèrent chez eux.¹² Les Géorgiens s’emparèrent d’un important butin et de tout le bétail de la région. ‘Ali al-Hossayni écrit que seul Allah sait combien de captifs furent emmenés. Les événements ultérieurs permettent de saisir que c’est le Nord de la Perse qui constituait l’objectif principal de Thamar. Pour atteindre ses objectifs, la reine entama une campagne militaire en Perse sur une grande échelle, mais elle rencontra de nombreuses difficultés. Elle dut prouver sa force en combattant les deux coalitions musulmanes déjà évoquées (en 1195 et 1202). La question de Trébizonde restait pendante; elle fut résolue en 1204 après la défaite de la seconde campagne de la coalition turque à Bassiani, en 1202. Ces victoires ont contribué à accélérer le lancement de la campagne menée en Perse en 1210.

8 *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi* 1979, vol. III, p. 32 1-322; *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959, vol. II, p. 63-64.

9 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959, vol. II, p. 63-64.

10 al-Hossayni 1980, p. 158, texte en persan, (I. 105).

11 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959, vol. II, p. 67.

12 al-Hossayni 1983, p. 160 (1. 107a).

RÉACTION ET COALITION DU MONDE MUSULMAN

La principale conséquence de la guerre de Chamkori menée par Thamar fut que le monde musulman se tourna vers l'ouest plutôt que vers l'est. Thamar entama des actions pour parvenir à son but et donna l'exemple d'une politique bien équilibrée. Dans l'intervalle qui sépare les guerres de Chamkori et de Bassiani (1195-1202), les Géorgiens ajoutèrent à leur territoire des villes commerciales importantes pour le *Moyen-Orient*: Ani, Bidjnissi, Kari, Dvin. Ils attaquèrent Khlat/ Akhlat et, se dirigeant vers l'ouest de la Géorgie, ils pillèrent la côte de la mer Noire, chassèrent les Turcs d'Artaani ainsi que des territoires alentour et atteignirent Bassiani.¹³ Ils provoquèrent une campagne militaire turque menée par Rokn ed-Din. L'empereur de Byzance qui voulait régner sur l'Orient et contrôler la côte orientale de la mer Noire essaya d'empêcher la Géorgie d'avancer dans cette direction.

La localisation géographique de ces deux campagnes est un point essentiel de cette étude. L'une s'est déroulée sur le territoire appartenant aux Ildeguzids, souverains de la Perse septentrionale et de l'Azerbaïdjan, l'autre sur des terres qui longent les côtes de la mer Noire. Ces deux régions figurent dans une phase du programme de politique étrangère de Thamar orienté à la fois vers l'est et vers l'ouest, couronné par la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde et la guerre de 1210 en Perse. La coalition musulmane essaya, en lançant sa campagne, d'entraver la réalisation des deux projets. Les sources médiévales au *Moyen-Orient* (Ibn al-Athir, al-Omari, Abol-Fida, Hamdallah Qazvini, Mirkhond etc.) témoignent de la manière dont l'Orient apprécia cette entreprise.¹⁴

On sait qu'avant même d'accomplir ces pas importants – la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde et le lancement de la guerre en Perse – la Géorgie contrôlait déjà les routes commerciales à l'est et à l'ouest, spécialement les routes Dvin-Erzeroum et Derbent-Chamakhah qui ont joué un rôle important dans le développement économique d'une Géorgie unifiée et puissante. Les historiens géorgiens ont raison de penser que l'exploitation par la Géorgie des dites routes commerciales a fait naître le problème de la conquête des sultans d'Archech-Khlat et de la route commerciale joignant la Perse au *Moyen-Orient*.¹⁵ C'est pour cette raison que fut menée la bataille de Khlat qui permit de signer un traité de paix qui dura trente ans.¹⁶ Comme ci-dessus mentionné, le monde musulman perçut le danger et fit de son mieux pour contrer les plans de la reine. Les souverains des pays du *Moyen-Orient* utilisèrent alors l'arme de la diplomatie, comme le montre le fragment d'un document persan publié dans les dernières années du XIIe siècle par un érudit iranien, Younessi. Il établit que la reine Thamar promit de respecter les règles de bon voisinage et de s'abstenir de nouvelles agressions.¹⁷ Le document n'indique pas l'État musulman concerné, mais il est évident que la Géorgie était alors un pays puissant dont il fallait tenir compte. Ainsi, tant la Géorgie que chacun des pays du Moyen-Orient firent de leur mieux pour maîtriser les relations bilatérales et la situation dans la région.

La Perse tenta une première provocation. L'atmosphère existant avant la campagne militaire géorgienne en Perse est décrite dans l'ouvrage *Kartlis Tskhovreba*. Pensant le moment propice pour attaquer la ville d'Ani, car Thamar était à l'ouest de la Géorgie (Guelati), le sultan d'Ardebil envahit ladite ville en 1208. La Géorgie était manifestement préparée et prête, comme le prouvent la prompte réaction de Thamar ainsi que son plan tactique bien réfléchi. Un certain nombre de guerriers devaient se porter vers Ardebil pour désorienter l'ennemi et tromper sa vigilance. Les Géorgiens battirent le sultan et le mirent à mort. Ils emmenèrent en captivité sa famille (femme et enfants) et repartirent avec un énorme butin. La reine Thamar accueillit l'armée victorieuse avec félicitations et honneurs. La signification de la victoire d'Ardebil fut soulignée par les historiens de l'époque. À l'époque contemporaine on fait remarquer avec pertinence que cette campagne militaire a permis aux Géorgiens de se rendre clairement compte qu'il n'y avait pas d'unité en Perse et d'en constater la faiblesse. L'attaque du sultan d'Ardebil contre la ville d'Ani avant la campagne militaire de 1210 en Perse ainsi que la riposte géorgienne furent les prémisses d'autres événements.

13 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959, vol. II, p. 78.

14 al-Hossayni 1980, p. 244; Metreveli 1994, p. 191.

15 Berdzenichvili 1937, p. 289.

16 *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvebebi* 1979, p. 336.

17 Guiounachvili 1970, p. 174.

Après avoir défait le sultan d'Ardebil, la Géorgie dut affronter le sérieux problème de la Perse. Thamar en informa les chefs féodaux de l'est et de l'ouest de la Géorgie et requit leur accord pour une campagne militaire. En raison de l'étendue de cette campagne, l'armée fut mobilisée de la mer Noire à la mer Caspienne ou de Nicopsia à Derbent, selon une source géorgienne. L'Orient tout entier fut appelé à contempler la puissance géorgienne pendant la guerre. Tout le pays fut mobilisé; la reine eut le soutien complet du peuple et des seigneurs féodaux qui saisirent l'importance de la politique orientale, maintenant que la politique occidentale était couronnée de succès avec la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde.

PRÉPARATION IDÉOLOGIQUE DES CAMPAGNES

L'ensemble du pays n'était pas seulement prêt politiquement et économiquement, mais également sur le plan idéologique. L'armée qui se dirigea vers la Perse était bien équipée, mais, ainsi que le dit un historien de la reine Thamar, elle voulait vraiment la victoire sur la Perse.¹⁸

Les étendards géorgiens portaient les symboles d'Alexandre et d'Auguste, ainsi que ceux de Vakhtang Gorgassal et de David. À cette époque, les historiens médiévaux considéraient Thamar comme ayant pris la succession d'Alexandre de Macédoine et de César Auguste. La politique ambitieuse de Thamar se reflétait dans les titres "Autocrate de l'Orient et de l'Occident"¹⁹ qu'elle portait. Sur les monnaies de Thamar se voyaient aussi de fières inscriptions. Les œuvres historiques et littéraires elles-mêmes révélaient aussi les objectifs de la politique étrangère. Ce n'est pas un hasard si un génie de la Renaissance géorgienne, Chota Roustaveli, apparaît sur la scène littéraire. Son poème "Le Chevalier à la peau de tigre" est un bon exemple des sommets atteints par la pensée et la culture géorgiennes. L'ambition et l'étendue de la politique étrangère géorgienne traduisirent ce sentiment général d'un grand destin.

Les œuvres des brillants poètes de l'époque, Grigol Chakhrukhadzé et Ioane Chavteli sont de très grande valeur. Ils traitent largement de la politique extérieure de Thamar. Malheureusement leurs œuvres poétiques n'ont pas été étudiées dans cette perspective jusqu'à maintenant, contrairement à celles de Thamariani ou d'Abdolmessiani. Elles traitent aussi de la navigation, de la question de la Perse, de la fondation de l'empire de Trébizonde, de la campagne militaire en Perse, de l'expansion de l'influence de la Géorgie sur le Pont et de la victoire sur la Perse. Ioane Chavteli qualifie Thamar de "Souveraine de la Perse" et de "Maître de la terre et de la mer". Ces œuvres saluent le succès des politiques occidentale et orientale de Thamar.²⁰ Le poème qui traite de la guerre de Chamkori engagée par Thamar est une réflexion sur ces événements politiques.

Les sources historiques géorgiennes contiennent d'abondants renseignements sur la campagne de Perse et montrent que la Géorgie devait être prise au sérieux, comme le prouve la reddition sans combat de certaines villes iraniennes, telle Tabriz. Les Géorgiens s'approchèrent d'abord de Marand dont les habitants avaient fui et avaient trouvé refuge alentour, dans les rochers. Les Géorgiens choisirent cinq cents de leurs meilleurs guerriers, qui établirent leur campement dans la vallée de Marand. Les Iraniens crurent qu'il serait facile d'écraser une si petite armée et quittèrent leurs abris. Ils furent sévèrement défait. Selon l'ouvrage *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, pas un Géorgien ne fut tué dans ce combat. L'armée géorgienne se dirigea vers Tabriz. Effrayés, les habitants se rendirent sans combattre. Pour apaiser les Géorgiens, les *qadis*, les *khwadjas*, les derviches et la noblesse de la ville se portèrent à leur rencontre avec d'innombrables cadeaux de grande valeur. Les sources géorgiennes soulignent particulièrement la richesse de la ville, qui ne fut pas sans surprendre les Géorgiens. En raison de l'importance de la ville, ceux-ci y laissèrent leur armée et, pour renforcer leurs arrières, ils occupèrent Mianeh qui s'était aussi rendue sans combattre.

Ensuite les Géorgiens occupèrent Zandjan et bataillèrent pour prendre Qazvin.²¹ De cette manière ils concrétisèrent leur intention d'atteindre la province du Khorassan. Lacha-Guiorgui écrit que "Les Géorgiens occupèrent les villes de Perse et atteignirent des contrées dont on ne savait rien jusqu'alors".²² À notre avis, l'incursion si profonde de l'armée de Thamar en Perse n'était qu'une démonstration de force. Il s'agissait de

18 *Kartlis Tskhovreba* 1959, II, p. 100-104.

19 *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi* 1979, p. 3 18.

20 *Kartuli Proza* 1965, vol. III.

21 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1959, vol. II, p. 104-107.

22 *Kartlis tskhovreba* 1955, vol I, p. 369.

renforcer ses arrières dans le Nord de la Perse. Il était important pour elle de s'emparer de Tabriz qui était l'un des plus grands centres du commerce international.

CONTRÔLER LA ROUTE TABRIZ-TRÉBIZONDE: OBJECTIF DE THAMAR

Valerian Gabachvili avait raison d'écrire à propos de la politique extérieure de Thamar: "La grande vision de sa politique dans le Caucase et en Orient était aussi influencée par l'économie et, notamment, par la nécessité de contrôler la plus importante voie commerciale". Cependant le désir de Thamar de contrôler la route Tabriz-Trébizonde est sans doute à mettre en relation avec la simple idée de contrôler les routes menant de Perse à la Méditerranée orientale, comme dans les années vingt du xnt siècle.²³

La conquête des voies commerciales menant de Perse à la Méditerranée permettait à la Géorgie de jouer un rôle d'intermédiaire dans les échanges entre l'est et l'Ouest. À cette époque deux grandes voies passaient par Tiflis/Tbilissi: l'une allait vers Tabriz, l'autre vers Trébizonde. Tiflis était le point d'intersection de ces deux routes. Trébizonde était le port de mer de Tabriz, qui se trouvait aussi au point de jonction de différentes voies menant vers l'Est. Ce n'est pas par hasard que la Géorgie se tourna vers le Nord de la Perse et vers Tabriz, après avoir renforcé son influence sur l'empire de Trébizonde, mais pour mettre en œuvre une politique de domination économique.

La Géorgie ne put mener à bien son programme en raison de l'invasion mongole. Les incursions mongoles modifièrent le tableau politique et économique du *Moyen-Orient*. Lorsque les Mongols occupèrent l'Est de la Géorgie, le gouvernement dut changer de politique. La Géorgie ne renonça pas à ses objectifs pour autant. Trébizonde resta un atout politique et économique important. Ceci se reflète dans les relations avec l'Italie et le reste de l'Europe maritime.

ENJEUX PERMANENTS DE LA ROUTE TABRIZ-TRÉBIZONDE

Les événements de l'époque suivante montrent que la voie Tabriz-Trébizonde garda pour la Géorgie une importance égale à celle qu'elle avait eue sous le règne de Thamar. La politique des Ilkhans confirme la justesse des vues de Thamar. Ils choisirent Tabriz comme capitale de leur empire et après la désintégration de l'empire ilkhanide Tabriz demeura capitale. Sous la domination des Cheybanides, des Djalayrs et des Qara-Qoyounlous, il en fut de même. La Horde d'Or et Tamerlan cherchèrent également à dominer le Nord de la Perse et Tabriz. De brillants historiographes mongols tels que Rachid od-Din, Vassaf, Hamdollah Qazvini et d'autres soulignent l'importance de cette région et des routes qui la traversent. Tous les souverains de Tabriz ont veillé à la sécurité de la route commerciale de Trébizonde. Les Ilkhans furent les premiers à conclure des accords avec les Italiens. L'importance de Tabriz s'accrut après l'occupation de Bagdad par les Mongols en 1256. Les Italiens trouvèrent un chemin vers la mer Noire et participèrent au commerce international en mer Noire.

À partir du XIII^e siècle l'économie occidentale dépendit des résultats du commerce avec le *Moyen-Orient*. Ainsi l'activité du port de Gênes quadrupla du fait du commerce avec les pays riverains de la mer Noire. Ce fut ce que les spécialistes de l'histoire italienne appellent *l'Âge d'Or de Gênes*.²⁴ Dans ce contexte, lorsque le trafic de la route Tabriz-Trébizonde s'intensifia, les Européens, surtout des

Italiens, arrivèrent à Tabriz. Marco Polo, qui s'y trouvait à l'époque, considérait Tabriz comme la plus grande et la plus belle ville de Perse. Il énumère les personnalités qui vinrent pour le commerce: elles étaient d'origine italienne, iranienne, géorgienne, arménienne et autres.²⁵ L'Eglise de Rome s'intéressa également à la voie Tabriz-Trabizonde. De nombreux missionnaires y furent envoyés.

Tout ceci influenza le système monétaire. Dans la période de Ghazan Khan, les monnaies de Tabriz et de Trébizonde eurent le même poids, soit 2,13 grammes. La Géorgie adopta le même étalon, accrochant sa monnaie à celle des deux villes. Rachid od-Din rapporte que les Géorgiens adoptèrent la monnaie unifiée de Ghazan Khan comme étalon quand ils se libérèrent de la domination des Ilkhans. Cet historien médiéval

23 Gabachvili 1967, p. 202-206.

24 *Istoria Italii* 1970, p. 209.

25 Marco Polo 1955, p. 6.

explique que cette décision procéda du souhait de la Géorgie de participer au commerce international.²⁶ La réforme monétaire de Ghazan Khan visait peut-être à réguler le système monétaire international en y incluant d'autres pays. C'est aussi à cette époque de la fin du XIII^e siècle que la Géorgie rejoignit le réseau commercial international de la mer Noire, dans la continuité de l'esprit de la politique de Thamar.

LES CAMPAGNES EN DIRECTION DE BAGDAD: CONTINUITÉ STRATÉGIQUE

Les informations données par Juvaini sont très intéressantes. Il évoque la campagne militaire dirigée contre Tabriz et le projet d'en chasser Djalal od-Din. On peut aussi ajouter qu'après avoir pris Tabriz, les Géorgiens eurent l'intention d'occuper Bagdad, de renverser le calife, de placer un Catholicos sur le trône et de transformer les mosquées en églises. Selon Juvaini, ils réunirent plus de trente mille hommes et se mirent en route. Les sources ne s'étendent pas sur la genèse du plan, mais elles donnent des détails sur les mesures prises.²⁷

Comme l'a écrit Juvaini, il est vrai que les Géorgiens furent battus du fait de leurs négligences. Selon Ibn al-Athir plus de soixante-dix mille hommes devaient prendre part à la campagne, mais ils n'auraient été que soixante mille selon al-Nassawi. Pour combattre Djalal od-Din les Géorgiens négocièrent avec les Ouzbeks Atabeg et d'autres. En accord avec les Géorgiens, la population de Tabriz devait se soulever contre lui, mais le complot fut découvert et les participants sévèrement punis.²⁸ Le plan géorgien était donc un plan à plusieurs facettes: diplomatique, militaire, conspirations; il provoqua une multitude de réponses. En Orient, on en saisit bien l'importance.

Pour ce qui est de Bagdad, rappelons que Ghazan Khan, Tamerlan et d'autres essayèrent, eux aussi, de prendre Bagdad après Tabriz. Il s'agit d'un mouvement naturel pour prendre le contrôle des routes commerciales en occupant Bagdad, puis Alep.

CONCLUSION

Revenons aux sources concernant les projets de la reine Thamar pour une campagne militaire en Perse. Les affirmations de l'historien de Thamar au sujet d'une attaque en direction de Bagdad, concomitante de la campagne de Perse sont certainement exactes. Il savait bien pourquoi le problème de Bagdad était lié à celui de la Perse et il connaissait la probabilité d'une agression des dirigeants de Bagdad contre les Géorgiens qui étaient entrés en Perse. Il souligne que ni le souverain du Khorassan, ni celui de Bagdad n'étaient en mesure de résister aux Géorgiens.²⁹ Tant la Perse que les dirigeants de Bagdad voulaient empêcher la Géorgie de prendre possession de la route du *Moyen-Orient*. Ces plans géorgiens, qui s'inscrivent dans la continuité de la politique de Thamar, sont corroborés par d'autres sources, rédigées à des époques proches de la sienne.

Ainsi la politique orientale et occidentale de Thamar a connu plusieurs phases. La première consista à prendre le contrôle des routes transcaucasiennes. Après avoir pris Tabriz, les Géorgiens voulurent pousser jusqu'à Bagdad. Après avoir fondé l'empire de Trébizonde, ils voulurent aller jusqu'en Méditerranée. La première phase ouvrit l'accès à la route menant au sud du Moyen-Orient. En prenant le contrôle des routes septentrionales et méridionales du Moyen-Orient, la Géorgie fut capable de se poser en arbitre du commerce international entre l'Orient et l'Occident. Ces projets furent entravés par l'arrivée des Turcs et des Mongols qui modifia profondément la situation politique et économique de la région.

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28 'Ali-Zadeh 1956, p. 105.

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A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF (IN)DEFINITENESS IN THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES*

1. Introduction

In this article¹ I use the technical term “(in)definiteness”, which is a formal combination of “definiteness” and “indefiniteness”. The category of definiteness and indefiniteness is one of the functional (semantic and syntactic) categories of languages with a general function of noun determination and actualization, which may be conveyed not only by a special grammatical unit article, but also by various language means (like demonstratives, definite or indefinite pronouns, and the numeral one).

A fundamental monograph by Christopher Lyons (1999) is based on modern achievements of linguistics and abundant cross-linguistic data. The initial point of Lyon's work is the concept of definiteness itself, which is investigated in much depth in the book. Lyons differentiates two major groups of definiteness and indefiniteness, which are the simple and complex types. Simple definiteness and indefiniteness consist of lexical items like an English article ('a, the'), or the affix like Arabic (prefix *al-* and suffix *-n*), which indicates the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun phrase. Much of Lyons's book is devoted to the “noun phrases whose definiteness or indefiniteness is due to something other than presence or absence of an article” (Lyons 1999: 107), a group of complex definites that includes proper nouns, personal pronouns, and noun phrases containing a demonstrative or possessive modifier.

Definiteness by Christopher Lyons is especially noteworthy for specialists of the Iranian languages because of the work's Persian language data, particularly the article of indefiniteness *-i* and postposition *-ra*. Lyons's most important concept is the areal character of (in)definiteness: “Marking of definiteness is often an ‘areal feature’”. “The languages which are geographically contiguous ... may develop common characteristics” (Lyons 1999: 48). On the one hand, “The greatest concentration of languages of marking definiteness today is in Western Europe” (Lyons 1999: 48) and, on the other hand, the Middle East and Central Asia is the area, where “involvement of definiteness in areal facts concerns the combined representation of definiteness and the direct object relation” (Lyons 1999: 49). Thus, according to Lyons, there are at least two major Iranian language areas: the Middle East and Central Asia.

The typological study of languages analyzes the reasons for their differences and similarities. In general, “the primary task for linguistic typologists is to identify and explain the properties that make human language what it is” (Song 2014: 3). The goal of this article is less ambitious and closer to another definition of language typology by Moravcsik (2013: 9) – that is, “the study of two phenomena: typologically and universally shared features of languages”. This article investigates one category in one language group to identify typological and universal features of (in)definiteness in Iranian languages. This is the first step toward the areal investigation of category of definiteness and indefiniteness of Iranian languages.

2. Problem statement

The exponents of the (in)definiteness in Modern Iranian languages are complicated and diverse. Consequently, the terms and definitions that are generally used for their notification are also diverse and in some cases even contradictory (see below). Needless to say, there is much terminological diversity of the following definitions: article, numeral article, demonstrative article, indicator of definiteness, indicator of indefiniteness, particle, element expressing definiteness and indefiniteness, and suffix functioning as the article are

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1 This article was written more than a decade ago. Since that time much new research on this subject has appeared in the scholarly literature. The author is aware of these developments but has decided to keep the article in its original form because he has already dealt with many of them in other publications.

widely used in Iranian studies.

For instance, even in Persian, the most studied Iranian language, various definitions for the article *-i* clearly demonstrate the alternative understanding of it. The terminological diversity is presented in Lazard's well-known article, "L'enclitique nominal *-i* en Persan: un ou deux morphèmes?" He describes the terms used by Iranian scholars such as *yā-ye ešārat* ('*i* of indication'), *yā-ye vahdat* ('*i* of singularity'), *yā-ye nakare/tankir* ('*i* of indefiniteness'), *yā-ye ma'refe/ta'rif* ('*i* of definiteness'), as well as the definitions presented in the research of European Iranists like "*î d'unité*" and "*î démonstratif*" (Darmsteter 1883), "indefinite and distributive *-i*" and "relative suffix" (Nye), etc. (Lazard 1966: 249).

Afšār (1991: 28–30) asserts that there are two articles in Persian: indefinite and definite. According to him, the indefinite article is performed by perfect and imperfect forms. The definite article is used only in constructions like *kas-i ke* ('the one [who]') in compound sentences with the definite clause: *mard-i ke miayad pedare man ast*

On the other hand, according to Shafā'i (1989: 14), *yā-ye nakare* and *yā-ye wvahdat* are the isolated morphemes indicating two exponents and two meanings respectively, although *yā-ye nakare* is an inflectional morpheme that creates the grammatical category of selectivity (*tafkik*). Ahmad Šafā'i comes to this conclusion when comparing the following language situations:

1)	<i>bâzargân-i be šahri vâred šod</i>
	'a merchant entered the city'
2	<i>amâ bâzargân az šahr xošaš nayâmad</i>
	'but the merchant did not like the city'

If (1) is followed by additional information, such as (2), the noun should not be indefinite because the participants of communication possess some knowledge about the merchant, as well as the town.

In Russian tradition, the article *-i* is regarded as the solitary, unique morpheme and is called a "selective article". This term, suggested by Rubinchik (1959: 182), is now acknowledged as the most suitable determination not only for Persian data but for related languages. Although Lazard agrees with Rubinchik's opinion, he (1966: 249–64) also devotes a special article arguing the problem of two morphemes *-i* in modern Persian. He comes to the conclusion that "il est possible de trouver à l'enclitique nominal *-i* dans tous ses emplois une valeur sémantique commune: celle d'un instrument de 'sélection'" (1966: 263).

Even less extensive studies of the nature of the article in Persian clearly illustrate the high level of ambiguity. The situation is almost the same for the other Iranian languages. Why is there such a diversity and dispersion of assessment? What does it allude to?

From our point of view, there are several reasons for the terminological lack of clarity. Firstly, there is the diversity of Iranian languages themselves and the syncretic trait of semantic and grammatical category of definiteness in this group of languages. Another possible reason is the complexity of the category of definiteness itself and the diversity of theoretical methods of determination of the category of definiteness and indefiniteness as well as its grammatical markers.

In some cases the terminological opacity is caused by the uncertain status of a morpheme—that is, whether it is a case marker or a inflectional grammatical unit article (for instance, the same Kurdish morpheme may be simultaneously considered as the article as well as the case marker). We can assume that the reason of current dispersion is a combination of language factors, i.e., (1) the peculiarities of Iranian languages, (2) the linguistic methodology applied by scholars, and (3) the purpose of the research.

3. Typological attitude

In the mid-1970s, Efimov, Kerimova, Molchanova, Pireyko, Rastorgueva, and Edelman, the leading specialists in the Department of Iranian Languages at the Institute of Linguistics in Moscow, published the two-volume *Istoriko-tipologicheskoe izuchenie iranskikh yazikov* (1975). The first volume is dedicated to the morphological analysis of the processes that caused the typological transformation of Iranian languages. The Old, Middle, and Modern Iranian phonological type is described in detail, but the main goal is focused on analysis

of internal transformation of the Old Iranian inflectional system, the development of analytical means, and the appearance of the secondary synthesis. The second volume is a detailed description and analysis of the grammatical categories. The authors investigate the ways of transforming the grammatical means (volume 1) as well as the morphological and syntactic categories (volume 2). Even though the category of definiteness is only considered in connection with the category of case, the investigation made an invaluable contribution in tracing the development of the category of definiteness. Even though the research was published more than forty years ago, the applied typological method of investigation and its results still preserves its significance.

This article outlines upcoming research on the typological attitude to the *category of definiteness and indefiniteness* in the related Iranian languages. I presume that the typological approach can answer some of these questions or at least allows us to understand this linguistic phenomenon. The combination of synchronic and diachronic data may provide an opportunity to understand the complicated problems concerning definiteness in the Iranian languages. In particular, these are four points below:

1. The typological attitude can establish the historical process and patterns of one category in the related language group (diachronic typology).
2. The typological method makes it possible to compare language data and dialect data (synchronic and diachronic typology).
3. The typological attitude can determine the dominant and marginal tendencies of the category of definiteness and ascertain the basic rules of their functioning in the modern Iranian languages (synchronic typology).
4. The advantage of a typological analysis is the ability to consider chronologically distant language stratum data, like the prepositional article in the northeastern branch of Iranian languages such as horezmian (Middle Iranian), early Ossetic (New Iranian), and Ossetic-Digor (Modern Iranian).

4. (In)definiteness in the Middle Iranian languages

The category of definiteness vs. indefiniteness and its grammatical markers was developed in the Middle Iranian period, though Benvenist (1978: 233) asserted that the Avestan relative pronoun *ya* possessed all features of the article. The formation of the category of (in)definiteness is connected to the reduction of the Old Iranian multi-case inflexion system to compensate the eliminated synthetic case system. Therefore, the analytical and agglutinative system became dominant.

The markers of (in)definiteness in Middle Iranian languages are the indefinite, postpositional article in Middle Persian (East-West Group): -ēv/-e(v)>*OP *aiva*; the indefinite, postpositional article in Parthian (North-East group) -ēv ('yw); the demonstratives functioning as definite articles, preposition: *hō* (pl. *hīvin*), *im* (pl. *imīn*). The prepositional article in Horezmian (East [North] Iranian): 'y [i] masc., sing., masc., and fem. pl.; *y'* [yā] – fem. sing; the definite, prepositional article in Sogdian (East Iranian): *x-/w-*, *y-/m-*; articles expressed the case relations reflecting the category of gender, number, and case.

5. Definiteness in Modern Iranian languages

The morphological, semantic, and syntactic fields of the category of definiteness and indefiniteness in the group of Iranian languages consist of various language units such as the articles proper, deictic elements (especially demonstratives), the numeral one, definite and indefinite pronouns, case markers, postposition *rā*, particle *na(h)*, and stress.

This article considers more prevalent patterns and models in Modern Iranian languages and conveys the (in)definiteness based on the following language units or their combinations like articles (1), Middle Persian *rāy/rād<OT rādiy* and its reflections in Modern Iranian languages such as the postposition *-rā* and some case markers (2), and, finally, auxiliary words (3).

5.1 (1) The articles and grammaticalized formal elements

The enclitic, unstressed, postpositional extraction/indefinite article *-i* in Persian is also found in Dari *-e*, Tajik *-e*, Balochi *-i*, Lori and Bakhtiari *-i*, dialects of Fârs *-i*, Talishi *-i*, Gilaki *-i/a*, Tati *-i*, and Mazandarani *-i*. The above-mentioned element was generated in East-West Iranian languages, but presumably it is borrowed in several South-West Iranian languages like Talishi, Gilaki, Balochi, and even in East Iranian (Yagnobi),

which demonstrates the strength of this morpheme.

Talishi and Gilaki worked out the prepositional elements, which behave as indefinite articles: *gəlay* (*igla/glay/illa*) and *i/ta*.

The grammars based on traditional analysis, and not considering dialectology data, usually declare that the article *-i* in Persian, and its variants *-e* and *-ī* in Tajik and Dari are not binary opposition exponents. However, the presence of the definite article *-e* in the Tehran dialect indicates the opposite tendency.

The binary opposition can be found in North-West Iranian languages: Kumzari *-ō* (def.) vs. *-ē* (indef.), Gurani *-aka* (masc.)/-*aka* (fem.) (def.) vs. *-ew* (masc.)/-*ewa* (fem.) (indef.), Zazaki *-äkä* (def.) vs. *-ek/-äk* (indef.), Suleymani (Kurdish dialect) *-eke/-e* (def.) vs. *-ek/-e* (ind.).

Some Iranian, especially West Iranian languages, use both prepositional and postpositional elements simultaneously. For instance, in dialects of Fârs, the prepositional demonstrative *-i* combines with the case markers *-a*, *-o*, *-u* to express definiteness. A similar construction is found in Kurdish (Suleymani), where case markers *-e/-ye* (postposition) and demonstratives (preposition) *ew* or *em* must be combined.

In the Pamir languages definiteness is conveyed by the demonstratives in the function of the article (Wakhi, Ishkashami). In Wakhi, adjective pronouns *ya*, *yaet*, *yaem* (unlike the proper pronoun usage) are used in the direct case, singular, regardless of the form of noun group “invariable article with variable noun” (Edelman 1990: 89). In Ishkashami, demonstratives in the function of article are used in “frozen”, reduced invariable form either in direct case *ma*, *da*, *(w)a*, or in indirect case singular *am*, *ad*, *(a)w* regardless of the noun group form.

5.2 (2) Middle Persian Particle *rād/rāy* “for the sake of” lost the lexical meaning and became a grammeme

(a) In languages where the old category of case was completely eliminated, the prepositional element *rādiy* transformed into postposition *-rā*. It became a part of definiteness in Persian, Dari, and Tajik, where it mainly marks the definite direct object: *āb-rā biyār* (Dari).

(b) In the languages of the North-West branch where the secondary innovation case paradigm was developed, the element *rādiy* transformed into case markers (Balochi, Tati, Gilaki, and Mazandarani).

In Balochi, the marker of objective case (Casus Dativus): *-a*, *-ara/-r*, *-ra* <*rād*<*rādiy* designates the direct object:

(3)	<i>sing-a zurti</i>
	‘he took the stone’

In Gilaki (4) and Mazandarani (5), the unstressed accusative-dative case marker *-a/-ra*, *-ō/-rō* also designates the definite direct object, which is connected with the preliminary context or the situation.

(4)	<i>semavər-a ātəs bukun</i> (Rastorgueva and Edelman 1982)
	‘Heat the samovar’
(5)	<i>mōn še pul-rō/pul-ō gum bōkōrdōm</i> (Rastorgueva and Edelman 1982)
	‘I lost my money’

In Tati, the marker of the direct object *-rä/-ä* (Eastern dialect), *-re/e* (Northern dialect) descends from Middle Persian *rād* and designates the things that are definite or single by their origin.

(6)	<i>šäbi tkun-ä bäst, reft be kutan</i> (Grunberg and Davidova 1982)
	‘Shabi locked up the shop and went away’

In cases where the thing is indefinite and single, it is marked by the numeral “one” (functioning as article), which is sometimes combined with the unstressed suffix *-i* as in (7):

(7)	<i>ye märd-i bire</i> (Grunberg and Davidova 1982)
	‘there was a (one) man’

In the Farsa dialects (Mâsmari, Burunguni, Pâpuni, etc.), the suffix -a < râd<râdiy conveys the meaning of definiteness of a subject as well as of the objects.

Designation of definiteness is not the essential function of case markers. The agglutinative case paradigm was developed in Gilaki, Balochi, and some other Modern Iranian languages after reducing the Old Iranian multifunctional inflexion case system. Modern Iranian innovation agglutinative case category is not directly connected and correlated with the category of definiteness, but is very interrelated and interdependent. First, the direct case denotes and distinguishes the direct and indirect objects. Then the opposition of definite direct object vs. indefinite direct object became relevant. Thus, the definite nouns are marked by direct case markers like Balochi -ra, -a/-râ, -â and Gilaki -a, while the indefinite nouns are represented by nominative unmarked case. For instance,

(8)	jînik gul-â âurt vs. jînik âp âurt (8) (Moshkalo 1991: 43)
	'a girl brought the flower' vs. 'a girl brought (some) water'

5.3 (3) Numeral one and demonstratives as auxiliary words can convey the meaning of definiteness and indefiniteness

In these cases they express indefiniteness and definiteness like the similar language units in other world languages. However, some Iranian features (shortened forms, combined models, etc.) make them specific.

5.3.1 Numeral one:

Pers. *yek*, Tajik, Dari, Baloch. *yak*, Lori and Bakht. dialects *yäk*, *yä*, dialects of Fârs *yä*, Lâri *yak*, Mazand. *ye*, *yä* (reduced form) and *yek*, *yäk* (full form), Tati *yä/y*, Gil. *i/ita* (with numeralive -ta), and Talish. *igla/gla(i)*, *illa/ila* (with particle -la) (West Iranian group).

Sarikoli: *i(w)*, Ishkashimi *uk/ük*, *ug/üg*; Shugni-Rushani: *y* (reduced form), *yie*, *i*, Wakhi (*y*)*i/yi(w)*, Ossetic *yu/iw* (Iron) and *yey/yew* (Digor), Semnâni *i*, *iä*, Yagobi *i* (East Iranian group).

Demonstratives:

In the Wakhi and Ishkashimi languages, the demonstratives of all three series indicating distance between a speaker and hearer are available in the function of the article. In Wakhi, the adjective demonstratives *ya*, *yaet*, *yaem* (in addition to the demonstrative functions) as usual are used in nominative case singular and are independent of the form of the noun. Thus, we can find the correspondence between the convertibility of nouns and the immutability of articles.

(9)	<i>ya nan yet kâš-ər 'and ki . . .</i> (Pakhalina 1975)
	'The mother tells the little boy, that ... '

A similar rule with the Wakhi is in Ishkashim(i), where the demonstratives that function as the articles regardless of the determined noun are used in the reduced set of the singular forms, either in the nominative case *ma*, *da*, *(w)a*, or in the oblique case *am*, *ad*, *(a)w*.

(10)	<i>a non, ma ív duk pb ma xafob demo?</i> (Pakhalina 1959)
	'Mummy, may I wash these filthy clothes in this soap-water?'

6. Conclusion

Based on the presented information, some typological similarities have become evident:

When expressed, the positional distribution of markers category of (in)definiteness shows that in West Iranian languages, the central element of the category is the so-called postpositive selective article.

In the East Iranian group the dominant means of expressing definiteness are the prepositional demonstratives/numeral one.

Grammaticalization of various types indicates that the historical process impacted the modern patterns of definiteness of Iranian languages.

Designating the actants, direct object marking (DOM), by case markers, is to distinguish the subject and the direct object of a transitive verb and avoid the possible polysemy. Thus, case markers (c) and particle *rā* - (b in Modern Iranian languages reflect the topic-focus/subject-object relations.

Diachronic predefinition and historical continuity are valuable for understanding the Modern Iranian category of definiteness. However, history of definiteness is split in some particular processes therefore we are not able to talk about global diachronic constant that is equally relevant for all Iranian languages. The grammaticalization and formation of the category of definiteness is common in all the Iranian languages.

The table below classifies the elements of definiteness and indefiniteness in Modern Iranian languages:

Language	Articles and similar elements	<i>Old Persian rādiy</i> and its reflections	Auxiliaries (demonstratives and numeral one)
Persian	-i	-	<i>yek</i> ('one')
Dari	-ī	-	<i>yak</i> ('one')
Tajik	-e	-	<i>yak</i> ('one')
Balochi	-i	-a, -ara/-r, -ra	<i>yak</i> ('one')
Tati		-rā/-ä, -re/-e	<i>yä/y</i> ('one')
Lori/ Bakhtiari	-i	-	<i>yäk, yä</i> ("one")
Dialects of Fârs	-i	-a	<i>yä</i> ('one')
Talishi	-i, <i>gъlay/illa</i>	-	-
Gilaki	-i, <i>i/ita</i>	-a/-ra, -ō/-rō	-
Mazandarani	-i	-a/-ra, -ō/-rō	<i>ye, yä/yek, yäk</i> ('one')
Kumzari	ō (def.), ē (indef.)	-	-
Gurani	-aka (def.)/-ew, -ewa (indef.)	-	-
Zâzâ	-äkä (def.)/-ek, -äk (indef.)	-	-
Suleymani	-eke, -e (def.)/- ek/-e (indef.)	-	-
Wakhi	-	-	<i>ya, yaet, yaem</i> (dem.) <i>(y)i/yī(w)</i> ('one')
Ishkashimi	-	-	<i>ma, da, (w)a/am,</i> <i>ad, (a)w</i> (Dem.) <i>uk/ük, ug/üg</i> ('one')
Lâri	-	-	<i>yak</i> ('one')
Sarikoli	-	-	<i>i(w)</i> ('one')
Shugni-Rushani	-	-	<i>y, yie, i</i> ('one')
Ossetic (Iron)	-	-	<i>yu/iw</i> ('one')
Ossetic (Digor)	<i>i</i> (def.)	-	<i>yey/yew</i>
Semnâni	-	-	<i>ī, īä</i>
Yagnobi	-	-	<i>Ī</i>

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IRANIAN-GEORGIAN RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF ROSTOM (1633-58)*

The formation of Safavid state (1501-1722) in Iran led to a new era in Iranian-Georgian relations that lasted for many centuries. This change of relations came about because of certain specific features of the historical situation not only in Iran and Georgia, but also in entire Middle East. From this point of view, the special attention should be paid to the early thirties of the seventeenth century when relations between Iran and Georgia entered a new phase, revealing new political, economic and cultural characteristics. At the time when Iran was under Shah Safi I (1629-42), who kept a policy of compromise with Georgia, similar of his grandfather Shah Abbas I (1587-1629). It meant leaving the country's socio-economic system unchanged, and maintaining Bagrationi in power as the rulers of Georgia, holding the title of a *vali* (viceroy), after their conversion to Islam.¹

This new form of relation found its clearest expression during the reign of Rostom, also known as Khosrow Mirza, Bagrationi in Eastern Georgia (king of Kartli in 1633-58, king of Kartli and Kakheti 1648-56). This chapter covers the cardinal moments in political relations between Iran and Georgia during these decades. It is based on information derived from a comprehensive exploration of the historical sources, which brought some matters to light for the first time.

Though various aspects of King Rostom's reign have already been studied, his personality, and activity have not previously been treated objectively and directly. Some scholars assess his activity positively, others negatively. The period of Rostom's reign is so full of significant, sometimes contradictory, events and developments that the material describing it is far from being sufficient for scientific research. This makes the subject interesting. Even a simple glance over this period obviously testifies that the Muslim Georgian prince succeeded in performing his functions both in Iran as well as on the throne of Georgia, while being engaged in political warfare for a long time.

Here we are briefly concerned with Rostom's promotion in Iran. As is known, he was the son of Daud Khan, the nephew of the King of Kartli, Simon I. Rostom was brought up in Iran and consequently he was Muslim. His promotion at the royal court was contributed by Giorgi Saakadze (the Georgian 'mouravi'): in 1618 he was appointed as *darughe* of Isfahan, later he held the post of commander-in-chief of the shah's guards – *qullaragasi*. Rostom reached the height of his power after the death of Shah Abbas, when he played a role in averting the danger to the Safavid court of a possible dynastic succession contest and in conformity with Shah Abbass's will played a decisive role in the enthronement of the shah's grandson Sam Mirza who, on his accession to the throne, adopted the regnal title of Shah Safi. Georgian sources provide ample evidence on these matters: the works of Beri Egnatashvili, Parsadan Gorgjanidze, Vakhshuti Bagrationi (Batonishvili), the so called *Paris Chronicle*; as do the Persian chronicles: Eskandar Beg's *Zayl*, Mohammad Ma'sum's *Kholasat al-siyar*, Mohammad Yusof's *Khold-e Barin* and Mir Timur Mar'ashi's *Tarikh-e khandan-e Mar'ashi-ye Mazandaran*. The evidence from Persian sources is particularly important since they often record authentic and valuable information unrecorded in the Georgian sources. The evidence provided by European missionaries and travellers is also not devoid of interest.

According to Parsadan Gorgjanidze, after the accession of Shah Safi, Khsosrow Mirza enjoyed immense prestige and authority.² Analogous evidence occurs in the accounts of Eskandar Beg Monshi and Mir Timur Mar'ashi.³ Vakhshuti Bagrationi states, in addition, that the grateful young shah called Khsosrow Mirza 'father'.⁴ A *chronicle of the Carmelites* informs us that one of the persons closest to the new shah was the *darughe* of Isfahan, Khsosrow Mirza.⁵ The success of Khsosrow Mirza in Iran aroused the increasing discontent of the Undiladze – another very influential Georgian family. Thus, shortly after the death of Shah Abbas,

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two opposing Georgian groups were singled out: Khosrow Mirza with his supporters backed by Shah Safi; and the supporters of the Undiladze headed by brothers Emamqoli Khan and Daud Khan. The most decisive consideration in this connection was the fact that further strengthening of the Undiladze family, who had been promoted at the court of his grandfather, no longer suited Shah Safi's interests. Besides, they were noted for their special sympathy for King Teimuraz – in 1626 Daud Khan helped King Teimuraz re-ascend to the throne of Kartli and Kakheti when Shah Safi had intended to make his faithful Khosrow Mirza, the crown prince, king of Kartli. In short Daud Khan was removed from state affairs and being frustrated, together with King Teimuraz, he rose in rebellion against Shah Safi in Ganje-Qarabagh in 1632. The details of this rebellion are widely known in historiography.⁶ But as the above-mentioned revolt paved the way for and accelerated Rostom's enthronement in Kartli, we shall point out this fact. Eskandar Beg Monshi, as well as the Italian missionaries Archangelo Lamberti and Don Pietro Avitabile, state that the chief aim of the rebels was to make king of Kartli the son of Shah Abbas, who had been brought up by Emamqoli Khan, begler-beg of Fars and was known as his foster son.⁷ This would have enabled Teimuraz to consolidate his position on the throne. But events took a different course and the rebellion was put down by the shah's troops, led by *sepahsalar* Rostom Khan Saakadze.⁸ In the aftermath Teimuraz lost his throne and found asylum in Imereti, while Daud Khan forced in to exile in the Ottoman Empire. The furious Shah Safi completely annihilated Daud Khan's remaining relatives, beginning with his innocent brother Emamqoli Khan.

With regard to the date of Rostom's enthronement, Mohammad Ma'sum informs us that shah Safi issued a decree about it in Rabi al-sani, 1041 (November 1632).⁹ According to Georgian sources (Beri Egnatashvili, Vakhusti Bagrationi), Shah Safi named Khosrow Mirza Rostom and made him king of Kartli.¹⁰ Eskandar Beg specifies the following events: Rostom left Isfahan on 1st December (18 Jomadi al-avval). Due to the awful weather and snow he had to move slowly, taking rests from time to time.¹¹ It is clear that under such conditions, he might have reached Georgia by the end of the same year or at the beginning of 1633. This is attested to by the data of Don Pietro Avitabile, stating that the last ravages of Ganje-Qarabagh by Teimuraz and Daud Khan took place of Christmas Eve.¹²

Soon after ascending the throne in Tbilisi, Rostom focused his attention on repairing fortresses and the deployment of *qizilbash* garrisons in them, as well as consolidating the government. To achieve this, the officials of Teimuraz, were replaced by his trustworthy men. It is worth noting that before Rostom, Bagrat Khan and Simon Khan (Kings of Kartli) had also held the title of *vali*, but in official documents of the Iranian shahs they are referred to as 'sons' while Rostom is referred to as a 'brother'.¹³ This obviously points to the fact that he was recognized as equal to the shah and enjoyed full rights. According to Beri Egnatashvili and Vakhusti Bagrationi, the shah granted lands to King Rostom not only in Georgia, but also beyond its borders, namely in Iran. Besides he was given the financial support.¹⁴ In return Rostom was bound to provide the shah with gifts, young girls and boys, and to render military aid. The *vali* was deprived of the right to establish foreign relations without permission of the shah. The Safavid government reciprocated by refraining from attacking Christianity in Eastern Georgia and leaving the Royal dynasty of the Bagrationi inviolable. This Safavid policy of compromise in Georgia opened the door to *qizilbash* influence: a number of Persian terms entered administrative nomenclature, replacing Georgian ones, though the offices themselves remained essentially unchanged; for example, *nazer*, *qullargas*, *divan-beg*, *sardar*, *qorchibash*.¹⁵

Implementing a delicate and balanced policy, Rostom ruled the country with great care. By the time of his arrival in Kartli, he had already gained vital experience (he was about 70 years old then). Thanks to his high authority, Rostom remained *darughe* of Isfahan even after becoming king of Kartli, and continued to be so far the rest of his life. Only he was responsible for appointing his *na'ib* (deputy) there, while the shah approved his Georgian candidate ready, provided that the person appointed adopted Islam.¹⁶

First Rostom firmly supported the shah's interest, without forgetting the adversity of his people and native land. On the one hand he laboured to revive Christian churches by lunching campaigns, on the other hand it was under Rostom's rule, that *qizilbash* traditions and posts were widely spread in Georgia. Beri Egnatashvili and Vakhusti Bagrationi inform us about it. Though, at the same time the latter stresses that Rostom did not abolish Georgian traditions either.¹⁷ The French traveller Jean Chardin, who visited Georgia in 1672, also notes that Georgians followed Persian customs. He is quite right in suggesting the factors which influenced this process: some Georgian nobles were Islamized to be promoted as state officials, while others encouraged

their ladies to become ladies at court.¹⁸ Since many Georgian princes, kings and noblemen used to spend time in Iran, it is not surprising that Persian traditions spread throughout Georgia. Thus, this phenomenon should not be ascribed only to Rostom, since it had begun to be manifest prior to his reign. Against this background the increasing influence of Persian elements is quite apparent in Georgian culture from the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. It is particularly reflected in painting, architecture and literature. It is noteworthy that a great number of books were translated from Persian to Georgian, including the Qur'an, *Rostomiani* (Shah-name) the *Visramiani* and so on.

Rostom had to rule under the most wretched conditions: the deposed Teimuraz, supported by some noblemen, incessantly competed with him. In order to consolidate power in his hands, it was necessary to establish contacts with neighboring kingdoms and principalities. No less important was the issue of the crown prince. Rostom was a childless widower and therefore needed a wife and offspring. Eventually it was decided to marry him to Mariam, the sister of Levan II Dadiani – the most powerful governor in Western Georgia Odishi (Mingrelia). This marriage would have provided Rostom with an alliance against Teimuraz and Giorgi III – King of Imereti. Being a faithful vassal, he naturally consulted Shah Safi about the decision. The latter approved his choice, as this marriage seemed to suit the interests Iran by creating favorable conditions for the consolidation of power in the hands of persons loyal to Safavid dynasty. In addition, it was deemed to set the scene for joint war against Imereti and, in case of a military campaign against the Ottoman Empire, the alliance with the Dadiani (who might potentially become vassals of Iran) would be a major significance.

Despite some divergences the account of the marriage in Georgian sources (Beri Eganatashvili, Parsadan Gorgijanidze, Vakhushti Bagrationi)¹⁹ is broadly similar to that Persian sources (Mohammad Yusuf, Mohammad Ma'sum), stressing the decisive role played by Shah Safi. From then on, the government of Iran granted the Dadiani salary of 1,000 *tumans* annually, in his turn the latter used to send ambassadors to Iran.²⁰ In connection with the above-mentioned fact, the brief information provided by the Italian missionary Don Juseppe Judichi from Milan (he visited Levan Dadiani in Mingrelia then),²¹ as well as that of seventeenth-century Ottoman historians Mustafa Naima and Katib Chelebi, are of a certain interest. They make it clear that Ottoman sultan was greatly worried about the news of Rostom's marriage. He regarded it as the demonstration of a hostile political act and carried out urgent measures to strengthen bordering regions.²²

Thus the marriage alliance of the Rostom and Dadiani families entailed considerable changes in the internal political life of Georgia and in the international situation of the entire Middle East. Shifts in political orientation of the king-governors, as well as in the internal balance of power in Georgia, were undoubtedly closely related to analogous processes in the relationship with Iran, Ottoman Turkey, Russia and the West European countries. For instance, temporary peace between Rostom and Teimuraz in its turn conditioned significant changes in relations between Teimuraz and Shah Safi. But prior to that, Teimuraz and the king of Imereti, Giorgi had attempted (unsuccessfully) to destroy Rostom's marriage. Under these circumstances Teimuraz found no way out other than to seek reconciliation with Rostom. Having apologized, he promised Rostom to send his daughter Tinatin to the shah. The delighted Rostom informed Shah Safi. Iran was then facing a grave political situation: the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (1623-40) launched military operations against Transcaucasia, thus providing a stimulus to Iran-Ottoman war. Under such conditions, reconciliation with Teimuraz seemed to be timely and attractive in many respects. From Parsadan Gorgijanidze's report we learnt that Rostom sent Teimuraz's daughter to Iran accompanied by Kakhetian nobles and dowry, and that in return the shah confirmed Teimuraz as the king of Kakheti again. He married Tinatin, but not long after she was suffocated on his order.²³ Analogous evidence occurs in the account of the French traveller Jean Baptist Tavernier.²⁴ Adam Olearius, Don Pietro Avitabile as well as Mohammad Yusuf and Mohammad Ma'sum describe the sending of Tinatin to Shah Safi, but do not mention her tragic death.²⁵ The account provided by the Russian ambassadors, E. Mishetski and I. Klucharev, who conducted negotiations with Teimuraz in Kakheti during 1641 to 1643, is different. According to them, Tinatin was murdered by Shah Abbas II.²⁶ The analysis of the above-mentioned evidence and the contemporaneity of the information given leads us to suppose that Tinatin might have arrived in Iran in Autumn 1635-December 1637 and that she was murdered during the reign of Shah Safi. As mentioned earlier, Teimuraz reconciled with Rostom temporarily, but further difficulties emerged later. By then Iran was ruled by Shah Abbas II (1642-66), who confirmed Rostom as the king of Kakheti too.

Considering Rostom's multi-faceted activities, it is important to deal with his attitude toward religion. Most remarkable is the fact that, after his marriage to Mariam, there were clear and considerable progress in the development of Georgian culture and the Christian faith. Queen Mariam was known for her intense piety. The simple fact that their wedding ceremony was held according to Christian rites is in itself very telling. Don Pietro Avitabile, who attended this ritual, informs us, that in conformity with the queen's request, Rostom had been baptized before the wedding ceremony. He repeatedly stresses that in spite of being Muslim, Rostom used to cross himself in the presence of his spouse, he liked to attend the liturgy and listen to church bells, and he protected Catholic missionaries working in Kartli as well.²⁷

It is also noteworthy that Rostom's royal seal was adorned with a Christian cross. This sheds further light inner, genuine attitude towards Christianity, while in general he showed equal attentions towards Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Gregorianism, and supported of them materially as well. The above-mentioned Georgian and European sources unanimously attest this. However, we should not forget either that Rostom, being a personal protégé and henchman of Shah Safi, was predominantly a defender of Iran's interests in Georgia. Owing to this factor, his support for Christianity, or for national Georgian interests, was archived with great care and tact. We should be wrong, moreover, to believe, that every step taken by the king in this field was promoted only by affection towards the above-mentioned religions. First of all this was closely connected with his political goals and is, therefore, not surprising at all: being a far-sighted and vigilant politician, his religious activities satisfied the requirements of state policy. In order not to irritate alien eyes watching him, he could not and probably did not desire to reveal obviously his genuine attitude towards Christianity. There were many such in Georgia sent by Shah – as, for instance, *vazir, mostawfi, monshi*. On the other hand Shah Safi greatly respected and trusted Rostom, sometimes even ignoring some inconvenient facts. This concession was considered as one of the components of the compromise policy carried out towards Georgia. At the same time the shah spared no efforts to win the favor of the Georgian noblemen. History provides ample evidence to illustrate this.

With regard to Rostom's attitude towards Islam, we can briefly state the following: if we follow the information in the sources, we can see that Muslim faith was not firmly rooted in Georgia. The area of its active functioning was limited to the *qizilbash* garrisons deployed in the Tbilisi and Gori fortresses. Islamization chiefly applied to the upper stratum of society and, except in a few urgent cases, it was never forcibly imposed. Besides, adoption of this faith was a temporary and formal step for some Georgian nobles. It should be stressed that the population of the country fought against Islamization furiously, trying every possible way to avoid it.²⁸

By the 1650s the growth of the political power and prestige of the unified Kartli-Kakheti kingdom, wielded under this astute and sensible king, as well as the revival of this region, were no longer desirable for Shah Abbas II. For this reason in 1656 Rostom was deprived of Kakheti and a *qizilbash* khan was appointed there instead. The Islamized Vakhtang V Shah Navaz (1658-75), a representative of the Bagrationi side branch (Mukhranbatoni), replaced the aged Rostom in Kartli. He was appointed as a *janeshin* (deputy) of Rostom. The latter died in 1658 and according to Georgian sources, he was transferred for burial in Qom in Iran.²⁹

In connection with the above-mentioned facts, it is noteworthy to cite the viewpoint of David Marshall Lang, who stresses that Rostom was a leading figure and one of the accomplished kings of this late period of the Georgian monarchy. To conduct relations with the shah, the country needed a ruler of exactly this kind. The political flexibility exercised by him allowed the wounds of this country to heal.³⁰

Thus, under the circumstances of the Safavids' compromise policy with reference to East Georgia, by following a moderate and balanced course, Rostom managed to preserve the state system of hereditary rule, the socio-economic structure in the country and, most importantly, the Christian faith.

Notes

- 1 Eskandar Beg Monshi, *Zayl-e Tarikh-e 'Alamara-ye 'Abbasi* (Tsnobebi Sakartvelos Shesakheb), ed. and tran. Nana Gelashvili (Tbilisi, 1981), p. 10.
- 2 *Parsadan Gorgjanidzis Istorya*, ed. Sargis Kakabadze (Tbilisi, 1926), p. 238.

- 3 Eskander Beg Monshi, *Zayl-e Tarikh-e 'Alamara-ye 'Abbasi*, p. 6; *Tarikhe marashi-ye Mazandaran, Ta'lif-e Mir Timur Mar'ashi*, ed. Manuchehr Setude (Tehran, 1977), pp. 370-2.
- 4 Vakhushti Bagrationi, 'Aghtsera sameposa Sakartvelosa', *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, vol. IV, ed. Simon Qaukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1973), p. 441.
- 5 *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVII and XVIII cc. vol I* (London, 1939), p. 279.
- 6 Nana Gelasvili, 'Daud Khanisa da Teimuraz I-is ajankeba eskander Beg Monshi's "Zeilis" mikhedvit', in *Matsne*, Series of history, ethnography and art history, No. 2 (Tbilisi, 1977), pp. 103-11; Gelashvili Nana, 'Sakartvelo da Irani XVII saukunis 30-ian tslebshi', in *Kartuli diplomati, tselitsdeuli*, no. 3 (Tbilisi, 1996), pp. 187-208.
- 7 *Eskandar Beg, Zayl*, p. 31; Nasrollah Falsafi, *Zendegani-ye Shah 'Abbas-e Avval*, vol. I (Tehran, 1371).
- 8 See: Giorgio Rota, 'Three less known Persian sources of the seventeenth century', *Orientalist* I (Tbilisi, 2001), pp. 190-4.
- 9 Mohammad Ma'sum, *Kholasat al-siyar*, Institute of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg, microfilm No. 27, 79a-73b.
- 10 Beri Egnatashvili, 'Akhali Kartlis tskhovreba', *Kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. II, ed. Simon Qaukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1959), p. 416; Vakhushti, Bagrationi *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa* (History of Georgia) (Tiflis, 1745), p. 584.
- 11 Eskander Beg, *Zayal*, p. 58.
- 12 *Avitabile Don Pietro, Ts nobebi Sakartveloze, XVII saukune*, ed. and trans. Bezhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi, 1977), p. 25.
- 13 Vladimer Puturidze, *Sparsuli istoriuli sabutebi sakartvelos tsignsatsavebshi*, vol. I, no. 1 (Tbilisi, 1961), p. 48.
- 14 Egnatashvili, 'Akhali Kartlis tskhovreba', p. 110; Vakhushti Bagrationi, 'Aghtsera sameposa Sakartvelosa', p. 438.
- 15 Valerian Gabashvili, *kartuli peodaluri tskobileba XVI-XVII saukuneebshi*, (Tbilisi, 1958), p. 270.
- 16 Karlo Kutsia, 'Ispahanis Kartveli Tarughebi', *Makhlobeli aghmosavletis istoris sakinkebi*, vol. II (Tbilisi, 1972), pp. 96-8.
- 17 Vakhushti Bagrationi 'Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa', p. 439.
- 18 Jean Chardenis mogzauroba *Sparsetsa da aghmosavletis khva kveknebshi*, ed. and trans. Mzia Mgaloblishvili (Tbilisi, 1975), p. 441.
- 19 Gorgijanidze, Parsadan, *Istoriia Gruzii*, trans. R.K. Kiknadze and V.S. Puturidze (Tbilisi, Metsnireba, 1990), p. 242; Egnatashvili, 'Akhali Kartlis Tskhovreba', p. 420; Vakhushti Bagrationi, 'Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa', p. 441.
- 20 Mohammad Yusuf, *Khold-e barin*, ed. Sohayli Khvansari, (Tehran, 1317), p. 159; Ma'sum, *Kholasat al-siyar*, fo. 80a-80b.
- 21 *Don Juseppe Judichi Milaneli, Tserilebi Sakartveloze, XVII saukune*, ed. and trans. Bezhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi, 1964), p. 34.
- 22 Shengelia, Nodar, *Mustafa Naimas ts nobebi Sakartvelosa da Kavkasiis shesakheb* (Tbilisi, 1979), p. 190; Alasania Giuli, *Katib Chelebis ts nobebi Sakartvelosa da Kavkasiis shesakheb* (Tbilis, 1978), p. 236.
- 23 Gorgijanidze, *Istoria*, p. 244.
- 24 Jean Batist Tavernier, *Beschreibung der Sechs Reisen in Turkey, Persien und Indien* (Genf. 1681), p. 56.
- 25 Adam Olearius, *Veremehrte neue Beschreibung der Muskowitzischen und Persischen Retse* (Schleswig, 1656). P. 561; Don Pietro Avitabile, 'Ts nobebi Sakartveloze', pp. 14-28.
- 26 *Posolstvo knyaza E. Mushetskogo i I. Kluchareva v Kakhetiyu v 140-1643 godakh*, ed. Mikhail Polievkov (Tbilisi, 1928), p. 176.
- 27 Avitabile, 'Ts nobebi Sakartyveloze', pp. 20-8.
- 28 Gulcan Zhorzholiani, *Sakartvelo XVII saukunis 30-50-ian tslebshi* (Tbilisi, 1987), p. 61.
- 29 Egnatashvili, 'Akahali Kartlis Tskhovreba', p. 435; Gorgijanidze, *Istoria*, p. 269.
- 30 David Marshall Lang, *The Last Years of Georgian Monarchy (1658-1832)* (New-York, 1957), p. 13.

PAHLAVI BĀDAG
(EINE HISTORISCH-ETYMOLOGISCHE ÜBERSICHT)*

Der Begriff bādag (Transliteration b'tk) wird als „Wein, Most“ erklärt (MacKenzie 1971/1986: 16). Die phonetische bzw. nicht ideographische Schreibweise dieses Wortes ist im folgenden Abschnitt von *H/Xusraw i Kawādān ud rēdag* belegt:¹

56. göwēd rēdag kū anōšag bawēd²
 ēn hēnd may <ī> hamāg nēwag <ud> xwaš
 57. may <ī> kanīg kē³ nēwag wirāyēnd
 ud may ī harēwīg⁴ ud may ī marwrōdig
 ud may ī bustīg <ud> *bādag* i hulwānīg⁵
 58. bē hamwār abāg may i asūrīg <ud>
*bādag*⁶ waz(a)rangīg ēč may pahikār nēst
 The page says: “May you be immortal!
 These are wines all good and fine:
 the grape wine, when they well clarify it
 and the wine of Berat and the wine of Marvröd
 and the wine of Bust and the must of Hulwan.
 But with the Babylonian wine and
 the Basarangian must no wine can compete”.

Aus dem Kontext ist ersichtlich, dass *bādag* sich semantisch von der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung für „Wein“, may, unterscheidet: may ist sowohl im Frühmittelpersischen (besonders in den manichäischen Texten) als auch in den schriftlichen Zeugnissen des Buchpahlavi belegt.

Dem Wörterbuch der Ideogramme *Frahang i Pahlawig* zufolge entspricht pahlavi *bādag* das Ideogramm BSR *basrā* (*bisrā*) (Nyberg 1988: 4, 68). Letzteres bezeichnet im Aramäischen „unreife Traube“ (vgl. jüdisch aramäisch *busrā*, syrisch *besrā*, hebraisch *boser*, neusyrisch *basirā*) (Ebeling 1941: 15; Nyberg 1988: 68).

Nach B. Geiger soll die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von pahlavi *badag*, sowie des anderen mittelpersischen Wortes zu Bezeichnung des „Weins“, *has*, *hasēh*, „Most“, gewesen sein.⁷ Die beiden Lexeme bilden eine Wortgruppe zum Ausdruck eines und desselben Begriffs.

Nach dem Wortbildungstypus gehört *bādag* zu den Substantiva mit dem Suffix – *ak* (spätere Form – *ag*). Dieses Suffix, das aus dem altiranischen – (*a)ka* (indoeuropäisch *-e(ko)) entstanden ist (Bartholomae 1895: 106; Meillet 1912: 213; Kent 1953: 51), war im Alten und besonders im Mitteliranischen verbreitet.

Mit diesem Suffix wurden von nominalen sowie von verbalen Stämmen diverse Nomina (Adjectiva, Diminutiva, Aktionswörter, Prädikativa) gebildet (Asatrjan 1989: 8-24).

Für E. Herzfeld galt das altiranische **bāta* – „Wein“ als Ausgangsform von pahlavi *bādag* (Herzfeld 1938: 114; ibid. 1947, II: 546, Anm. 3).

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1 Der Text ist nach der Ausgabe von D. Monchi-Zadeh zitiert (Monchi-Zadeh 1982: 47-91). Berücksichtigt sind auch die Leseversionen von J. M. Jamasp-Asana (Jamasp-Asana 1897/1913:21-37).

2 Nach Jamasp-Asana, S. 32, *bawād*.

3 Nach Jamasp-Asana, S. 32, *ka*.

4 Nach Jamasp-Asana, S. 32, *harēwag*.

5 Gemäß Interpretation von H. Humbach und P. O. Skjærvø, (Humbach-Skjærvo 1983. 3.2: 124) bedeutet das mittelpersische Adjectiv *hl(w)'nyk harawānīg* so wie *hārewig* „aus der Provinz Herat, heratisch“.

6 Nach Jamasp-Asana, S. 32, *wādag*.

7 Das mittelpersische *has*, das von Anfang an mit dem Ideogramm HS gleichgesetzt war, sollte wie es Nyberg zeigte (Nyberg 1970: 345), dem Ideogramm ‘SY’ oder *HSY’, oder *HYDY’, abgeleitet von aramäischen ‘DN NWD „Most“, entsprechen (s. auch Geiger 1912: 301; Ebeling 1941: 15).

In einer Inschrift auf einer Silberschale des achämenidischen Königs Artaxerxes I. (465-425 v. u. Z.) ist der Terminus *bātugara* – „Trinkgefäß, Schale, Becher“ belegt:

Artaxšačā xsāyaθiya vazraka
xsāyaθiya xsāyaθiyānām xsāyaθiya
dahyūnām Xšayāršahyā xsāyaθiyahyā
puča Xšayāršahyā Dārayavaušahyā
xsāyaθiyahyā puča Haxāmanišiya
hya imam bātugara siyamam viθiyā karta⁸
„Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king
of countries, son of Xerxes the king, of Xerxes (who was)
the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian, in whose
house this silver drinking-cup (was) made“.

Diese altpersische Inschrift, belegt auf noch drei anderen silbernen Schalen, wurde von E. Herzfeld veröffentlicht (Herzfeld 1935: 1-8; ibid; 1938).

H. Schaeder argumentierte dagegen, dass die Termini *bātugara* und *siyamam* in keiner anderen altpersischen Inschrift belegt und der altpersischen Lexik völlig fremd sind (s. auch Kent 1953: 199, 209).

Außerdem wird die Syntax des letzten Satzes nicht den grammatischen Normen des Altpersischen gerecht.⁹ Vgl. das Relativpronomen *hya* (Masc. Sg.) im Nominativ (richtig wäre kontextgemäß der Genitiv). Das Demonstrativpronomen *imam* müsste im Nominativ *iyam* (Masc. Sing.) statt im Akkusativ stehen.

Statt der Nominativform *siyama* kommt die Wortverbindung *bātugara siyamam* in der Akkusativform vor (Kent 1953: 24; Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964: 111).

Vor einigen Jahren berichtete die Zeitschrift „Iran“, dass das Britische Museum aus einer Privatsammlung eine Schale von Artaxerxes I erworben habe. Die komplexe Untersuchung der Schale (radiographische, röntgenographische, metrologische, toteutische und epigraphische Analysen) ergab die Echtheit sowohl der Schale, als auch der Inschrift (Curtis, Cowell, Walker 1995: 149-153).

Es ist zu betonen, dass die Redewendung „der wertvolle Gegenstand, der im Palast des Königs so und so erzeugt wurde“, zum festen Bestand der altpersischen Inschriften gehört (Kent 1953: 153). Vgl. die Persepolis-Inschrift Darios I. (521-486 V. u. Z.):

mayūxa kāsakaina Dārayavahauš xsāyaθiyahyā
viθiyā karta
„Door-knob of precious stone, made in the house of Darius the king“.¹⁰

Das – u im ersten Teil des Kompositums *bātugara* bleibt unklar.¹¹ Der zweite Teil – *gara* leitet sich von dem indoeuropäischen Stamm *guer- „schlucken, verschlucken, verschlingen“ (sekundäre Bedeutung „trinken“) her (Herzfeld 1938: 115; Kent 1953: 199). Vgl. altindisch *giráti*, *giláti*, *grnáti* – „schluckt, verschlingt“ (Pokorny 1994, I: 474-475).

Die Komposita mit der Komponente – *gar* sind in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen häufig. Vgl. avestisch *aspō-garō* „pferdeverschlungen“; sanskrit *aja-garā* – „ziegenverschlungen, Boa“, griechisch δημοβόρος; „menschenverschlungen“, lateinisch *carn ivorus* – „fleischverschlungen“ (Pokorny 1994, I: 474-475). Vgl. dazu das neopersische *āyārdan* „schlucken“ und *āyāl* „das Verschlungen ungekauter Nahrung“ (Morgenstern 1973: 166).

E. Herzfeld schloss nicht q.us, dass *bātu-gara* „Weinbehälter“ (und nicht „Trinkgefäß“) bedeute, weil die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Komponente – *gar* – „tropfen, fliessen“ sein könnte. Vgl. sanskrit *gālati* – „es tropft“, *gālayati* – „es fließt“.

Nach E. Herzfeld, kann diese Hypothese durch das neopersische *piyālah* (früher Form *paiyala*) belegt werden, das nach der Etymologie E. Benvenistes aus dem mitteliranischen **pat-yālak* < altiranisch **pati-gāra*

8 Die Transkription und Übersetzung des Inschriftstextes sind nach der Ausgabe von R. Kent zitiert (Kent 1953: 153).

9 R. G. Kent hat nachgewiesen, dass für eine Reihe der Inschriften die morphologischen und syntaktischen Fehler charakteristisch sind, die er in einige Kategorien gliederte (Kent 1953: 23-24). Die Fehler der angeführten Inschrift gehören in die Kategorie der falschen Kasusformen.

10 Text und Übersetzung der Inschrift nach der Ausgabe von R. Kent (Kent 1953: 137).

11 Die Meinung von R. Kent, die thematische Endung – u sei unmöglich (Kent 1953: 52), trifft zu.

hervorgegangen ist und als dessen analoge Form das altiranische batu-gara angesehen werden kann (Herzfeld 1938: 113-114; idem; 1947, II: 546, Anm. 3; Kent 1953: 199). Vgl. auch sogdisch *pty* „Weinschale“, wo zur Wiedergabe des – 1 ein δ verwendet wird (Benveniste 1936: 234).¹²

Nach der Klassifikation von R. G. Kent gehört das altpersische batugara zu den determinativen Komposita, die aus zwei nominalen Stämmen bestehen (Substantiva, Adjektiva), deren erste Komponente die zweite bestimmt und mit ihr im Kasus kongruiert (Kent 1953: 53), z.B. *xšaça-pāvan* – „Schützer des Königreiches“, „Satrap“; *duvarθi* < *duvar-varθi – „Schützer des Einganges;“ „Kolonade;“ *hauma-varga* – „Haumatrinker“, oder „Haumabereiter“.

Nach den altindischen grammatischen Regeln gehört batu-gara – zu den Komposita des *tatpuruṣa*-Typs (Burrow 1959: 197-204).

Die *bātugara*-ähnlichen Formen sind in der sasanidischen Toreutik der späteren Zeit (etwa VI. Jh. n. Chr.) zu finden. Vgl. z. B. *b'twd'n* – „Trinkgefäß“ auf der Inschrift des in Cälüs (Westmazenderan) entdeckten Krugs (Henning 1958: 50). Vgl. auch das in der Inschrift der silbernen Schale aus der Furuqi-Sammlung belegte *mtwrwn* – „Schale,“ dessen *mtw* – W. B. Henning als graphische Variante von batu betrachtete (Henning 1967: 150-52).¹³

Es ist zu betonen, dass auch in der altiranischen Onomastik Wörter mit der Komponente bata – vorkommen.

W. Hinz rekonstruierte **Bātadāta* – nach dem in der aramäischen Inschrift von Persepolis belegten btdt „Weinzeugt“ und **Bātaka*, nach dem altgriechischen Eigenamen Βατιάκης (Hinz 1975: 64).

Auf das altpersische *bātugara* – und pahlavi *bādag* bezieht sich das altgriechische βατιάκη (Herzfeld 1938: 113'-114; Bailey 1959: 135; Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964: 111).¹⁴

Im Wörterbuch von Liddell-Scott ist βατιάκη als eine Art Trinkgefäß erklärt (Liddell – Scott 1968: 311).

Hesych (B330 Latte) erklärt diese Glosse sehr allgemein:

βατιάκη. φιάλη. οἱ δε εἴδος ποτηρίου

Interessante Angaben liefert Athenaios in seiner Schrift *Deipnosophistai* (XI 783 a Kaibel):¹⁵

βατιάκιον, λαβρώνιος, τραγέλαφος, πρίστις, ποτηρίων ὄνόματα.

Περσική δὲ φιάλη ἡ βατιάκη.

βατιάκη wird auch bei den anderen Autoren belegt. Vgl. Pollux, Onomasticon (VI 96, S. 27, Bethe): καὶ βατιάκη. Περσικὸν δ' ἦν το ἔκπωμα.

Auch bei Aristoteles, Mirabilia (Fragment 348, S. 1524, Bekker):

φασί ... ἐν τοῖς Δαρείου ποτηρίοις βατιακὰς (βατιάκας) εἶναι τίνας καὶ πλείους, ἃς εἰ μὴ τῇ ὁσμῇ ἄλλως οὐκ ἦν διαγνῶναι πότερόν είσι χαλκαὶ ἢ χρυσαῖ.

Es ist zu bemerken, dass βατιάκη in keinem griechischen etymologischen Wörterbuch erklärt wird.¹⁶

Nach G. Neumann bezieht sich βατιάκη auf pa-ta-qe – „kleines Trikgefäß“, welches in einer minoischen Linear-A Inschrift belegt ist (Neumann 1958: 106-112).

Später zeigte F. Rundgren, dass βατιάκη aus dem Iranischen entlehnt ist (Rundgren 1959: 10-14; s. auch Benveniste 1966: 484; Huyse 1990: 98-99).

Die neopersische Entsprechung des altgriechischen βατιάκη ist *bādiyah*, *bādyah*, spätere Form *bādye* بادې (Horn 1893/1974: 36).

Im Wörterbuch von F. Steingass wird dieses Wort als „Tongefäß erheblichen Volumens, in dem Wein aufbewahrt wird; grosser tiefer Krug; Trinkgefäß, Schale, Becher“ erklärt (Steingass 1947/1981: 141).

In Arbeiten zahlreicher Autoren wurde nachgewiesen, dass das altgriechische βατιάκη und das neopersische *bādiyah*, *bādyah* aus der gemeiniranischen Form **bātiyaka* oder *bātiika* hervorgegangen sind (Herzfeld 1938: 114; Hinz 1975: 64; Rundgren 1960: 12).

12 Zu einer anderen Meinung s. Sims-Williams 1990: 242.

13 Hennings Deutung bleibt zwar hypothetisch, aber es gibt m. W. keine andere Interpretation dieser Inschriften.

14 Im Lateinischen entspricht diesem griechischen Terminus *batioca* (Chantraine 1968: 169; Hinz 1975: 64) „die aus einem wertvollen Metall hergestellte große Schale“.

15 Zu der in der Schrift von Athenaios belegten iranischen Lexik s. Hyuse 1990: 93-104.

16 „Technisches Fremdwort ohne Etymologie“: Frisk 1973, I: 226; „Terme technique sans étymologie“: Chantraine 1968, I: 169.

Es ist zu beachten, dass das aus pahlavi *badag* entstandene neopersische (klassische) *bādah* (*bāde*) zwei Bedeutungen besitzt. Es bezeichnet sowohl „Wein“, als auch „Weinbehälter, Schale, Trinkgefäß“ (Vullers 1885/1962, I: 165-166; Steingass 1947/1981: 140-141).¹⁷

Also ist im Neupersischen die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes erhalten geblieben, die im Mitteliranischen völlig verschwunden war.¹⁸

Das Gesagte erlaubt des Schluss, dass pahlavi *badag* und das neopersische *bādiyah*, *bādyah* auf den nicht mehr rekonstruierbaren gesamtiranischen Archetypus zurückgehen, der zwei Bedeutungen gehabt haben müsste.

Pahlavi *badag* gelangte in andere Sprachen Vorderasiens. Vgl. babylonischaramäisch *bādag* „Wein, Most“, sowie das tautologische Kompositum *maybādag*, arabisch *bādaq* „aus Weintrauben erzeugtes leicht gegorenes Getränk“ (Shaked 1992: 6), armenisch *badak* und seine graphische Variante *bandak* „der aus Maulbeeren, Weintrauben oder aus anderen Früchten erzeugte Saft“ (Acaryan 1972, I: 407).

Im Georgischen entspricht dem Pahlavi *bādag*: *badag-i*, das im „Martyrium der Heiligen und Gebetenen Märtyrer Akepsima, Jacob und Aitala“ (1030]) belegt ist.¹⁹

Als notwendiger Bestandteil der Heilmittel wird *badag-i* oft in den mittelalterlichen medizinischen Traktaten erwähnt (Fanaskerteli-Cicischvili 1950: 352, 23; 417; 3).

Das georgische *badag-i* ist ein Beispiel für viele andere Pahlaviwörter, die infolge der intensiven iranisch-georgischen sprachlichen Kontakte im Georgischen heimisch wurden.

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17 Zum Wortgebrauch des neopersischen *bāda* (*bāde*) in der Bedeutung „Wein“ und auch „Schale“ s. Dehkhada 1339 (1960): 209-210).

¹⁸ Diese Beobachtung machte P. Lagarde (Lagarde 1866: 211; s. auch Rundgren 1960: 13). Vgl. auch die chotanische Parallelform des pahlavischen *bādag bātaa-*, „der junge Wein, Most“ (Bailey 1976: 276).

19 Das Manuskript dieser Schrift wird in der Sammlung des Manuskripteninstituts Georgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter Kodenummer Ath 21 aufbewahrt.

ACTIVITY OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AMONG THE MUSLIM NATIVES OF THE CAUCASUS IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA*

The Caucasus is a region with an incredible variety of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. The Muslim North Caucasus and Azerbaijan, Orthodox Christian Georgia, and Christian-Monophysite Armenia, together with people of different sects and denominations represent a multidimensional picture of the region.

This variety does not, by itself, lead to conflict. The variety encompasses common customs, traditions, and the ethnic and psychological individualism of the Caucasian people. If measured by diversity and integrity, the most interesting area in the Caucasus could be Georgia, where the majority Orthodox Georgian population has always lived alongside people of different ethnic and religious denominations. Religious faith has never caused war inside the country, but the Orthodox Christianity of Kartli-Kakheti (East Georgia), combined with political aspirations, determined the pro-Russian sympathies of the ruling class. This alliance with Russia in the eighteenth century defined the Caucasus future destiny to become a part of the Russian Empire.

The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji between the Russian Empire and Sublime Porte on 10 July 1774, in articles concerning the Caucasus, pronounced Russia to be the protector of all Orthodox Christians in the East.¹ It prohibited the tribute of young girls and boys from Georgia to the Ottomans² a most despised obligation for Georgia. This act began to create real obstacles to slave trade from the Caucasus.

In 1783, Kartli-Kakheti signed the Treaty of Georgievsk, which continued Russia's political advance into the Caucasus. In it, Georgia openly declared its desire for Russian protection against Turkey and Iran. In exchange for relinquishing part of its political independence, Georgia demanded that its protector help conquer and win back Georgian territories occupied by the Ottomans between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most importantly for the present analysis, the act established regulations of the two Orthodox Churches (in Russia and Georgia) that made the Patriarch of Georgia a permanent member of the Holy Synod.³ This agreement instituted a new relationship between the Georgian Catholicos-Patriarch and the Holy Synod, giving eight degrees of sanctity to the Georgian Patriarch and ranking it behind the Archbishop of Tobolsk.⁴ This meant that the Georgian Church lost its independence, coming under the jurisdiction of the Russian Catholicos-Patriarch. Importantly, as the Synod was supervised by a (secular) Ober-Prosecutor who answered to the Empress, the Georgian church became dependent on the Russian state.

Russia needed to articulate a sound ideological basis for extending its political rule over the newly annexed territories, and the Treaty of Georgievsk allowed the Orthodox faith to serve this purpose.

The beginning of missionary activity

The idea to use the Orthodox faith to create a common ideology in the Caucasus was not new. Missionary activity in the region had been pioneered in the eighteenth century by two clergymen, Joseph (Archbishop of Sameba Monastery in Georgia) and Nikolai (head of the Znamensky Monastery in Moscow). In 1743 they presented a petition to the Empress Elizabeth, asking for permission to found a missionary society to spread the Orthodox faith in Ossetia. The petition was approved and led to the establishment the Clerical Commission of Ossetia in 1745.

The Society sent its first missionaries from Moscow the next year. The centre of the mission was Mozdok. Nevertheless, despite its energetic attempts, the Commission did not achieve any significant goals. The instability of Russia's political presence in the North Caucasus led the Empress to abolish it in 1792.

The status of the Georgian Church began to erode in reality after the kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti was joined to Russia in 1801 and lost its independence completely in 1811. The Synod then appointed Varlam Eristavi as Exarch of Georgia (the head of the Georgian Church and a Bishop, ranking below the Patriarch).

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The Synod obliged him to reform the Georgian church to match Russian Church organisation and also to make Georgia the centre for spreading Orthodox Christianity among the non-Christian population of the Caucasus.⁵

Following the reforms in the Georgian church, the erstwhile Clerical Commission of Ossetia was re-established in 1815, now centred in Tbilisi. The Synod appointed Dositheos, Archbishop of Telavi and of Georgia-Caucasus, as head of the Commission. The Imperial Treasury distributed the substantial sum of 14,750 rubles annually for the Commission, as well as money for the maintenance of 100 Cossacks and 30 church peasants (the latter served as guides through the mountains). The fact that Cossacks were enlisted indicates Russia's fear of the mountain people's resistance to the missionary project.

In 1810, the kingdom of Imereti (West Georgia) joined Russia. Accordingly, the borders of the Georgian Exarchate expanded to the west to include Megrelia and Abkhazia. Thus, the area of the Commission's renewed activity was already much bigger and included territory beyond the Caucasus Mountains. The main new objectives were directed against Islamic influence in Georgia, specifically in Abkhazia and Saingilo (Kakhi and Zakatala districts of today's Azerbaijan).

According to the missionaries' reports, they baptised 216 Abkhazians, as well as 2,788 Kists (Chechens and Ingush) living in Georgia, and 43,927 Ossetians between 1817 and 1825.⁶

In 1857, the Viceroy of the Caucasus, Alexander Ivanovich Bariatinskii, and the Exarch of Georgia, Isidor (Nikolskii), reported to the Emperor that, "The duty of the Orthodox Christian state is to create a Society for the restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus. Russia cannot remain indifferent to the problems of religious education for our younger brothers who have wandered from the Christian church due to Muslim propaganda. Muridism expresses this propaganda. Individuals must play an active role in the preservation of Christianity among the Caucasian mountain people. Orthodoxy is the main tool of Russia, and Russia is the tool of Orthodox Christianity herself."⁷

The report presented by Bariatinskii and Isidor was discussed for three years in St. Petersburg. Circumstances for the main ideological attack were suitable after the Russians captured Shamil and ended his holy war against Russia (1834-1859), and the Society for the Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus was established in July 1860. The Society announced that Empress Marie Alexandrovna would be its official patron.⁸

The Society declared, as did Bariatinskii, that the main aim of its work was to spread Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus as a counter to extensive Muslim propaganda.

Bariatinskii wrote, in a report cited in the *Survey of Activity of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus, 1860-1910*, that:

"Islam for the Caucasian mountain people is the faith of patriotism. It is the symbol and flag of independence. Independence means everything for the mountain people; it is their aim in life. Both the laypeople and priests, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, accept such an evaluation of religious faith (from its political point of view).

For the entire population of the Caucasus Mountains, the Muslim mountain people are their people accepted with honour anywhere. The non-Muslim is a pariah, a slave, an outcast. [...] For our half-Christian tribes, the prophets of Muridism embody the ideal of the man's dignity, man's pride and courage. He is a person who is always ready to sacrifice himself, but not to suffer. He does not understand suffering. He is ready for death with pride in the most unequal battle against the giaours (non-Muslims) for the glory of God. [...] Islam attracts mountain people from all walks of life."⁹

As this quote makes clear, for Russian policy makers in the Caucasus, being Muslim was incompatible with being a Russian subject.

The establishment of the Society proclaimed the aim of restoring Christianity in the region where the natives had been Christians since ancient times. The main directions of the Society's activity were:

- 1) To construct and restore churches, and to establish nearby housing for the clergy;
- 2) To establish and finance parochial schools for the education of the locals;
- 3) To translate and publish the Bible and other sacred books into local languages and to compile alphabets for peoples who did not have them;
- 4) To improve the social position of priests and to improve their training.¹⁰

Only Orthodox Christians could join the Society. The Council of the Society was the main authority for missionary activities, with the Georgian Exarch serving as Chairman of the Council. The Society inherited the property of the Clerical Commission of Ossetia, totalling 238,174 rubles,¹¹ and received money from the government and individuals, which by 1861 had reached 376,339 rubles.¹² The Society received lands, including the Karaiaz steppe, amounting to 100,000 square dessiatinas (approximately 275,000 acres) in all. The property of the Society as of January 1, 1864, amounted to 450,188 rubles.¹³ In 1862-1863, the finances of the Society were increased permanently, thanks to the attention of the Emperor and the Empress of Russia, and reached a considerable amount.¹⁴

The zeal of the government to finance the Society shows the great importance it gave to the spread of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus.

How did the Muslim population and mullahs react to this activity? In its first report (for 1862-1863), the Society admitted that the mere fact of the appearance of the Society caused an awakening of religious fear and enmity towards it and presented a challenge for Muslim propaganda, which uses any means to paralyse the defensive activity of the Society.¹⁵

Muslim resistance as well as the Georgian mountaineers' reluctance to give up their traditional customs, including some pre-Christian elements, presented some difficulties for missionary activity in the Caucasus, which the missionaries identified in a report presented to the Emperor and Ober-Prosecutor for 1862-3.

In response, the Emperor appointed the Viceroy of the Caucasus, Michael Alexandrovich Romanov, as Chairman of the Society. The Emperor also was convinced that the current and future prospects for Orthodox Christianity in the region lay in the foundation of Orthodox educational institutions and the immediate compilation of local alphabets.

The Society admitted in the same report of 1862-1863 that the compilation of alphabets in the local languages languages was intended to remedy the fact that all local education was conducted by the mullahs. They taught the Arabic language to the local children in order to teach them the *Quran* in Arabic. The Society thought that if they could provide new schools for the youth, where the teaching would be in native languages using books in the (new) local alphabets, they would win the battle for Christian propaganda.

According to this plan, Georgian was to be used at schools among the Georgian mountaineers and Armenian, Turkish, and Georgian would be used in south Georgia, in consideration of the ethnic structure of the region (at least for the beginning classes).

The Society was trying to make the Georgian mountaineers give up the local "pagan" traditions and change the local structure of the communities, where often the head of the community was also the elder, or *khevisberi*. The *khevisberi* was also the spiritual leader of the community, leading church service during the festival for the community saint. Regular weekly church service among the Georgian mountaineers was not observed, but they had special celebrations of Christian saints such as St. Mary, St. George, and others when they gathered at a special place called *khati* (in English, icon). A *khati*, which was not a large church but a small building like a basilica, was built for each saint. The *khevisberi* would lead the ceremony, praying for community, offering sacrifices to the saint, and switching candles.

This structure apparently seemed dangerous, as it made a single person both a spiritual and community leader and gave him great influence on the local community. At present, this institution has been weakened in Georgia, but among some North Caucasian groups it remains strong and defines the unity of community (such as among Chechens and Ingush).

The Viceroy began his work actively and created the post of Inspector of Orthodox schools in 1864, by the Order of the Society №16, and assigned two inspectors to this position. In 1873, the local government created the special position of Inspector of the Society's schools under the administration of the Caucasian educational district. The Inspector was also responsible for some public schools in regions located outside the authority of the Governor's inspectors in Svaneti and Abkhazia.¹⁶ The first Inspector, Streletskii from Moscow University, was very active in arranging the Society's schools.

Muslim priests opposed the Society's educational activity, since they had previously maintained a monopoly on education in regions with dense Muslim populations,¹⁷ and yet they could not stop the Society's educational activities.

In 1861, the Commission for Introduction of Literacy among the Mountaineers was established by the Society to compile alphabets. The Society appointed Ivan Bartolomei as Chair of the Commission, with a staff made up of Pavel Uslar, Dmitry Purtseladze, Vladimir Trirogov and others.

In 1865, the Commission compiled and published an Abkhaz alphabet with translations of Abkhaz aphorisms and stories for children. The book was approved as the textbook for use in Abkhaz schools.¹⁸ In 1868, the Board of the Society changed this policy, admitted the “infant” position of Abkhaz language and so Abkhaz language remained undeveloped and all translation projects were ceased.¹⁹

Konstantin Davidovich Machavariani and his seventeen-year old student, Dimitry Gulia (the creator of the present Abkhaz alphabet), continued the work only later after 1892.²⁰ The reaction of Georgian intellectuals to this act was remarkable. Jacob Gogebashvili, the creator of the Georgian textbooks (*Deda Ena, Bunebis Kari*, and others) noted:

“We Georgians must strive to develop and enrich our literature and the liturgical language. And we have to wish the same for the other nations, including the Abkhaz. [...] Exarch Kirion supported efforts to compile an Abkhaz alphabet and create their literature. He demanded that I take part in creating textbooks in the Abkhaz native language.

Georgians in Sokhumi should work towards this goal, as the awakening of the Abkhaz will change their external unity with Georgians into the internal solidarity and intensive Brotherhood.”²¹

During 1864-1865, some of the Kists in the Pankisi gorge were converted to Orthodox Christianity, and the Society opened a school in Pankisi. The Society invited two Kists to come to Tbilisi in 1867 to create textbooks in the Chechen language, using an alphabet already created by Pavel Uslar. The Commission for Literacy published the textbook the same year together with the Chechen alphabet, but soon the work stopped as Russia began mass deportations of Chechens and Ingush (together with other rebellious people from the North Caucasus) to the Ottoman Empire.

The translation of Gospel into Ossetian was finished in 1864 and published in the same year.

The changed political situation after the end of the wars prepared fertile ground for the future missionary activity. Now that it did not have to contend with Murid resistance, Russia was able to reorganize the administration of the region to better integrate the Caucasus into the imperial system, a project in which missionary work played an important role. Following the wars with Turkey, Batumi-Kobuleti pashalik was ceded to Russia in 1878.

Akhatsikhe pashalik (Akhalsikhe-Akhalkalaki distr.) had become part of Russia fifty years earlier, and consolidating Russian rule involved exiling part of the Georgian Muslims (Meskhs) and settling Christian Armenians in their place.

In 1864, Russia dissolved the Abkhaz Principality, and the last Prince of Abkhazia, Michael Shervashidze, was exiled to Russia where he soon died.

The new territories with compact Muslim populations created some difficulties for the Caucasian governors. Paving the way for the establishment of the new rule was resolved by forcing the native Muslims (ethnic Georgians and others) to immigrate to Turkey, a process known as Muhajirism. The first deportations occurred in 1828, while the next flood of Muhajirs went from Abkhazia to Turkey from 1864-1878 and from Adjaria (1878) as well as from the North Caucasus.

These regions became the main arenas (together with the Georgian Mountain provinces) for missionary activity.

Akhalsikhe-Akhalkalaki districts, 1861-1885

By 1880, the Society had three schools in Akhalkalaki and two in Akhalsikhe district,²² and one shelter opened in 1878 at a school in the Akhalkalaki district.²³ In 1880, four more parochial schools were opened in Akhalsikhe district, in Akhalsikhe, Vale, Safara-Muskhi, and Toloshi.

Akhalkalaki district: Akhalkalaki, Kilda, Baraleti

Society schools were located in three of the four parishes in the district (the village Mushki being the

only parish without a school), one school in each. The fourth school was established in the Muslim village of Khertvisi.²⁴

Georgian served as the language of instruction when the school first opened, but later it was replaced by Russian.

In 1880, the Assistant Commander of Civil Affairs in the Caucasus, S. N. Trubetskoy, and the Head of the Society's Office at the Georgian Exarch, Michael Smirnov, inspected the Society's schools in the Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki districts.²⁵ They agreed that it was good to teach in Georgian, but that later Russian language instruction should be instituted. In order to increase the number of the students at the Society's schools, and also to break down some barriers in teaching because of the ethnic diversity in the region, it was useful for the instructor to be fluent in Turkish, Georgian, and Armenian.²⁶

The most remarkable development was the establishment of a school in Khertvisi in 1870 where the majority of the population was Muslim. About twenty young men graduated from the school, and in 1880 five Muslim students studied at the Caucasian Teachers Seminary. Four young Armenian men also graduated from the school.²⁷

The attempts to use education to spread Orthodox Christianity in Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki districts did not yield the anticipated results. The report of the Society for 1885 shows the disastrous position of the newly converted Christian population in the region.²⁸ For 1880, there were only 77 cases of baptism into Christianity among the Muslim Georgian (Meskhs),²⁹ and this number did not increase considerably in future.

Abkhazia, 1860-1885

The situation in Abkhazia was different. The Russian Orthodox missions in this region were extremely successful. Building on the activity of the Clerical Commission of Ossetia in Abkhazia, the Society worked to strengthen and spread Orthodox Christianity in the region.

Before examining the main reasons for its success, we must first examine the form of Islam that was prevalent in Abkhazia. The establishment of Turkish supremacy over the Black Sea coast of Georgia between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was the main impetus for the spread of Islam in the region. The rulers of Abkhazia (as well as the rulers of Adjara and Samtskhe [Ahkalsikhe and Akhalkalaki]) were converted to Islam, largely in response to the Muslim law that prohibited non-Muslims from owning land. Actually, in the Muslim countries the ruler of the country owned the land, and he distributed it to his servants. In practice, land ownership was hereditary but the ruler needed to approve it.

In 1810, after realizing Russia's increasing strength in the Caucasus, the Abkhazian ruler Sapar-bei Sharashidze declared his alliance with Russia and converted to Orthodox Christianity together with his nobles.

The Society reported that despite their conversion, Abkhazian political interests and religious sympathies still were biased towards Turkey:

"There is no sign that Christianity is preserved either among the princes or the people."³⁰

To expand their activity, the missions needed to have detailed descriptions of different regions and ethnic groups in the Caucasus. The Society did this work in Abkhazia and in the other parts of Georgia and Caucasus, and reports were submitted by the Society's missionaries.

The missionaries divided the Abkhazian Muslim population (in accordance with their devotion to Islam) into two groups: fanatics and non-fanatics.

The former, a minority, kept all the traditions of Islam strongly but were not committed to pilgrimages to the sacred Muslim sites nor to praying five times a day.

Non-fanatic Abkhazians, who formed the majority, maintained Islamic traditions by keeping Ramadan and the feast of Kurban-Bairam, and by inviting mullahs to ceremonies. They practised a more syncretic Islam, as they also celebrated Christmas, Easter, New Year, Whit Sunday, and festivities observing the Virgin Mary and St. George. In addition, they worshipped icons and lit candles when praying, dyed eggs on Easter, and poured wine on bread in memory of dead ancestors.³¹

The missionaries concluded that there was no religious friction in Abkhazia between Muslims and Christians. The missionaries had been disturbed by the fact that religious difference did not impede marriage be-

tween Christians and Muslims in the Caucasus, and this was most common in Abkhazia. They decided that the only difference that the Abkhazians recognised was based on social status and not on religion.³² These and other facts led officials to conclude that the great majority of Abkhazians (the so-called non-fanatics) were Christians, despite the influence of Turkey in the region.

According to the missionaries' reports, the two main centres of Islam in Abkhazia were Atsi (in the Gudauta region) and Jgerda (in the Kodori region), where there were two small mosques. The Muslims in Gudauta were more devoted Muslims than their coreligionists in the Kodori region. Nevertheless, the influence of Orthodox Georgians living in Samurzakano (the Gali district of today's Abkhazia) did not outweigh the influence of Islam on the population of Kodori.

Samurzakano is a territory in Abkhazia where the great majority of the natives are Georgians (Megrelians)

The Society claimed that one outstanding result of missionary activity here was the fact that in 1910 there were not any Muslims recorded among the citizenry. In this situation the missionaries exaggerated the impact of their work, as the great majority of natives in Samurzakano were Georgian Christians even before the missionary activity began.

The reality was that the observance of Christian traditions in the region persisted, albeit weakly, and that the missionaries had simply strengthened existing tendencies. The Society also emphasized that the population tried to preserve and restore Christianity in other parts of Abkhazia.³³

The popular Georgian newspaper *Droeba* mentioned that about 2,875 Muslims and 876 pagans were baptised in 1867, the majority of whom were Abkhaz.³⁴

The real success in baptising Muslim Abkhazians was achieved by Bishop Gabriel (Kikodze, 1869-1885) of Imereti. He sent David Machavariani (as part of the Clerical Commission of Ossetia) to carry out missionary work in Abkhazia.

Although the Commission for Ossetia no longer existed, Machavariani continued his work after 1869 under the authority of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus. In October of 1879, 700 Abkhazians were baptised. Machavariani organised the mission and divided the region into two parts, Bzipi and Kodori. Mokvi (Samurzakano) was chosen as the centre of the mission for Bzipi and according to the reports eighty percent of the population was baptised.³⁵

Georgians contributed significantly to the success of Russian missionary work. in fact, they defined the success of the Russian Orthodox missions. Their knowledge of local languages, customs, traditions, and ethnic psychology simplified their task. Tradition also played important role. Georgians, indeed, had historically been the propagators of Christianity among the different ethnic groups in the Caucasus.

The Society was a pioneer of mass education in Abkhazia and in many regions of the Caucasus. Machavariani opened the first school in Okumi (Samurzakano) and as of 1885 the Society's schools were the only educational institutions in Abkhazia.³⁶ The Society founded the new school in 1876 at the New Athens Monastery where about twenty Abkhazian young men studied.

Reorganisation of the Society in 1885

1885 marked a turning point in the history of the Society, when the Emperor ordered its reorganisation. The Chairman of the Society became the Exarch of Georgia, and the Assistant Commander for Civil Affairs in the Caucasus was appointed as Deputy Chairman of the Society.³⁷

The reorganisation was initiated by the Ober-Prosecutor of Holy Synod and the Commander for Civil Affairs in the Caucasus, Dondukov-Korsakov (the former Chairman of the Society). The Society was brought into accordance with the Orthodox Missionary Society and passed under the authority of the Holy Synod.³⁸ The Society transformed its schools into parochial schools, though they still remained dependents of the Society.

The report on the state of Christianity for 1885 counted 170 churches under the auspices of the Society. There were 143 parishes in the region:

East Georgia – 64, Vladikavkaz – 26, Sokhumi (Abkhazia) – 37, Guria-Megrelia (West Georgia) – 15, Imereti (West Georgia) – 1.

The Society also had a number of churches in the regions of Georgia and North Caucasus:

Vladikavkaz bishopric – 29, Sokhumi bishopric – 54, Guria-Megrelia bishopric – 14, Imereti bishopric – 1.

In 1885, the Society spent over 281 rubles to repair the Muslim mosque in village Samovat (Karsi district).³⁹ This flexible policy in regions where the majority of the population was Muslim guaranteed local assistance for the foundation of the missionary schools there. The priests of the Society received generous salaries of about 200-700 rubles annually. The total amount for the maintenance of the clergy increased to 64,687 rubles in 1885.⁴⁰ The Society also granted scholarships to successful pupils to continue their education at the ecclesiastical schools of Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Gori, and other high educational institutions of the Russian Empire. For 1884-85 academic year, the Society granted 30 scholarships to successful students.⁴¹

The outcome of the missionary activity during the period of 1860-1885, according to the Society's reports, was not impressive except in Abkhazia and in parts of modern-day Azerbaijan (Zakatala district). The reasons for failure in Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki and Pankisi were, according to the Society, the influence of Muslim culture on neighbouring Christians; the poverty of those newly converted to Christianity; and reliance on poorly qualified missionaries.⁴²

This evaluation of immediate causes was correct, but the main reason for local resistance to Christianity was defined by resistance to Russian political rule.

Akhaltsikhe – Akhalkalaki districts, 1885-1910

The most poverty-stricken converts were the Christians in Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. The authors of the 1885 report stated:

“The prospect of such a poor life restrains even those Muslims who sincerely wish to become Christians. ... Muslims are afraid of Christian priests and try to avoid the meeting with them. Naturally, it is difficult to speak of the possibility of successful missionary activity, let alone of success achieved.”⁴³

The missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church also focused on Georgian society, as expressed on the pages of Georgian newspapers and magazines such as *Tsnobis Purteli*, *Shroma*, *Droeba*, *Iveria*. In assessing the Society's activity, the press was mostly critical of the Society not only for its lethargy in spreading Orthodox Christianity but also for its passive educational work.⁴⁴

The period of 1885-1910 can be considered the second stage in the history of the Society. The political tides in the Caucasus had finally turned in Russia's favour.

The migration processes in newly acquired territories had ended. Colonization of the Black Sea coast and the Akhalkalaki districts had finished or was being carried out successfully.

In 1888, Tsar Alexander III visited Georgia and was met by representatives of the Abkhazian nobility returning from exile in Turkey as Muhajirs. The meeting was held in Sokhumi, and the nobles presented a petition requesting the return of lands the Muhajirs owned before deportation. The Tsar approved the petition but as of 1898, the local government had not fulfilled the order.⁴⁵

The missionaries and the native Muslims improved their relations by the end of the nineteenth century:

“The Muslims, who not a long time before were full of enmity towards their Christian neighbours, at present express not only religious tolerance but also allowed their children to receive education at Christian schools ... In the year of this report (1896) there were five Muslim young men and one young woman at the Toloshi School (Akhaltsikhe Distr.) They make up one seventh of the total number of pupils there.”⁴⁶

Beginning in 1901, the situation turned against Christianity. Muslims in the village Muskhi who had previously agreed to send their children to the Society's school suddenly changed their minds for fear that they would be converted to Christianity. The number of mullahs was increasing. They were coming from Turkey, and had been educated in Istanbul. Turkey understood the danger posed by a restored Christianity on its borders and contradicted by Muslim propaganda.

The report of the Society for 1898-1901 shows that the missionaries were concerned with possible attempts to inspire enmity between Muslims and Christian Georgians. The situation did not encourage peace and friendship, and eventually there were signs of growing hatred because of religious differences.

The Society suggested that the government not give permission to mullahs from Turkey to come to Georgia and accordingly to appoint less fanatical, native mullahs to these positions.⁴⁷

Adjaria, 1889-1910

Beginning in 1889, the Society took a step forward in the restoration of Christianity in another region of the Black Sea coast of Georgia: Adjara. Here, in Batumi, the Society established a Missionary Section, chaired by Bishop Gregory of Guria-Megrelia. The members also included the assistant to the governor-general of Kutaisi (West Georgia), and the assistant to the head of the Batumi district (Adjara).

The foundation of this Missionary Section came as a result of a report by Ambrosi, the leader of the Shemokmedi monastery (Guria, in West Georgia), who was sent as a missionary to Adjaria by the Exarch in 1888.

Ambrosi explored the current position of Islam in the region and concluded that many Christian traditions survived in Adjara. He thought that it proved that the Batumi-Artvini districts could be fertile ground for reviving the ancient faith of the natives – Orthodox Christianity.⁴⁸

The Missionary Section did not produce any results, despite the active efforts of the Society. The Society itself recognized the reasons for its lack of success: the death of Bishop Gregory, who had much influence among the Muslims in Adjara, and the significant distance between the residency of the Bishop in Guria-Imereti and Batumi.

It should be recognized that these reasons were not the primary causes of their failure. The main cause was the strong influence of Islamic propaganda in the region:

“Mullahs have a great influence among Muslim Georgians. These mullahs are fervent fanatics, Adjarians constitute a tightly united body at their disposal, and each member of Muslim society is expected to work equally hard towards its preservation and prosperity. The Muslims strove to preserve the faith among their brothers... The most malicious in this field are the mullahs who arrived from Turkey. They try to erase any memory of Christianity from the soul of Adjarians.”⁴⁹

The restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus became the main objective of the Orthodox Christian Empire. The Society and the Russian Emperor made this a central theme in their policy.

On October 21, 1896, the day when Tsar Nicholas II ascended to the throne, the annual assembly of the Society took place in Tbilisi and conducted a liturgy in honour of the new Tsar. The Council of the Society discussed the Tsar’s order to the Military Governor of Kutaisi (West Georgia) to support the Society’s missions in Batumi and Artvini districts, where the natives “had been converted to Islam because of Turkey’s influence. This support would be an appropriate remedy for bringing up the natives with a love and devotion to Russian state and throne.”⁵⁰

Abkhazia, 1885-1910

The next step to increase the influence of Christianity was to found libraries at the schools and the churches of the Society,⁵¹ and to open two parishes in Abkhazia in 1899.⁵² Special attention was given to the professional education of the youth. The pupils at the New Athens Monastery were permitted to continue study for a fifth year to study agriculture and Psalm teaching.⁵³ The fruits (lemons) grown at the monastery were represented at the agricultural exhibition of the Caucasus. The authors of the 1898-1901 report admitted, “Favourable conditions in Abkhazia for cultivating even tender southern plants ... will no doubt bring region a significant profit. To introduce the natives to scientific methods of planting through the help of the New Athens Monastery school’s students ... will result in the growth of economical prosperity in the country.”⁵⁴

From 1889 to the end of the century, the Muslim population began to increase in Abkhazia: “Many Christian settlements became totally Muslim. Before 1889, not a single village in Abkhazia had a majority

Muslim population. Christians lived even in the centres of Islam in Abkhazia (such as Gudauta) and, concerning the birth records, Christian Abkhazians there diligently carried out their Christian duties.⁵⁵

The Bishop of Sohumi reported that the inclination of Abkhazians towards Islam was very serious and dangerous for the influence of Christianity in the region. In order to revise and lead the missionary activity in Abkhazia, in 1899 the Society appointed the missionary Tarasi Ivanitskii. His main task was to draft an accurate picture of the influence of Orthodox Christianity in Abkhazia. Ivanitskii reported that the Turks living in Sokhumi, Ochamchire, and Gudauta were the key factor for the conversion of Abkhazians to Islam. They secretly kept mosques in Jgerda, Atsi and even in Megrelia (Tskhenitskali). Ivanitskii emphasized that the reason for the weakness of Orthodox Christianity in the region was its use of Old Church Slavonic for church services instead of local languages, and, conversely, the requirement that the vernacular be used for teaching at schools. He paid particular attention to the method Ilminskii used in Kazan to return native Tatars to Christianity, including the use of Tatar in teaching the Bible and in the church service. The teachers and the priests were required to know the local languages.

Arseni, Bishop of Sokhumi, appealed to the Military Governor of Kutaisi to exile the mullahs from Abkhazia or at least to forbid Muslim propaganda. The Governor arrested the mullahs, but soon he had to release them.⁵⁶

In 1899, the Society relocated the anti-Islamic library from Zakatala district to Abkhazia.

Zakatala district, 1885-1910

The Zakatala district was settled by Georgians of Sunni Islamic confession. The Society expended great effort to restore Orthodox Christianity in the region and partly achieved its goal. Ingilos, natives of Zakatala, lived in compact villages Kakhi, Alibeglo, Koragani, Tasmalo, Zagami, Marsani, Lala-pasha, Musuli, Engiani, etc. Missionaries reported that Muslim Ingilos remembered their Christian heritage, respected Christian churches, and kept some Christian traditions. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Society had five parishes (in Kakhi, Alibeglo, Tasmalo, Koragani and Ketuklo) with four schools (including one for girls) in Alibeglo, Koragani and Ketuklo.

In 1899, E. Maminaishvili was appointed to the post of Inspector of the Zakatala district, replacing the aforementioned Tarasi Ivanitski, who had carried out some of the most important missionary work among the Ingilos and was now transferred to Abkhazia.

The activity of the missionaries was met with resistance by the mullahs. Ivanitskii reported that the mullahs forbade the Ingilos (Georgians living in Azerbaijani Zakatala/Kakhi districts) to speak in Georgian even for everyday usage.⁵⁷ The same fact was reconfirmed in 1915 by *Kavkazskoe Slovo*.⁵⁸ The newspaper mentioned that after 1860s, when the war with Shamil was over and the North Caucasus finally was joined to the Russian Empire, Ingilos began to lose their native language. *Kavkazskoe slovo* linked this loss with the persistent efforts to restore the Orthodox Christianity among them. It acknowledged that, "missionary work had almost no positive result, except for four villages which really turned back to Christianity. All others not only did not express any interest in Christianity but withdrew even further into their religious fanaticism, and hated anything Georgian as a reminder of despised Christianity."⁵⁹

The Georgian newspaper *Sakartvelo* stated that, "many of the villages resolved that mothers would not speak Georgian with their children. To hasten the disappearance of the Georgian language, Ingilos began to marry women from the Nukhi and Kazakh Districts, which, as known, are settled by Tatars [that is, by Dagestanians and Azeris. The term 'Tatar' was often used as a synonym of Muslim. M. G-S.]. Children whose mothers did not speak Tatar were sent to Tatar villages to learn the language and to forget their native Georgian. Ingilos stopped visit Georgian sacred places [i.e., churches M. G-S.], which they had worshipped until now. They dug up the vineyards, accepted Tatar customs, and voluntarily went towards total denationalization."⁶⁰

Kavkazskoe Slovo also mentioned that, in Georgian newspapers, intellectuals began to devote much attention to the restoration of the Georgian spirit among the Muslim Georgians after the last Turkish invasion of Adjara.

Georgian intellectuals supported their Muslim brothers during this hard period morally and financial-

ly, and the interest in Georgian Muslims is increasing among Georgians. The newspaper mentioned that it should immediately begin hard work in Zakatala to restore this lost region to its native culture.⁶¹

The same newspaper in October admitted a similar situation among Abkhazians and Meskhs.⁶² It is noted that, “in the western part of the Sokhumi district, Georgian culture is disappearing. Abkhaz culture, which for many centuries was close to Georgian culture, is today almost totally detached from the Georgian family. It is perhaps strange, but this voluntary denationalisation (as seen in the Muslim parts of Georgia – Akhaltsikhe, Batumi) took place recently, mostly during Russian rule.”

I do not think that it can be explained by a lack of interest from Georgian intellectuals in their Muslim brothers, or by the role of Orthodox missions in weakening the position of Christianity. The reality is that Islam began to serve as the flag against Russian supremacy among all independent people of the Caucasus.

Opposition to Georgians, who were joined to the Russians by a common faith and also who led the Russians to enter the Caucasus, was also a natural feeling among Muslims Georgians and non-Georgians.

Prince Alexander of Georgia allied with Muslims to fight Russians after Georgia was annexed by Russia in 1801. Of course the newspaper could not mention the true reasons. It mentioned the anti-Georgian, but not the anti-Russian reaction among Muslims.

The Society, 1885-1910

The reorganisation of the Society marked increased engagement in different fields of missionary activity and also some revision of its methods. Monies allocated for the restoration and construction of the churches was doubled, reaching 200,000 rubles.⁶³

The Inspector of the Svaneti-Batumi-Artvini regions examined the Society's schools and assessed the state of Christianity in Abkhazia for 1894-95. His sudden death ended the review, but in 1896 Society appointed a new missionary, Evtikhi Maminaishvili, who worked successfully under the Society's authority in Zakatala (Azerbaijan).

The Society reported in 1896 that its schools consisted of: 21 for young men, 8 for young women and 19 coeducational institutions in different regions of Georgia.

It had forty schools in Muslim districts: four in Zakatala, four in Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki, seven in Abkhazia, eighteen in North Ossetia, six in South Ossetia, and one in Pankisi (among Chechens and Ingush).⁶⁴ The number of students at the schools were:

- 30 boys in Pankisi (Chechens and Ingush);
- 72 boys and 9 girls in the Zakatala district;
- 237 boys and 52 girls at the schools of Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki districts;
- 289 boys and 13 girls in Sokhumi district schools;
- 1,157 boys and 367 girls in North Ossetia;
- 263 boys and 26 girls in South Ossetia.⁶⁵

The hardest task was to improve teaching methods. Using the vernacular in teaching and preaching would assist in the victory of Orthodoxy, according to the Society's resolutions. It was decided to use the Georgian clergy in organizing missionary work. “A Khevsuri, or Svani, or mountaineer ... who is familiar with local conditions, is educated... and who is appointed to the post of priest or teacher would not hesitate [to go] and never would request to be reassigned to another location. Besides, he will be content in his native country among his countrymen, with the customs and traditions he is already familiar with. He will have a stronger influence than a priest or teacher who would need some time to study the native culture.”⁶⁶

To proceed with this plan, Society granted scholarships to the most successful students from the region for graduate study at the St. Petersburg and Kazan Theological Academies, the Tbilisi and Kutaisi Theological Seminaries, the Kutaisi Theological School, the Tbilisi Diocese Women's School, and St. Nino Women's School at the Bodbe Convent.

The Society discussed the missionaries' reports on different parts of Georgia with majority Muslim populations and concluded that the main obstacle to their conversion was the animosity towards those new converts of their relatives and neighbours. They killed them, burnt their houses, and their lands were expro-

priated by their family members if they did not bequeath them before converting. The Society considered it expedient to move the new converts from dense Muslim areas to regions settled by Orthodox Christians or to give them fields from fiscal (state) lands. The Chair of the Society Council and Exarch of Georgia, Flabian, petitioned the Main Commander of Civil Affairs in the Caucasus, Gregory Golitsyn, to make land available for this project. The Exarch based his request on the fact that there were free state lands in the Caucasus, as well as lands given on short-term rent.⁶⁷

Why had the success of Christian education not led to the success of Orthodoxy itself in the Muslim regions of Georgia (except in Abkhazia, Ossetia and partly the Zakatala district)?

The Society reported that the difficulty was due to the multi-religious societies of the Caucasus – the huge pantheon of religions and ethnic groups:

“Nowhere else are the universal ideas of Christian enlightenment embodied ... as in the church schools of the Caucasus. If one were to ask where and in what circumstances we find Orthodox Christians are praying together with the pagans, Muslims, Jews etc., you would conclude: at the church schools of the Caucasus.

The church school has not been an unusual entity for the non-Orthodox population, even for the Muslims. The latter are the neighbours of Russians and, when given the opportunity, the Muslims send their children to church schools. ... If a missionary was skilful, any missionary institution could have a great influence on the wide-scale Christianization (mostly of Muslims) at the school. Muslims are afraid of the missionary but don't fear the mission school, and this in particular is the way to draw in Christianity without force and to bring Christian and Muslim customs in contact.”⁶⁸

The Society acknowledged that it should recognize the role of its schools as institutions of public education and assist in the conversion of the natives into Orthodox Christianity.⁶⁹

The Society's schools used the same teaching methodology as throughout the Russian Empire. The textbooks used at the schools were the best textbooks at the time, such as the ‘Reader in Russian Literature’ (by Ushinskii), ‘Arithmetic’ (Grubbe), ‘Deda Ena’ (Georgian language), ‘Kartuli Anbani’ (Georgian alphabet), and ‘Bunebis Kari’ (Biology, Gogebashvili). Textbooks, notebooks and other necessary school things were free for the students and teachers.

By 1910, the society managed 53 parishes and 83 educational institutions in the Caucasus. The Viceroy of the Caucasus, the Emperor, and the Empress made donations that helped them flourish. A special publication, “Survey of the Activity of the Society for the Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus 1860-1910” was published in Tbilisi, and analysed the results of the Society's activity in the region. It stated that 2,063,795 rubles totally were spent only for the education of the natives. Correspondingly, 2,761 rubles were spent in 1860, and 75,498 rubles in 1909.⁷⁰ The number of the Society's donors varied between 30 and 158. The Society had 53 parishes and 83 schools. The number of those converted from Islam were:

North Ossetians	3,303 (between 1865 – 1893)
South Ossetians	815 (1862 – 1879)
Ingilos	162 (1869 – 1903)
Kists	161 (1864 – 1868)
Meskhs	96 (1880 – 1895)
Adjarians	23 (1888 – 1899)
Abkhazians	21,336 (1866 – 1902)
Assyrians	3,305 (1867 – 1902) ⁷¹

The Survey concluded with the statement:

“Instead of the crescent of the mosque, many of mountaintops of the Caucasus are capped with the cross of the world's saviour. Where the wild passions rule, where the customs were created on the basis of Islam and paganism, ... [n]ot everywhere do the rows of rivers meet the din and the wild cries of the crowd seeking revenge. For the voices of singing children at the temple come to meet them and the school admiring Jesus is coming with love into the soul of the sullen mountaineer instead of Mohammed or Dzuara.”⁷²

Conclusion

As the result of the missionaries activity among the Muslim natives of Caucasus, we can conclude that the methodology of cultural conquest in the Caucasus was based on the Orthodox faith. Russia regarded itself as the main bearer of this faith in the world and used it as a tool to expand the borders of the Russian Empire.

The main difference with the British missionary activities was that the British Empire expanded via the East India Company, which focused more on business than the souls of the natives. When it began, the East India Company even opposed religious activity in its territories (mostly on the Indian peninsula).

In contrast, Russia expanded into adjoining territories and promoted missionary activity so that the Russian Orthodox Church would also be supreme among the people in the newly adjoined territories.

The Orthodox Georgian priest served as the best means to accomplish this aim.

The non-Christian (Muslim) population began using Islam as their tool against Russia's expansion. This medium was used many times in 19th and 20th centuries.

The current situation in the Caucasus, with increasingly religious shape of national struggle of the Caucasians (Chechens, Dagestanis and other Caucasian nations) is a reminder that religious and national relations remain undecided in today's Russian Federation.

Notes

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- 2 Ibid., Ch. 23.
- 3 *Full Collection of Regulations and Decrees concerning to Orthodox Faith of the Russian Empire*, v. II. (Petrograd, 1915). Reg. №1186, October 25, 1784 (in Russian).
- 4 Ibid., Al. Khakhanov, Anniversary of Joining of Georgia to Russia (Legislative documents), p. 116 (in Russian).
- 5 Report of Synod to the Emperor of Russia from 21 June, 1811, p.8 (in Russian).
- 6 *Survey of Activity of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus, 1860 – 1910* (Tiflis, 1910), p. 85 (in Russian).
- 7 Ibid., p.92. For the full version of Bariatinski's report, see pages 91-98); Bishop Kirion, *Short View of the History of Georgian Church and Ekzarkhat for 19th Century* (Tiflis, 1901), pp.106 – 107 (in Russian).
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- 20 Uslar, P. *Abkhazian Language* (Tiflis, 1885) (in Russian).

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- 24 Ibid., p. 51.
- 25 Ibid., p. 69.
- 26 Ibid., p. 77
- 27 Ibid, p. 82.
- 28 *Report of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus for 1885* (Tiflis, 1886), pp. 30 – 31 (in Russian).
- 29 Survey., p. 172.
- 30 Survey., p. 62.
- 31 Survey., p. 64.
- 32 Survey. p. 71.
- 33 Survey., p. 70.
- 34 *Droeba*, no.5, January 30, 1869, p. 1 (in Georgian).
- 35 *Shroma*, no.2, September 2, 1881, p. 4 (in Georgian).
- 36 *From the History of Schools in Abkhazia.*, p. 25.
- 37 *Report for 1885*, pp. 3, 10; Chart of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus, Ch. 2 (in Russian).
- 38 *Report for 1885*, p. 7.
- 39 Ibid., p. 16.
- 40 Ibid., p. 17.
- 41 Ibid., p. 18.
- 42 Ibid., p. 27.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 31-32.
- 44 *Droeba*, no. 67, March 29, 1881, pp. 1-2; *Droeba*, no. 104, May 1881, pp. 1-2; *Droeba*, no. 35, February 15, 1881, p. 1 (in Georgian).
- 45 *Iveria*, no. 100, May 14, 1898, p. 3 (in Georgian).
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- 48 Survey., pp. 145-146.
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- 59 *Kavkazskoe slovo*, no. 210, September 18, 1915, p. 4.
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- 64 *Report for 1896*, Register of the Society's Schools, pp. 62-95.
- 65 Statement of Inspection of the Society's Schools for 1896, pp. 62-102 (in *Report for 1896*).
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- 67 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
- 68 *Report of the Society for Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus for 1906-1907* (Tiflis, 1909), pp. 76-77.
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- 70 *Survey*., pp. 196-197; 199.
- 71 *Survey*., pp. 170-174.
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GEORGIAN SOURCES ON THE IRANIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (1905–1911): SERGO GAMDLISHVILI'S MEMOIRS OF THE GILAN RESISTANCE*

The essay of Sergo Gamdlishvili (1882–1910), a Georgian participant in the Gilan resistance, was published in Tbilisi in February–March 1910. The source focuses on the Gilan resistance and provides insights and interesting details regarding the political attitudes, strategies, and collaboration of the Transcaucasian and Iranian revolutionaries from the end of 1908 through the summer of 1909. The source is also interesting material for studying how the Iranian Constitutional Revolution was seen by its Caucasian participants, what they deemed to be the major peculiarities of the Constitutional Movement in different regions of Iran, and how they saw their role in these events. Vlasa Mgelandze, a Georgian member of the Tabriz constitutional resistance, wrote in 1910 that the Iranian Revolution had brought together people of various nationalities and religions – Iranians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians, Armenians, and Jews – and united them in a struggle for a common goal: the victory of constitutionalism in Iran.¹ One of the striking characteristics of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution was, indeed, the multinational and ideologically diverse composition of its forces. Particularly close was the collaboration between the Iranian resisters and the revolutionaries of neighboring Transcaucasia. An article published in the Iranian newspaper *Musavat* aimed at demonstrating the profound effect that the Iranian Constitutional Movement had on the people of Tbilisi.² Describing his encounter with the locals in Tbilisi, the author of the article emphasizes that both men and women he met in Tbilisi were inspired and affected by the slogans of the constitutionalists.³ There were indeed many in Georgia, especially those involved in revolutionary activities, who deeply and sincerely sympathized with the constitutionalists in Iran.

Georgia, and especially its capital Tbilisi had always had close connections to Iran, and the Iranians constituted one of the most significant and influential members of the Muslim community of the city.⁴ Even after becoming the administrative-political and economic center of the imperial Caucasus, Tbilisi maintained its traditional ties with Iran, especially those in the trade and economic spheres. Even at the height of the First Russo-Persian War, the director of the Russian customs reported that “Persian and other Asian merchants deliver various commodities to Tbilisi, which have a good price there.”⁵ The transformation of Tbilisi into a center for administrative, economic, and, in some respects, religious affairs of Imperial Russian Transcaucasia made it an extremely attractive place for numerous businesses and migrants from the Near East and Europe.⁶ By the beginning of the twentieth century the Iranian community of Tbilisi was continuing to grow. According to the records of the general census, Iranian subjects comprised 52.8 percent of the foreigners in Tbilisi County.⁷ By the beginning of the twentieth century the number of seasonal workers among the Iranian migrants in Georgia, as well as in Transcaucasia in general, was increasing particularly.

Another place of a significant concentration of Iranian immigrants in Transcaucasia was Baku, which had turned into an extremely important economic center in the region.⁸ Large numbers of oil refineries and the rapid development of various industries in Baku attracted Iranian seasonal workers. By 1904, Iranians constituted about 22 percent of all Baku workers.⁹ The increase in the number of immigrants from Iran, particularly from its northern provinces, was a result of the deteriorating economic and social situation in Iran and the subsequent migration of hundreds of thousands of Iranian subjects to parts of the Russian Empire, including, of course, the neighboring Caucasus.¹⁰

From the beginning of the twentieth century the presence of numerous Iranian subjects in Transcaucasia gained an importance related to the development of the Constitutional Movement in Iran, as they became directly involved in promoting political and revolutionary ideas in their motherland and in the development of relations between the Iranian and Transcaucasian revolutionaries. The Iranians working in the Caucasus and traveling between Iran and the Russian Empire became a live and mobile link that connected the Tbilisi,

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Baku, Tabriz, and Rasht revolutionary groups. Speaking of the Iranians residing and working in the Caucasus, a participant of the Gilan resistance, Gurji Sergo, particularly emphasizes their role in involving the Caucasians in the revolutionary resistance in Iran.¹¹ Another insider of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, Sergo Gagoshidze, also underlines the particularly active role of the Iranians of the Caucasus – namely, Iranian merchants in Tbilisi – in recruiting Caucasian volunteers for participation in the resistance in Iran.¹²

Numerous Iranian workers in the Caucasus were in close contact with various worker societies and associations in the area, especially those at the Baku oil refineries and mills. They were connected to and influenced by the local revolutionary groups. Interaction between the social democratic groups in the Caucasus and the Iranian immigrants had been established since the early 1900s. In 1905 the Organization of Social Democrats (*Firqah-i Ijtima'yun-i Amiyun*), whose members were Iranian subjects residing in Transcaucasia, was created in Baku. It had close links to the Baku and Tbilisi branches of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.¹³ By this time, many of the Iranian workers were quite actively involved in the protest strikes and demonstrations in various plants and mills.

Among the biggest strikes of the Iranian migrant workers in the Caucasus were the ones that occurred in 1905 and 1906 on the Alaverdi (in Armenia) copper mines and plant, where about 2,500 Iranian subjects were employed.¹⁴ On 17 March 1905 about 700 Iranian employees brought the plant to a halt. They placed groups around the premises to make sure that work would not resume and sent twenty-eight demands to the local administration of the company.¹⁵ The administration managed to settle the situation, but in 1906 a massive strike occurred again. Events seem to have turned quite violent. The workers forced the police officials out of the plant's territory, "throwing stones" at them.¹⁶ In response, a squadron of Cossacks armed with cannons was sent to the plant, and thus the strike was completely suppressed.¹⁷ The activeness of the Iranian workers in Transcaucasia apparently had become so troublesome for the Russian administration of the region that it started a massive deportation of the Iranian immigrant workers to the Iranian border.¹⁸ The need for labor was so great in Transcaucasia that new groups of workers were constantly arriving from Iran to substitute for those who had left or had been deported. These workers were, certainly, an important and active link in the Iranian–Transcaucasian revolutionary connections at the time as they maintained permanent contact with their native towns in Iran and significantly contributed to the spread of revolutionary ideas from the Caucasus into Iran. Many of these Iranians later returned from the Caucasus to their motherland to participate in the constitutional resistance in Tabriz and in other parts of Iran. It would be fair to say that the Iranian community in Transcaucasia made a rather tangible input into the development of progressive ideas among various social strata of Iran's population (particularly in its northern provinces) as well as in the formation of popular feelings among the Transcaucasians toward the revolutionary developments in Iran.

This shaping of popular opinion in the Caucasus regarding Iran and Russo-Iranian relations was a rather sensitive issue as it was directly connected to the enforcement of Russian influence in the Caucasus and to the political, economic, and cultural integration of the region into the Russian Empire. Naturally, the Russian authorities had launched well-planned and purposeful propaganda to serve Russian imperial interests in the region.¹⁹ As the Constitutional Movement progressed in Iran, measures were taken to shape an image of the Iranian revolutionaries that would justify Tsarist policies in Iran. Printed media were one of the important tools in such an undertaking. The press seems to have had a great impact on the society of the time in Transcaucasia.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Georgia, for example, had very well-developed and diverse printed media, which were an integral and important part of the political and social life of the country. There were numerous newspapers with a wide network of special correspondents in various parts of Georgia as well as abroad. The press was very sensitive and responsive to all major events and political tendencies, not only within the empire and the region but in the world as well. Yet the most important achievement of the Georgian media was, perhaps, the fact that a large part of those media managed to be independent of the official Tsarist political propaganda and even from imperial censorship.²⁰ Many of the Georgian newspapers actively promoted political views that opposed the official Tsarist ideology. The press in Tbilisi played an active role in shaping popular opinion in Georgia regarding the events in Iran and regarding the Iranian constitutional resisters as it introduced to the reader an alternative view of the Iranian Revolution – one that was different from the negative image created by the official Tsarist organs. Newspapers such as *Talgha*, *Isari*, *Amirani*, *Ali*,

Chveni Khma, Imedi, Chveni Azri, Akhali Skhivi, Momavali, Mnatobi, and others provided regular reports on political and military events in Iran. Independent newspapers responded to the Constitutional Movement in Iran with praise, and welcomed its every advance. They offered the reader overviews of the political, economic, and social situation in Iran and analyzed all major domestic and external factors that influenced the emergence of social and political tension and the development of the Constitutional Movement in Iran. The newspapers offered readers information on the negotiations between various groups in the Majlis, and analyses of the processes that preceded the adoption of the constitution. Once the resistance in Tabriz began, they regularly provided reports from the battlefields. The content of these newspapers demonstrates that the Georgian printed media gave the reader rather elaborate and close knowledge of the different aspects of the Iranian Constitutional Movement. Some Tbilisi newspapers even had special correspondents in Iran.

The unremitting attention of the Georgian newspapers toward the Iranian Revolution was really a reflection of how important this revolution was deemed by various political groups in Georgia, Transcaucasia, and generally in the Russian Empire. Political organizations in Transcaucasia kept abreast of the movement in Iran from its early stages. Shortly after the revolt in Tabriz began, the Transcaucasian revolutionaries became particularly active and instrumental in keeping the resistance in Iran alive. The Transcaucasian connection has become recognized by modern researchers and by contemporaries of the events as one of the decisive factors in the progress of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran.²¹ Especially crucial was the help of the Transcaucasians from the time of the revolt in Tabriz. Concerning this issue, C. Chaqueri, for example, concludes that “only the help coming from the Caucasian revolutionary coalition protracted the Tabriz resistance . . . and made the defeat of government forces possible.”²² The activity of the Georgian internationalists was one of the most significant aspects of the Transcaucasian assistance to the Iranian revolution. The revolutionary groups sent by the Tbilisi and Batumi social democratic committees were among the first reinforcement corps that the constitutional resisters in Tabriz and Rasht received from the Caucasus. In fact, not only Tbilisi and Batumi but also political organizations from a number of other cities across Georgia, such as Khashuri and Gori, had responded to the request for assistance coming from Iran and started supporting the resisters in Iranian Azerbaijan and Gilan. Although the organization and delivery of the assistance to the Iranian constitutionalists seems to have been dominated by the social democratic committees, the ideological representation within the Georgian volunteer corps was quite diverse. One of the insiders of the Gilan resistance, Mikheil Bogdanov-Mariashkin, points out that among the members of the corps sent to Iran from Georgia were Menshevik social democrats, Bolsheviks, Esers, and Anarchists.²³ Although an absolute majority of the Georgian corps’ members were ethnic Georgians, there were representatives of other ethnicities from various regions of Georgia, among them Armenians such as Vano Karapetov, Jews such as Bogdanov Mariashkin, and others.²⁴

Assistance to the Iranian resistance was carried out in close cooperation with the Azerbaijani revolutionaries in Baku and with the Iranian Armenian groups. Particularly close and coordinated seems to have been the cooperation between the Tbilisi and Baku social democratic committees, which seems natural as they both were branches of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.²⁵ The Baku committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, founded in 1901, had become very active and influential, especially among the multinational worker associations of the Baku oil refineries, which included immigrant workers from Iran.²⁶ It soon became an important channel through which revolutionist ideas were imported into the northern provinces of Iran. It was also the place from which the illegal social democratic literature published by social democrats in Europe was smuggled into Transcaucasia and then distributed throughout the Russian Empire.²⁷ Since the beginning of the Constitutional resistance in Iran, Baku had become one of the most important support bases for Tabriz and, later, Rasht resistance groups. Throughout the course of the Constitutional Movement, Iranian Azerbaijan and Gilan continued to receive technical, ideological, and tactical support from the Baku revolutionaries. The Baku social democratic and “Himmat” groups had close contacts with their counterparts in Tbilisi.²⁸ In fact, many of the Georgian revolutionaries arrived in Iran not from Tbilisi but from Baku. In 1903, Baku, Tbilisi, and Batumi social democratic committees united into the Caucasian union of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, which facilitated the cooperation. Representatives of the Iranian revolutionaries traveled to Tbilisi on multiple occasions to obtain assistance from there. For example, Iranian revolutionary Kerim Khan visited Tbilisi in order to negotiate details of providing assistance

to the resistance movement in Iran.²⁹ Similar contacts had taken place between the Tbilisi social democratic organization and the Hnchak Party. Raphael Movsessian visited Tbilisi to solicit assistance for constitutionalists in Iran.³⁰ Close collaboration with the Dashnaks is reported after the Transcaucasians arrived in Iran.³¹ A. Japaridze, a participant in the Gilan resistance, points out that the Transcaucasians were instructed by the Baku committee to contact the local Dashnaks upon arrival in Iran. Japaridze goes on to elaborate that the Dashnaks, initially extremely cautious about exposing their members in any way and even reluctant to disclose information about their number and identities to the joint revolutionary committee in Rasht, eventually joined the resisters during the attack on the palace of the governor of Rasht.³²

The correspondence of one of the revolutionary activists in Tabriz characterizes the organization and delivery of assistance from Tbilisi as prompt and effective.³³ Well-prepared and experienced Georgian corps soon became a significant and influential force in the Iranian resistance. Speaking about the arrival of one of the Georgian groups in Tabriz, a contemporary wrote, “[O]ut of these hundred Georgians all were gallant fighters . . . and arrival of these brave men in Tabriz caused a great delight among the *mujahidin*.³⁴ The arrival of the Georgians appeared not to have a purely tactical significance; it also had a great psychological effect. According to another insider of the Tabriz resistance, “when the Georgian Social Democrats’ bombs exploded for the first time at the barricades,” they inspired those hesitating over becoming actively involved in the resistance, and “excited inspiration” in those who were already fighting in it.³⁵ The Georgian organizations seem to have never hesitated about assisting Iranian resisters and made every effort to deliver the help as efficiently as possible.

In order to coordinate relations with the Iranian revolutionaries, the organization in Tbilisi had created a Committee for Assistance to the Persian Revolution. A. Kelenjeridze points out that there were actually two groups in Tbilisi working on providing support to the resisters in Iran: one was directly part of the Tbilisi social democratic committee and the other was a Muslim group connected to the Tbilisi branch of “*Himmat*.³⁶ The gatherings of the committee took place at the property of the Sadikhov brothers, the merchants trading with Persian rugs in Tbilisi.³⁷ S. Gagoshidze names Sadikhov’s rug store as the place where he was brought to one such meeting.³⁸ Such a location would have made the visits of Persian subjects less suspicious. The committee was visited by the representatives of the Iranian resistance groups, who solicited both arms and people.³⁹

Responding to the request of the Tabrizi revolutionaries, the regional social democratic committee in the Caucasus issued an official resolution in which it invited local organizations to collaborate with the Iranian resistance. Vlasa Mgelandze (Tria) points out that the resolution: “1) Suggested the local organization to recruit corps from reliable and experienced workers, 2) Transport them to Persia in separate groups with part of arms . . . available to the organization.”⁴⁰ However, the consent of the Tbilisi and Batumi committees to provide assistance to the resisters in Iran could not have been an easy decision. After the 1905 Russian Revolution, when the Tsarist authorities were severely clamping down on any manifestation of revolutionary activities, the organization was already operating in strict secrecy. Any active cooperation with the Iranian resisters would lead to an even harsher crackdown on the activities of the revolutionary groups in Georgia, while dangerous trips across the border to and from Iran with all necessary ammunition and arms promised casualties among the rank and file, and losses to the resources of the organization. In fact, the Caucasian social democratic organization lost members while trying to deliver help across the border, as it did during the military engagements inside Iran. Nevertheless, it was decided in Tbilisi to carry on the cooperation with the resistance in Tabriz, which was in desperate need of help. Perhaps it was understood in Tbilisi that after the closing of the Parliament in Tehran, Tabriz was the center of the revolution, and the survival of the Tabriz resistance was vital to the survival of the revolutionary spirit and the Constitutional Movement in Iran. Tria’s accounts reveal that the Georgian groups conducted very deliberate and thoughtful preparations to make sure that the help sent to Tabriz and Rasht would make a significant impact on the course of events. He points out that the Tbilisi committee had decided to recruit the corps designated for the Iranian resistance only from “the experienced workers, the best technicians and the reservists who had already completed military service.”⁴¹ Thus, Sergo Gamdishvili, a member of the Gilan resistance, was an experienced field engineer with a record of service on the Manchurian front in the Russo-Japanese campaign, and Sergo Gagoshidze, a participant in the Tabriz

resistance, was a former officer in the Russian Tsarist army and an experienced artilleryman who had fought in the Russo-Japanese War. An insider of the Gilan resistance, M. Bogdanov-Mariashkin, mentions in his memoirs that the corps of “Gurjis” was a serried crew and most of them had by then participated in the Russian Revolution of 1905.⁴² The first big group of Georgian revolutionaries, comprising about 135 men, arrived in Tabriz in a matter of weeks after the events of June 1908.⁴³ Georgian revolutionaries sent similar assistance to Gilan as well. The groups of Transcaucasians that arrived in Rasht in November and December of the same year (1908) consisted mostly of Georgian internationalists.⁴⁴ The groups going to Tabriz would first travel by train to the Iranian border, secretly cross the River Araks, and then walk through hostile territory to Tabriz.⁴⁵ Vasso Khachaturian, an Armenian activist in Tabriz, describes in his letter how difficult and deadly this road was for the Transcaucasians, who had to fight their way through the territory controlled by the royalist khans and often encountered casualties even before they reached Tabriz.⁴⁶ Groups going to Rasht had to follow a different route. This was done in cooperation with the Baku committee. The revolutionaries from Tbilisi and Batumi were first sent to Baku, and from there they would travel by sea to Gilan with false papers.⁴⁷ Apolon (Misha) Japaridze recalls about his travel to Iran:

At first, the Tbilisi committee sent three people at the Baku committee’s command: Sedraka Zaridze, Kako Korinteli, and me. I had a false Armenian name – Mikhail Tratiants from Bayazet. Two days later, we were sent by the Baku committee to Resht on the steamship “Lenkoran.” We had false documents stating that we were workers of the Nobel refinery and had to report to Mamed Baghir, the accountant of the Nobel office, who was in Resht then. Mamed Baghir received us as workers of their office. To him we handed over all we had brought on the steamship, including the weapons ... After that, with every trip of “Lenkoran” 3–5 people would arrive.⁴⁸

While the majority of the Georgian internationalists who went to Iran as representatives of the Georgian revolutionary committees had first to travel from Georgia to Baku, by 1908 many of the Georgians already lived in Baku and arrived in Iran under the auspices of the Azerbaijani (Baku) social democratic committee, not necessarily being part of the Georgian corps. In this regard, one of the participants of the Tabriz resistance relates how a group of about thirty Georgian revolutionaries organized by the Baku social democratic committee left Baku to join the Tabrizi resisters in Iran. He names Vladimer Dumbadze as the commander of the group and Valiko Bakradze, Viktor Nasaridze, Lazare Gachechiladze, and other Georgians as members of this corps.⁴⁹

Newly arrived Transcaucasians were usually accommodated secretly by the local revolutionaries in safe houses. A. Japaridze, for example, appears to have stayed in the place of a “*Himmat*” member after his arrival in Rasht.⁵⁰ The number of Georgians in the resistance – in both Tabriz and Rasht – gradually grew and they soon constituted one of the most important and tactically efficient corps among the revolutionary forces. There were several major reasons why the Georgian groups turned out to be such a deadly enemy even for the regular army regiments of the royalists. First of all, almost all of the Georgian internationalists were experienced in conducting underground revolutionary activities, and many of them had extensive combat experience due to their involvement in the Russo-Japanese War as well as in the Russian Revolution. Vlaza Mgledzé’s accounts demonstrate that all of the Georgians must have been well prepared physically and mentally as fighters.⁵¹ Describing the participation of the Georgian groups in the Tabriz resistance, Kasravi writes that they were experienced fighters who “greatly mastered combat skills and methods of war.”⁵² Another important factor that underlay the tactical efficiency of the Georgian detachments was the wide and skillful use of bombs and grenades which they had brought with them and later even started to produce in Tabriz and Rasht. A. Japaridze mentions in his memoirs that one of the first things he did upon arriving in Rasht was to establish an underground bomb arsenal with the help of Mamed Baghir.⁵³ Speaking of A. Japaridze, Fakhra’i also characterizes him as an exceptional master of making and using bombs.⁵⁴ On many occasions these bombs had swung the course of battle in favor of the revolutionaries. At the same time, the Georgians – like the Transcaucasian detachments generally – were probably the most disciplined and organized groups in Tabriz and Gilan. All these factors made the Georgian corps a great reinforcement for the resisters in Tabriz. They significantly improved the military potential and lifted the morale of the besieged Tabrizi revolutionaries.

The extent of the impact of the Transcaucasian assistance on the resistance in Iran very quickly raised serious concerns among the Russian authorities in the Caucasus. Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Russian

viceroy of the Caucasus, reported to the imperial secretary from his headquarters in Tbilisi the “presence of a significant number of Russian subject Armenians, Georgians and Tatars [i.e. Azerbaijanis] within the borders of Persia . . . where they play the leading role in the disturbances that take place there.”⁵⁵ The Russian authorities in the Caucasus responded by tightening the border and customs control with Iran and enforcing the heavy persecution of individuals suspected of activities related to the Iranian constitutional resistance. Many Transcaucasians trying to enter Iran were arrested and executed, often on the spot, by Russian officials. Despite the preventive measures against smuggling supplies and reinforcements into Iranian Azerbaijan and Gilan, the Transcaucasian assistance to the Iranian constitutionalists was not terminated. The revolutionaries even managed to evacuate wounded fighters from Iran and, after necessary treatment, send them back. For example, Apolon Japaridze, who was heavily wounded in Qazvin and evacuated rejoined the resistance. All efforts were made to maintain the assistance that the Iranian constitutionalists received from Transcaucasia throughout the course of the resistance.⁵⁶

The fact of the active participation of Transcaucasians – and among them Georgians – in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution is reflected in a rather large volume of sources. So far as Georgian sources are concerned, the most commonly used (usually the only Georgian source used) is the report of the Georgian revolutionary Vlaza Mgelandze (Tria), which was dedicated to the contribution of the Caucasians to the Constitutional Revolution in Iran and published in 1910.⁵⁷ That is, however, only a small part of the materials related to the Iranian Constitutional Revolution and the participation of Georgian and Caucasian revolutionaries in it that exist in the Georgian language. These materials consist of letters and reports of Georgian eyewitnesses of the events and, of course, the memoirs of the Georgian members of the resistance, such as the diary of Sergo Gamdlishvili and the memoir of Apolon Japaridze. Because of the numbers and activism of the Georgians involved in both the Tabriz and the Rasht events, these sources address both Azerbaijan and Gilan resistance movements and include reports from other places of Iran as well. Thus, the memoirs of Sergo Gagoshidze, Vlaza Mgelandze, and “Gurji” focus primarily on the Tabriz resistance, while the accounts of Mikheil Bogdanov-Mariashkin, Apolon Japaridze, and Sergo Gamdlishvili mainly address the Gilan resistance.⁵⁸

Besides the memoirs, a significant part of the material may be found dispersed in the Georgian printed media of the time. Many of the major newspapers published in Tbilisi had correspondents working for them in Iran during the revolution. They were with the revolutionaries in the battles of Tabriz, Rasht, and Qazvin, and published their letters and reports, which were indeed first-hand descriptions of the political and military developments in Tabriz and elsewhere in Iran.⁵⁹ Some of these materials have not been thoroughly compiled and published in full even in Georgian. Because of the nature of the Georgian sources, they will be found valuable for the study of various aspects of the development of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. Although the Georgian sources focus primarily on the Transcaucasian involvement in the Revolution, they also provide a large volume of insider accounts of the local revolutionary groups, such as the Tabrizi and Gilani revolutionaries, the Dashnaks, Hnchakists, etc., and their relations and collaboration with each other and with the Transcaucasians.

The letters of Gurji Sergo are among the most voluminous and interesting of the Georgian sources. The peculiarity of this source is that it appears in the form of a diary of a revolutionary written and published just a few months after the end of the events it describes. In this diary, the author uses a chronological sequence and many details to describe the events in which he took part. The narrative was published in the form of series of letters under the title “From the History of the Persian Movement” in the newspaper *Akhali Skhivi* (New Ray) in Tbilisi in 1910. The letters are spread out over several issues of the newspaper starting on 6 February and concluding in the issue of 17 March 1910.⁶⁰ The letters focus closely on the development and the course of the revolutionary resistance in Gilan and its connections with the revolutionary groups inside and outside Iran. The author describes the Gilan events starting from the end of 1908 with the depiction of the continuous arrival of the Transcaucasian revolutionaries in Rasht and continues the story of the Gilani revolutionaries through the summer of 1909.

The editors of the newspaper noted in the introductory remarks that the letters are “a diary of a fighter,” one of the active participants in the Iranian revolution, and that they published the letters without changes.⁶¹ Content analysis and later research work showed that the letters were indeed original recollections of one of those Georgian revolutionaries who traveled to Gilan under the auspices of the assistance rendered by the

Georgian and Azerbaijani revolutionary groups to the Iranian constitutionalists. The letters were published under the pseudonym “Gurji Sergo” (Georgian Sergo). In the editorial remarks, too, the author is mentioned as “Gurji Sergo,” and his real name is never disclosed. The issue of the real identity of the author of the letters later became the subject of a scholarly debate, and it seems that it is Giorgi Chipashvili who made the most compelling and convincing argument in support of his claim that the real author of the source must have been Sergo Gamdlishvili, a Georgian revolutionary and a participant in both Russian and Iranian revolutionary movements.⁶² Sergo Gamdlishvili’s biography was reconstructed on the basis of accounts provided by his brother, Yason Gamdlishvili, also a revolutionary, and on the memoirs and recollections of his comrades-in-arms and relatives.

Despite having rather extensive experience of revolutionary activities, a record of participation in the Russo-Japanese War, a background in journalistic activities and a published memoir, Gurji Sergo turns out to have been a young man whose life was cut short at age 28 when he was executed by the Tsarist authorities. Sergo was born in the village of Avlevi of the Tbilisi *gubernya* (modern-day Kareli County in Georgia) on 15 February 1882.⁶³ After graduating from a civil college and the Tbilisi Technical Institute of Communications, he worked for a while at the local communications office. From there he was drafted into the Russian Tsarist army. Sergo first served in Odessa (in Ukraine) and then in the Ryazan *gubernya* of Russia. It was during his service in the army that Sergo became imbued with the revolutionary and anti-Tsarist ideas then rather common among the rank and file of the Russian Tsarist army.⁶⁴ He became inspired by them for the rest of his life. His military experience and skills as a field engineer grew during his service on the Manchurian front of the Russo-Japanese War.⁶⁵ The horrors of war and the impotence of the Tsarist regime revealed by the Russo-Japanese campaign of 1904–1905 must have made Sergo’s anti-Tsarist convictions rather deep by then, as he, like many of his fellow soldiers, left the army and from the front line went directly to Moscow to participate in the revolutionary movement. During the December 1905 uprising, Sergo actively participated in the street skirmishes in Moscow.⁶⁶ In January 1906 he returned to his native Avlevi in Georgia. He was about 24 years old by then had brought from Moscow his hat, which was shot through in several places.⁶⁷

Sergo’s return to Georgia marked a new stage in his activities. In his native village he regularly organized underground discussions with the locals, in which he popularized anti-Tsarist political ideas and views. Apparently, the scale of his activities became rather extensive, as it came to the attention of the local authorities and eventually provoked their strict reaction. A detachment of Cossacks was sent to suppress anti-Tsarist propaganda in the area and to arrest Sergo Gamdlishvili at one of the gatherings. Sergo, however, resisted arrest and managed to flee.⁶⁸ He left his hometown and, hoping to avoid gendarmerie operatives in a big city, moved to Tbilisi. Here he intended to start working at the Tbilisi Postal Department, but the administration, suspicious of his revolutionary background and in order to keep Gamdlishvili away from Tbilisi, assigned him to the Baku Telegraph Office. His record of participation in the Russo-Japanese War probably saved him from being denied a job altogether. By the time Sergo arrived in Baku, there were many Georgians there. A significant number of the Georgian workers employed in the oil industry were working in the “Tiflis Oil Society” at the oil refineries of Bibi-Eybat.⁶⁹ At the same time, there were Georgian revolutionaries in the Baku social democratic group, which closely collaborated with the Tbilisi and Batumi social democratic groups. This must have allowed Sergo Gamdlishvili to integrate well in the local environment. After his arrival in Baku, Sergo became involved in the dissemination of anti-Tsarist propaganda among the oil refinery workers.⁷⁰

Once again he became the object of the authorities’ attention, which eventually led to his arrest by the gendarmerie. In February 1908, Sergo was indicted and sent into exile for his anti-Tsarist propaganda.⁷¹ He was sent away from the Caucasus to the Olonets *guberniya* in northwestern Russia. Gamdlishvili escaped from exile several months later, returned to Baku, and settled there. He continued to collaborate with the social democrats in Baku. Soon, in view of the developments in Iran, he, like many other Transcaucasian revolutionaries, was sent to the Gilan province of Iran by the social democratic committee of Baku. He arrived in Rasht at the end of 1908.⁷² An insider of the Gilan resistance recalls Sergo Gamdlishvili’s arrival: “[W]ith every trip of ‘Lenkoran’ 3–5 people would arrive. With the very first trip . . . there arrived Sergo Gamdlishvili, a Georgian . . . who worked at the Baku communication office; immediately upon his arrival, he was named Gurji Sergo.”⁷³

This turn in Sergo's life put him in the midst of war again. With his military experience and the skills of a field engineer, Sergo became an active member of the resistance. In February 1909, with the members of the group of Georgian revolutionaries led by Valiko Gurji, he participated in the constitutionalists' attack on the palace of the governor of Gilan and the takeover of Rasht.⁷⁴ Afterwards, Gurji Sergo participated actively in the operations in Manjil, Rudbar, and Yuzbashchai, and the march on Qazvin. It appears that he was also known to his comrades as a journalist. One of Sergo Gamdlishvili's fellow revolutionaries mentions in his memoirs that "Sergo Gurji time to time submitted contributions to the newspaper *Russkoe Slovo*.⁷⁵ Another contemporary, speaking of Sergo's journalistic background, notes, "I remember him after the takeover of Resht. He approached us as a correspondent of some newspapers . . . Introduced himself as a former post office worker and a correspondent."⁷⁶ Characterizing Sergo Gamdlishvili's personality, Bogdanov-Mariashkin describes him as an extremely cheerful and brave person with an inquiring mind. He also mentions that Sergo "always spoke with fascination about the natural beauty of his country, its arts, literature and poetry."⁷⁷ Sergo Gamdlishvili's collaboration with *Russkoe Slovo* is attested to in his memoir as well, in which the author mentions Aik Ter-Oganian and O. Krinskyi, the correspondents of *Russkoe Slovo*.⁷⁸ Sergo's most important written work, however, is "From the History of the Persian Movement," based on his war diary.

After the completion of the Tehran campaign, Gurji Sergo remained in Iran for a period of time. At the beginning of the fall of 1909, he returned to Baku. From there, Sergo Gamdlishvili soon arrived in Tbilisi. Friends and the family of Sergo recall that in Tbilisi he lived in the house of a close relative, Megrelishvili, where he hid from the Tsarist gendarmerie, spending most of the time writing in his room. From Tbilisi, Gurji Sergo left for Russia, but was captured by the gendarmerie and put in prison in Ekaterinograd. In November 1910, Sergo Gamdlishvili was executed.⁷⁹

It was after his return from Baku to Tbilisi that Sergo Gamdlishvili wrote "From the History of the Persian Movement" and, in February–March 1910, published it in the Tbilisi newspaper *Akhali Shkivi*. He signed the letters using his revolutionary alias, "Gurji Sergo," probably to avoid arrest by the Tbilisi gendarmerie, but by doing so he also confused later scholars. Initially the authorship of the memoir was attributed to Sergo (Grigorii) Orjonikidze, a Georgian revolutionary, one of the prominent activists of the Russian revolutionary groups and, later, of the Communist Party.⁸⁰ The confusion is easily understandable. Indeed, both Sergos were in Iran working closely with the constitutionalists in the same province of Gilan, both of them were known as "Gurji Sergo," both of them had a background in journalistic work, and both had their letters published in newspapers.⁸¹ Even their biographies were somewhat alike: both were revolutionaries, both were arrested by the Tsarist authorities, both were sent to exile in Russia, and, eventually, both escaped from exile and arrived in the same place – Baku. But analyses of the biographical accounts of the two individuals and of the memoirs of their contemporaries show that the author of the letters published in 1910 in Tbilisi must have been Sergo Gamdlishvili.⁸²

The work represents an interesting source for the study of the revolution. It focuses specifically on the Gilan resistance. The author addresses in particular the Transcaucasian ties of the Gilan revolution and, with many interesting details, describes the activities of the representatives of different nations who arrived in Rasht to support the Constitutional Movement. The author starts with the description of the difficulties that the newly arrived and the local revolutionaries faced trying to accommodate safely the Transcaucasians in Rasht. He recalls that at first the Transcaucasian revolutionaries lived dispersed in various safe places, and some of them had no contact with the others.⁸³

The author proceeds with the details of the preparations for the takeover of the city by the constitutionalists. He notes that the amount of bombs and arms available to the resisters in Rasht was not sufficient, and in order to create the necessary amount of ammunition, the Transcaucasians in Rasht "were making bombs daily and nightly." He also relates how the secret laboratory of arms located on the upper floor of Mu'iz al-Sultan's house exploded one day, which put the whole resistance in Gilan in danger of a major failure.⁸⁴ A. Japaridze and M. Bogdanov-Mariashkin provide almost identical descriptions of this accident, but with fewer details.⁸⁵ As the takeover of Rasht was a key moment in the Gilan resistance, Sergo Gamdlishvili relates in detail the attack on the governor's palace and his mansion just outside of Rasht, and depicts the participation and role of various revolutionary groups in its realization. He even points out the number of people involved and types of weapons available to the revolutionaries at that time:

On January 26 [i.e. in February – the author uses the old calendar in his narrative] at 8 o'clock everybody was up. The arms were distributed . . . It was one o'clock when Mirza Mamed Khan, pale from anxiety, rushed into the room of the revolutionaries, and exclaimed with trembling voice: "The governor of Resht went to the suburban garden 'Baghe Mudirieh.' He is accompanied by just four or five guards . . . It's time." . . . Everyone's ears pricked up on hearing these words. Everyone knew well what the words "It's time" meant. After voting, seven men got ready to attack the governor . . . The others were ready too.⁸⁶

Following the success in Rasht, the Georgian revolutionaries were instrumental in the operations in Manjil, Rudbar, Yuzbashchay, Pachinar, Ambu, etc., and the takeover of Qazvin, which are described in the memoir. Although the author focuses primarily on the Transcaucasian, and especially Georgian, connections of the Gilan resistance, he also reflects on the political attitudes and the strategies of other revolutionary groups in Gilan: the local revolutionaries, the Tabrizi representatives sent by Sattar Khan to support the Rasht resistance, Sepahdar's followers, Dashnaks. He provides insights into the relations among these groups as well as into their cooperation with the Transcaucasians in Iran and in the Caucasus. For example, the author relates how arms and resources sent from the Caucasus were distributed by the committee in Rasht and how Mirza Kerim Khan traveled to Baku to purchase arms with 7,000 rubles designated for this purpose by the revolutionary committee.⁸⁷ He describes the meetings and negotiations held between the various groups participating in the resistance in Rasht and elaborates on the development of political and ideological differences between these groups. For example, Gamdlishvili describes the meeting held between the resisters at the beginning of February 1909 to discuss the plan for the attack on the governor. Although differences in views regarding the appropriate military strategy and political priorities of the resistance became particularly apparent at this meeting, the takeover of Rasht was executed with the participation of all groups.⁸⁸

The author continues with a narrative describing the Gilani corps joining with the Bakhtiari forces, the united march on Tehran, the battles in the streets of Tehran, and the establishment of control of the capital city by the constitutionalists.

The author draws personal and political portraits of Sepahdar, Yephrem Khan, Panov, and other personalities of the resistance whom he had met and known in Iran. For example, Gamdlishvili describes a meeting that took place between Sepahdar and the representatives of the Georgian corps in which the author participated.⁸⁹ Throughout the narrative, Gurji Sergo names many Iranian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Russian, and Jewish revolutionaries who arrived in Gilan to support the constitutionalist movement.

Although this memoir contains a large volume of factual material, it is more than a simple chronology of facts. The narrative starts with an analysis of the political, economic, and social situation in Iran, the impact of external and internal factors on its current situation, and the differences between the revolutionary movements in Gilan on the one hand and Iranian Azerbaijan on the other hand. In the very first part of the letters, the author makes his point about the Constitutional Revolution in Iran as a true effort by its people to determine Iran's future and bring freedom to the country. He believes that it is of crucial importance to prolong the resistance in Tabriz by all means, for if the royalists crush the resistance, it will take decades to bring about another revolution.⁹⁰ The words of the author reveal that, for him, Tabriz is a real model of how the people and political organizations of Iran should defend their rights in the given situation. He speaks with praise and great sympathy about the persistent fight of the Tabrizi resisters to save "long-suffering Iran."⁹¹ Subsequently, the author seems to be a little surprised and even disappointed with the significantly smaller scale of revolutionary activities in Gilan which he witnesses at the time of his arrival in Iran: "While Azerbaijan together with Tabriz has been waging a bloody war . . . for almost a year; while Azerbaijan keeps hoping that the rest of Persia will follow their example . . . the rest of Persia . . . seems not to be concerned with Azerbaijan's situation."⁹² Elaborating on the peculiarities of the movements in Azerbaijan and Gilan, the author argues that, unlike the Tabriz revolution, which was of an actual popular nature and was driven mostly by dedicated popular representatives, the movement in Gilan was shaped under the great influence of local khans, various activists, and groups with their own priorities and agendas, which prevented the movement from developing as rapidly and extensively as it did in Azerbaijan.⁹³ The words of the author also reveal a certain degree of disappointment with the outcome of the revolution, as he, like many social democrats, believed that the manner in which the distribution of power in the revolutionary government had occurred and the compromises made to the royalists were deviations from the ultimate goal of the revolution.⁹⁴ This part of the letters is invaluable

for the study of the outlook of political organizations in the Russian Empire of the time on the revolutionary movement in Iran.

The essay is definitely one of the earliest sources written and published by an immediate participant in the revolution. The author started to write it immediately after his return from Iran, following closely in the tracks of the battles and other events he describes. It was published just a few months after the chronological end of the narrative. One especial value of the source is that it avoided the Tsarist censorship as well as later political editing by the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. That is why the source presents a lively and sincere account by an insider of the revolution that reflects the spirit and soul of the events. The language of the narrative is straightforward and unambiguous about the author's feelings and beliefs.

One of the noticeable characteristics marking Gurji Sergo's letters is the author's desire to convey feelings of solidarity toward the Iranian constitutionalists and the Iranian people. The author writes in his letters that "the plight, devoted and selfless struggle, and the hardship of Tavriz ignites a flame of sympathies and simple human solidarity in the Caucasians" and urges them "to agree to go to Iran on the very first request."⁹⁵ Speaking about the reaction of the Caucasians to the call from Iran to "participate in the movement and help out Satar-khan," the author writes that "many Caucasians immediately went to Tavriz, Resht and gave up their lives for the movement."⁹⁶ Gurji Sergo's words are echoed in A. Kasravi's description of the atmosphere of solidarity and consideration between the Iranian and the Caucasian *mujahidin*. A. Kasravi emphasizes that although "the *mujahidin* corps . . . were composed of the representatives of the Iranian and Caucasian – the Georgian and Armenian – countrymen, [they] treated each other in a spirit of fraternity and respect."⁹⁷ Relations were at times rather strained, however, as revealed by the accounts of Gurji Sergo.⁹⁸

Analysis of Gurji Sergo's letters makes it obvious that the Georgian revolutionaries must have been very well aware of the political, social, and international importance of the Iranian Revolution. They seem to have been well prepared ideologically by their committees and to have had a clear idea of why they were in Iran, what they were to do, and until when they should be involved in the events there. Gurji Sergo's accounts suggest that the Georgian revolutionaries in Gilan believed that the Caucasians ought to remain in Iran only as long as their stay was deemed necessary by the local revolutionaries.⁹⁹ Thus, the author of the letters claims that at one point after the takeover of Rasht, the Georgian resisters asked the local *anjoman* to make an official and unambiguous statement clarifying whether further help of the Georgian corps to the movement was needed, as otherwise the *Gurjis* would return to their motherland.¹⁰⁰ Generally, it appears from the diary that the Georgian corps in Gilan tried to act with all possible cautiousness and consideration of possible consequences of their activities. After the takeover of Rasht, the joint revolutionary forces launched searches and arrests of the reactionaries in the town, but the Georgian corps refused to participate in the searches of the houses, arrests, street patrolling, or any other punitive actions, as they believed that such actions on the part of foreigners might have undesirable and negative consequence.¹⁰¹

A similar position is reflected in the memoirs of Vlasa Mgelandze, who saw it as irrelevant to the nature and purpose of the Georgian detachments' presence in Iran to get involved in administrative and political institutions in Iran after the victory of the constitutionalists. He called it a mistake when other revolutionaries accepted positions in the newly formed local authorities. Indeed, after the takeover of Tehran and subsequent formation of the new government, some of the revolutionary activists, leaders, and field generals, including several Georgians, were offered positions in the new administrative institutions. A resolution adopted in Tabriz by the members of the Georgian corps reflected their official position regarding this matter. The resolution stated:

[We] the Georgians who fought in the Persian revolution consider our mission completed from the day of the adoption [i.e. restoration] of the Constitution. Now the Persians have their own road, and, in order to not complicate their affairs by our presence here, we leave Persia . . . None of our current members will intervene nor participate in the internal affairs of Persia.¹⁰²

It appears, however, that the withdrawal of the *Gurjis* from Iran was not completely voluntary, and one of the complications that Mgelandze is speaking about might have been related to the occupation of Tabriz by the Russian army. The Russian military demanded that the Tabrizi *mujahidin* stop harboring the Caucasian revolutionaries and threatened to take punitive measures against Sattar Khan's fighters if the *mujahidin* did not comply. Another insider of the resistance, M. Bogdanov-Mariashkin, points out that the Tabrizi *mujahidin*

were forced by the circumstances to comply with the Russians' demands, and thus the Georgian revolutionaries had to leave Iran so they would not become a reason for direct military conflict between the Russian forces and the Iranian revolutionary fighters in the town.¹⁰³

The multinational and ideologically diverse composition of the revolutionary forces was one of the striking characteristics of the Iranian constitutional resistance. Therefore, without a thorough and comprehensive study of all aspects of the Transcaucasian contribution to the movement, the history of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution will not be complete. In 1910, Sergo Gamdlishvili wrote in his memoir, "All the torment, suffering and hardship that the Caucasians and among them the Georgians went through in Persia will be recognized by the history of the Persian Revolution, if it is ever written."¹⁰⁴ The work of this revolutionary provides interesting, vivid, and first-hand material for the writing of that history.

Notes

- 1 Vlasa Mgelandze (Tria) (1868–1944) was a Georgian revolutionary, a participant in the Russian Revolution and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. In 1918–1921 he was a member of the (Menshevik) government of the independent Georgian Republic. In 1921, after the Soviet occupation of Georgia, he emigrated to France. His report *Kavkazskie sotsial-demokraty v persidskoi revoliutsii* was published in Russian in Paris in 1910. In 1911 the report was published again in Paris under the title 'La Caucase et la révolution persane', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, vol. 13 (Paris, 1911; Nedeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint 1974), pp. 324–333.
- 2 The article was included by Amirkhizi in his book and entitled 'Ehsasat-I Chand Nafar Gurji, Naql az Jaride-yi Musavat Tabriz', in Ismail Amirkhizi, *Qiyame Azarbayan va Sattar Khan* (Tehran, 1379), pp. 285–286. The newspaper *Musavat* began publication on 3 October 1907 and was edited by Muhammad Riza Musavat, a member of the National Revolutionary Committee. The newspaper published statements of the *Anjoman of mujahidin* and articles highly critical of the shah, for which Musavat was persecuted. Publication of the newspaper stopped after its editor was elected to the second Majlis.
- 3 The author of the article dedicated particular attention to depicting a local woman who was determined to join her husband and enroll in the Iranian resistance to support the constitutionalists. Interestingly, there was indeed a woman revolutionary among the Georgian volunteers in Iran. Gulchina Lortkipanidze (1881–1918), also known to comrades as Leila, was born in the village of Akhalbediseuli in western Georgia. She went to Iran as a volunteer from the Batumi social democratic organization. She is characterized by fellow revolutionaries as a very brave and strong woman. After returning from Iran, she was arrested and sent into exile in Russia; see Anton Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi* (Tbilisi, 1975), pp. 122–123.
- 4 An interesting characteristic of Tbilisi was that while always being in the vanguard of Georgia's aspirations for independence from its powerful Muslim neighbors, the city invariably embraced its cultural and economic ties with the Near East. Predominantly Christian, but traditionally multiconfessional and always very tolerant, Tbilisi provided a favorable environment for the development of other religious communities, including, of course, the Muslims. Both the Shiite and the Sunni communities had their own religious leaders and mosques in the city (currently only one mosque functions in Tbilisi). The Persian and Arabic languages were taught in the Muslim school of Tbilisi, which still functioned in the early twentieth century. As for the correlation of the Shiites and Sunnis, it changed throughout the centuries; see Iago Gocheleishvili, 'On the Interconfessional Relations in Nineteenth-century Tbilisi', unpublished conference paper presented at La Tiflis dell'Ottocento: Storia e Cultura, Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, June 2003. Under Russian Tsarist rule, when the Muslim religious institutions in Transcaucasia were subject to the state, the Sunnis and Shiites had two separate administrative bodies in Transcaucasia. Both of them were located in Tbilisi; see M. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909* (New York, 1991), p. 73.
- 5 Nougzar Ter-Oganov, "Évocation de Tiflis pas deux auteurs iraniens: Madjd os-Saltaneh et Yahya

Dowlatabadi,” in *La Géorgie entre Perse et Europe*, sous la direction de Florence Hellot-Bellier et Irène Natchkebia (Paris, 2006), p. 264.

- 6 After the incorporation of Georgia into the Russian Empire, with reduced customs tariffs, European businesses saw Tbilisi as the most important base for intrusion into the Iranian market. Especially active were the French, who regarded Tbilisi as a main road for French goods to reach Iran, bypassing Turkey; see George Sanikidze, “Tbilisi: A Transit Road for the European Goods in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (according to French Sources)”, *Tbilisi in the Nineteenth Century: History and Culture: Round Table* (Tbilisi, 2002), pp. 25–26.
- 7 The census was carried out in 1897 as part of the general census in the Russian Empire; see Ter-Oganov, “Évocation de Tiflis pas deux auteurs iraniens,” p. 210.
- 8 The importance of Baku in the Caucasus and the influence of the Baku oil industry on the economy of the Russian Empire is vividly reflected in the words of the minister of trade and industry of the Russian Empire, who stated once that “Baku is somewhat like a button of an electric bell; once some circumstances press on it, the alarm spreads throughout the whole Russia”; see Prokopii Aprasiorovich Dzhaparidze, *Izbrannye stat'i, rechi i pis'ma, 1905–1918 gg.* (Moscow, 1958), p. 71. The statement was made with regard to the frequent strikes of workers, decrease of oil production in Baku, and subsequent increase of oil prices in the Russian Empire.
- 9 A. Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalista* (Tbilisi: Merani, 1969), p. 5.
- 10 By the turn of the twentieth century there were an estimated 100,000 Iranian subjects in the Russian Empire. They were traveling to various places in the Russian Empire: the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Volga and Don regions, etc. By 1913 the estimated number was already about 500,000. The majority of them were peasants and workers; see Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906–1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, and the Origins of Feminism* (New York, 1996), p. 22; Giorgi Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili (Sergo Gurji) da Misi Iranuli Dghurebi* (Tbilisi, 1983), p. 6. On the migration of the Iranians to the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Russia, also see Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-I Bidari-yi Iranian* (Tehran, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 105–106.
- 11 *Akhali Skhivi* 3, 6 February 1910.
- 12 In his memoirs, Sergo Gagoshidze describes one of the meetings held by the Iranian merchants in Tbilisi for the purpose of organizing the assistance to the Iranian constitutionalists at which he, Gagoshidze, was recruited; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, pp. 49–50. Sergo Gagoshidze (d.1968) was a Georgian revolutionary and a participant in the Tabriz resistance. Before leaving the Russian Tsarist army he served as an assistant commander of the artillery company in Fort Stepanovka in western Georgia. He traveled to Iran from Tbilisi and joined the Tabriz resistance. After returning to Georgia he barely avoided arrest by the Tsarist police for his participation in the events in Iran; see *ibid.*, pp. 123, 47, 61–62. See “Sergo Gagoshidze’s memoir,” *ibid.*, pp. 47–63.
- 13 Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 81.
- 14 The Alaverdi copper plant was the property of a French company, and its main office was located in Paris. The majority of the workers at the plants and the mines were Iranians, mostly from Iranian Azerbaijan. There were also a reported 500 Greek, 300 Armenian, and 200 Ossetian and Georgian workers. The total number of workers at this plant was estimated at 4,000; see S. M. Aliev, “K voprosu o sviaziakh Bakinskogo i Tiflisskogo komitetov RSDRP s iranskimi revoliutsionerami v 1903–1905 gg.,” in A. N. Guliev (ed.), *Slavnye stranitsy bor'by i pobedy* (Baku, 1965), p. 194.
- 15 Demands included a 20 percent pay rise, introduction of a seven-hour working day, etc.; see *ibid.*, p. 195.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 196
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 After the strike, all Iranian protesters were placed in cargo cars and sent by train to the Iranian border. See *ibid.*; see also Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 22.
- 19 The Russian authorities used the press as a propaganda tool from the very beginning of their political domination in the region. Subscription – sometimes compulsory – to the Russian newspapers in Georgia was enforced, along with prohibition of the use of the Georgian language in the

educational institutions of the country. This tactic, however, did not succeed, as the local population appeared neglectful of the Russian press. This was followed by an initiative to publish official imperial newspapers in Georgian, but this initiative soon failed as well. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Georgian press was dominated by newspapers published by local organizations in the Georgian language.

- 20 Thus, even the first pro-government newspaper of Tbilisi started to release its issues ignoring the official censorship requirements established for all printed media in the Russian Empire. The editors in Tbilisi had not even notified the censorship and police ministries about the founding of a new newspaper until after the first issues were published; see Iago Gocheleishvili, "First Georgian Newspaper – *Sakartvelos Gazeti*," *Perspective 4* (Tbilisi, 2002), p. 46. Even within the non-government press there were many different newspapers of various political orientations and ideologies; see Lela Bendianishvili, "Iranis 1905–1911 ts. Burzhuaziuldemokratiuli Revolutsia da Kartuli Demokratiuli Presa," *Sakartvelos Metsnierebata Akademiis Matsne*, vol. 3 (Tbilisi, 1989), p. 101.
- 21 Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 237; Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution*, p. 252; Houri Berberian, *Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911: The Love for Freedom Has No Fatherland* (Boulder, CO, 2001), pp. 142–143; Cosroe Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran: The Paradoxical Role of a Minority in a Dominant Culture* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 89, 103; Arsen Guidor, "The Hnchakist Party and the Revolutionary Movement in Persia (1908–1911)," in Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran*, pp. 303–304; "Vasso A. Khachaturian to Georgi V. Plekhanov (November 1908)," in Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran*, pp. 325; and Archavir Tchilinkirian, "Persian Revolution (1909–1910)," in Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran*, p. 233. About the arrival of the Transcaucasian revolutionaries in Tabriz, see also Mohammad Baghir Vijuyah, *Tarikh-i Inqilab-I Azarbayan va Balva-yi Tabriz* (Tehran, 1976), p. 116.
- 22 Chaqueri, ed., *The Armenians of Iran*, p. 89.
- 23 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, 26. Mikhail Bogdanov-Mariashkin (revolutionary nickname Misha-Uria) was a Jewish revolutionary, a member of the Georgian volunteer corps in Gilan. He was born in 1889 in Tbilisi. He became actively involved in revolutionary activities in Georgia in 1904. In 1906 he emigrated to New York but soon returned to Tbilisi. In 1908, together with a group of Georgian revolutionaries, he went to Gilan. Bogdanov-Mariashkin initially was an "Eser" (i.e. a member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party) and went to Iran together with fellow Esers. He survived the revolution in Iran and eventually settled in Moscow; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, pp. 103–104. See "M Bogdanov-Mariashkin's memoir" in A. Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, pp. 27–62. Grigol (Grisha) Emkhvari (Emukhvaria) (1887–1908) was another Eser from Georgia who participated in the Tabriz resistance. He was born in western Georgia to a family of local nobility. He studied at the Tbilisi Gymnasium and then left for Russia – first to St. Petersburg and then to Novosibirsk – to continue his studies. During his studies at university he renounced his nobility privileges, joined the revolutionaries, and, in 1908, went to Iran to join the constitutional resistance. He was killed in combat in Tabriz at age 21; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 78.
- 24 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 24. Vano Karapetov (1883–1943) was an Armenian revolutionary, a member of the *Gurji* corps in Iran. He was a native of Akhaltsikhe in southern Georgia. He became actively involved in revolutionary activities in early 1900. In 1906 he joined the Bolsheviks. In 1908 he went to Iran together with Georgian volunteers. He survived the revolution in Iran, returned to Tbilisi, and continued collaboration with the Bolsheviks. In 1918–1921 he fought against the government of the Georgian Republic and was among the creators of the Red Guard corps in Georgia, for which he was deported from the country. In 1921 he returned to Tbilisi with the Red Army and settled there.
- 25 Although the Tbilisi, Batumi, and Baku social democratic organizations consisted of the local social democrats and their cells, they were coordinated by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) and constituted its branches. However, a faction within the Georgian social democrats led by N. Zhordania – leader of the Georgian Mensheviks and later head of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921) – posed and actively promoted the idea of granting the

Caucasian social democratic organizations autonomy from the RSDLP, as he believed that doing so would create an opportunity to address adequately the peculiarities and specifics of the local political and social environment in the Caucasus. Generally, after the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903, the latter were very strong in Georgia.

Concerning connections between the Tbilisi and Baku social democratic groups, see Aliev, “K voprosu o sviaziakh Bakinskogo i Tiflisskogo komitetov RSDRP s iranskimi revoliutsionerami,” pp. 189–213. Many Georgian social democrats, such as A. Enukidze, I. Sturua, and I. Bolkvadze, worked in Baku and were members of the Baku social democratic committee. In 1901 the Baku social democratic committee started publication of its newspaper’s Georgian version – *Brdzola*; see N. V. Makharadze, “Iskrovskie organizatsii v Gruzii v period II Sezda RSDRP” in Guliev, ed., *Slavnye stranitsy bor’by i pobed*, p. 154.

- 26 M. S. Iskanderov, “Bakinskaia partiinaia organizatsia,” in Guliev (ed.), *Slavnye stranitsy bor’by i pobed*, p. 122; Aliev, “K voprosu o sviaziakh Bakinskogo i Tiflisskogo komitetov RSDRP s iranskimi revoliutsionerami,” p. 193.
- 27 Because of the persecution by the Tsarist secret services, a large volume of social democratic literature designated for Russia was published by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and its affiliates in various places in Europe. It was then transported to Iran and from there secretly taken by the revolutionaries across the border to Baku.
- 28 “*Himmat*” was established in Baku in 1904 and was active among the Muslim nationalities of the region. It was affiliated with the Baku committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and had branches in Tbilisi, Ganjah, and other cities in Transcaucasia; see Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 81.
- 29 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 41.
- 30 Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 238.
- 31 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 24; “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” in Giorgi Chipashvili, V. I. Lenini da iraneli khalkhis ganmantavisuplebeli brdzola (Tbilisi, 1970), p. 89. Dashnaksutun (*Hay Heghapokhakan Dashnaksutun* – the Armenian Revolutionary Federation) was founded in Tbilisi in 1890. The military corps of the Dashnaks was mostly made up of Armenian Russian subjects, and from its base in the Caucasus it carried out paramilitary expeditions to the Armenian-populated parts of Ottoman Turkey. Many of these Dashnak operatives were arrested by the Russian authorities and sent to exile in Russia. Some of those who managed to escape from exile settled in Iran. Dashnaks in Iran eventually joined the constitutional resisters and played a prominent role in the revolution in Iran. The Caucasian background, exile in Russia, and escape to Iran of their military leader in Iran, Yeprem Khan, are described by Andre Amuriyan, *Hamasah-i Yiprim* (Tehran, 1976).
- 32 “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” p. 89. Apolon Japaridze was a Georgian revolutionary, a participant in the Gilan resistance. His alias was Mikhail (Misha) Tratiants, although he used various identities throughout his revolutionary activities. Japaridze was born in 1888 in the Racha province of Georgia to a family of local nobility. In 1905 he joined the Social Democratic Party in Tbilisi. In 1908, together with other Georgian revolutionaries, he went to Gilan to participate in the resistance. He was wounded three times during the battles in Iran. Japaridze survived the revolution in Iran and, after returning to Georgia, settled in Tbilisi. Bogdanov-Mariashkin characterizes him as a very reliable and very humble person, because of which his comrades in the resistance called him “Patara Misha” (Georgian for “Little Misha”); see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 72. Japaridze’s Iranian memoirs were published in Georgian as an addendum to Chipashvili, V. I. Lenini da iraneli khalkhis ganmantavisuplebeli brdzola, pp. 89–98.
- 33 “Vasso A. Khachaturian to Georgi V. Plekhanov,” p. 324.
- 34 Ahmad Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran* (Tehran, 1939), p. 179.
- 35 Tchilinkirian, “Persian Revolution (1909–1910),” p. 233.
- 36 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 20.
- 37 Sergo Gagoshidze relates in his memoirs about one of the meetings that took place at this house;

- see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 49. The place was located in the “Tatar market square” of Tbilisi, on what today is Leselidze Street.
- 38 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 49.
- 39 Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 238; Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 41.
- 40 Tria, *Kavkazskie sotsial-demokraty v persidskoi revoliutsii*, pp. 9–10.
- 41 Ibid., p. 10.
- 42 Kelejeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 24.
- 43 Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 238; Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 9.
- 44 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoiidan,” *Akhali Skhivi* 3, 6 February (Tbilisi, 1910).
- 45 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 9.
- 46 “Vasso A. Khachaturian to Georgi V. Plekhanov,” p. 325.
- 47 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 42.
- 48 “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” p. 90. Giorgi Zaridze (alias Sedraka) was a Georgian revolutionary originally from the village of Shindisi (or nearby Tabakhmela) in eastern Georgia. A. Japaridze, who knew him personally, describes Giorgi as a tall and hefty man with a big moustache. Giorgi worked as a metalworker at the Tbilisi water-supply company; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 137. Kako Korinteli was a Georgian revolutionary, a native of Tbilisi. He was a young man of medium stature and worked as a metalworker in Tbilisi. Both Korinteli and Zaridze were sent by the Tbilisi social democratic committee to Baku and Gilan to coordinate the delivery of assistance to the Iranian resisters. Both were executed by the Tsarist authorities in 1910.
- 49 Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalista*, p. 12. Vladimer (Lado) Dumbadze was a Georgian revolutionary, a participant in the Tabriz resistance. He was born in the 1880s in the village of Shemokmedi in Guria (western Georgia) to a family of local nobility. After graduating from the Kutaisi Gymnasium, he became involved in anti-Tsarist activities. He participated in the local resistance groups that fought against the Russian punitive expedition in Georgia. He was involved in the production of bombs and explosives in underground laboratories. From Georgia, Dumbadze moved to Baku and from there went to Iran. He was killed in combat near Tabriz at the age of 24 and was buried at the Armenian Church in Tabriz, where the Georgian revolutionaries had their “fraternal” graveyard; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 81. Valiko Bakradze alias “Zhelezny,” meaning “Ironman” in Russian was a Georgian revolutionary born in 1886, a participant in the Tabriz resistance. He was a native of the village of Darkveti in western Georgia. In 1906 he was living in Baku and from there went to Iran to join the Tabriz resistance. Bakradze was killed in combat near Tabriz in 1908 at the age of 22 and was buried in the Georgians’ fraternal graveyard at the Armenian Church in Tabriz; see Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalista*, p. 11; *Gurjebi*, p. 73). Viktor Nasaridze (1885–1951) was a Georgian revolutionary, a participant in the Tabriz resistance. He was a native of the village of Krikhi in Ambrolauri County in western Georgia. Nasaridze was skilled in making bombs and explosives, and participated in underground activities in Tbilisi. In 1908 he arrived in Baku, where he met Valiko Bakradze and Vladimer Dumbadze and went with them to Iran. After participating in the Tabriz resistance, he returned safely to Georgia but was arrested by the Tsarist authorities and sent into exile. Eventually, he returned to his native Ambrolauri; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, pp. 90, 92. Lazare Gachechiladze was a Georgian revolutionary, a participant in the Tabriz resistance. He was from the village of Tseva in western Georgia. After 1905, because of his revolutionary activities he lived in exile in Russia but then moved to Baku and settled there. In 1908, together with other Georgians, he went to Iran. He fought in the Tabriz resistance and died there; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, pp. 97, 99.
- 50 Aliev, “K voprosu o sviaziakh Bakinskogo i Tiflisskogo komitetov RSDRP s iranskimi revoliutsionerami,” p. 206.
- 51 Tria, *Kavkazskie sotsial-demokraty v persidskoi revoliutsii*, pp. 9–10.
- 52 Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran*, p. 179.

- 53 “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” p. 90.
- 54 Ibrahim Fakhra’i, *Gilan dar Junbish-i Mashrutiyat* (Tehran, 1977), p. 116.
- 55 P. Strelianov (Kalabukhov), *Neizvestnyi pokhod: kazaki v Persii v 1909–1914 gg.* (Moscow, 2001), p. 25.
- 56 As the Russian customs tightened security, a detailed search of the cargo and the passengers going to Iran was conducted twice: once on the Russian side, and then on the Iranian side in Anzali, where Russian customs were stationed. Some suspected Caucasian revolutionaries were arrested and executed right in the port; see Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 41; Salamullah Javid, *Junbish-i Mashrutah-i Iran* (Tehran, 1968), p. 76. In this regard, S. Javid mentions the arrest of one of the Azerbaijani revolutionaries who was detained by the Tsarist police operatives and died as a result of torture during the interrogation; see Javid, *Junbish-I Mashrutah-I Iran*, p. 76. In Anzali and Baku the police discovered and confiscated batches of arms intended for the Iranian resistance; see Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 41. Bogdanov Mariashkin, who assisted the transportation of supplies and men to Iran from Astara, describes in his memoirs how they were subjected to almost daily inspections, random searches of the place, and close watch by the local police agents; see “M. Bogdanov-Mariashkin’s memoir,” pp. 29–30. But the revolutionaries managed to break through the security curtain by using multiple identities, false papers, and registration of fictitious offices in order to secure the delivery of assistance to Gilan and Azerbaijan. Preventive and punitive measures taken by the Russian gendarmerie and customs had some effects but failed to halt the assistance altogether.
- 57 Vlasi Mgledadze, “Sparsuli revoltsia,” in *Mogonebani*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1974). His much more comprehensive memoir of the Iranian revolution published later in Paris as a separate volume of his *Mogonebani* remains unused. *Mogonebani* became available even to the broad community of Georgian scholars only a few years ago when it was brought to Georgia as a part of the Georgian immigration archives that had been carefully preserved by Georgian émigrés in Europe since the time of Georgia’s occupation by the Soviet army.
- 58 “Gurji” was a pseudonym of an anonymous correspondent of the newspaper *Ali*. His reports from Tabriz were published in the November–December 1908 issues of that newspaper.
- 59 For example, the newspaper *Ali* had its special correspondent in Iran, whose reports were published in November–December of 1908 and were usually released under the pseudonym “Mgzavri” (Traveler) or “Gurji” (Georgian). In 1908 another Tbilisi newspaper, *Chveni Kvali*, published reports from its correspondent in Iran, who wrote under the pseudonym “Artemius.” In 1908 the newspaper *Amirani* also published reports from its correspondent in Iran.
- 60 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoridian,” *Akhali Skhivi* 3 (6 February), 6 (10 February), 24 (4 March), 28 (9 March), 35 (17 March) (Tbilisi, 1910). An abridged Russian translation of the essay was published in Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalist*, pp. 41–85.
- 61 *Akhali Skhivi* 3 (6 February 1910).
- 62 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, pp. 14–29.
- 63 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 109.
- 64 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 30.
- 65 G. Chipashvili, “Iz istorii internatsionalnoi deiatel’nosti zakavkazskikh revoliutsionerov v Irane,” *Sakartvelos Metsnierebata Akademiis Matsne*, vol. 4 (Tbilisi, 1981), p. 27.
- 66 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Dghiurebi*, p. 30.
- 67 Chipashvili, “Iz istorii internatsionalnoi deiatelnosti zakavkazskikh revoliutsionerov v Irane,” p. 28.
- 68 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, pp. 30–31.
- 69 A. N. Guliev, “Vseobshchaia stachka v Baku v iule 1903 g. – nachalo letnikh zabastovok v Zakanvkaze i na iuge Rossii,” in *Slavnye stranitsy bor’by i pobed*, p. 115. Workers’ groups in Tbilisi and Baku had been collaborating and supporting each other. In 1903, when Baku workers went on a general strike, the Tbilisi worker groups held a strike of solidarity in Tbilisi.
- 70 Chipashvili, “Iz istorii internatsionalnoi deiatelnosti zakavkazskikh revoliutsionerov v Irane,” p. 28.

- 71 Ibid., p. 28.
- 72 Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dghiurebi*, p. 167.
- 73 “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” p. 90.
- 74 Valiko Gurji (Batumeli Valiko) was a Georgian revolutionary, a native of Batumi. A. Japaridze names him as an actual commander of the Caucasian group in Rasht; see “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” p. 92. He was one of the most active and prominent members of the Georgian corps in Gilan, well known from Armenian, Georgian, and Persian sources; see also A. Guidor, “The Hnchakist Party and the Revolutionary Movement in Persia,” p. 304. During the takeover of Rasht, Valiko Gurji was a member of the joint military staff and, together with Mu’iz al Sultan, led the vanguard group during this operation.
- 75 Chipashvili, “Iz istorii internatsionalnoi deiatelnosti zakavkazskikh revoliutsionerov v Irane,” p. 25. *Russkoe Slovo* was a Russian daily newspaper founded in 1895 and published in Moscow. Officially it was a non-partisan newspaper, although it exhibited moderately liberal views. In 1917, *Russkoe Slovo* was banned by the Soviet authorities but released a few more issues in 1918 after having changed its name to *Novoe Slovo* and *Nashe Slovo*.
- 76 Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 110.
- 77 Ibid., p. 110.
- 78 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoridian,” *Akhali Skhivi* 35 (17 March 1910).
- 79 G. Chipashvili points out that the execution took place on 18 November 1910; see Chipashvili, *Sergo Gamdlishvili da Misi Iranuli Dgiurebi*, p. 32. A. Kelenjeridze provides a different date: 24 November; see Kelenjeridze, *Gurjebi*, p. 109; *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalist*, p. 12.
- 80 Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalist*, pp. 24–33, 41–84.
- 81 Interestingly, S. Orjonikidze had published some of his letters in the newspaper *Akhali Skhivi*, which also published S. Gamdlishvili’s diary. Although Orjonikidze’s revolutionary alias was indeed “Gurji Sergo,” for his newspaper articles he used different pseudonyms: “Kldispireli” and “Sergo Kldisdzireli”; see V. S. Kirillov and A. Ya. Sverdlov, *G. K. Ordzhonikidze (Sergo). Biografia* (Moscow, 1962), p. 41; and Chipashvili, “Iz istorii internatsionalnoi deiatelnosti zakavkazskikh revoliutsionerov v Irane,” p. 18. The pseudonym derives from the name of the area near the village of Goresha in western Georgia where Orjonikidze was born.
- 82 Orjonikidze was arrested in Baku, where he was a member of the Baku committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. He was stripped of his nobility status, imprisoned from 1907 to February 1909, and then sent into exile in the remote Russian village of Potoskoe, where he arrived in May or June 1909; see Kirillov and Sverdlov, *G. K. Ordzhonikidze (Sergo). Biografia*, pp. 31–36. Therefore, he could not have participated in the takeover of Rasht or have written a diary based on first-hand knowledge of that event. Orjonikidze arrived in Rasht in the autumn of 1909; see *ibid.*, p. 40.
- 83 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoridian,” *Akhali Skhivi* 3 (6 February 1910).
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 “A. Japaridze’s memoir,” pp. 92–93; “Bogdanov-Mariashkin’s memoir,” p. 33.
- 86 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoridian,” *Akhali Skhivi* 8 (12 February 1910).
- 87 *Ibid.*, 6 (10 February 1910).
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 3 (6 February 1910).
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 35 (17 March 1910).
- 95 *Ibid.*, 3 (6 February 1910).
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Kasravi, *Tarikh-I Mashrutah-i Iran*, p. 251.

- 98 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoriiidan,” *Akhali Skhivi* 6 (10 February 1910).
- 99 The official position of the Georgian revolutionaries was that their assistance to the constitutional resistance was an act of fraternal and international solidarity with the Iranian people. At one of the meetings between the resistance groups in Rasht, the leader of the Georgian group said, “We, Georgians, have come here, to Persia, not as Georgians. We have come here as internationalists”; see *ibid.*, 14 (19 February 1910). However, one must note that the *Gurji* corps in Iran was not homogeneous either in terms of individual members’ political affiliation or in terms of their individual reasons for joining the Iranian resistance. For the different groups of Caucasians in the resistance and their agendas in Iran, see Iago Gocheleishvili, “Introducing Georgian Sources for the Historiography of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911),” in H. E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin, eds., *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations, and Transnational Connections* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 55–57).
- 100 Kelendzheridze, *Sergo Ordzhonikidze-Zhurnalista*, p. 64.
- 101 *Akhali Skhivi* 8 (12 February 1910).
- 102 See the text of the resolution in Vlaza Mgelandze, “Sparsuli Revolutsia,” p. 104. Also see Giorgi Katsitadze, ‘Germaniis Pozitsiebi Iranis 1906–1911 Tslebis Revolutsiis Dros’, *Perspective-XXI IV* (Tbilisi, 2002), p. 67.
- 103 “Bogdanov-Mariashkin’s memoir,” p. 45. On the dynamics of the relations between the constitutionalists and the Russian troops in Tabriz, see J. D. Clark, Chapter 9 of this book; see also Strelinov, *Neizvestnyi pokhod: kazaki v Persii*.
- 104 Gurji Sergo, “Sparsetis Modzraobis Istoriiidan,” *Akhali Skhivi* 3 (6 February 1910).

THE JUDAIC PHENOMENON ACCORDING TO ANCIENT GEORGIAN SOURCES* **

The geographical location and complicated history of Georgia, but also the tolerance of the Georgian people towards foreign ethnic populations particularly simplified the process of their settlement in the foreign country. Among non-Georgian ethnicities who obtained shelter in Georgia and recognized it as their second home country were also Jews. Since Georgia offered to Jews a favorable attitude, good living conditions and full religious freedom, Jews lived in many Georgian towns and villages.¹

Legend has it that Jews came to Georgia at a very early time in diaspora history, supposedly during the first Babylonian exile.² Already the well-known Georgian public figure and historian of the Georgian Jews, Zakaria Chichinadze, discerned four main stages of Jewish immigration to Georgia, the first of which he considered to be caused by Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem and the ensuing Babylonian exile.³ Identical information regarding the issue of the Jews settlement and the most important primary data are offered by a 9th century written source, "Mokcevaj Kartlisaj" ("The Conversion of Kartli")⁴ and an 11th century known Georgian chronicler, Leonti Mroveli, in his historical records.⁵ Almost the same point of view was held by Vakhushti Batonishvili in the 18th century⁶ although he considered the probability that the immigration could have occurred earlier. According to the contemporary scholar Eldar Mamistvalishvili the arrival and settling of Jews in Georgia must have happened two centuries prior to the tragic events of Nebuchadnezzar's attack, in the 8th century BC.⁷ Other scholars are more conservative in their dating of Jewish presence in Georgia, but there is no doubt that the first communities existed in Georgia before the Christianization of the country.

The economic, social and legal situation of the Georgian Jews differed from the situation of Jews in most other countries. Legislation did not make a difference between Jews and other Georgians, be they serf or lord. There was no privilege for a Georgian peasant from the part of king, church or lord that did not extend on a Jewish serf as well. The Jews were actively involved in the creation of feudal Georgia and were one of its organic parts.⁸ The legal status of the Jews who settled in Georgia and their privileged distinctiveness are reflected in the assumption by Vakhushti Batonishvili that Alexander the Great revealed special kindness to Georgians and to Jews among the many different people he encountered during his campaign to Georgia.⁹

Jews also spoke Georgian.¹⁰ However, Mroveli and Bagrationi point out that in multiethnic Georgia at that time only six languages were privileged: Georgian, Armenian, Greek, Khazarian, Assyrian and "Jewish" (Hebrew). According to Leonti, all kings of Kartli knew these languages. It is known, that after the spread of

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1 On the documented presence of Jews in Georgia and on the early history of the communities, see also the contribution by Constantine Lerner in this volume.

2 For a survey of facts and theories concerning the Jewish communities in Georgia, see Constantine E. Lerner, *Evrei Gruzii at Ellenizma do pozdnego feodalizma* (The Jews of Georgia since Hellenistic Times till the Late Feudal Period). Jerusalem 2008.

3 Zakaria Chichinadze, *Kartveli ebraelni sakartveloši* (Georgian Jews in Georgia). Tbilisi 1904.

"Mokcevaj kartlisaj" (Conversion of Kartli), in: Mzekala Shanidze (ed.), *Monuments of Ancient Georgian Literature Shatberdi Collection of the 10th Century*, Vol. I. Tbilisi 1979, p. 320.

5 Simon Kaukhchishvili (ed.), *Kartlis cxovreba* (The Life of Kartli), Vol. I. Tbilisi 1955, p. 15.

6 Vakhushti Batonishvili, *Kartlis cxovreba* (The Life of Kartli), *Ağcera sameposa sakartvelosa* (Description of the Georgian Kingdom), ed. by Simon Kaukhchishvili, Vol. IV. Tbilisi 1973, p. 53.

7 See Eldar Mamistvalishvili, *Kartvel ebraelta istoria* (The History of Georgian Hebrews), ed. by Zurab Kiknadze. Tbilisi 1995, pp. 15-24.

8 See Shota Vadatchkoria, *Ebraelta sakitxi da kartuli sinamdvile* (Issue of Hebrews and Georgian Reality). Tbilisi 2005, p. 4. *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. IV, pp. 16, 54.

10 On the language spoken by Georgian Jews, see Reuven Enoch, "Jewish Georgian", in: Lily Kahn; Aaron D. Rubin (eds.), *Handbook of Jewish Languages*. Leiden-Boston 2016, pp. 178-193.

Christianity, Jews were scattered in all corners of Georgia and despite the fact that they lived separated from the rest population, over time, the majority of them forgot their native language and naturally, Georgian eventually replaced it.¹¹

In Georgian historical and hagiographic writings, particular attention is paid to the attitude of Georgian Jews towards the crucifixion of Christ. In connection with the theme of Christ's martyrdom, the chroniclers wrote that Georgian Jews actually did not participate in this process. "The Life of Kartli" relates that the messengers were sent from Jerusalem for calling their fellow Jews to send their representatives to take part in the punishment of Christ. Two senior priests from the ancient capital of Georgia, Mtskheta, were invited to take part in the council against Jesus, showing the importance of Georgian Jews even in Jerusalem. "The Life of Kartli" and all other monuments of spiritual literature that narrate this episode depict Elioz and Longinus, who are said to have been in Jerusalem during the crucifixion, as having a negative attitude to this barbaric act. Later, they became the first ones who brought Christianity to Georgia.¹² According to the ecclesiastical literature, Jews from Mtskheta were the first followers of Christianity in Georgia. Among them, Elioz's mother and sister receive special attention. The name of Elioz's sister is mentioned in the context of Christ's robe. She embraced the robe so tightly, that it was impossible to remove it from the arms of the dead girl and she was buried with this robe. These episodes are also narrated similarly in the ancient chronicle "Life of St. Nino",¹³ which is transmitted by Vakhushti Batonishvili.¹⁴

Georgian historical and theological literature also highlights the assistance that Georgian Jews rendered to St. Nino during her missionizing visit to Georgia. She knew Hebrew well and could easily communicate with Jews. Particular attention is given to the story of the conversion of the Jewish senior priest Abiathar and his daughter Sidonia, who were the first to be converted to the Christian belief. Together with St. Nino, Abiathar and Sidonia unceasingly preached the word of God to the people and with this they stirred up dissatisfaction among Jews.¹⁵

The centuries-old tradition of peaceful coexistence with Georgians, devoid of persecutions of Jews and national-religious harassment, and the uniqueness of Georgian-Jewish relations caused the establishment of a new ethnonym "Georgian Jew". For the first time this ethnonym appears in Leonti Mroveli.¹⁶ Eldar Mamistvalishvili claims that the existence of the ethnonym has no precedence.

The ethnonym is also unique in that in multi-ethnic Georgia no other people had been granted such a doubled status.¹⁷

It should be also noted that Georgian theological and historical literature contains information that the Bagrationi royal dynasty were direct descendants of the biblical kings David and Solomon. The reference to it is given in "The Life of Grigol of Khandzta" by Giorgi Merchule (10th century)¹⁸ and others. This topic is more widely treated by Sumbat Davitisdze (chronicler of the 11th century)¹⁹ and others. The direct genealogical origin of Georgian kings from biblical kings was frequently expressed in their royal titles. Later the royal dynasty of Bagrationi, who considered themselves the descendants of King David, expressed their benevolence to the Jews.²⁰

Already these early texts refer to the harmonious relations between Georgians and Jews, resulting in the

11 *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. I, p. 16; Vol. IV, pp. 16, 54.

12 *Kartlis cxovreba*, p. 36; *Mokcevaj kartlisaj*, p. 338; *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. IV, pp. 8if.

13 *Kartuli ƿroza* (Georgian prose), Grigol Abashidze (ed.), Vol. I. Tbilisi 1982, p. 203.

14 *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. VI, p. 78.

15 Korneli Kekelidze, *3veli kartuli literaturis iſtoria* (The History of Ancient Georgian Literature), Vol. I. Tbilisi 1980, p. 476.

16 *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. I, p. 98.

17 Mamistvalishvili, *Iſtoria*, p. 42.

18 *Kartuli ƿroza*, p. 214.

19 *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. I, p. 373; *Kartlis cxovreba*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-288.

20 At the same time, they actively supported Christianity. Since the time of spreading Christianity, Georgian kings considered active participation in the construction of churches and monastic complexes in the Holy Land as their religious and patriotic duty. Dozens of churches and monasteries were built by them that find reflection in the hagiographical and ecclesiastical writings. The activities of the Georgian kings were always prompted by national considerations and state interests and had nothing to do with mere expressions of good neighborly sentiments towards the Jewry, which they maintained throughout.

dominant Georgian-Jewish identity narrative of twenty-six centuries of Georgian-Jewish friendship.²¹ Given the undisputed harmonious relations between Georgians and Jews, the question remains nevertheless, if this positive attitude was consistent throughout, or if any deviations from it are attested in early Georgian literature. The following examples of anti-Jewish narratives and statements were collected from the widest possible selection of early Georgian writings.

The earliest Georgian writings were of religious character. After Christianity was accepted in Georgia as state religion, it not only repulsed outer and inner enemies, but also launched an offensive and began literary debates with non-Christian religions and different kinds of Christian heresies. The purpose of such debates was mainly proving the falsity of teachings of the various opponents. This led to the production of polemical literature, which aimed mainly at paganism, Judaism and Islam as non-Christian religions, and at Arianism and Nestorianism as main Christian heresies.

Among the works that attest to the struggle between the newly introduced Christianity and paganism, a small composition called “The Martyrdom of Nine Youths of Kola”²² and the sixth century “Martyrdom of Eustathius of Mtskheta” are noteworthy, the latter being of anti-mazdeanic nature.²³ The anti-Muslim branch in Georgian polemical literature is presented most vividly both in translated and original works. In the first period of Georgian literature (early feudal period, until the 980s), the outstanding work of this genre is the hagiographical monument “The Martyrdom of Abo Tbileli”, written in the eighth century.²⁴ It evaluates Muslim religion in a conceptual context. In the neighboring Greek literature, anti-Muslim polemics occur since the eighth to ninth centuries: in Georgian, this topic becomes more prominent in the second stage of old Georgian literature, between the 980s and the second half of the thirteenth century. This was a period of unification and saw the establishment of a mighty feudal monarchy in Georgia. Georgia held a relevant place in the international arena, being respected by its neighbors and without immediate danger from its enemies. Christianity grew stronger under these favorable conditions. This resulted in the translation of canonical books and in prophesying in the Georgian language. Hence, ecclesiastical literature also developed and grew.

The situation regarding Judaism is unusual in Georgia, since Jews had not only lived there before the spread of Christianity, but were considered to have paved the way for it: As mentioned above, among the first Christians in Georgia were Jewish proselytes, since St. Nino sought support of the Jewish community of Mtskheta, “because of the Hebrew language” she could communicate in there.²⁵ Mtskheta was a great religious center and had close contacts with Jerusalem. The Jews from there regularly sent their representatives to take part in the Pesah Festival in Jerusalem. In addition to this positive role in Georgian-Christian history, the Georgian Jews could not rival the Christian state religion as a cultural power. In these conditions, Georgians had no reason to pursue a literary confrontation with them. This explains the fact that all of the Georgian anti-Jewish literature is translated from other languages,²⁶ in which the ideological antagonism that historically existed between Judaism and Christianity is developed.

In his “History of Ancient Georgian Literature”, Korneli Kekelidze points to several anti-Jewish works in Ancient Georgian literature²⁷ that we will present here in some detail in order to analyze the descriptions of Jews and Judaism provided in them.

21 On this narrative see the forthcoming publications by Nino Chikovani and Ketevan Kakitashvili, results of the aforementioned project on “Jewish Identity in Georgia at the Dawn of Globalization,” funded by the Volkswagen Stiftung.

22 *Kartuli proza*, Vol. I, p. 183. The martyrdom of the youths took place in the 6th century. The date of the creation of the work has not been specified, however. Korneli Kekelidze believes that it is dated no later than the 9th century.

23 Korneli Kekelidze, *Antimazdeisturi polemikis pilosopiuri dasabuteba uzevels micerlobasi* (Philosophical antimazdeism polemics in the ancient writing), in: Aleksandre Baramidze (ed.), *Studies of Ancient Georgian Literature*, Vol. III. Tbilisi 1955, pp. 42-60.

24 *Kartuli proza*, p. 116: This text is included in the syllabus of Georgia’s secondary school as compulsory reading.

25 On the traditions about Nino, see Jost Gippert, “Cm. Ninos legenda: gansxavebul ćqarota ķvali”, in: *Enatmecnierebis sakitxebi* 1-2. Tbilisi 2006, pp. 104-122 [English version “St. Nino’s Legend: Vestiges of Its Various Sources”: <<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/personal/jg/pdf/jg1997je.pdf>>]; Jost Gippert, Marginalien zur Nino-Tradition, in: *Stimme der Orthodoxie* (Sonderheft: Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld) 3 (1997), pp. 126-130.

26 It is interesting to note that also Jewish texts were translated into Georgian, although not from Hebrew but mainly from Greek and old Slavonic versions; see Jost Gippert, “Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Georgian Transmission”, in: Alexander Kulik; Jason Zurawski (eds.), *Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission*. Oxford Handbooks (forthcoming).

27 Kekelidze, Žveli kartuli literaturis ištoria, p. 477.

The earliest work in this category is *Ćamebaj Mixailisi* ("The Martyrdom of St. Michael"), dated to the seventh century. This hagiographic work is anti-Jewish, as it includes a small episode, in which the Christian hero, Michael from Sabatsminda, competes with a Huria [Huria, Uri - the Georgian moniker for Jews], a religious scholar and defeats him. "The Martyrdom of St. Michael" is taken from manuscript No. 57 of the Iviron Monastery at Mount Athos. Greek hagiographic writing has not preserved Michael's "vita" as an independent work. It is transmitted as an episode in the "Life" of Theodore of Edessa. The Georgian version presents an abridged narration of certain chapters from Theodore's "Life" as published by Ivan Pomialowski,²⁸ although the medieval Georgian translator and editor of the text apparently added some chapters from other sources. For instance, chapters I and IV of the Georgian edition, dealing with Theodore Abū Qurra, are absent from the Greek original. In addition, chapter IX, in which geographical data are given and Abkhazia is mentioned, and chapters XIV and XV, in which the editor narrates about Saba's lavra (monastery of the first rank) and its labors, are not present in the Greek narrative either. The Georgian redaction must stem from the ninth century.²⁹

The story of St. Michael is told by Basil from Sabatsminda.³⁰ The contents of this work are as follows:

At the Feast of the Annunciation day people came to the preaching place with crosses, icons and the Gospels for psalms and prayers. Then all the community returned to the cell of Theodore Abū Qurra. Theodore had regaled them. Everybody enjoyed. Then Abū Qurra told his guests the following story: During the peaceful rule of amira-Muml [the commander of the faithful, caliph], Son of Abdal-Malik, Murvan's son, everybody, religious and irreligious people, Hurias and Saracens [Muslims], had the secret dream: to see Jerusalem. So, Abdal-Malik together with his family, numerous people and treasures left for Jerusalem. He was searching for a man, a religious scholar [specialist of faith]. At that time there was in Sabatsminda a monk from Tiberias, who had a young disciple, Michael, who was obedient, experienced and endowed with variety of talents. He wished to go to Jerusalem for trade. The teacher knew that the young man would not shame him and blessed him and let him to go to Jerusalem. In the city, Michael met with Seida, Amira-Muml's wife, who fell in love with him and tried to seduce him in every possible way. However, she was not able to achieve her goal neither by sweet talks, nor by threatening or tormenting him. Then the woman denounced the monk to Abdal-Malik, her husband. Abdal-Malik had a talk with Michael and liked his consciousness, speech and answers very much. As Amira-Muml was "wise before the men and stupid before the God", he invited the Huria, the religious scholar, to defeat together with him the monk and to convert him to his faith. A debate was held between them. During the debate, Michael revealed a great devotion to his faith and a good knowledge of religious books. He apparently overpowered his rivals with his arguments. Amira-Muml tried to gain him over in every possible way and finally decided to kill him: he made him drink a poison, which miraculously did not kill him. Finally, he ordered to cut off Michael's head. The martyr met the death calmly, with inflexible faith and said: "I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit". The entire town was mourning the death of the innocent monk.³¹

In this episode, the Jew assists the Muslim enemy of the Christian hero with his knowledge about religion, but he is not successful in defeating the steadfast believer. He does not act by himself, nor is he actively involved in the killing of Michael. While Islam and Judaism are depicted as inferior to Christianity because they cannot convince the martyr, the Jew is not accused of specific sins or defects and Islam seems to be the greater evil.

A second work with anti-Judaic contents is "The Life of John", where a debate between John of Edessa and the Huria Phinez is inserted.³² "The Life of St. John" was published by Korneli Kekelidze from a photo-

²⁸ Ivan Pomialowski, "The Life of St. Theodore Bishop of Edessa", in: *Records of historic-philological Faculty of the Petersburg University* 29 (1892), fol. 1892.

²⁹ Korneli Kekelidze, *Kimeri*, in: id. (ed.), *Collection of Georgian Hagiographic Compositions*, Vol. I. Tbilisi 1918, pp. 165-173 (In this Collection there are 21 hagiographic monuments).

³⁰ A Basil from Sabatsminda is mentioned in Georgian writings as a Georgian hymnographer who worked in Palestine; however, there is no evidence that would identify him as the narrator in this work.

³¹ Korneli Kekelidze, *Kimeri*, p. 165.

³² Žitie Joanna, Katolikosa Urvanskogo (The Life of John, Catholicos of Urva), ed. by Korneli Kekelidze, in: *Xristianski Vostok*

copy of manuscript ADD 11281 of the British Museum, London. According to Kekelidze, the manuscript was most likely copied in the Monastery of *Jvari* (The Holy Cross), by a certain Iohna, but was written either by a contemporary of Saint John or very soon after his death, no later than the ninth century. This manuscript is written on parchment in ancient Georgian script (*Nuskha-Khutsuri*) and together with the “Lives” of twelve other saints included in the Palestinian Collection.³³

The Georgian translation of “The Life” has Syrian-Arabic coloring. Kekelidze suggests that the language of the lost original was Syrian, since the words *aharon*, *avraham*, the city’s name *urha*, and other linguistic forms attested in the text are Syrian rather than Arabic. It would have been translated into Georgian in the first part of the tenth century and follows the classical norms of ancient Georgian literature.³⁴

The episode with the Jew can be summarized as follows:³⁵

During the rule of [Caliph] Harun al-Rashid, Amira-Muml, there was a Jew by the name of Phinez, who was outstanding among his race by his mind and knowledge as well as by his appearance. Harun al-Rashid took a fancy to him and fulfilled all his wishes. Thanks to Phinez’s efforts, he began hating the Christians and put them aside from their services in the palace. John, distinguished in his parish, heard about this. He got worried and swore to God that he would keep fast for eighty days and pray together with his people. The Lord heard him and brought him to Harun al-Rashid’s court, accompanied by different miracles. Harun al-Rashid saw in his dream a saint, protected by Christ, coming to him in order to defeat the Huria. The king received Christ’s disciple with great honors. He invited Phinez to his palace. Between the Jew and John arose a debate. Phinez mostly asked questions and John proved his considerations. John, with the purpose of converting Phinez to Christ’s faith, performed miracles: he cured a sick man, caused Phinez’s hand to wither, who wanted to shave his beard and afterwards cured him again, resurrected Amira-Muml’s daughter, who died 47 days ago, etc. Phinez adopted the Christian faith and 280 souls from his descendants were baptized together with him. Harun al-Rashid began to look on Christians with favor and freed them from all tributes and oppressions. He ordered to build churches in his country.³⁶

We can consider the contents of the text from the historical-hagiographical and dogmatic-polemical point of view. The historical aspect of the work introduces to us Saint John, servant of the church during the rule of Harun al-Rashid in the town of Edessa (called “Urha” in Georgian sources. Currently Urfa in Turkey). The text does not give a complete and full biography of John from Urha. It acquaints us only with one episode from his life, namely Saint John’s debate with Phinez the Huria at the court of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid. In “The Life”, this episode attracts attention because it tells about the great influence of Phinez the Huria on Harun al-Rashid. This name is not mentioned in historical sources, it could be an adaption of the biblical name Pinhas [Greek: Phineas] from Numbers 25, who was zealous for God. Historical sources point, however, to the presence and possible influence of Jews at the court of the Abbasid caliphs. They were reckoned with, even in diplomatic relations with foreign states.³⁷

(Journal of the Christian East) 2,3 (1914), pp. 301-348.

33 Ibid., p. 308.

34 Korneli Kekelidze, *Žitie Joanna*, p. 308.

35 The work does not provide any new data of the historical person of the famous Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (763/66-809). Georgian ecclesiastic writing has preserved texts about the torture of some martyrs of this period. As an example: Ioseb Kipshidze, “The Life and Martyrdom of St. Anthony-Ravak”, in: *Xristianski Vostok* (Journal of the Christian East) 2,I (1913), pp. 54-104.

36 Korneli Kekelidze, *Žitie Joanna*, pp. 324-339.

37 Cf. the example of Isaac the Jew, who acted as an intermediate between Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid and brought gifts from Baghdad to Aix-en-Chapelle, as described e. g. by Vasili Bartold, *Karl Veliki i Harun ar-Rashid* (Charlemagne and Hamn al-Rashid), in: *Xristianski Vostok* 1,1 (1912), p. 75; Klaus Bieberstein, “Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Großen und Hamn ar-Rashid und seine Bedeutung für die Kirche Jerusalems”, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutsch en Palästina-Vereins* 109,2 (1993), pp. 1p-173. When the Abbaside caliphs retreated to Cordoba, Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut (915-970) seems to have served as “minister of foreign affairs” to Abd al-Rahman III, including the contact with diplomats from foreign countries. He was powerful enough to send a letter to Helena, queen of Byzantium, pleading for religious liberty of the Jews (transmitted in MS T.-S. J2.71). He also sent an emissary to the ruler of the Khazars, enquiring about legends of his Jewish identity.

From the dogmatic-polemical point of view, the monument is not outstanding by its novelty or originality, nor by depth of thoughts. The main object of this polemical treaty is Trinity - namely that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God and one nature, one indivisible unit. With the purpose of showing this conception as truth, the author presents some analogies, which obviously are not new but taken from the writings of various theologians. More works with anti-Judaic character appear in the second period of the ancient Georgian literature. Of special interest is the "Dogmatikon" by Arsen Vachesdze (also known as Arsen of Iqalto, 1050-1125), which includes 31 translated works of polemic and dogmatic-philosophic character.³⁸ Some of them are directed against Nestorians, Monophysites and Armenians, others against Jews and Muslims.³⁹

The "Dogmatikon" (a collection of main rules, recognized as undoubted truths and obligatory for all believers) of Arsen, the son of Vache, contains several works of such character. Among them are philosophical-theological treatises by Theodore Abū Qurra (740-829), who was the bishop of Barran. Apparently, he was a prolific writer who composed many works, from which several reached our days, but many of them are lost as well. He wrote his works mainly in Arabic and Greek, but also in Syriac.⁴⁰ While the Arabic works seem not to have been widely distributed, his Greek works were circulated in manuscripts and were also translated.⁴¹ The works of Theodore with dogmatic-polemical contents that reached us are directed against different religions (Paganism, Mazdaism, Islam and Judaism) and Christian heretic sects. They set out to prove the dogmas of Orthodox Christianity, teaching the union of the three personae in the Trinity as well as the divine and human nature of God. The most complete collection of the "Dogmatikon" is manuscript S-1464, which contains both original and translated texts. Among them are several treatises by Theodore Abū Qurra, translated by Arsen Iqaltoeli from the Greek.

Three of Theodore Abu Qurra's works translated into Georgian have anti-Judaic character:⁴²

a) "Reply to the Hurias" (begins with "Trust in the God whom you worship") is a substantial dogmatic-polemical treatise, written in dialogue form. No names are mentioned, but the author and a religious teacher of the Jews debate with each other. The work has a very interesting introduction, which explains that in their defense of the Orthodox faith, Christians used Plato's and Aristotle's teachings only in replies to the Hellenes and to heretics. This is followed by a short discussion about the questions of Christology, ending – as was to be expected - with the victory of the Christian first-person narrator. The person who wrote the treatise is a skillful writer, well experienced in debating and with an extraordinary talent of correctly and clearly expressing his thoughts. Taking into consideration that in the "Dogmatikon" Theodore Abū Qurra appears as a well-known author of replies who also composed anti-Jewish polemical dialogues, we can recognize this treatise as his work. This assumption is also supported by the fact that "The Reply" is included in the series of Abū Qurra's works.⁴³

b) "From the Reply of the Christian and the Huria. Martyrdoms for our Lord Jesus Christ from the Holy Scripture" (begins: "The Christian: To whom would tell the God: We created a man like and similar of our image ...") is written in the form of questions and responses: the debate centers on the Holy Scripture. A Christian and a Huria are debating. Following the above mentioned assumption, also this dialogue would belong to Theodore Abū Qurra.

38 Kekelidze, Žveli kartuli literaturis istoria, p. 278.

39 In later centuries, other authors added their polemical writings to the "Dogmatikon".

40 See Ignati Krachkovski, "Feodor Abu-Kurra u Mussulmansikh Pisatelei IX-X Veka" (Moslem Writers of 9th-10th Centuries about Theodor Abu Qurra), in: Xristianski Vostok 4,3 (1915), p. 301. For editions of the Greek translations, see Jacques Paul Migne (ed.), Patrologia cursus completus, series graeca, Vol. 97. Paris 1865, coll. 1461-1610.

41 The passage in the Life of Ethymius stating that Theodore's works had been translated from Georgian to Greek is probably based on a textual error, see Annie Mahé, Jean-Pierre Mahé, *La sagesse de Balahvar. Une vie christianisée du Bouddha*. Paris 1993, p. 26.

42 On the Georgian translations of Theodore Abū Qurra's works, see also Michael P. Tarkhnishvili, "Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur. Auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze", in: *Studi e Testi* 185 (1955), pp. 129, 206, 208f., 366, 370f., 375, 380, 385.

43 Ivane Lolashvili, *Arsen Iqaltoeli* (Arsen of Iqalto). Tbilisi 1918, p. II8.

c) "Replies to Heretics, Agarians and Hurias" is included in the work, written to "the Head of *Eddesse* ..." It contains twenty small texts, written in dialogue form. The purpose of all of them is to unmask the heretics, to convince the faithless of their mistake, and to strengthen the Orthodox faith among the Christians.

The "Dogmatikon" preserves, in addition to the listed anti-Judaic works of Theodore Abū Qurra, two anonymous works of similar character, namely "Secret sermons for disposing the Hurias ..." in which quotations are collected for proving trinity; and an anonymous letter that explains how a Huria should be tolerated, if he adopts the Christian faith. This is a short work that contains descriptions of rules and rituals of priests' services; how a Jew has to adopt the Christian faith and what religious norms should be fulfilled at this time. It is fully transmitted in the "Dogmatikon" according to Arsen of Iqalto, and even its partial liturgical character does not hide the polemical character.

In the later period of the old Georgian literature, in the second part of the 18th century an anti-Judaic work appeared in Georgia, which goes back to a medieval composition. This is Samuel Rabin's "Okros Aġnākvi" [Golden Composition]. It is written in the form of letters and is dedicated to Isaac Rabin, who lived in Morocco and was the leader of a synagogue. Nothing is known about Samuel Rabin himself, except of that he lived in 1070 in Africa and was a Christianized Jew. The Georgian translation was done by Dimitri Bagrationi from the Russian edition of 1782.⁴⁴ The Georgian text of the "Okros Aġnākvi" is not published. It is preserved in manuscripts 326, 522, 1714, 2598, and 5041 of fund S; 1657, 2224, and 2226 of fund H and 743,4 of fund Q of the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

The manuscripts have one common source and are related to each other, even though they were copied by different scribes. Most of them contain the same annotation that refers to the Russian edition which was published in St. Petersburg. The Russian translation was prepared by a monk called Varlam and the Georgian translation by Bagrationi. He was requested to prepare the translation by his aunt Anna, the daughter of king Gaikhosro. The same note also lists five Greek redactions of this work, and it is indicated that it appeared for the first time in Venice in 1339.⁴⁵ Only manuscript S-522 has a different note, according to which this book is stored in Rome at the Caesarians repository and translated from the Latin by a certain Philip the Presbyter. According to this note, the princess Mariam prepared the Georgian text when the Russian Emperor Nicholas came to Tbilisi in 1849.⁴⁶

The main claim of the letters of "Okros Aġnākvi" is that the Jews are subject to the wrath of God. They are sinners, who adhere to a faith that is not sufficient to bring repentance of the sins they carry. Several letters speak about Jesus. Jesus Christ - they say - is the true God, the son of God, who was sacrificed unjustly, and - as Daniel had predicted - after his death the Jews were dispersed. One of the letters deals with Jesus's second arrival; others focus on similar Christian beliefs. The letters quote abundantly from religious books; the thoughts of prophets are mentioned with indication of chapters and verses. Although, generally, the Georgian language of that period is complicated and mixed, with special vocabulary characteristic to the transition period of the Georgian language, this religious composition is written in simple, popular language.

In addition to the materials kept by the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, we have surveyed the database of the dictionary funds of the Georgian Academy of Sciences: Shota Rustaveli Commission, which contains texts and manuscripts, beginning from the fifth century until the time of the Georgian romanticists, including also vocabulary insertions of "The Knight in the Panther's Skin", "Bakar's Bible", *Visramiani*, *Amiran-darejaniani*, *Didi Sjuli*, *Dzlispirni*, *Azmani* (Life of Kartli [Georgia]), and symphonies⁴⁷ of other published texts.

In the materials of early centuries of these funds, the Jews are associated with very bad epithets. They are mentioned as mean, disgusting, unadvised, murderers; all this because "the Hurias [, who] gave Christ to Pilates for crucifixion..." and also because they were firm in their faith and did not seek another. "They found

⁴⁴ Mentioned in Dimitri Bagrationi, *Dimitriani* (Verses and Poems), ed. by Rara Nakashidze. Tbilisi 1978, p. 22. Unfortunately, the Russian edition was not available for inspection at the time this paper was researched and written.

⁴⁵ See *kartul xelnačerta aġceriloba* (Description of Georgian Manuscripts), ed. by Elene Metreveli, Vol. I. Tbilisi 1960, p. 384.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 589.

⁴⁷ The material taken from the published texts of the funds of the Shota Rustaveli Commission is called a "symphony" which is presented separately, together with relevant context for each lexical unit.

the Hurias so unadvised that they did not wish to seek a better one than theirs..." (Th.13.95 v, b, 1002/1008). Although there are no original Georgian polemic works composed against the Jews, the negative attitude that guided those who translated the polemics can also be found among Georgian writers. It is noteworthy that the aversion is directed against the Jewish faith, not necessarily against the Jews as ethnicity living in Georgia.

The materials from the dictionary funds of the Shota Rustaveli Commission also underline the Jews' social status, namely that they were trading: "There are inhabitants, Armenians and Urias (Jews), and they are trading ..." (Life of Kartli, IV, 756, 10); "The inhabitants are Imers, Armenians, Urias (Jews) merchants ..." (Life of Kartli, IV, 756, 25), "When Greeks and Urias came, (they) mostly introduced trade ..." (Kalm. III, 23 9, 4); "Who imported fish for trade and all goods and wine to shops in Jerusalem on Saturdays" (Neem. (o). 478 v, 5 a); and similar statements.⁴⁸ These early descriptions do not necessarily denigrate the Jews for their profession, but they do mention them together with other non-Georgian people, such as the Armenians.

The attitude of Georgians towards the inclination of Jews to trade varies during history. According to literary and historical sources, in the beginning it was more tolerant and then gradually turned less favorable. Concerning the activities of Jews living in Georgia, the scholar Nikoloz Berdzenishvili rightly noticed that based on archival documents Jews mostly were tradesmen. Serf Jews of course were assigned to the land as well, including vineyards and orchards, but their basic activity was trade.⁴⁹

The analysis presented here includes almost all anti-Judaic compositions preserved in the Georgian literature, although they entered it only by means of translations. The compositions and the accusations in them have religious character only. From this comparatively short list, we can conclude that while they belong to different periods and genres, they have only one purpose: to show the priority of the Christian religion in comparison with all others and, in particular, with Judaism. Although we find words of praise for the Jews in later centuries, more often the old tradition continues, resulting in mixed attitudes. Particularly, the social status of the Jews is mentioned: their involvement in trade which places them alongside other non-Georgian ethnicities, but the anti-Jewish elements did not dominate the Georgian tradition and made it possible to read the Georgian-Jewish relation in positive terms.

It is possible to sum up the attitude of Georgian literature towards Jews and Judaism as follows: Some texts were brought into ancient Georgian literature that were anti-Judaic (in a religious sense) and not anti-Jewish (in an ethnic sense), this is mainly caused by religious rivalry. The religious anti Judaic attitude in no way diminished the friendly relations between Georgians and Jewish people.

48 The Rustaveli funds have specific references to the sources, thus, in similar cases the references to the sources are made in the text and not in footnotes.

49 Nikoloz Berdzenishvili, *Works of Historical-Ethnographic Museum of Georgian Jews*. Vol. I. Tbilisi 1940, p. 160.

LEXICAL EXCEPTIONS IN THE COMPARATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES: WORDS FOR 'OAK'^{*}

Abstract

The reason for the breakdown of regular correspondences between daughter languages is generally considered to be the existence of unexplained lexical exceptions. The breakdown consists neither in the deficiency of examples nor in the breach of regularity. Rather, the reason for the breakdown of regular correspondence lies at the intersection of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.

The study of grammatical, phonological and lexical isoglosses among dialects of a proto-language makes it possible to establish extra-linguistic factors. This trend in linguistics is called 'the linguistic paleontology of culture' (Gamkrelidze 1999), since its object of investigation is not only the protolanguage but also the proto-culture of its speakers. What is reconstructed is not so much the language itself as the extra-linguistic world reflected in the linguistic data.

Reconstructing the elements of the extra-linguistic world of the daughter language speakers gives in turn a clearer picture of the linguistic affinities among the daughter languages and their development over time, i.e. of the purely linguistic factors. This is particularly true of the semantic structure of languages. Semantic structure cannot be studied in isolation from the external world that is reflected in the content plane of language.

This approach explains lexical exceptions on the proto-level and gives an adequate semantic reconstruction of the archetypes. However, some problems arise in the case of genetically isolated language groups.

The paper presents the etymology and reconstruction of exceptions to the different roots of words for 'oak' in the Kartvelian languages, which remain at first sight unexplained:

Proto-Kartv. **ʒi*el- 'tree, oak', Georg. *zel-* 'tree, board, pillar, post, column, base, foundation': Megr. Laz. *ža(l)-* 'tree': Svan. *žih-ra* ||*ži*ra|| | *ži*-ra 'oak'.

Interestingly, from the typological point of view there is a similar picture as regards the semantic reconstruction of 'oak' in the Proto-Indo-European languages.

*'Sprachforschung, der ich anhänge und von der ich ausgehe,
hat mich nie in der Weise befriedigen können, daß ich nicht immer gern
von den Wörtern zu den Sachen gelangt wäre; ich wollte nicht
bloß Häuser bauen, sondern auch darin wohnen.'*

J. Grimm

'All trees are oak trees ...'

J. Barth

A language system can be analysed on the basis of different methodologies. The comparativehistorical method seems to be the classical one which has not lost its actuality to the present day.

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* First published in: *Rules and Exceptions: Using Exceptions for Empirical Research in Theoretical Linguistics*, eds.: Christopher Beedham, Warwick Danks and Ether Soselia, Publisher: Peter Lang UK, 2014.

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The reconstructed forms and meanings may be grouped into lexical-semantic fields, which designate extra-linguistic classes such as animals, handicraft tools, and others. Such a protolinguistic lexical-semantic system can give historical reality through typological comparison with the actual culture of the past and the present and especially by archeological facts, in verifying a reconstructed culture and particularly its material side (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995).

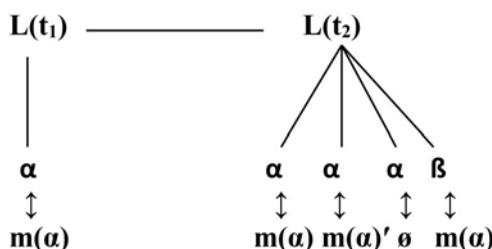
Today it is widely agreed that ‘culture’ does not consist of things, people, behaviour or emotions, but of the forms or organization of these things in the minds of people. How can the organization of ‘things’ in people’s minds be discovered? The best way of discovery lies in the area of language, and there is a whole battery of linguistic tests which can be put to use to reveal different aspects of the organization of the universe in the minds of people (Wierzbicka 1996).

Scholars today pay great attention to semantic problems and questions concerning language and thought: *Weltanschauung* created by language, the mental construction of ‘things’ (reification), ‘language intuition’ crop up again and again, i.e. the manner of investigating the semantic level of language moves from formal linguistics to content research.

We can get complete information about various aspects of given objects only through studying them cross-linguistically, on the basis of a comparison of different languages, which is used to solve not only linguistic but also cultural-anthropological issues.

The semantic and pragmatic levels of a language system are the most complex and complicated from the point of view of understanding. We can analyse them only on the basis of the investigation of surface linguistic forms. Theoretically, different semantic interpretations of a language system can be achieved through the use of various algorithms. We must not forget that every language system builds its own world picture specifically and the strategies of structuring and algorithms defining the conceptualization processes are different for them. (Cf. colour terms and corresponding various linguistic models of the colour terms system).

Let us assume a language system (L) and an α -element of it: $L (\alpha \in L)$ in a $[t_1, t_2]$ time segment. If we denote the meaning of the α -element by $m(\alpha)$, theoretically there would be the following possible meaning-changes:



Explanations for the origins of the changes and clarification of the meanings are necessary premises to restoring exact semantic reconstructions for each comparable language, including the Kartvelian languages. The above-stated facts define the importance of the topic.

The reason for the breakdown of regular correspondences between daughter languages is generally considered to be unexplained lexical exceptions. This implies neither a deficiency in the examples nor a breach of regularity. On the contrary, the reason for the breakdown of regular correspondences lies at the intersection of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. In such cases the existence of duplicate forms can be suggested that does not break the solidity of the protolanguage.

Reasons for the appearance of duplicate forms can be: stylistic variation, social stratification, the influence of colloquial forms on the literary language, the compatibility of the data of protolanguages with the local language subgroups, and so on. Comparative reconstructions also reveal examples when some roots with similar meanings are reconstructed.

In certain linguistic groups there usually exist stereotypes according to which one part of a word's meaning is considered to be positive, while the other, negative. Differences in the development of meanings can be regarded as the origins of taboos and euphemisms in natural languages.

At first sight it seems that an investigation of the corpus of plant names does not yield such interesting reconstructed systems as in the case of kinship or colour-terms (Berlin & Kay 1969, Soselia 2009), though it helps us to identify some biological units corresponding to the names of plants. But it is precisely this kind of research that fills gaps in our knowledge about the processes of human cognitive means to clarify the nature of the human world through categorization.

Tree names are paradoxical. On the one hand they are basic, semantic primitives, but on the other hand tree names, because of the peculiarities of their referents, are sensitive to ecological changes and the migration processes of a speech community. P. Friedrich's opinion about the Proto-Indo-European arboreal system may be extended to the whole corpus of plant names. Thus, plant names, their meanings and the botanical realities to which they correspond, are assumed to constitute a set of interdependent systems. The nature of such systems can only be discovered and interpreted on the basis of conjoined approaches, or analytical systems (Friedrich 1970). The first approach is linguistic-phonological: morphological parameters constitute *a linguistic system*. The second is a semantic approach: semantic features which define morphemes, words and sets of word-families constitute *a semantic system*. And the third approach is lexical: the reconstructed lexicon may relate to data and systems that are neither linguistic nor semantic (e.g. archaeological, palaeo-botanical data). Such information constitutes *an external system* (Friedrich 1970:1-4).

The integrated approach seeks all relevant evidence to get complete information about the historical existence of the speakers in question, including the ecological environment (fauna, flora, geographical setting, climate) and human habitation and migration in the environment, as well as culture in the broadest sense (including both material and spiritual culture) (Gamkrelidze 1999).

Exact semantic reconstructions of the proto-forms calls for the scrupulous etymological analysis of the reconstructed stems oriented towards the proper lexical-semantic groups, allowing us to restore the initial meanings of the stems in the systems, to explain the words' transitions from one lexical subsystem to another, etc.

Such an approach will permit us not only to account for the semantic changes, but tentatively to define the direction and manner of the changes. To establish criteria for the verification of semantic changes is as necessary as those for the verification of phonetic changes. Phonetic reconstructions are based on ranges of phonemes corresponding to the comparable languages. Semantic reconstructions are difficult because there are diverse semantic nuances; the set of semantic positions is complex and their frequency is less than phonetic ones. Practically each phonetic usage of words is a separate semantic position, and usually sufficient data is not available to build the semantic ranges.

The simplest way in such investigations is to register the movements and deviations of similar meanings in different languages, which would help us to restore the exact proto-meanings.

G. Klimov, who gives high praise to the 'Etymological Dictionary of the Kartvelian Languages' (Fähnrich & Sardschweladze 1995), asserts: like all important research, this monograph clearly shows the range of problems of comparative study of Kartvelian languages and etymological investigations, the solution of which becomes more and more urgent.

First of all, we must mention the task of the adequate semantic reconstruction of the archetypes. This task is complicated in the case of genetically isolated language groups. It seems that inadequate attention to this aspect of reconstruction in Kartvelian studies prompted the above-mentioned authors to give up reconstruction of meaning. There is still a lot to be done in this sphere (Klimov 1998).

The foregoing theoretical discussion prompts the author to bring to light new roots of Proto-Kartvelian plant names, make a more precise analysis of old ones, to show the existence of borrowed forms on the proto-level, to compare the Proto-Kartvelian arboreal system with the Proto-Indo-European and Caucasian plant names data, showing their similarities and differences. All this makes the classification of languages possible. They can (or cannot) be considered as entities of the same structural-typological (or genetic) classes.

Friedrich (1970:139-140) wrote:

Both the wide diffusion and the emotional intensity of these ancient patterns of culture – not

paralleled by those for any other tree – suggests that the oak was one of the underlying themes in PIE culture, as a basic life symbol and a root of myth and of sacrament. The oak was a nexus of symbolic articulation between the semantic system of the tree names and the cultural system of religious beliefs and ritual conserving the supernatural.

The ‘oak’ and its inhabiting pure soul is known in the West and also in the East (Frazer 1993). The cult of oak is widespread in the Caucasus, too, especially in the Kartvelian traditions (Javakhishvili 1986).

Th. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov reconstructed two stems in Proto-Indo-European: I. *t^e/oru_c-/*t're/ou_c- with the meaning ‘tree, oak’ and II. *p^[h]erk^{[h]o}u-/*p^[h]eru- with the meaning ‘oak’ (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995). They analysed these meanings on the basis of wide complexes of mythological phenomena. Examples of taboo are given, which were realized either as a substitution of the roots with other new words or as phonetically modified forms of the same roots.

We have a typologically similar picture for the meaning ‘oak’ in the Kartvelian languages. The following are reconstructed: *ç₁qan ‘oak’: Georg. ციკან-, ციკან-ი (toponym); Megr. չկոն-, չկոն-ի ‘oak’: Laz. չկոն-||մշկոն-||մշօն-, չկոն-ի||մշկոն-ի||մշօն-ի ‘oak’ and another root: *ʒ₁el- ‘tree’: Georg. զել- զել-ի ‘tree’ (old Georg.): Megr. չա-, չա- ‘tree’ չալ-էպ-ի ‘trees’ օ-չալ-է-շ -ի (type of vine) če-չա- ‘poplar’ պատառ ‘white tree’: Laz. չա||նչա||մչա ‘tree’ չալ-էպ-է ‘trees’ – for the GeorgianZanian unity period (Klimov 1998, Fähnrich & Sard-schweladze 1995).

*³el- root would have had another meaning – ‘oak’, besides the meaning ‘tree’, which is presented as a separate Svanian form: žihra||žira||žira. What is the reason for the difference of forms? Are they lexical exceptions? Let us analyse these roots starting from the end of the stem:

1) **-ra** is the derivational suffix of plant names in Svan, i.e. Georg. ʃip-el-i : Megr. ʃip-ur-i : Laz. ʃip-/ncip- ʃip-ur-i : Svan. ʃip- ʃip-ra ‘beech’; Georg. rc₁xila : Megr. c₁xim-ur-i/ c₁xem-ur-i : Svan. c₁xəm-ra||c₁xwim-ral||c₁xum- ‘hornbeam’ etc.

2) The last non-syllabic [*l] (i.e. after vowels or syllabic sonant) in Svan, as a rule, gives the spirant |š| (Gamkrelidze & Machavariani 1965). Compare Georg. *çul-i* : Svan. *çluš* etc. In some cases [*l] > š>h, which may be lost (or substitute ø): Georg. *gul-i* : Svan (lx.) *gu<guh<*guš* ('heart').

3) Georg. *e* : Megr., Laz. *a* : Svan. *e* is the regular phonemic correspondence for the Kartvelian vowel system. However, sometimes other vowel correspondences can be found as well, for example: Georg. *e* : Megr., Laz. *i* : Svan. *i*. **nēn-* Georg. *en-a* ‘language, tongue, word’ : Megr. *nin-* *nin-a* ‘language, tongue, word’ : Laz. *nēn- nin-a* ‘language, tongue, word’ : Svan. *nin-/nɛn-* *nin-* ‘language’; **c₁el-* Georg. *cel-* *cel-i*: Megr. *či-/čə-*: Laz. *ču-/mču-* : Svan. *ču-/mču-* ‘intestine, gut’ etc.

4) Georg. ჺ: Megr. ჳ : Laz. ჳ : Svan. ჴ is the regular phonemic correspondence in the Kartvelian languages as well.

Thus, for the Proto-Kartvelian level the root *₃el- is restored with the meaning ‘tree, oak’ on the basis of such correspondences: Georg. զել-i: Megr. չա :Laz. չա||նչա||մչա: Svan. չիրա||չիրա||չիրա. I think that the coexistence of different roots, *_çiqan- and *₃el- ‘tree, oak’ is connected with an ancient human tradition of beliefs regarding trees (cf. from the typological point of view a similar picture for the PIE languages).

It is very rare for plants and their fruits to have different names. This kind of exception occurs in Georgian *muxa*- 'oak' and *rko*- 'acorn'. In old Georgian texts and modern dialects *rko*- *krko*- 'acorn' means not only the fruit but also the tree. G. Klimov has reconstructed the archetype **krko*- for the Georgian-Zan unity period (Klimov 1998). A. Shanidze has connected this root with the Indo-European (Latin) *quercus* 'oak' (Shanidze 1947).

The roots *muxa* and *rko* are widespread in many Kartvelian toponyms: *muxiani*, *muxrani*, *didmuxa*, *rkon*, *çqondidi*, *žihra* etc. (Tschumburidze 1985). The root is borrowed from Kartvelian into the Caucasian languages: Avar. *mik'* 'oak', 'acorn'; Darg. *mij~* (Urakh.)|| *mig* (Akush.); Lak. *murx~* 'tree' (\leftarrow **murx~*): Lezg. *mjw* : Tab. *máqw* : Rut. *máxw* : Tsakh. *mòq* : Ud. *máq* (Gigineishvili 1972).

One important question arises: What is the etymology of *muxa*? In the oldest Georgian lexicon of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (17th c.) we can find some interesting verbal forms: *muxva*, *momuxva*, *damuxva* ‘cut, separate’. According to Saba’s explanation, everything which has barklike dismemberable small parts is called *muxa* (Orbeliani 1991). I think that this is the reason that the names of fruits with dismemberable barks are:

muxanesvi ‘type of melon’, *muxamsxali* ‘type of pear’, *muxamβvane* ‘type of apple’, etc.

Typologically many plants are named according to their whole appearance, external features of leaves, and colours of fruit. So the unexpected lexical form *muxa*, which has no phonemically corresponding roots in other Kartvelian languages, is replaced by a duplicate form, maybe recalled on the basis of taboo related to tree-beliefs, which through the centuries preserved the original aspects to the present day in Kartvelian folklore, legends, fairytales, architectural ornaments, songs, etc.

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ON THE TYPOLOGY AND METHOD OF RESEARCH INTO MEDIAEVAL TURKISH POETRY*

0. At the present-day level of development of science, there is no doubting the fact that research into the cultural life of the Middle Ages is highly important today. But how and through the application of what systematic methods we should study it is a problem that perplexes scholars and causes great controversy.¹

1. If we accept the indisputable truth that life of art is impossible without the personality that perceives it, that the basic function of art is its emotional impact upon man, we must accept, a priori, the following postulates:

1.1 Any monument of art, including one of literature, potentially contains $S \rightleftarrows O \rightleftarrows S$, which makes for its dialogic nature. Therefore, an author, in the process of creating, always takes into account the tastes of the reader or the perceiver, with an eye to the aesthetic requirements predominant in the time. As is known, however, aesthetic categories and the angle of their perception change at the level of "Time."² Therefore, in the same way as a modern writer cannot foresee what aesthetic criteria will be predominant in the 30th Century, a mediaeval author could not visualize the present-day trend in aesthetic thought; i.e., any author writes according to the requirements of his time and takes into consideration the social and cultural context of his time. When encoding his text and thinking of how it will be decoded, he naturally bears in mind the thesaurus of the contemporary reader. This is probably the reason why the understanding of a code is often lost between two epochs.

1.2 Proceeding from the above, we deem it an error to study mediaeval monuments from the standpoint of the aesthetic and social categories and criteria of today. If such a method be applied, there will be no dialogue: we shall be speaking different languages. The researcher should strive to interpret correctly the author's semantics of any coded message or symbol, to restore the proper decoding in order that the modern reader should be correctly oriented in this or that nuance in a work of art.

2.1 In our opinion, the structure of a work of art and of literature, as a modelled and organized system, conforms to certain canons. Indeed, it is not difficult to notice, in the sphere of art and of literature in particular, the action of certain restrictions, rules and general canons which are revealed clearly enough in the hierarchy of structure. It would appear that in the sphere of literature, in poetry especially, the following canons act at various levels:

2.2 The basic instrument of any writer's work is language, strictly regulated by rules of grammar. The language of a poet is always controlled by and conforms to the rules of grammar which it cannot possibly disregard; otherwise the language will lose its function of communication.

2.3 In the realm of art, however, the represented object is not an exact copy and replica of the original. What catches the eye is what is called "artistic distance" between the object and its representation; there is a difference between the denotative and connotative codes. At the same time, the language of a literary work is not merely grammatical, it acquires additional aesthetic functions which makes it artistically relevant. This accounts for the convergence of various canons acting at various hierarchical levels, owing to which fact this or that phenomenon, or the text describing it, is elevated to an artistic level.

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1 Also vide: D. S. Likhachov, Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature. L., 1967; S. S. Averintsev, Preliminary Notes to Studying Mediaeval Aesthetics. Ancient Russian Art. M., 1975; M. M. Bakhtin, On the Methods of Literary Studies. Context. 1974, M., 1975, p. 211; M. B. Khrapchenko, Time and the Life of Literary Works. Artistic Perception. L., 1971 M. B. Khrapchenko, The Inner Properties and Functions of Literary Works. Context., 1974, M., 1975, p. 31; R. Welleck and I. O. Warren, Theory of Literature. M., 1978; G. Pospelov, Literary Studies and Literary Criticism. Problems of Literature. 1979, No. 7; R. O. Jacobson, The Poetry of Grammar and the Grammar of Poetry, Poetics, Poetyka, Poetics, W., 1961; W. Kayser, Das Sprachliche Kunstwerk, Bern und München, 1961; E. Steiger, Die Zeitals Einbildungskrafts des Dichters, Zürich, 1953; A. A. Potebnya, Complete Works, vol. 7, 1925, p. 141; P. Ingraden, Investigations into Aesthetics, M., 1962 and other works.

2 M. M. Bakhtin, op.cit., p. 211-212.

2.4 Every writer devotes a certain space to traditional concepts. He cannot but conform to the general aesthetic categories and canons predominant in his time. The aesthetic canons indispensable at this level generally determine the current literary trends, the typical and peculiar nature of creative work.

2.5 And, finally, every author, if he is a true artist, has his own original and inimitable way of seeing the world and experiencing it in his own style, which is also achieved owing to definite methods, restrictions and rules. This level of canons determines the originality of author. It is an indisputable fact that investigation of these canons and rules pertaining to various levels is of tremendous and first-rank importance to analysis of text or research into an author's work.

3.1 In a word, if we regard the problem in its entirety and present the development of art in its diachronic aspect, we will be convinced that the notion of canon plays an important part in the world of art.³ From this standpoint, art history, including the history of literature, is subdivided into two types: one type rests on the canonical system, while the other is counterposed to it. Y. L. Lotman writes: "Two types of art are regarded to have been established in historical poetics.... One type is aligned with canonical systems ('ritualize art,' 'the art of the aesthetic identity'), whereas the other type is based on violation of accepted norms. In the latter case, aesthetic values emerge not as a result of adhering to norms, but in consequence of their violation."⁴

3.2 These two types of art are widely different as regards creative methods. At the basis of the artistic system of the first type, as we have already stated above, lies "the aesthetics of identity," which proceeds from previously established and strictly definite conventions, from the regularity of themes and motifs, from restricted and codified means of expression. It is based upon the complete identification of the represented phenomena of life with 'rules of modelling-clichés' already known to the audience and constituting a system."⁵ The gnosiological nature of this type of art consists in the fact that "various phenomena of life are cognized through identifying them with certain logical models. The artist consciously rejects as irrelevant everything that constitutes the individual peculiarity of phenomena, equalizing a phenomenon to its essence, and the essence - to one of the ready-made gnosiological models at his disposal."⁶

As for the other type of art, i.e., "the aesthetics of counterposition," it disregards the clichés and codified forms; the author sets against the already existing rules and accepted notions his own original solutions and methods of representation which in themselves do not lack a systematic character. As Y. M. Lotman observes, such a type "is not a game without rules, but a game whose rules must be established as the game proceeds."⁷

3.3 In our opinion, when a work of art is being analyzed and appreciated, it is most important to determine which type of art it belongs to... In the first place, the criterion of evaluation is quite different: that which is positively evaluated by the criteria of the "aesthetics of identity" is rejected by the requirements of the "aesthetics of counterposition" and vice versa. It is thus impossible to apply the same criteria of evaluation to works of art that belong to different types and which are created on the basis of radically opposed principles. In the second place, working in the sphere of "aesthetics of identity," the researcher should, first of all, gain a knowledge of its general notions; for here, as a rule, the "aesthetics of the whole or the part" is not applicable, or is at any rate reduced to a minimum. Lacking his own individual stand and his own viewpoint, the author follows the generally accepted rules rooted in the world outlook of his epoch. Therefore, when dealing with this type of art, we should first of all study the entire system of the world outlook of the time, the general aesthetic criteria, and only then may we speak of the peculiarities of a poet's thinking and the way he sees the world. Thus, in our opinion, when analyzing works based upon the "aesthetics of identity," the investigation should begin with the general canons of the third level; the researcher should establish the general model of the art in the cultural region under investigation, a model based upon the accepted principles of the aesthetics of the time. In a word, proceeding from the wealth of empiric data obtained on the synchronic and diachronic axes, as well as on the vertical and horizontal axes, he should establish the general canon of art resorted to

3 A. F. Losev, On the Concept of Artistic Canon. The Problem of Canon in the Ancient and Mediaeval Art of Asia and Africa, M., 1973, p. 13.

4 Y. M. Lotman, Canonic Art as Information Paradox. The Problem of Canon in the Ancient and Mediaeval Art of Asia and Africa, p. 16.

5 Y. M. Lotman, Lectures on Structural Poetics. Works on Sign Systems. I.

6 Ibid., p. 174.

7 Ibid., p. 178.

by all the writers of the time; the invariant patterns of the accepted themes and motifs, as well as the codified means and methods of the plane of expression, should also be established. Putting it shortly, it should first of all be determined what general canons and invariant elements predominate in this type of art; the common features of all types of art of the epoch in question should be studied. It is only after this that it is possible to state whether a poet's work is original. This method of research is also warranted by the fact that a scientific investigation of the originality and the individuality of a poet's work is feasible only against the background of a thus acquired knowledge of these general points. Shortly, in analyzing a work of any type of art great importance is to be attached to establishing models of typical structures, without a description of which, as Y. M. Lotman rightly observes, it is impossible to speak more or less relevantly about the individual peculiarity of a work of art.

4.1 I. V. Borolina has devoted a most interesting paper to the typological characteristics of mediaeval Turkish literature, a paper containing some valuable and noteworthy conclusions. We think, however, that certain points in this investigation need to be stated with greater precision. I. V. Borolina presents matters in such a way as though features of medievalism were prevalent in 13th-15th-century Turkish literature, while elements of the Renaissance emerge after the latter half of the 15th century, when humanistic ideals also take root. According to this scholar, it was urban literature that was instrumental in establishing qualitatively new tendencies through consolidating contacts with everyday life, broadening social spheres, enriching genres, and, first and foremost, in setting up a free-thinking, freedom-loving ideal, sweeping aside feudal and clerical taboos. At the same time, temporal principles become perceptible, gradually enhanced by the "laicization" of ecclesiastical literature proper, by the destruction of religious symbolics (including that of Sufism), thus creating conditions for imagery to regain its real content. Moreover, the personality of the author asserts itself by degrees; "his consciousness overcame mediaeval norms, providing for a more individual approach to the traditional literary pattern."⁸ Although mediaeval features are by no means completely discarded, the mediaeval canon seems to be undermined from within. Therefore, according to I. V. Borolina, "when studying mediaeval Turkish literature it is imperative to accentuate not the fact that the mediaeval canon persisted throughout the historical period to which it belonged, but the fact that, despite the stable tradition supported by the feudal and clerical ruling circles, this canon was developing and creative trends of a typologically different quality were emerging in the literary process."⁹

4.2 As we have already stated, this most significant conclusion needs emendation. In the first place, the notion of "urban literature" requires a more exact definition and further investigation. At present we do not have at our disposal sufficient material to gain a full understanding of this notion. In the second place, as far as the history of Turkish literature is concerned and if it is, generally speaking, possible to accept the formulation "urban literature" when dealing with Turkish reality of the middle ages, this literature was not such a significant phenomenon that it could have introduced something qualitatively new into classical Turkish literature; neither could it have destroyed the latter's typological structure. Thirdly: true, the structure of mediaeval Turkish literature was not something petrified; it did undergo changes in the diachronic aspect, and certain original innovations were manifested in it, which was quite natural. However, these novelties and changes which took place in Turkish literature in the 15th-19th centuries were so insignificant that they could not have brought anything palpably new into the structure of mediaeval Oriental literature. Fourthly: we cannot accept without reservation the idea that mediaeval traditions prevailed in the 13th-15th centuries, but later on they began to disintegrate. We suggest that in the early period of development of Turkish literature (i.e., the period of Sufism, 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century) its canonical and conventional character had not yet taken shape; the literary language had not yet become differentiated from colloquial speech; lexical elements had not yet been restricted and the mysteries of that esoteric doctrine were still rendered by means of details of everyday life, while generalization was couched in concrete terms. All this was naturally conditioned by the nature of Sufistic poetry which aimed at spreading the ideas of the doctrine among a broad audience, while purely literary and aesthetic rules remained in the background. Such a creative manner gave freer scope to individual vision and creation. True, Sufistic poetry had its own characteristic manner, its

8 I. V. Borolina, On Typological Characteristics of Mediaeval Turkish Literature.

9 Ibid., p. 56.

specific style, its original rules of artistic thinking and representation, its well-elaborated system of symbols. We think, however, that this stage in the development of Turkish literature was a period of "protocanon," i.e., one in which canon was still in process of taking shape; while after the 15th century the literary etiquette and canon were firmly established and predominant in the Turkish literature of the Diwan. In our opinion, the literature of the Sufistic period (e.g., Rumi, Emreh, et al.) gives a better basis and possibility to speak of Renaissance elements than in the subsequent period during which, owing to certain socio-economic and ideological causes, these elements could find no ground for their full development. This is a most complicated problem and we do not propose to suggest its solution here. And, finally, if it is to be assumed that I. V. Borolina's deductions stated above are indisputable, still, the study of the destruction of canons might become feasible only after the system of canons has been thoroughly investigated.

Thus, even in such a case the investigation should begin by a study of these traditions, i.e., by revealing the general.

5.1 Mediaeval Turkish literature belongs to the Near Eastern cultural region which may be called "the Islamic world." This region encompasses Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures. They create a single type of art in which common canons of the third level are predominant. If we assume that the above literatures were created in a single metalanguage, we obtain a picture of striking similarity: a single type of literature in all respects. Therefore, the investigation of constant and common values results in a universal solution.

5.2 The literatures within the cultural region of the Near East, like other branches of mediaeval art, belong to the type of "aesthetics of identity" and bear a canonic character. As has already been stated, an artistic canon predominates in a literature of this type, regulating creative thought. Here everything is defined and established: what is to be said and how it is to be said, genres and kinds of poetry and prose are fixed; the perspective of their development is regulated. The lexical elements of the poetic language are delimited, aesthetic criteria are established, on the basis of which poetic imagery is created, given ready-made formulas; the length of a poetic work is fixed, so are the problems to be thought about. In a word, the mediaeval literature of the Near East is a complex hierarchical system regulated by certain canons in which the principles of creation are traditionally legalized and based upon universally recognized views, i.e., upon literary etiquette.¹⁰

5.3 Generally speaking, any canon has an adverse influence upon individual initiative of a man; and where a common canon predominates, individual initiative is in the background. This is just the reason why the author's stand is almost completely disregarded in the mediaeval literature of the Middle East. The author puts forward not his own viewpoint, nor does he express his own original thoughts, but the views that were regarded at the time as finally and once and for all established and universally accepted. Not a single Oriental poet of the Middle Ages tried to impress the reader with his originality, as the effect of unexpectedness which plays such a tremendous part in modern art was of no value at the time. The author knew what he was to say and how he was to say it, while the reader was well aware of what he could expect. He read a text which contained not the author's original viewpoint, but a generally accepted thought. As a rule, a work of literature rendered a generalized thesis proper to this or that genre and etiquette. Any modus of originality was rejected by mediaeval aesthetics.¹¹ Therefore, not a single Oriental poet of the Middle Ages attempted to destroy the legalized traditional system of poetic thinking and did not try to strike his reader with unexpectedness and originality. He only varied "ready-made," constant units and elements which potentially contained an aesthetic value. Putting it shortly, there was complete harmony between the mediaeval author and his reader; more, the "Structure" of the author often fully coincided with that of the reader, and between them was established an interrelation which contained a priori and potentially, complete mutual understanding.

6.1 Another essential feature of mediaeval aesthetic thought in the Near East consisted in the fact that the notion of the part and of the concrete was rejected; these were overruled by means of various methods. In any transient notion the mediaeval thinker saw the eternal and supratemporal, in every part he saw the beauty of the whole. The concept of absolute truth was extant to him. But this truth was to be taken as an axiom, therefore the mediaeval author, as a rule, proceeded from the latter. For the same reason thought was abstracted and everything concrete was carried beyond the pale of reality, was comprehended as form, as

10 D. S. Likhachov, Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature, p. 95.

11 Y. M. Lotman, Structure of Literary Fiction Text, p. 156.

the shadow of irreality. On the plane of expression, a detail taken from real life acquired a conventional and symbolic character. Any concept, beginning with that of a concrete object and ending with propernames was to be abstracted and generalized. That is why Near Eastern mediaeval literature gives no example of a concrete man with his individual psyche and his unique psychological level; it does not render his personal feelings, his joys and sorrows. It makes an abstraction of the individual, generalizes him and elevates him to the concept of "cosmic man" characterized by abstract psychologism. Therefore, his feelings, his emotional experiences are rendered on the level of generalization which disregards individual and empirical deviations. To sum it up, the aim of this generalization is the fact that the real, visible world is made to lose independence and acquires a relative value with regard to the absolute.

6.2 Deconcretization of any part of any fact or phenomenon, abstract thinking and a generalized manner of vision and of expression brought about a complete severance of mediaeval Near Eastern poetry from life, from reality; this poetry reached such a stage in the development of art when there remains only an outward likeness between a real object and phenomenon and their reflection in art, all semantic links between them being lost. Otherwise speaking, the picture that is represented almost wholly coincides with reality, but its code expresses a quite different semantics. In our opinion, this circumstance explains why mediaeval Oriental poetry almost wholly disregards the poet's biography, his personal emotional experience. It is not moments that the writer has experienced and lived through that are the basis of his representation of lyrical feelings, but the standards which were predominant at the time and were worked out according to the way these feelings were then understood and the etiquette of representation. That is probably the reason why Oriental lyrical poetry scarcely ever shows personal emotional experiences and is objective in its essence, a circumstance which Hegel remarked in his time.¹²

7.1 Such abstract thinking quests for the general, the "eternal" negation of the individualized, on the one hand, and, on the other, the paramountcy of literary etiquette conditioned a certain uniformity of the poetic language: uniformity and stability of imagery, epithets, similes, symbolic metaphors and the like.¹³ Such numbers of trite epithets, symbolic metaphors, similes in mediaeval literature, in particular in the poetry of the Near East, are so much on the surface that it makes an impression of feeble imitation. Through the literary clichés, patterns and images one can discern a certain world outlook. Firstly, the aesthetic thought of the Middle Ages attempts to shift a word's concrete meaning into a second plane, while its emotional impact is considered not from the angle of logical force, but from that of its mysterious polysemantic quality, its dynamism created by sound and repetition of rhythmic units.¹⁴ In the second place, literary traditions and repetitions lend artistic models and concepts a generalized character, whereas original artistic images will attract the reader's attention, making the above concrete, lending them material concreteness, and enlivening the originality of those images.¹⁵ All this was generally disregarded by mediaeval aesthetic thought; at the same time, repetition effaces the basis of a concrete comprehension of artistic images and present them, rather, as symbols; besides, we may observe a restriction and a stable relativity of lexical pairs, which is attributable, besides the causes stated above, to the action of metrical, phonological, etymological and semantic levels. All these causes are, in a way, instrumental in stabilizing certain clichés and the predominance of constant images in the mediaeval literature of the Near East. However, the main cause which helped this system to take root remains to this day unexplained and uninterpreted. In our opinion, the mechanism of this system may primarily be explained by the fact that Oriental poetry is divorced from reality and everyday life. The imagery in it, the author's manner of encoding, resorting in form to a picturesque style enriched by usual everyday details, does not lose contact with reality, but is semantically loaded with quite a new function. Every lexical unit seems to acquire a new mode of being understood beyond the limits of realistic concrete semantics, and the image is elevated to the level of a symbol. There is, therefore, a danger of the language of poetry losing the function of communication: to put it more exactly, the reader will be unable to decode correctly a text whose code is overloaded with an aesthetic function and a new understanding of semantics, which makes it

12 F. Hegel, Aesthetics, vol. III, M., 1971, p. 525.

13 Also vide D. S. Likhachov, Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature, p. 97, 163.

14 D. S. Likhachov, Man in the Literature of Ancient Russia, M., 1970, p. 76; also Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature, p. 117.

15 D. S. Likhachov, Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature, p. 112.

different, in a sense, from the ordinary language. A system of certain signs-symbols is created; in order not to lose its function of communication and to transmit to the reader the information encoded symbolically, this system has, in the first place, to set up certain signs-symbols as clichés. Otherwise, it would be impossible to decode the author's intention. The comprehension of any kind of conventional signs presupposes at least two conditions: 1. the conventional sign should be constant, stable and common; 2. the conventional sign should be preliminarily agreed upon, it should be universally known what is meant by the sign; otherwise we would be unable to make out, say, such a thing as traffic lights. This is still true with regard to the use of symbols, as a unilateral explanation of symbols is impossibility. In every case the symbol that is being explained always contains, potentially, yet another nuance. But when symbols are used, it is necessary, as we have already said, that the reader should know the meanings of the symbols. Secondly, the symbols should be stable, unchangeable. The substitution of symbols by other words would lead to loss of understanding between the author and the reader. Such, we think, is the reason why images and clichés are "frozen." The symbolic language of poetry or art approaches, in its nature and function, ordinary colloquial speech; but, in contradistinction to the latter, the language of art is never automated. If it were, a work of literature would lose its aesthetic function and would become an ordinary channel of information.

7.2 How does it happen that a system based upon a limited number of stable elements, strictly regulated and obeying certain canons, does not lend itself to automation? This may be accounted for by several causes. Firstly, as Y. M. Lotman rightly thinks, the strict regulation of the plane of expression makes for asymmetry between expression and content, as is the case with natural languages; this asymmetry takes on a more conventional nature. And secondly, unlike a decanonized text, a strictly regularized text whose inner information, originally influenced by enhanced external factors, appears before us as a stimulus of information and not as its source, as is the case with texts not regulated by canons. Under such circumstances the reader has a greater freedom of interpretation.¹⁶ Therefore, when studying a text of the above kind, great attention should be devoted to two problems of extratext.

Besides the reason mentioned above, we think that yet another most important factor should be taken into consideration: the recurrence of constant and similar units of the plane of expression in a regularized and hierarchically systematized text does not mean identity from the standpoint of aesthetic semantics; together with changes in the context and its extension, it is enriched both as regards semantics and as regards artistic quality, acquiring other nuances. From the standpoint of aesthetic semantics, the stages of teleological hierarchies appear as follows: similar or identical phonetic elements and morphemes carry various functional loads in different words, while the same words in different semantic pairs acquire different semantics. One and the same syntagmatic pair acquires various nuances in different sentences. One and the same sentence or phrase sounds quite different in various verse structures, etc. In a word, we have no doubt whatever that complete identification of images with their semantic spheres cannot possibly take place against the background of artistic context. Since the relations between A_1 , A_2 , A_3 , A_4 change at the level of the context and the structure of the verse as a whole, and by virtue of this become artistically still more relevant, we permit ourselves to suppose that a thought is never repeated in verse. This thesis, paradoxical as it may appear at first sight, is actually justified in that every element of a verse fulfills a semantic function of its own, which imparts a new notion to the artistic concept of the entire verse. And, as it has been mentioned above, the relations between these elements undergo changes, both against the background of the artistic context and against that of the extratext. That is why one and the same semantic element reads differently in different verses. In a word, a thought cannot be repeated wholly.

7.3 If we take the above as a basis, some of our definitions will then require greater specification; while emphasizing the fact that the creative initiative of a mediaeval Oriental poet is strictly confined within the rigid framework of existing traditional rules and canons and that he is deprived of a free choice of his themes and has to curb his imagination, we note at the same time that, though the aesthetic thought of the Middle Ages did not encourage individual views and ignored the modus of originality, it does not altogether mean that mediaeval poetry wholly rejects these notions and the latter take no place in works of literature and art. Any creative work worthy of the name, no matter how it tries not to overstep the prescribed confines imposed

16 Y. M. Lotman, *Canonic Art as Information Paradox*, p. 15-21.

by canons, no matter how hard the author should try to suppress his own individuality, it will still, in the process of creation, manifest the author's original way of thinking as an individual. You may ask where, in what aspect and quantity this originality manifests itself. In this respect, a mediaeval author, as compared to one writing today, was so strictly limited by various canons that his individual view cannot be easily discerned. This is accounted for by the fact that a mediaeval poet's individual subtleties and views are developed in the inner structure of his poems and are thus veiled. Generally speaking, imposition of severe restrictions in one sphere of activity will bring about excessive freedom in another. True, an Oriental poet had a pre-set problem and equally pre-set approach to its solution, together with stable poetic elements, model clichés and images, as well as ready-made construction which he was bound to use and which determined the architectonics of his verse; however, he had a free hand in constructing its elements. It is just this sphere, secondary as it may seem in a work of literature that deserves great attention, and where a mediaeval Oriental poet manifests considerable freedom and uniqueness, exercising surprising talent in presenting at one and the same time these established motifs and endlessly varying these relations with different nuances and implications. Just as the interrelations between the seven established tones create endless pictures of multiple and unique developments in music, or a few metrical figures offer endless possibilities for the creation of ornamental designs, so in Oriental poetry we observe a countless variety of combinations of these ready-made constructions and pre-set elements. This enriches and lends new semantics and emotions to the traditional motifs and "obsolete" images, and prompts their new interpretations. Thus, while on the paradigmatic axis of artistic thinking we see repetitions of the same elements of text, which creates a certain monotony, on the syntagmatic axis they reveal different kinds of interrelations providing for endless variety. In our opinion, this factor also plays a significant role in the process of its aesthetic apperception by the reader. It is therefore natural that study of Oriental poetry should proceed both at the level of similar elements (i.e., on the paradigmatic axis, in this particular case) and on the axis of their interrelations (i.e., the syntagmatic axis). Study of both these levels is of great importance and ignoring either of them will be indicative of imperfection of the method of research.

We are, in the first place, to study synchronically and diachronically the common and similar elements intrinsic in Oriental poetry and only then make an attempt to pinpoint the individual features characteristic of this or that poet, since variants can be revealed only when we have full knowledge of Invariants.

8.1 In our opinion, mediaeval poets of the Near East possess a rather interesting peculiarity which is immediately relevant to the structure of the reader's aesthetics. The thing is Oriental poet encodes his text with an eye to various levels at which his message will be decoded by the readers of different intellectuality. Proceeding from this standpoint, a highly regarded poet was one whose poem, while possessing a certain semantic code, nevertheless allowed various interpretations and decoding by different readers. So, in the context of the above, the code acquires the properties of a hieroglyph. This was mentioned by Jelal-ad-din Rumi in his day. According to him, a true poet at the feast of eloquence should cater for both the enlightened and the common people.¹⁷ If mediaeval Oriental poetry is viewed from this angle, it will appear that its plane of expression contains two, three or even more semantic interpretations. A mediaeval poetic text may, as a rule, be decoded at three levels which can be described as real, ideal and unreal (or as realistic, metaphoric and symbolic). We may take, for instance, the lines from an Oriental ghazel:

If I weep far from her cheek
Do not think ill of me.
For doesn't a nightingale sing far from the rose?¹⁸

This line may be generally decoded as follows:

- I. An unsophisticated reader will understand it verbatim: the poet has parted with his beloved (who is a living woman, of flesh and blood) and this separation makes him suffer.
- II. An educated and well-read person knows that what is meant here is not the concrete feelings of the poet, not his personal grief, but rather a metaphorized convention of expressing love in the Middle Ages, which generalizes the artistic modification of suffering caused by the separation of two lovers.

17 III 1893-1897 جلال الدين الرومي، مشنوي معنوی، بسعی واهتمام رینولد نیکلسون، چاپ پیروز

18 1897 کلات اشعار روحی بغدادی، استنبول

III. And, finally, a religiously-minded reader, well versed in the doctrines of mysticism, will discern in it great grief and tragedy caused by the fact that man is far from God.

So it turns out that readers of different intellectual levels tend to decode the semantics of the text differently. At the same time, paradoxical as it is, we can still say that all the three interpretations in a certain sense carry the truth, since the author's standpoint is deliberately presented in such a way as to allow various interpretations and, therefore, ways of understanding. That is why it is, in our opinion, difficult to find a reliable true criterion for correct understanding of a mediaeval poetic text. It causes heated discussions and gives rise to controversies among historians of literature. Preference is given to one understanding, as a rule. We are inclined to think that the intention of an Oriental poet to create a code decipherable differently depending on the cultural level and world outlook of the reader does not in any way mean that the poet has no standpoint of his own. However, as mentioned above, the position of the author coincides with the universally accepted and settled aesthetic norms and the world outlook predominant in that epoch; as is known, mediaeval reality ruled out the author's personality and almost totally ignored his original stand. Therefore, when we read mediaeval poetry with an eye to determining whether it puts forward a realistic, an ideal or an unrealistic semantic implication, we are, in the first place, to proceed from the historic context; secondly, we are to bear in mind the system of world outlook predominant in the epoch in question and only then try to reveal the elements the author employs to express his views either explicitly or implicitly.

8.2 What, then, conditioned the development of such a type of mediaeval art in general and of Oriental literature in particular? What is it based upon and what do its main aesthetic principles stem from?

The basic first-priority problem is the interrelation between God and the visible world which at different stages of the development of religion, philosophy and aesthetics is viewed from different angles and contains such cardinal questions as, for instance, unity and multitude? The visible and the invisible? Good and evil? The existent and non-existent? Heavenly wisdom and human wisdom? The general and the concrete? The beautiful, *per se*, and the illusory? The idea and the form? The real and the unreal? The part and the whole? Supertemporal and temporal? The soul and the body? Eternity and transiency, etc.?

The binary nature of the problems which is clearly discernible in the mediaeval world outlook system, and to which D. S. Likhachov had every right to attach significance,¹⁹ does not presuppose, in our opinion, equally full interpretation of each pair of these notions in the sphere of ontology, but, conversely, the essence of the binary nature of these notions is that overcoming one component of the pair allows generalizing and abstracting the other. It follows, therefore, that one component of this binary pair always serves as a means for cognizing the other, and in this capacity it is devoid of independent value and acquires a relative significance. There was no concept of evil as such in the ethical sphere of the epoch in question; it was regarded only in contraposition to good. Similarly, aesthetical thought did not attach an independent value to the concept of part: It was regarded as beautiful by virtue of its being a constituent element of the whole. The beauty of the visible world is nothing but a shade and a form of an idea existing in the unreal world, therefore this beauty is justified only when it ultimately elevates us to the unreal idea. At the gnosiological level, separate concrete truths acquire a value only when they help us to establish the general, absolute truth, etc. Moreover, the Oriental mystic teaching (i.e., Sufism) which was dominant in the reality of the mediaeval Near East totally ignored the concept of the separate and the multiple and strove to inculcate the general, whole, unified. This, in our opinion, accounts for the fact that the system of mediaeval world outlook rejected anything that was individual and concrete and promoted the notions of the general and the abstract. We believe that it is just this structure of mediaeval world outlook that conditioned the emergence of the typological model of mediaeval Oriental literature with its predominant abstract way of thinking, its concepts of the general, its literary etiquette and its artistic canons. And, last but not least, this structure accounts for the fact that mediaeval Oriental literature is so severed from reality that it was actually elevated to the level of convention or to that of symbolic thinking.

19 D.S. Likhachov, Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature, p. 120-121.

THE NON-SUFFIXAL DERIVATION OF INTENSIVE FORMS IN TURKISH *

Abstract

The structure of word-forms in Turkish seems unproblematic, with Turkish being an agglutinative language: suffixes – it is well known that the only derivational morphemes in Turkish are suffixes – are joined to the stem or word base in a fairly clear manner. However, intensive forms of adjectives, adverbs and nouns may be created in Turkish by means of partial reduplication in which prefix-like morphemes are used. This is the use of ‘interfixes’ in Turkish – I propose calling the items in question ‘interfix’ – they bind part of root with root.

More than 170 units in Turkish intensify by doubling the first syllable and adding or replacing its final consonant with *-p-*, *-s-*, *-m-*, *-r-*, *-pA-*, *-rIl-*, *-rma-*, *-pis-*, *-ram-*, *-re-*, *se-*, *-ş-*, *-t-* (the last 9 of these affixes are discussed first).

High productivity of this kind of word-formation is illustrated by the following. Both simple and derived units are reduplicated: *bos* ‘empty’, *bo-m-bos* ‘totally empty’, *issiz* ‘uninhabited’, *1-p-issiz* ‘absolutely deserted’. Alongside native Turkic words Arabic or Persian loanwords are partially doubled, as well as new borrowings: *direkt* (<Fr. *directe*) ‘direct’ *di-m-direkt* ‘straight’.

This word formation type is confirmed in language contacts, too: in the Ingilo dialect of Georgian (which is widespread in Azerbaijan) and in Udian some intensive forms are produced according to the Azerbaijani model using Georgian and Udian adjectives: Georgian: */c'itel* / ‘red’, */c'i-m-c'itel* / ‘fully red’; */cariel* / ‘empty’, */ca-m-cariel* / ‘completely empty’; Udian *boxo* ‘long’ *bo-p-boxo* ‘very long’ *gogin* ‘blue’-*go-p-gogin* ‘very blue’, etc.

The reduplicated syllable (i.e. the first) is accented, whereas Turkic words usually have an accent on the last syllable.

Rightside agglutination, i.e. suffixation, is one of the main traits of Turkic languages. But we can now affirm has now become the presence of prefix-type morphemes, joined from the left side to word-bases or stems. This is non-suffixal derivation. In Turkish issues of accentuation and affixation type are interconnected. Their detailed specification lays the ground for a more adequate interpretation of the main typological traits of Turkic languages.

Turkic languages form a closely related group with genetically similar traits, synharmonism, obvious phonetic concordance, and extreme closeness of grammatical structure and vocabulary. In the word formation of this language family suffixation prevails, though there are forms of analytical word formation: twin words, compound verbs, differently realized reduplication, etc.

In the present paper I will consider words which form an intensive by means of partial reduplication. Reduplication is partial or full, exact or approximate repetition of the first syllable, root or stem of a word. It is one of the morphophonemic means of word formation, and whilst performing various functions is very widespread in languages of different kinds of structure. In some African languages the plural of a noun is formed by reduplication; in ProtoIndoEuropean Perfect was expressed by repeating the ablauted stem and special person indices. In Georgian plurality, recurrence, and intensity are expressed by this means. Reduplication is often used for noun and verb compound formation (Мельчук 2000: 48-61). In Georgian, reduplication can denote plurality, recurrence, intensity; it is often employed to derive compound nouns and verbs (Butskhrikidze 2005:35-8).

Reduplication is also variously realized in Turkish. In the present paper partial reduplication is examined as one of the means of forming the superlative of adjectives and an intensive not manifested with a suffix. Hitherto there has been no Turkic philological research dedicated to this word formation means, yet it is a de-

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vice common to all Turkic languages. It is formed in the following way: the first open syllable of a word (often that of an adjective or an adverb, more rarely that of a noun) is taken and after that a morpheme-intensifier is manifested, followed by a duplicated word. E.g. Azerbaijani *yaşıl* 'green', *yamyasıl* 'very green'; Altaian *кызыл* 'red', *кы-п-кызыл* 'deep red'; Bashkir *кызыл* 'red', *кы-п-кызыл* 'deep red'; Gagauz *бийаз* 'white', *би-м-бийаз* 'very white'; Kazakh *жаксы* 'good', *жа-п-жаксы* 'best'; Karaim *толу* 'full', *то-п-толу* 'over-full'; Karakalpak *кызыл* 'red', *кы-п-кызыл* 'deep red'; Karachai-Balkar *сары* 'yellow', *сапсары* 'intense yellow'; Kirghiz *oop* 'heavy', *о-п-oop* 'very heavy'; CrimeanTatar *айдын* 'light', *апайдын* 'very light'; Kumik *янгыз* 'alone', *я-п-янтыз* 'totally alone'; Nogai *кызыл* 'red', *кы-п-кызыл* 'deep red'; Tatar *zur* 'big', *zu-p-zur* 'very big'; Tuvinian *кызыл* 'red', *кыпкызыл* 'too red' Turkish *temiz* 'clean', *te-r-temiz* 'too clean'; Turkmen *гони* 'straight', *го-с-гони* 'absolutely straight'; Uigur *каттик* 'firm', *ка-п-каттик* 'too firm'; Khakass *арыг* 'clean', *апарыг* 'too clean'; Shor *кара* 'black', *ка-п-кара* 'jet black'; Yakut *урун* 'clear, light', *упурун* 'too light', etc.

More often than not, in descriptive grammars, manuals, and reference books the forms obtained through partial reduplication are interpreted either as the superlative degree of adjectives, showing the kind or quality of a person or thing, or as adverbs, characterising the quality of an action or state. However, languages have a separate set of comparative and superlative forms, used in the comparison of things or persons. A partially reduplicated form expresses the high degree of a quality, not comparison.

According to Sapir in this connection it is reasonable to conclude that nouns, as well as verbs, by their nature can be graded (Sapir 1944:94-5); therefore, adjectives and adverbs of quality are not the only parts of speech showing a grading. Hence, potentially it is possible to grade different types of substantives; a grading marker in one or another degree of its manifestation may be expressed also by a substantive (Кононов 1956:157). This is confirmed by some reduplicated substantival word-formations, though in Turkish substantives do not feature degrees of comparison: *buz* 'ice', *bumbuz* 'very cold'; *çarşı* 'market', *çamçarşı* 'from everywhere, from every side'; *çevre* 'circle', *çepçevre* 'around, all around'; *gündüz* 'day', *güpegündüz* 'in daytime'; *halat* 'rope', *hamhalat* 'rough, uncouth; dullard, bumpkin'; *hayal* 'dream', *hamhayal* 'fantasy, illusion'; *ışık* 'light', *ıpişik* 'very bright'; *parça* 'piece', *paramparça* 'cut into pieces'; *tekerlek* 'wheel', *testekerlek* 'completely round'; *yaz* 'summer', *yamyaz* 'midsummer'.

Such reduplicated word-forms do not express comparative or superlative degree, as there is no object they are compared with. They are best classified as a means of intensification of the basic meaning of a given element.

Words of Turkish origin as well as borrowed stems are reduplicated by this kind of shortened repetition: from Arab. *mavi* 'blue', *ma-s-mavi* 'deep blue', *beyaz* 'white', *bembeyaz* 'snow-white'; Pers. *aşikar* 'clear', *a-p-aşikar* 'completely clear', *bedava* 'free, gratuitous', *besbedava* 'very cheap'; Fr. *direkt* 'direct', *di-m-direkt* 'straight', etc.

In order to express an intensified feature root stems as well as derived stems are reduplicated: *bulanık* 'turbid', *bu-s-bulanık* 'very turbid', *ıssız* 'uninhabited', *ı-p-ıssız* 'completely deserted', etc.

Qualitative traits are given to things: *tarla yemyeşiliyor* 'the cornfield turns green'; motivated adjectives become abstract: *apaklık* 'very whiteness', *bambaşkalık* 'too differentness', *ipincelik* '(the) most thinness', etc.

In Turkic languages partial reduplication is a morphophonemic device which consists of doubling the first open syllable. In this connection in the Russian, French, English and Turkish specialist literature there is a brief mention of the following type: The first vowel sound or two sounds (consonant and vowel of this same word) are added to the beginning of a word. After it a morpheme-intensifier is placed, followed by the reduplicating words. If the first syllable is closed the final consonants are dropped: *kirmizi* 'red', *kipkirmizi* 'quite red', *dinç* 'robust', *dipdinç* 'very robust', *çevre* 'surroundings', *çepeçevre* - 'all around'.

In contrast to other Turkic languages, in 170 examples of Turkish an intensifying morpheme is revealed by thirteen morphologically conditioned allomorphs, though in the literature only four allomorphs are usually distinguished: -p-, -m-, -s-, -r- (Banguoğlu 1990:348-9, Lewis 1967:159-60). Although allomorphs -pA-, -rma-, -rll-, -re- are mentioned, they are not considered to be allomorphs of this type (Zulfikar 1980:64). The rest - -ram-, -se-, -s-, -t-, -pis- - are introduced as intensifying morphemes for the first time in the present paper. The capital letters indicate synharmonism, though because of the absence of phonologically conditioned allomorphs the assimilation of voiced and voiceless is not applicable.

Concerning the choice of allomorphs: if the anlaut is a vowel the allomorph -p- is used, if the anlaut is a consonant the following is observed:

- a) In this word-formation the coincidence of initial consonant and affix-intensifier is inadmissible: *mavi* - *ma-m-mavi, *pis* - *pi-p-pis, *sivri* - *si-s-sivri;
- b) If the initial consonant is b-, allomorphs -p- and -r- are excluded;
- c) If the initial consonant is g-, the allomorph -s is excluded;
- d) If the initial consonants are p- or t-, the allomorph -m- is excluded;
- e) If the initial consonants are b-, g-, h-, y-, the allomorph -r- is excluded.

The formulation of rules of allomorph choice is complicated because of free variation in some of the allomorphs (Deny 1945:231). For example, the word *çevre* ‘circle’ has four of them: *çe-p-çevre*, *çe-pe-çevre*, *çe-re-çevre*, *çe-s-çevre* ‘from every side’.

Turkic languages have a fixed accent at the end of a word. During partial reduplication the word is lengthened by adding one or two syllables. One syllable words become two: *dik* - *dimdik*, *gök* - *gömgök* or three syllables: *genç* - *gepegenç*. Two syllable words become three: *baya* - *basbaya*, *koca* - *koskoca* or four syllables: *siklam* - *sirilsiklam*, *gündüz* - *güpegündüz*, and three syllable words becomes four: *yuvarlak* - *yusyuvarlak*, *çiplaklık* - *çırçıplaklık* and five syllables: *karişık* - *karmakarışık*, *dağınık* - *darmadağınık*, etc.

Instead of the expected accent a much stronger accent appears on the first syllable: *yuvarlak* - *yusyuvarlak*, and in the case of the presence of an intensifier echo syllable in the affix the second syllable becomes accentuated: *karmakarışık*, *sirilsikla* (Zimmer 1970:161).

It appears that the accentuation of a Turkish word is changed (Ergin 1967:355 – 6), and in consequence the paradigm of word accent is destroyed.

Rightside agglutination, i.e. suffixation, is one of the main traits of Turkic languages (Gencan 1997:11). It has now become possible to state the presence of prefix-type morphemes, joined from the left side to word-bases or stems. While the following kinds of morpheme exist – prefix, infix, interfix, transfix, confix, circumfix, ambifix – interfix is preferred. Intensifier morphemes are dissociated and determined as interfixes, which serve for binding (part of) root or stem with root or stem.

On this material is observable issues of accentuation and affixation type are interconnected. The new data lay the ground for a more adequate interpretation of the main typological traits of Turkic languages.

Turkic languages are considered to be only suffixal (Ediskun 1996:155). But in a word-formation process having dominant suffixation, for the expression of intensity intensifier morphemes function with thirteen allomorphs, a state of affairs which differs partially from Greenberg’s 27th universal (‘If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional; if it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional’ (Greenberg 1966:101)), because one has to do with a non-suffixal derivation process in Turkish.

Here we see expressions of extreme degree in Georgian and Uidian influenced by Azerbaijani. In these latter a totally new form of intensive appears, following the Azerbaijani model, by means of reduplication of the first syllable and the interfix -*m*: Georg. /*koxe*/ ‘unripe’ - /*ko-m-koxe*/ ‘very unripe’, /*c’iteli*/ ‘red’ - /*c’i-m-c’iteli*/ ‘deep red’, /*yia*/ ‘open’ - /*yi-m-yia*/ ‘wide open’, /*umarilo*/ ‘unsalty, unsalted’ - /*u-m-umarilo*/ ‘completely unsalted’, /*peq’sola*/ ‘barefoot’ - /*pe-m-peq’hsola*/ ‘totally barefoot’, /*cariel*/ ‘empty’ - /*ca-m-cariel*/ ‘completely empty’. Exactly the same occurs in Uidian with a unified -p- allomorph: /*neshum*/ ‘yellow’ - /*ne-p-neshum*/ ‘very yellow’, /*keje*/ ‘sour’ - /*ke-p-keje*/ ‘very sour’, /*çoça*/ ‘red’ - /*ço-p-çoça*/ ‘deep red’.

This small fragment of Turkish grammar is important for the specifications of the main properties of Turkic languages, because two typological characteristics of native lexical items – only suffixation, and accent on the last syllable – are changed.

In order to illustrate the increasing dynamics of the forms examined above further examples are given in the Appendix.

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Appendix

Prefix-like morphemes (interfixes) in Turkish

acı	bitter	p	a-p-acı	very bitter
açık	open	p	a-p-açık	wide open
açıklık	clearness	p	a-p-açıklık	openness
ak	white	p	a-p-ak	very, all white
ansız, ansızın	suddenly	p	a-p-ansız	
			a-p-ansızın	all of a sudden
aşikar	clear	p	a-p-aşikar	completely clear
aydın	light	p	a-p-aydın	absolutely light
aydınlık	daylight	p	a-p-aydınlık	very light
ayrı	apart	p	a-p-ayrı	quite separate
az	little	p	a-p-az	too little
başka	other	m	ba-m-başka	totally different
başkalık	diversity	m	ba-m-başkalık	differentness
baya, bayağı	simple	s	ba-s-baya	
		m	ba-m-bayağı	very common
		s	ba-s-bayağı	
bedava	free, gratis	s	be-s-bedava	very cheap
belli	clear	s	be-s- belli	obvious
		se	be-se-belli	

beter	worse	s	be-s-beter	the worst
beyaz	white	m	be-m-beyaz	snow-white
bok	feces	m	bo-m-bok	utterly spoilt
boş	empty	m	bo-m-boş	absolutely empty
boz	grey	m	bo-m-boz	quite grey
böyük	big	s	bö-s-böyük	very big
bulanık	turbid	s	bu-s-bulanık	very turbid
buruşuk	crampled	m	bu-m-buruşuk	very cramped
buz	ice	m	bu-m-buz	cold, very cold
bütün	whole	s	bü-s-bütün	altogether, entirely
car	market	r	ca-r-car	from every side
cavlak	naked, bald	s	ca-s-cavlak	completely naked
çabuk	quick	r	ça-r-çabuk	very quickly
çevre	circle	p	çe-p-çevre	all around
çiplak	naked	r	çi-r- çiplak	stark naked
		rl	çi-rl-çiplak	
*dağan, *dağanlık	scattered	r	da-r-dağan	in a clutter
dağın, dağınık	untidy	r	da-r-dağanlık	
		r	da-r-dağın	
		rma	da-rma-dağın	very untidy
		p	da-p-dağınık	
		rma	da-rma-dağınık	
dar, daracık	narrow	p	da-p- dar	very narrow
		p	da-p-daracık	
		s	da-s-daracık	
derin	deep	p	de-p-derin	too deep
dizlak	bald	m	di-m-dizlak	quite bald
dik	upright	m	di-m-dik	very steep
dinç	strong	p	di-p-dinç	too strong
direkt	direct	m	di-m-direkt	absolutely direct
diri	alive	p	di-p-diri	very alive
doğru	right	p	do-p- doğru	perfectly correct
		s	do-s-doğru	
dolu	full	p	do-p- dolu	over-filled
		s	do-s-dolu	
duru	clear	p	du-p-duru	very clear
düz	flat	m	dü-m-düz	absolutely flat
		p	dü-p-düz	dü-pe-düz
		pA		
eski	old	be	dü-be-düz	
		p	e-p-eski	quite old
*eyi, *eyice	well, good	p	e-p-ey, e-p-eyce	(the) best
genç	young	p	ge-p- genç	very young
		pA	ge-pe-genç	
geniş	wide	m	ge-m-geniş	quite wide

gök	sky	m	gö-m-gök	quite blue
gündüz	daytime	pA	gü-pe-gündüz	broad daylight
güzel	beautiful	p	gü-p-güzel	very beautiful
halat	rope	m	ha-m-halat	rough, uncouth
hayal	dream	m	ha-m-hayal	fantasy, illusion
hayalli	unreal	m	ha-m-hayalli	dreamy
hayranlık	admiration	t	ha-t-hayranlık	adoration
hazır	ready	p	ha-p- hazırl	completely ready
ırap	far	p	ı-p-ırap	too far
ıslak	wet	p	ı-p-ıslak	very wet
ıssız	uninhabited	p	ı-p-ıssız	absolutely desert
ışık	light	p	ı-p-ışık	very bright
ihtiyar	old	p	i-p-ihtiyar	too old
ince, incecik	thin	p	i-p-ince, i-p-incecik	too thin
incelik	thinness	p	i-p-incelik	(the) most thinness
iri	vast	p	i-p-iri	very vast
*kacak	dishes	p	ka-p-kacak	pots and pans
kara	black	p	ka-p-kara	pitch-black
karanlık	darkness	p	ka-p-karanlık	completely darkness
		ş	ka-ş-karanlık	
kariş	untidy	rma	ka-rma-kariş	very untidy
karişık	mixed	m	ka-m-karışık	in a mess
		rma	ka-rma-karışık	in utter disorder
katı	hard	p	ka-p-katı	very hard, rigid
		s	ka-s-katı	
kavlak	peeled	s	ka-s-kavlak	very peeled
kırmızı	red	p	kı-p-kırmızı	quite red
kısa	short	p	kı-p-kısa	too short
kıvrak	lithe	s	kı-s-kıvrak	tightly bound
kızıl	red	p	kı-p-kızıl	fully red
koca	big	s	ko-s-koca	huge
kocaman	huge	s	ko-s-kocaman	colossal
kolay	easy	p	ko-p-kolay	very easy
koyu	dark	p	ko-p-koyu	fully dark
kör	blind	p	kö-p-kör	absolutely blind
kötü	bad	p	kö-p-kötü	very bad
kuru	dry	p	ku-p-kuru	bone-dry
kütük	drunk	s	kü-s-kütük	very drunk
mavi	blue	s	ma-s-mavi	blue-blue
mavilik	blue colour	s	ma-s-mavilik	blueness
mor	violet	s	mo-s-mor	quite violet
olgun	ripe	p	o-p-olgun	fully ripe
ölgün	withered	p	ö-p-ölgün	very withered

parça	piece	ram	pa-ram-parça	all in pieces
pembe	pink	s	pe-s-pembe	very pink
perişan	scattered	r	pe-r-perişan	in confusion
		s	pe-s-perişan	
*pirik	old	m	pi-m-pirik	very old
pis	dirty	m	pi-m-pis	too dirty
sağ	aline	pA	sa-pa-sağ	in good health
sağlam	healthy	p	sa-p-sağlam	sound and well
		pA	a-pa-sağlam	
sakin	quiet	p	sa-p-sakin	totally quiet
sarı	yellow	p	sa-p-sarı	bright yellow
sefil	miserable	r	se-r-sefil	very miserable
		rll	se-ril-sefil	
serpe	freely	re	se-re-serpe	quite freely
sert	hard	m	se-m-sert	too hard
sıcak	hot	m	si-m-sıcak	very hot
		p	si-p-sıcak	
sıkı	tight	m	si-m-sıkı	very tight
sıklam	wet	r	si-r-sıklam	sopping wet
		rll	si-ril-sıklam	
siyah	black	m	si-m-siyah	pitch black
sivri	sharp	p	si-p-sivri	sharp
şirin	pretty	m	şı-m-şirin	very pretty
		p	şı-p-şirin	
takır	empty	m	ta-m-takır	quite empty
tamam	complete	s	ta-s-tamam	quite complete
tatlı	sweet	p	ta-p-tatlı	fully sweet
taze	fresh	p	ta-p-taze	very fresh
		pA	ta-pa-taze	
tekerlek	wheel	s	te-s-tekerlek	very round
temiz	cleen	r	te-r-temiz	absolutely clean
top	ball	r	to-r-top	quite round
topaç	fat	s	to-s-topaç	quite fat
toparlak	round	s	to-s-toparlak	quite round
ucuz	cheap	p	u-p-ucuz	very cheap
ufak	smoll	p	u-p-ufak	too smoll
uslu	quiet	p	u-p-uslu	fairly quiet
uygun	suitable	p	u-p-uygun	very adequate
uzun	long	p	u-p-uzun	extremely long
yakın	near	p	ya-p-yakın	very near
yalnız	alone	p	ya-p- yalnız	totally alone
		pA	ya-pa-yalnız	
yarık	split	p	ya-p-yarık	very split
yassı	flat	m	ya-m-yassı	very flat

yaş	tear	m	ya-m-yaş	very much tears
yaz	sommer	m	ya-m-yaz	very summery
yeni	new	p	ye-p-yeni	brand-new
		pis	ye-pis-yeni	
		s	ye-s-yeni	
yeşil	green	m	ye-m-yeşil	fully green
		p	ye-p-yeşil	
yumru	bump	s	yu-s-yumru	very bump
yuvarlak	round	s	yu-s-yuvarlak	quite round
zayıf	weak	p	za-p-zayıf	very weak

THE GEORGIAN TRANSLATION OF VIS AND RĀMIN:
AN OLD SPECIMEN OF HERMENEUTICS*

Fakh-al-Din As'ad Gorgāni composed his versified romance *Vis o Rāmin* in the mid-eleventh century at the suggestion of 'Amid Abu'l-Mozaffar, the governor of Isfahan under the first Saljuq ruler, Toghril. The original Parthian version is lost, but a good number of points in the poem itself ¾ personal names, lexicon, Zoroastrian terminology, and daily norms of life, among others ¾ clearly reflect the impact of its origins. Despite of the Persian origin, Gorgāni created an original romance that suited the taste of his time, when dogmatic ideology had been mellowed by some degree of freedom. It is one of the first full-fledged examples of a genre of romantic epic that has reaches us,¹ a genre attaining its zenith a century later in the masterpieces of Nezāmi of Ganja. *Vis o Rāmin* was composed at least one century before the appearance of the European monuments of this genre, known today as the medieval romance. This is a point that must be emphasized in order to highlight its merits and acknowledge its proper place in the history of world literature. In the numerous works dedicated to the history of medieval European literature, the sources of this genre, as a rule, are considered to be only the traditions of the ancient world, and the Orient is, at best, only mentioned in passing and allotted quite an unimportant and disputable part. It is obvious that ancient and medieval European imaginative narratives often used originally Oriental topics and motives, but the fact that in the eleventh century, that is, a century before the beginning of the European romance, the genre of romantic epic had already reached its full development in Persia, is left unmentioned.

Among the early monuments of this genre that have reached us, namely 'Ayyuqi's *Varqa and Golshāh* (early eleventh century) and Gorgāni's *Vis o Rāmin*, the latter evinces the special characteristics of the genre of romantic epic most clearly, and became a kind of milestone in the course of the evolution of this genre. It completes the first stage of its development and appears as a model for the writers of following generations. *Vis o Rāmin*, with its rich display of facts regarding everyday life and psychological realism, refined methods of developing characters, portrayal of heroes as ordinary human beings (rather than idealizing them and stripping them down to their souls), and characters finding their own self and fighting for the right of self-assertion represent a qualitatively new step in the development of the medieval novel. It reflects, quite densely and in a classical manner, the tendencies and elements that became the essential and common characteristics of the genre in the course of its historical development. These traits include a plot and dramaturgy not guided by natural phenomena but by changes in feelings and emotions, individualization of characters, and a search for the psychological state of the heroes in their behavior.

Gorgāni describes with great artistry the story of a passionate, socially forbidden love between Vis, wife of Mowbed, and her brother-in-law, Rāmin, Mowbed's brother. The plot reminds us of the well-known French work of the twelfth century, *Tristan and Isold*. Gorgāni's plot is constructed on the principle of minimal action (especially in the second part of the work) and a maximum of emotions. It is more a history of love than a history of sweethearts, as the spiraling development of their love serves to reveal the dynamics of the plot. The geography of the poem is versatile, but the main collisions in the plot are created not by the shift from one place to another, but by problems involving psychological motives arising in the lovers, the nature of which is predetermined by the complexity of human nature and a social environment marked by unstable conditions. The vocabulary and poetic structure of the story underline the density of the plot with true strong emotional charge. The high frequency of the usage of the words *del* (heart) and *jān* (soul) and their numerous derivatives intensify the lyric tone of the narrative and the psychological background of the story. Furthermore, the notion of the heart, as an epicenter of the inner life, sometimes comes through as a substantial force, with an ability to perform an action opposed to the will of its owner. Discovering individuality, trying to analyze a

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1 It is prepared only by 'Onsori's Romantic epics and Abu'l-Mo'ayyad Balkhi's *Yusuf o Zoleikha*, not to mention Ferdowsi's *Bizban o Manizha*.

person's complex and controversial nature, and making the problem of interpersonal relations in daily life the subject of literature, were all new in the history of the epic composition at the time of Gorgāni.

These lofty qualities notwithstanding, no other classical monument of Persian literature has given rise to such controversial, incompatible and even mutually exclusive appraisal. The lover's piquant relations and the moral aspect of the story aroused particular indignation among scholars, for whom there were among the characters no positive persons. Among nineteenth-century Orientalists, K.H. Graf was only one who held Gorgāni's poem in high esteem (something that made him an object of I. Pizzi's ridicule); he held a positive view of the characters such as Shah Mowbed and his brother Zard (Graf, p. 378). The happy end of the story - Vis and Rāmin's marriage and their peaceful reign for many years, establishing justice and becoming exemplary for their nation - causes the greatest indignation. Even more so, their earthly sins were forgiven not only by people but by God as well, and their souls were united in the heavens. "An ending of our story does not coincide with our view about the issue of the tragic crime and its expiating," notes R. Shtakelberg (p.16). Shtakelberg's remarks were not only repeated by other scholars but were elaborated in the idea that Vis was vicious, lascivious, and a liar. Lustful Rāmin is no better. He is both with Vis and Gol, his second wife. Then he returns to Vis again, but he permanently defends his interests and quivers over his life (Bertells, pp. 284 f.; Braginskij, 1956, p. 312).

Soviet Orientalists put forward more paradoxical statements. Bertels hold the opinion that the story narrates the scandals of medieval courts, and that the poet Gorgāni was anti-establishment (*ibid.*, p. 285). A similar idea was expressed more moderately by I. Orbeli (p. 557 f.). Braginskij, however, offers a different insight. He maintains that the heroes are not artificial but rather quite real and earthly human beings; but he concludes that Gorgāni's peculiar aesthetic is hidden in its satire against the feudal establishment of his times (Braginskij, 1996, p. 146). Characterization of *Vis o Rāmin* as a social satire became a norm in the Soviet scholarship of Persian literature and was often repeated (e.g. by Gafurov, p. 284; cf. *Kratkaja literaturnaja enciklopedija* II, pp. 450, 683).

The scholars who believed that Gorgāni's attitude was realized in the picturing of negative characters and the ugly sides of life ignore his quite clear position. In reality, the motivations of the poet's heroes, Vis and Rāmin, (but mostly Vis), are from the first glance, though scandalous and shocking, simple and excusable. Critical ignorance has led to reducing the plot of the poem to a scheme, according to which the characters are not always ideals of morality. But Gorgāni uses all his literary talent and artistic methods of expression to show the inner impulses coming out of the complex nature of individuals and their behavior. In view of this it would not be objective to evaluate the poem as satirical. Another side of the matter is how acceptable the leading ideas of the work are to the reader and the scholar. Only the last third of the twentieth century saw a more realistic evaluation by Russian scholars of Gorgāni's work, best expressed by Vera Nikitina (pp. 128-31)

The evaluation of Sir Oliver Wardrop in the preface of his English translation of the story is quite significant:

This book is an elaborate study of a woman, whose whole life dominated by love. It is certainly one of the oldest novels in the world. Thus it will appeal to historical and linguistic students, but its intrinsic merits give it a claim to universal interest. The love-letters deserve notice as early specimens of this kind of composition, and the lyrical passages (the songs of Rāmin) are also worthy of attention... Not only has the book a value as literature of high quality and as an undoubted antique, but there is reason to believe that it may have had a good deal to do with that development of European romanticism which finds utterance in the songs of the Minnesinger, the lays of the Troubadours, and the letters of Heloise (Visramiani, 1814, pp. v-vi).

Persian sources offer various though often critical appraisal of the composition of Gorgāni. His popularity seems to have decreased over time, a trend which may best be explained by the rise of orthodox Islam in the twelfth century in every sphere of life and the marginalization of free creation. Historians of literature in the fifteenth century already had difficulty identifying Gorgāni's poem and they attributed it sometimes to Nezāmi of Ganja and sometimes to Nezāmi 'Azuri of Samarcand, both of the twelfth century. In the sixteenth century, Amir Alishir Navā'i alludes to the forgotten status of *Vis o Rāmin*. Nezāmi of Ganja gives quite a negative assessment to his predecessor, Gorgāni, thought he could not help but imitate certain elements of

Vis o Rāmin in his celebrated romance *Khosrow and Shirin*. The renowned medieval satirist ‘Obayd Zakāni humorously notes that chastity should not be expected from a female reader of *Vis o Rāmin*.

It is Significant that only six manuscripts, some incomplete, have survived outside Iran from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and not a single copy from Iran has survived (preface to *Visramiani*, 1884, pp. viii-ix). This can best be attributed to the bold portrayals of love that shocked the conservative medieval society, as noted by such renowned Persian scholars as Badi’-al-Zaman Foruzānfar, Vahid Dastgerdi, and Mohammad-Taqi Bahār (aqud Marr, p. 259). Nonetheless, literary circles seem to have welcomed the work, not only for its images, but also its meter (*hazaj*), which is emulated in the romances *Vāmeq and Azrā*, *Khosrow and Shirin*, *Farhād and Shirin*, and *Leyli and Majnun*. The story gained wide acceptance only by modern society (see, e.g. Minovi’s introduction to *Vis o Rāmin*).

In the first half of the twelfth century, Gorgāni’s poem was translated into Georgian prose as *Visramiani* by an unknown author; late sources attribute the translation to Sargis T’mogvi. It soon became an organic part of the belle-letters and joined the canon of Georgian secular literature, which had been developing for a century or so. The poets of the Georgian classical period, which flourished in the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, were well familiar with Gorgāni’s work and tried to elaborate on its characters, a trend to be expected in an era of expanding secularism in the united and prosperous Georgia under Queen Tamar. It was during the golden age of Georgian culture under King David the Builder: “Therefore the Almighty came forth as the son of man // To suffer our passions in the likeness of man // And to grant His divine mercy unto sinners ...” (David Aghmashenebeli, Prayer III, p.4). For such a strong duophysitic Christian accent to be made acceptable, we have the finale of Gorgāni’s poem the European scholars being so indignant at it in which even God understood *like the man* the sin of sweethearts and forgave them by joining their souls in the heavens.

Gorgāni’s interest in *Vis o Rāmin* was no less in the following centuries. At the end of the seventeenth century, the king-poet Archil, of a very dramatic fate, versified *Visramiani*, and when his work was burned in his exile, he did it once more. It is worth mentioning that Archil, who was not particularly fond of Persian literature, but favored Georgian national traditions, was not able to escape former. In the following century, the adventures of *Vis o Rāmin* were retold by another Georgian king-poet, Teimuraz II, and other contemporary Georgians used these themes as well. So profound was the impact of this work in Georgia, that even as late as the later nineteenth century it was still perceived as a monument of Georgian literature, rthrough not without serious questions raised by some scholars about its foreign pedigree (see, *Visramiani*, 1884, pp. viii-ix).

Visramiani remains one of the best classical examples of translated literature in Georgia. Its exceptional success derived not only from its attractive plot and literary value but also from skillfulness of the translator. He tries to remain loyal to the original plot and no less top its lexical and expressive methods, while at the same time allowing himself to treat the material creatively. Sometimes the translator shortens this or that passage to give more flexibility to the work. At times he strengthens and loads the poetic images of the original with deeper impactions or even replaces them by the corresponding Georgian equivalents. According to Vladimir Minorsky, the Georgian version is free translation which fully retains the spirit of the Persian original but differs from it in number of minor details, at the same time giving the translation a vivid national coloring (Minorsky, 1943, p. 741).

The Georgian *Visramiani* was largely responsible for the worldwide popularization of this Persian novel. It began with the English translation of Sir Oliver Wardrap, the great friend of the Georgian culture, who sought the assistance of his Georgian friend living in Europe, and published his work in London in 1814. *Visramiani* was also translated into Russian, in both abridged and full versions, and into German.

Gorgāni’s work has been so important to Georgians that they prepared the most reliable edition of his original Persian poem. After an extensive comparison among all the available Georgian and Persian manuscripts, A. Gvakharia and Magali Todua published two fundamental texts: Georgian *Visramiani* (Tbilisi,1962) and Persian *Vis o Rāmin* (Tehran, 1970). The latter is far more accurate than the preceding editions of the Persian text; its many ambiguities came to light when comparison was made with the Georgian text. The importance of *Visramiani* for the history of the Persian text lies in that, it being the oldest known manuscript of the work and better preserved than the original, it helps restore corrupted lines and determine the reliable editions in different Persian manuscripts, which date from later period.

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SOCIAL MEDIA LANGUAGE DURING THE “ARAB SPRING” IN EGYPT AND TUNISIA *

The language of the “Arab Spring” became political tool for different social groups or camps (secularist or “Islamists”) in the Middle East countries. From day of the revolution and until today, the role of language is still under the great interest of scholars or analysts working on the “Arab Spring” problems. Protesters used social media to organize demonstrations, spread information about their activities, future events etc.

Some analysts say that the role of Social media as Twitter and Facebook during the “Arab Spring” is overstated but it is true that protests and unrest in the Middle East countries generated a substantial amount of social media activity. But statistics shows that the number of social media users arose dramatically during the “Arab Spring” in most Arab countries, especially where political uprising took place.

After 2009 Iranian elections many Twitter users altered their profile images so that they were tinted green (the color of Islamic Revolution in Iran) and switched their location to Tehran in a sign of solidarity with the movement.

The paper tries to answer the question: to what extent did social media language influence on the “Arab Spring” – a leaderless movement in the Middle East region. To answer on this question, two Arab countries – Egypt and Tunisia – are chosen to analyze because these two countries had the biggest number of social media users as Facebook and twitter among Arab countries influenced by the “Arab Spring” in the Middle East region.¹

The paper aims to find out the political discourse of slogans and messages used in the social media during the “Arab Spring” and how it influence on uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia. It tries to answer the question on what extent the slogans and messages used in social media influenced on gathering people during the “Arab Spring”.

Studies on the social language of the “Arab Spring” have been given a special attention by some scholars. Al-Haq and Hussein (2012) attempted to analyze the social discourse of 400 slogans collected from different media sources in Egypt and Tunisia. Colla (2012) analyzed Egyptian slogan “the People Want” which became the common slogan for the uprising in the Middle East region. Lahlali (2014) studied social, political, cultural and linguistic aspects of the slogans used in Egyptian revolution. Al-Suwaidi, Banda and Mansour (2017) analyzed slogans colected in Egypt, Lybia and Yemen. The authors showed to what extent the slogans meet the standards of political discourse.

The WAAKS-ENG page showed up in a post on the 19th of January featuring a short video called “The camera is my weapon”. Later, Facebook page “We are all Khaled Said” posted: “On the 25th January, Egyptian protesters will carry their cameras as their weapons... They will use cameras to capture every policeman who will attack peaceful protesters... (And then we will) show it to the world. Have you got your camera ready?”²

The idea from Egyptian government to close Internet and social media had reaction from protesters. As admins of “We are all Khaled Said” posted: “Let me give u some facts & u give us input plz: Mubarak switched off Internet, so everyone went to street to see what happens & ended up joining ...”³

Facebook Page “We all are Khalid Said” was created by Wael Ghonim, Google marketing executive living in Dubai, who saw the photo of a bloodied face with broken jaw of a young man whose life was taken away. That young man was Khalid Said killed by the Egyptian police. Egyptian born Ghonim got very angry and he posted online on Facebook: “Today they killed Khalid”. “If I don’t act for his sake, tomorrow they will kill

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, XI, 2018. *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Popular Culture of the Middle East and North Africa ‘Popular Cultures between Site and Flow’*. Tbilisi, 2018, 28-30/09/2018, pp. 481-489.

1 For example, nine out of ten Egyptians and Tunisians responded to a poll that they used Facebook to organize protests and spread awareness.

2 “We are all Khaled Said”, at <http://www.elshaheed.co.uk/2012/01/26/the-story-of-we-are-all-khaled-said-english-facebook-page-1-of/> accessed 20/08/2018.

3 Ibid.

me".⁴ So he decided to create Facebook page under the title "kulluna Khaled Said" ("We Are All Khaled Said").

The page became so popular, that "We are all Khaled Said" admin was posting on the 26th of January: "I can't keep up with the news that are coming. I need 20 more people sitting on computers here to report everything: People in Suez are so angry and started donating blood for the tens of victims of Police opening fire in Suez. We will not be silent".⁵

Egyptian protests were organized through old and new media with activists such as "the April 6 Youth Movement", using social media, blogging, and video sharing to encourage people to protest. As nine out ten Egyptians and Tunisians responded to a poll that they used Facebook to organize protests and spread awareness.⁶

As Jerad declared, "the Tunisian revolution represents a good model for the study of the role of language in the very advent of the revolt and the scope of its slogans, which resonated with many elsewhere and expressed the first Arab awakening to democracy".⁷ The language became an effective weapon to topple the dictators in Tunisia and Egypt. So, Tunisian *Degage* became *Irhil* in Egypt and Yemen. "The protesters have therefore employed a lengthy list of politico-linguistic devices to resist the power of the regimes in their relevant countries".⁸

As social media language is divided into two main parts: pictures and photos and text slogans delivered directly from demonstrations during the "Arab Spring", the paper analyzes only slogans used during the demonstrations and spread by social media. Several Facebook and twitter pages are analyzed such are "We are All Khalid Said", #Egypt, #25January, #Day of revolt" and slogans and saying are collected.

Slogans/Tweets

During the "Arab Spring" media sources as TV channels, articles, Facebook and Twitter slogans were spread. The language of slogans was different. They were written and chanted in Standard and Colloquial Arabic. As Colla (2012) mentioned: "They were not only singing to themselves – they were self-consciously performing revolution for only the entire Arab world". These slogans can be analyzed according to protesters' religious, political, social and cultural perspectives. Analysts point out several types of slogans used during the unrest in the Middle East countries.

They are:

- **Secular:**

"الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام"

Ash-sha'b yuriid isqaat an-nizaam ("The people want to overthrow the regime") (Egypt & Tunisia).

This is the central slogan for the "Arab Spring" and speaks to a broader Arab society. It became the slogan of January 25th in Egypt, but it was not pure Egyptian one. The slogan was borrowed from Tunisia. It was chanted nor in French neither in Tunisian as activists knew this slogan was for the whole Arab world. When government of Zein al-Abidin shut down websites, Egyptian activists began to repost videos and pictures on mirror sites. So #SidiBouzid and #Bouazizi were Egyptian Twitter pages.⁹

The slogan soon was spread in Yemen, Libya and appeared in Bahrain in February 2011. A month later it was shown up in Syria too.¹⁰

4 Jose Antonio Vargas, "How Egyptian Revolution Began on Facebook", Feb, 2012, Sunday Book Review, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/19/books/review/how-an-egyptian-revolution-began-on-facebook.html> accessed on 20/10/2018.

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6 Huang, Carol (6 June 2011). "Facebook and Twitter key to Arab Spring uprisings: report". *thenational.ae*. Retrieved 17 May 2015.

7 Nabiha Jerad, *The Tunisian Revolution: From Universal Slogans for Democracy to the Power of Language*, MEJCC, Leiden, 2013, 234.

8 Elliott Colla, "The People Want", Middle East Report, No.263, THE ART & CULTURE OF THE ARAB REVOLTS, Summer, 2012, MERIP, 5

9 Colla, "The People Want", 10.

10 In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the slogan was changed to *ash-sha'b yuriid inha' al-ingisaam* ("The People want an end of the division") where demonstrators demanded the unification of Fatah and Hamas; In Jordan this slogan was changed to *ash-sha'b*

As Rashid Khalidi suggest in his article published in February, 2011, Tunisian chant ‘ash-sha'b yuriid isqaat an-nizaam (“The people want the downfall of the regime”) which widespread in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and Jordan refers to all Arab people's desire to change the prevailing regimes in the region.¹¹

"ويسقط الفرعون والزبانية"

wa yasqut al-fir'awn waz-zabbaniyya ("Down with the pharaoh and tyrant") (Egypt)

"يسقط، يسقط حسني مبارك"

yasqut yasqut husnii mubaarak ("Down, Down Husni Mubarak") #Jan25#Egypt#Sidibouzid#Tunisia.

"يسقط الطاغوت"

Yasqut at-taaghooat ("Down with the tyrant") (Egypt)

The most common attributes of slogans describing Mubarak are “taghut” (“tyrant”) or “fir‘awn” (“pharaoh”). It is interesting to mention, that “pharaoh” was used first time towards the second president of Egypt Anwar As-Sadat. When he was killed, Khalid a-Islambuli, the killer said during the court trial: “I killed the Pharaoh and I am not afraid of death!”

"وصادمون حتى يرحل الطاغية"

Wa saadimuuna hatta yarhal at-taghiyya ("Preserving until the downfall of the tyrant") (Egypt).

"بن علي يا جبان ... الشعب التونسي لا يهان"

Bni 'ali yaa jabban ... ash-sha'b at-tuuniisyi laa yahaan ("Bin Ali, O, coward, Tunisian people are not insulted") (Tunisia).

"مبارك ارحل غور أحسن بكـره تموت مقتول"

mubaarak irhal ghuur ahsan bukra tamuut maqtuul ("Oh, Mubarak get lost, or else you'll soon be killed") (Egypt).

Targets of the slogans often were not just presidents but their family members, top figures and representatives of state repressive apparatus.¹² For example,

"يا جمال قل لأبوك ... شعب مصر بيكرهوك"

yaa jamaal qul liabuuk ... sha'b misr byaqrahuuk ("O, Jamal, tell your father that Egyptian people hate you") (Egypt).

"جمال مبارك، باطل! سوزن مبارك، باطل! احمد عز باطل! حبيب العدل، باطل! باطل، باطل!"

Gamaal Mubaarak, baatil! Suzanne Mubaarak, baatil! Ahmed 'Ezz, baatil/Habib al-Adli, baatil!/ baatil, baatil, baatil! ("Gamal Mubarak, useless!/Susan Mubarak, useless! Ahmad Ezz, useless!/Habib al-Adly, useless!/Useless, useless, useless!").

"يا سوزن قولي لليه كيلو عدس بعشرة جنيه"

Yaa Suuzan qulii li-al-biyh kilo al-'adas bi-'asharah jiniih ("O, Suzan! tell the Bey, one kg of lentils costs ten Egyptian pounds").

As Al-Suwaidi mentions, “Here, people who are afflicted with poverty cannot even get their essential needs. Lentils, which is the national dish for a high percentage of Egyptians is no longer affordable.¹³

- ***Religious:***

"اتقوا الظلم. فان الظلم ظلمات يوم القيمة"

ittaquu az-zulm. fainna z-zulm zulumaat yawm al-qiyaama ("Avoid cruelty. The same darkness will return for The Day of Judgment").

- ***Justice:***

yuriid isqaat al-hukooma ("The People want downfall of the Government").

11 Khalidi, "Reflections on the Revolutions".

12 Colla, "In Praise of Insult", 43.

13 Al-Suwaidi B., and Banda and Mansour, "Doing Politics in the Recent Arab Uprisings: Towards a Political Discourse Analisys of the Arab Spring Slogans", JAAS, Vol.52 (5), 2017, 629.

"من حقنا أن نعيش في سلام"

min haqqinaa an ta'iisha fi salaam ("It is our right to live in peace").

"لا بد من يوم ثرد فيه ... أبيض على كل مظلوم ... أسود على كل ظالم..."

laa budda min yawm turad fihi ... abyad 'ala kulli mazluum ... aswad 'ala kulli zaalim ("There is no day you will be returned ... white to all oppressed ... black to all unjust ...").

"شهداء من أجل تونس"

shuhadaa'u min ajli tuunis ("Martyrs for Tunisia's sake") (Tunisia).

• *Joke:*

"خبز وماء، بن على لا"

khubz wa maa bni 'ali laa ("Yes to bread and water, no to Bin Ali") (Tunisia).

"ارحل عاوز اتزوج"

irhal awuz atazawwaj ("Step down, I want to get married").

"والله ما هنمتشي. ومالهاش حل ثاني انتا هنمتشي وأنا باقي بمكاني"

wallahi maa hanimshii. wimalhaash hali thaanyi inta hatimshyi w'anaa baaqyi bimakaanyi ("By God, we will not leave. No other solution, you will leave or I will stay here").

"لا، لا يا جيش خليك بره وأوعى تطيش حسني مبارك مش حيعيش"

la, la, la yaa giish khaliik barra wuuwa ttiish husni mubaraak mish hay'ish ("No, no, no, oh army, stay out and don't be reckless, Hosni Mubarak will not live") (Egypt).

"لست من الاخوان لكن مبارك هو المحظور"

lastu min al-ikhwaan lakin mubaraak huwa al-mahzuur ("I am not from the brotherhood, but Mubarak is the one outlawed") (Egypt).

• *Proverbs/Quotes:*

"الجوع كافر"

al-jaw' kaafir ("A hungry man is an angry man") (Egypt).

• *Dialect:*

Some slogans and Tweets are posted in dialects. Slogans written in dialects are more emotional, might be because to be close to local population of all levels and social camps.

"مش عايزيته، حسني مبارك مش عايزيته" و"لازم يمشي، لازم يمشي"

mush aayiziinhu, husnii mubaraak mush aiziinhu wa laazim yimshi, laazim yimshi ("We don't want him, Hosni Mubarak, we do not want him. He must leave, he must leave") (Egypt).

"ارحل يعني امشي... يلي مبنتهمشي"

irhal ya'ni imshii ... yaliib mabtafhamshii ("Leave means step down ... You do not understand") (Egypt)¹⁴

"يعني بن على فهم وانتا يا مبارك لسا ما فهمتش؟"

ya'nii bni 'alii fahim vantaa yaa mubaarak lisaa maa fahimtish? ("Bin Ali understood and you, O, Mubarak, why don't you understand?") (Egypt) #Egypt#jan25

"حرر بلنا ... خرج مصر للمصريين"

hanuharrir baladanaa ... hanarja misr lilmisriyyna ("Let's free our country... let's return Egypt to Egyptians") #Jan25#2011#Egypt

"جبل ٢٠١١ يقول لجبل ١٩٥٤ احنا مش زيك، احنا بنفكـر في السـتين السنـة اللي حـابة"

14 Al-Suwaidi and Banda and Mansour, "Doing Politics in the Recent Arab Uprisings", 638.

jiil 2011 yaquulu lijil 1945 ihnaa mush zayyikum, ihnaa binufakkir fi s-sittiin as-sana ilyya haaba (“Generation of 2011 says to generation of 1945 we are not like you, we think sixty years before”) #Egypt#Jan25

”أقوى الهتافات النهاردة: الشعب يريد باسقاط الرئيس، حسني يا خاربها اطلع بره...“

aqwa l-hutaafaat n-nahaarda: ash-sha'b yuriid biisqaat ar-ra'iis, husnii yaa khaaribuhaa itla' barra wasiibuhaa (“The strongest slogan today: people want the downfall of the president, Hosni step down ...”) #jan25

Sometimes diglossia was used during writing the slogans or posts or tweets. Slogans and tweets in Egypt and Tunisia were written in two languages: English-Arabic or French-Arabic. For example:

”المصريون ليسوا ار هابيون“

al-misriyyuna laisuu irhabiyyna (“Egyptians are not terrorists”)

”ارحل... بن علي“

”dégage ... Bin Ali“

irhal bnu 'alii (“Leave, Bin Ali”)

”Dégage, degage, degage, ya khumaj“ (“Get out, get out, get out you rotten scoundrel”)

”Dégage!“

”Irhal!“ (“Leave!” “Get out!”) used in Tunisia to ouster Ben Ali in 2011. As Michel Harb said: “It is significant, that the initial expression of the sentiment was articulated in French, to be translated only once it was evident that the Tunisian uprising had captured the attention of the wider Arab region; the French chant needed to be reiterated in MSA for reasons of mutual comprehensibility, Tunisian Arab identity, and to successfully export the revolution”.¹⁵

The “Arab Spring” slogans were analyzed according to sociolinguistic attitudes too. For example, Fawwaz Al-Abed Al-Haq and Abdullah Abdelhameed Hussein used data from 400 slogans from Egypt and Tunisia and based on six sociopolitical features of slogans:¹⁶

1. Calling for change:

”التغيير التغيير ارحل ارحل يا حقير“

at-taghiir at-taghiir irhal irhal iaa haqir (“Change, change, leave, leave O, scum”) (Egypt).

2. Calling for rejection of foreign interference:

”اوبياما: توقف عن عدم الارهاب، توقف عن عدم مبارك“

uubaamaa: tawaqqaf an adami l-irhaab, tawaqqaf an adami mubaarak (“Obama: stop supporting terror, stop supporting Mubarak”) (Egypt).

3. Calling for rejection of justice, tyranny and oppression:

”لا للفساد ونهب ثروات البلاد“

laa lilfasaad wanahib sarawaat al-bilaad (“No for corruption and rifling of the country”) (Tunisia & Egypt).

4. Calling for positive participation in political life:

”يا مواطن يا ضحية ... اخرج شارك في القضية“

yaa muwaatin yaa dahyyia ... ukhruj shaarik fi l-qadiyya (“O, citizen, O, victim, come and participate in the case”) (Tunisia).

5. Calling for freedom and independence:

”تونس، تونس، حرّة، حرّة، بن علي على بره“

tuunis tuunis hurra, hurra, bni 'alii 'ala barra (“Tunisia, Tunisia, free, free, Bin Ali is out”) (Tunisia).

¹⁵ Michel, H., “IRHAL!: The role of language in the Arab Spring”, 2013.

¹⁶ Al-Haq, F., and Abdullah Abdelhameed Hussein, “The Slogans of the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions”, a sociolinguistic study, Leiden, 2012.

6. Challenging the World policy:

"أمريكا: نعم نستطيع"

amriikaa: na>am nastatii> ("America: Yes, we can") (Egypt)¹⁷

Tweets

During the "Arab Spring" dual language posts were used on Facebook and Twitter. For example: "I make *dū'a*¹⁸ for your country/people, that you can make a change! *Wallahi*¹⁹, if I were a man, I would coke to Egypt to support you" (Post on Facebook page of "We are all Khalid Said").

Twitter hashtags began from Tunisia as #sidibouzid, #tunisia later was added #egypt, #jan25. These tweets became the most popular during the revolution in Egypt and Tunisia.

Developments of the "Arab Spring" were accompanied by discussions in Twitter – English, Arabic, and mix. For example, #Egypt Twitter page is in English, Arabic and mix languages. For example, Alyouka, 21 year old Egyptian girl was the first person to tweet out the #Jan25 hash tag which along with #Egypt became the most popular tool for communication between protesters, said that Twitter was the most important tool for protesters.

During the revolution in Egypt demonstrates used twitter to create texts and distribute fast. One of the most important organization and social features of twitter use in Egypt was the "hashtag" #jan25 along with others like #Egypt and #Tahrir. As Facebook was blocked several times in Egypt, Twitter became more popular to spread the information during the uprising.

It is interesting to mention that after 2009 Iranian elections many Twitter users altered their profile images so that they were tinted green (the color of Revolution) and switched their location to Tehran in a sign of solidarity with the movement.²⁰

The use of hash tags in Latin characters (even the use of Latin names of the countries: #Egypt, #Libya) does not limit audience to English speakers. During the "Arab Spring" mostly Latin hash tags were used but Twitter supports the use of non-Latin characters in tweets too.

Hashtags were not limited to English speakers, in spite of the use of the English names of these countries. Arab speakers were forced to use Latin characters, although Twitter supports the use of non-Latin characters in tweets themselves. Tweets were written in both languages, but dual language hashtags were not supported by the platform, which could not yet support left-right or right-left hashtags. Tweets in two languages were as "English bridges" for MENA region across Levant area and "Arabic bridges" for other countries. For example, in Syria Arabic was used to discuss "more general issues government, unemployment and poverty", when English was used for more specific activist issues including individual cases of arrests, harassment (Jansen).

In tweets on Tunisian revolution #sidibouzid multiple languages were used to gain vast audience (Arabic, English, French).

On Twitter most tweets were in English cause of Twitter was used by diverse group of people throughout the World. For example:

"Yesterday we were all Tunisians. Today we are all Egyptians. Tomorrow we'll be free"
(#jan25#sidibouzid#egypt).

"If you are in EGYPT – UNLOCK your WIFI – so people can access the Internet"
(#Jan25#Egypt#fb, 25/11/2011).

Sometimes tweet users use popular quotes: "A great revolution is never the fault of the people, but of the government" (Goethe) (#Egypt#Jan25).

"The regime is in shock" #Jan25

The "Arab Spring" slogans and tweets have created the political discourse in the Middle East region dur-

17 Compare to Obama's slogan: "Yes We Can".

18 Du 'a – The term is derived from an Arabic word meaning to "call out", to "summon".

19 Wallahi – "I swear to Allah" used by Muslims.

20 Lotan, G., Erhardt Graeff, Mike Ananny, Devin Gaffney, Ian Pearce, Danah Boyd, "The Revolutions Were Tweeted: Information Flows During the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, International Journal of Communication", 5 (2011), 1380.

ing the uprisings. The slogans collected in the research show that they do deal with political as well as with social topics. The variety of slogans shows diversity of views of demonstrators participated in uprising during the “Arab Spring” in Egypt and Tunisia. Most slogans were written in Arabic, but some of them were chanted in English or French. The common language used by social media was Modern Standard Arabic which shows that middle class actively participated in the riots. In brief, it could be said that variety of slogans and languages used by social media points to the variety of participants from middle educated social class in the “Arab Spring” demonstrations.

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BATTLING THE MYTHS: WHAT LANGUAGE WAS THE GEORGIAN AMOS TRANSLATED FROM? * **

Abstract

The idea that the Georgian Bible was translated from Armenian was first proposed about one hundred years ago as one of the arguments supporting the Japhetic theory developed by Nikolay Marr. It suggested that the Georgian translations could serve as a tool for restoring the particular layer of the Armenian Bible, which had been written in Proto-Armenian – a form of the language that had not yet undergone the process of Indo-Europeanization. The theory turned out to be commonly accepted among western scholars of the Christian Orient: on the one hand, it gave a “clear” hierarchical picture of the Eastern Church – Antioch>Armenia>Georgia; and on the other, an opportunity to restore the lost Armenian version through Georgian, while using the former as a tool for restoring the lost Syriac Vorlage. Yet this speculative theory became a Procrustean bed into which the textological data were forced. If a more careful method were pursued, taking into account all extant sources as well as translation technique and language specificities, and subjecting the data to unbiased analysis, what picture would emerge? This study conducts such an analysis in the book of Amos, challenging long-accepted conclusions about the origins of the Georgian version and its significance.

1. Introduction

“The Use of Versions for Text Criticism” was the theme of the IOSCS Congress in 1985. Georgian translation of the Old Testament was not among its topics. *Communis opinio* was based on the ideas of such famous Orientalists as R. Blake, J. Molitor and, particularly, J. Assfalg who believed that the Georgian Bible was translated from the lost Armenian version, itself based on a Syriac version that has not come down to us either. It is quite difficult to question the statements of great scholars, especially if testing their theories requires the knowledge of such a complicated language as Georgian.

In the proceedings of the Congress John W. Wevers wrote about such matters: “legends are created which can only be undone with great difficulty.”¹ In this article I intend to undo such a legend. I will skip the earlier stage of scholarship² and discuss the habilitation work Julius Assfalg did more than fifty years ago – “Altgeorgischen Übersetzung der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias.”³ I will particularly focus on that part of Assfalg’s thesis which deals with the issue of the origin of Georgian Amos.

The aforementioned work by Julius Assfalg represents a thorough study which is very impressive and seems to be reliable precisely due to its detailed character. The edition of the *Minor Prophets* is based on the following four manuscripts: the Oshki Bible (=O; Athos, Iviron, Ath.-1, 978), the Jerusalem Prophets (=J; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, n.7,11; 11th c.), the Sinai Lectionary (=L^s; Sin. 37, 10th c.), and the Moscow Bible (Mo=B; 1743).⁴ The edition is equipped with notes clarifying the relationship of the readings of the

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1 John W. Wevers, “The Use of Versions for Text Criticism,” in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea* (ed. N. Fernández Marcos, Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 20.

2 For the history of the issue see Anna Kharanauli, “Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia – Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik,” in *OrChr* 85 (2001): 204–36; idem, “Khanmeti Fragments of the Old Testament and the Problems of the Origins of the Georgian Bible,” in *The Kartvelologist, Journal of Georgian Studies* 11 (2004): 54–77; idem, “Questions regarding the Origin of the Georgian Bible Translation,” in *The Kartvelologist, Journal of Georgian Studies* 18 (2013): 129–141.

3 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 405.

4 Julius Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias, Texte aus Hss Jeru-*

Georgian MSS with Greek,⁵ Armenian and Syriac (Peshitta and Syro-hexapla) versions.⁶ These readings are discussed and statistically summarized at the end of the chapters dealing with the individual manuscripts of Georgian Minor Prophets. At the end of his analysis Assfalg concludes: „Weitaus die engste Verwandtschaft besteht also zu der LXX . . . [deren] möglicher Einfluss . . . auf 61,62 % steigt. Es ist also offensichtlich, dass J sehr nahe mit LXX verwandt ist. . . . Demgegenüber treten die Beziehungen von J zu Arm allein mit 23, 24%, zumal es sich bei diesen Stellen mehr um formale Übereinstimmungen als materielle Entsprechungen, gemeinsame Überschüsse, Auslassungen oder Fehlübersetzungen handelt, **die viel beweiskräftiger wären** (*emphasis mine*).⁷ Assfalg comes to the same conclusion concerning the Oschki MS⁸ and Sinai Lectionary⁹ as well. In the Moscow Bible, a closer relationship with the Greek is even more obvious.¹⁰ Thus, concerning all the manuscripts, Assfalg specifically emphasizes that „die Übereinstimmungen mit Arm beschränken sich fast ganz auf wenig wichtige Lesarten.“¹¹ However, the final conclusion contradicts his own statistics and his evaluation of the *character of the Georgian-Greek and Georgian-Armenian correspondences*: “Nun zeigt die Geschichte der georgischen Literatur im allgemeinen und der georgischen Bibelübersetzung im besonderen, dass sich die georgische Literatur zunächst in engen Zusammenhang mit der armenischen entwickelte. Nach dem Bruch mit der armenischen Kirche . . . wandte sich Georgien von Armenien ab und der griechische Literatur zu.¹² . . . Aus dieser deutlich erkennbaren Entwicklung heraus¹³ ist es schwer vorstellbar und wenig wahrscheinlich, dass eine ursprünglich aus der Griechischen geflossene Übersetzung nachträglich nach Arm

salem 7/11, Athos 1, Sinai 37, herausgegeben und untersucht (München, 1959). Those who knew Julius Assfalg personally, as I did, will understand how difficult it is for me to criticize some aspects of his magnificent and generally solid work. My criticisms are not intended in any way to cast a shadow on Assfalg, whom I knew to be an outstanding person and scholar.

- 5 These are the sources available to the scholar at the end of the 1950s. Apart from these sources the books of the Minor Prophets are known to be preserved in: 1. the 12th century *Gelathi Catena Bible* (Tbilisi National Centre of Manuscript (NCM), A-1108) which is a recension of the Old Georgian translation (i.e. text of Oshki and *Jerusalem* MSS) against the Greek Catena manuscript. Last part (from 7:9) of the text of the Amos manuscript is missing; 2. the *Mtskheta Bible* (NCM, S-51, which includes the Prophetic Books printed in Tbilisi in 1743), that is the recension of the *Gelathi* MS-text by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani accomplished against several sources, one of which was the Armenian Bible. The so-called *Moscow Bible* – the first printed Georgian Bible published in Moscow under the guidance of Prince Bakar – is a reproduction of this recension; 3. the *Paris* (Georgian 3, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 10th c.), *Latali* (Svaneti Museum, 10th c.), *Kala* (NCM, Q 1653, 9th c.) *Lectinaries*. In various readings from the Old and New Testament, these Lectionaries provide the texts of different traditions, i.e. the Oshki-Jerusalem as well as other translations.
- 6 When comparing the Georgian translation to the Greek, Assfalg used Ziegler's edition: *Dodecim Prophetae* (Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943). It is noteworthy that this was the first occasion when the ancient Georgian translation of the Old Testament was compared not only with *Textus Receptus* or Rahlf's critical edition but also with all of the extant sources.
- 7 Despite their accuracy the notes still lack the significant part of the data, some of which (particularly dealing with vocabulary) will be discussed below.
- 8 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 364–65.
- 9 “Arm ist in O etwas schwächer vertreten als in J” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 387).
- 10 “Der “Anteil der Arm ist mit 18,7 % (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 425).
- 11 “Der Einfluss von Arm ist stark zurückgedrängt. Doch beweist sein Vorhandensein immerhin, dass Mo keine Neuübersetzung nach LXX ist, sondern eine Revision einer älteren georgischen Textgestalt, die starken armenischen Einfluss aufweist . . . Der Einfluss von Arm muss also der alten Schicht von Mo, die vor der Revision nach LXX liegt, angehören” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 405). I will note only two of the variants corresponding to the Armenian provided by Assfalg: 6:2 πάντες] + εἰς χαλαν(ν)ην L’-407-613 87^{mg}-68 Aeth^P(in k’anan) ἡ Ρωμανίη Arm յանձնաց Ge^{SB} Cyr^P Th. Th. Hi. ^P; 6:2 εἰς Εμαθ] pr ἡ սլծն տօքաց Ge^{SB}. Indeed, in the text corrected against the Greek such correspondences with the Armenian might be attributed to the translation (not to mention the fact that apart from the Armenian the addition εἰς χαλαν(ν)ην / k’anan is also attested in other sources, including the Lucianic MSS). But these readings on folio 287r of the *Gelathi Catena Bible* in fact does not belong to the initial text but were inserted by the editor of the *Mtskheta Bible* and consequently, from here they were transferred to the *Mtskheta Bible* and the *Moscow edition* (see the note 4 above). Thus, it is absolutely clear that the textual layer of the *Moscow Bible* containing the Armenisms is not the oldest one that remained unchanged by the editors who corrected the text against the Greek; rather it dates to no earlier than the end of the 17th century. On Orbeliani's corrections in the *Gelathi Bible* see Elene Metreveli, “On the Study of the Sources of *Proverbs*” in *Mrvavaltavi (Philological and Historical Researches)* 7 (1980): 98–115 (in Georgian); Korneli Danelia, “One Source of the Lexicon by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani” in *Mazne (Courier of the Georgian Academy of Sciences)* (1964, 2): 206–207 (in Georgian); Elene Dotshanashvili (ed.), *The Mtskheta Bible* (Tbilisi, 1985), 4–5 (in Georgian).
- 12 In fact it was only after the Schism that the Armenian texts gained authoritativeness for Anti-Chalcedonian Georgians.
- 13 i.e. based on a speculative theory rather than on the textological data.

überarbeitet wurde.”¹⁴ Thus, Assfalg absolutely eliminates doubts about the textual value of the Georgian-Armenian parallels at the end of the work: “Nun weisen aber JOSiMo so starke armenische Elemente auf (*emphasis mine*), dass ein tiefgreifende Einfluss von Arm auf diese georgische Textzeugen außer Zweifel steht.”¹⁵

But how does Assfalg explain much stronger influence of the Septuagint on the Georgian translation?¹⁶ His explanation is as follows: “diese georgische Übersetzung wurde aber schon frühzeitig, mehrmals und zum Teil in den einzelnen Textzeugen unabhängig voneinander nach LXX überarbeitet.”¹⁷ However, such an explanation is quite surprising even for Assfalg: “Das ist überraschend bei einem georgischen Bibeltext, dessen Entstehungszeit, schon nach dem Alter der Hss zu urteilen, vor allgemeinen Revision der georgischen Bibel nach dem Griechischen liegt.”¹⁸ Assfalg leaves the issue unresolved and formulates the final result of his research on the origins of the Georgian translation of Minor Prophets as follows: “die alte georgische Prophetenübersetzung . . . lätzlich auf eine armenische Vorlage, wohl die **armenische Prävulgata mit starken syrischen Einfluss** (*emphasis mine*) zurückgeht.”¹⁹ Thus, Assfalg repeated the consideration of his predecessors whom he himself had criticized due to their incorrect research methodology.²⁰

Like everyone else, I have seen neither the *Armenian pre-Vulgate* nor its Syriac *Vorlage*. Therefore, my discussion will focus on interrelations between the available texts,²¹ i.e. the texts of the Georgian MSS and the Armenian text of the Zohrab Bible, which is considered to be more or less an authentic source for the Armenian translation.²²

For the purpose of establishing the hypothetical *Vorlage* of the Georgian Amos I will only focus on its vocabulary in the present paper. However I have reached the same conclusions when dealing with other components of translation (such as quantitative data, word order and grammar, especially syntax).

Bible translation in general represents an extensive field of research which includes three major spheres: translation technique, the history of the text, and the history of the language(s). All three spheres of research are closely related, and all of them have the same goal – to imitate the original and its language not only semantically but also in the sense of its formal-structural character. Often translations in different languages apply similar tools resulting in typological parallels. However, every language has its own distinctive patterns and character; that is why the goal of translation – to render the text with a high degree of literalism – is not always achievable. Therefore, free translation can also lead to the typological parallels that occur in various versions. My first purpose in dealing with the analysis of Georgian-Greek-Armenian parallels is to determine whether the similarity between two variants is a sign of their immediate interdependence or a typological parallel. I will also take into account the way in which a certain variant is characteristic of the language, giving preference to those that follow one of the texts (Greek or Armenian) against the nature of the Georgian language, while disagreeing with the other version that would have been much easier to render. In contrast, I will consider divergences of Georgian and Armenian from the Greek to be less significant (or even insignificant) where they are caused by the difficulty or impossibility of being adequately rendered from Greek into these languages.

I will pay special attention to the Armenian unique readings (*Sonderlesart*) and observe the cases where the Georgian a) follows or b) disagrees with them. I will further consider the character of these Armenian readings and find out whether they belong to the Armenian translator or to the Armenian copist (the latter being irrelevant for defining the origin of the Georgian translation).

14 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 439.

15 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 439; cf above, section 1 and n. 8.

16 “der weitaus grössere Einfluss der LXX als von Arm und Sp” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 320).

17 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 440.

18 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 320.

19 Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 440.

20 Assfalg himself claims that in the case of the *Twelve Prophets* there are no visible traces of the Armenian pre-Vulgate, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 290.

21 I will take into account that the available texts contain different textual layers.

22 See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 290: “Im Armenischen zeigt bereits der Kommentar des Nerses von Lampron zu den 12 Propheten eine Textgestalt, die mit der armenischen Vulgata völlig übereinstimmt.”

I will also specifically consider variant readings of the Georgian MSS that are caused by misreading of (or errors in) the Greek or Armenian *Vorlage* or that represent a result of such interpretation, which could be explained by the semantics of the Greek or Armenian words.

In order to substantiate a statement a few typical examples are usually sufficient. However, as we are dealing with a disputable issue, in order to settle the matter I will examine **all cases** of Georgian-Armenian parallels despite their unequal value for defining the origin of the translation. At the same time, I will examine a large portion of the Georgian-Armenian differences, to give an idea not only of the interrelationship between the two translations but also of their distinctive characters.

I will start with the Georgian-Armenian parallel readings which, according to Assfalg, are undoubtedly closer to the Armenian rather than to the LXX.²³

2. Georgian and Armenian Parallel Readings

Three cases of Georgian-Armenian parallels provided by Assfalg deal with the rendering of Greek words that do not have exact lexical equivalents in Georgian.

There are three ways for rendering a word that has no exact equivalent in a target language: 1. to coin a neologism through etymological translation, 2. to express the semantics of a source word through description, or 3. to use an existing word that widens or narrows the semantics of the source word. A translator's choice generally depends on such things as his preference for literal vs. free translation, on his considerations concerning the importance of rendering a lexical unit formally, and on whether the translator is content to use available equivalents that simply express the main meaning of the context. The ancient Georgian translator of Amos alternates between two choices – *sometimes the translator attempts to follow the Vorlage literally by violating the target language, while sometimes choosing a certain lexical equivalent due to the context*. When discussing the following examples I regard it to be essential to consider the nuances of the translation technique.

2.1. αἰπόλος

The first case of Georgian-Armenian lexical parallels applies to the rendering of αἰπόλος (*a goatherd*): 7:14 αἰπόλος] θῆραμβο Geo^{OJL} hnψի ւ; տեատ մեցոլդթյ Geo^{SB}.

In the Septuagint αἰπόλος occurs only in this verse.²⁴ Both in the Old Georgian version (of Oshki, Jerusalem, and the Paris Lectionary MSS) and in the Armenian, it is rendered by generic terms that mean *pastor*. As an equivalent of αἰπόλος, *pastor* is also used in some quotations of *Vetus Latina*.²⁵ This is due to the fact that there is no single word for expressing the concept under question (*a goatherd*) in these languages. Therefore, the translators are forced to widen the meaning of the original without leading to any changes of the semantic nuances in the context.²⁶ Thus, the given example is an illustration of typological similarity between the Armenian and Georgian translation techniques rather than of their immediate relationship.

Furthermore, if one takes into account the addition of the Lucianic MSS (αἰπόλος ἥμην] +αιγων III) it is also feasible that for the Georgian as well as the Armenian translators αἰπόλος did not have the specific meaning of *goatherd*.

As I have already mentioned, another way of rendering a lexical unit that is *non-existent* in a target language is descriptive. This method is used by Ge^{SB} for αἰπόλος: տեատ մեցոլդթյ (herd of goat). In some cases the same method is also applied by *Vetus Latina* (pastor caprarum, pastor caprarius, pastor armentarium) and

23 "Zweifellos näher mit Arm als mit LXX zusammengehen" (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 338).

24 However, see Prov 30:31 αἰπολίου derived from the same root, the equivalents of which in Georgian and Armenian are again generic terms: τράγος ἥγονύμενος αἰπολίου] ვაცօ წინამძღვარი სამწესოთა; նոխազ՝ առաջնորդ հոսի.

25 An opposite method of translation is applied in the Septuagint: a generic term of the Hebrew (כַּיְבֹּקֶר Herdsman) is specified and rendered by αἰπόλος. Cf. the equivalents of the Three, Vulg. and the Syriac: βουκολος α' σ' θ' ε' Syh Hi; Armentarius Vulg., ~~և~~ Peshitta.

26 The context is as follows: οὐκ ἥμην προφήτης ἐγώ οὐδὲ οὐδέσιος προφήτου ἀλλ' ἡ αἰπόλος ἥμην (ἀρα ვიყავ մը წინა(վ) և წაրմեթպշել, արցա ժը წიնա(վ) և წაրմեթպշելուսաք, արամեզ միջյամբ վիզա և Ge^{OJL}).

Coptic versions: ΟΥΜΑΝΕΒΑΔΑΜΠΕ Sa;²⁷ ΟΥΜΑΝΕΒΑΜΠΕ Ach;²⁸ ΟΥΜΑΝ Μ ΒΑΞΜΠΙ Bo.²⁹ I cite all these examples in order to show that parallels between these readings are rather typological, and such parallels by no means indicate the interdependence of versions.

2.2. σκύμνος

The same could be said of the similarity in the rendering of σκύμνος (whelp, esp. of a lion) by the daughter versions: 3:4 σκύμνος] ὥραζμαδ ὥρθοισαδαδ Ge^{Oj},³⁰ կորիւն աղիւծ (lion's whelp); ΟΥΜΑС ΜΜΟΥ Sa Ach;³¹ ΟΥΜΑС Μ ΜΟΥ Bo;³² catulus leonis (Vetus Latina, Vulgata); ὥραζμαδ մօսմաճ (σκύμνος αύτοῦ) Ge^G.

In the ancient Georgian MSS (i.e. in O and J) and the Armenian, as well as in Latin and Coptic translations σκύμνος is rendered descriptively. Similar to the ancient Georgian translation in the previous case of αἴπόλος, the Gelathi version renders a general meaning for the term, specifying it by means of a pronoun denoting λέων in the context.³³ There are also other examples of such descriptive renderings of σκύμνος in daughter versions, including Georgian translations that undoubtedly originated from Greek.³⁴ It is noteworthy that in the later *Hellenophile recensions of Athos and Gelathi, this extended equivalent of the ancient translations is not changed. It should also be noted that the lexical pair σκύμνος λέοντος often occurs in the Septuagint*,³⁵ so that such a descriptive rendering corresponds to the style of the source text itself.

Indeed, there are instances in the Georgian MSS where σκύμνος is rendered only by ὥραζ, primarily when the context makes absolutely clear whose offspring is meant. In some of these cases the Armenian uses description, unlike the Georgian version.³⁶

2.3. τριημερία

In his commentaries Assfalg indicates one more textual parallel between the Armenian and Georgian Amos. This involves the *LXX neologism – τριημερία, the meaning of which was determined by the ancient Georgian translators according to the context. This is contrary to the methods of the reviser of Gelathi school, who (as usual) renders the meaning of an unknown or rare word by semantic and structural calques*:

4:4. εἰς τὴν τριημερίαν Θωροὶς Σαμαρίθης Ge^L Σαμდღეობὸς Ge^G] τ. τριτην ημεραν W Co Ձյեամօնա գօլուսաց Ge^O; Ձյեամյեսա գօլշա Ge^J; α' εἰς τρεις <ημερας> Syh; α' εἰς την τριτην ημεραν (ημ. τρ. Syh) 86 Syh Hi.^{lat}; θ' εν τριστιν <ημεραις> Syh յերիբ աւուր.³⁷ As it appears, due to the fact that the Armenian and Georgian forms are not identical (the Georgian version has an ordinal numeral, while the Armenian version employs the cardinal), when providing a final discussion on the origin of the Georgian translation Assfalg does not mention this example.

In summary I will repeat the above mentioned statement: the rendering of lexical units that do not exist in target languages, i.e. Georgian and Armenian (as well as in Coptic and Latin), is done in a similar way.

27 Augustin Ciasca (ed.), *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica*, Vol. II (Roma, 1889).

28 Walter Till (ed.), *Die achmimische Version der zwölf kleinen Propheten* (Copenhagen, 1927).

29 Henry Tattam (ed.), *Duodecim prophetarum minorum libros in lingua aegyptiaca vulgo coptica seu memphitica* (Oxford, 1836). I am very grateful to Bonifatia Gesche and Ivan Miroshnikov for providing me with Vetus Latina and Coptic sources.

30 Assfalg considers a descriptive form of the Georgian equivalent as an addition originating from the Armenian, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 165, 345.

31 Gaston Maspero, *Fragments de la version thebaine de l'ancien testament* (Paris, 1892); Till, *Die achmimische Version*.

32 Tattam, *Duodecim prophetarum*.

33 3:4 εἰ ἐρεύξεται λέων ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ αύτοῦ ... εἰ δώσει σκύμνος φωνὴν αύτοῦ ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας αύτου.

34 For instance, Num 23:24; 24:9; Isa 31:4; Ps 16:12 σκύμνος] ὥραζ ὥρθοισα; Ps 103:21 ὥραζμαδ ὥρθοισα.

35 Gen 49:9; Deut 33:22; Judg 14:5; Nah 2:12; Isa 5:29; 30:6; Prov 30:30 σκύμνος λέοντος] ὥραζ ὥρθοισα կորիւն աղիւծու.

36 կորիւն աղիւծ for instance, Joel 1:6; Hos 13:8; Nah 2:12,13; Ezech 19:2,3.

37 Cf the Greek compound formed the same way is rendered in Georgian either by a compound (e.g. Isa 15:5 სამწლისა) or by being divided into its segments (e.g. 2 Par 31:16 ἀπὸ τριετοῦ] სამისა წლითაგანისა), while the Armenian employs a compound: յերեսնիցն.

This similarity is determined by the translation techniques rather than an immediate relation between the translations.³⁸

2.4. ἐπίκλητος

The following Georgian-Armenian correspondence is of different kind: according to Assfalg it is a result of confusion of ἐπίκλητος and ἐκλεκτός on the part of the translator:

1:5 ἐπίκλητος ὅμοιος Ge^G] ῥῆγος Ge^{OJL} լնտիր Arm, cf. a doublet: υρჩեցլյասօ հոգեծյլո Ge^{BS}. In another place, both the Armenian and Georgian versions of Amos understand the word ἐπίκλητος in terms of its lexical meaning: 9:12 ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά] ὅμοιος αὐτὸς սահելո; կոչեցեալ է անուն. In its turn, ῥῆցլյասօ and լնտրան correspond to ἐκλεκτός: 5:11 ἐκλεκτὰ] ῥῆցլյասա Ge; լնտրանաւ Arm. Thus, the Georgian and the Armenian translators are well aware of the meaning of both Greek words.

Indeed, the Georgian-Armenian lexical correspondence in 1:5 could be considered the result of confusion that exhibits a connection between these two daughter versions. However, as is well known, certain errors (including misreadings) may occur in different sources independently, especially if the reading in question fits the context. In 1:5 ἐκλεκτός is an attribute of λαός³⁹ and consequently it is quite possible to explain the readings of the Georgian and Armenian.⁴⁰ The same “confusion” of ἐπίκλητος and ἐκλεκτός / ἐπίλεκτος, but without a parallel in the Armenian, is also attested in other places in the Georgian OT (including the Catena Bible revised against the Greek). For instance: Num 1:16 ἐπίκλητοι τῆς συναγωγῆς⁴¹ անուանիր (*renowned, famous, illustrious*) ժողովրդեանն] ῥῆցլնօ զրյացլութանο Ge^{AKSB}; գամորհեցլնօ Շեսակրյացլութանո Ge^G; Num 26:9 ἐπίκλητοι τῆς συναγωγῆς անուանիր ժողովրդեանն հոգեծյլնօ զրյացլութանո Ge^{AK}] ռիցլնօ Շեսակրյացլութանո Ge^G; ռիցլնօ օյշնց զրյացլութանո Ge^{SB}. In both of these cases, the Armenian employs an adjective derived from անուանեմ (*to name, to call, to denominate, to term*), a common equivalent of καλέω. Thus, in Num 1:16 and Num 26:9 the Georgian variant originates independently from the Armenian readings.

But let us consider the issue from another angle: should we define the Georgian ῥῆցլյասօ Ge^{OJL} and Armenian լնտիր of verse 1:5 as a confusion of two different Greek words? Might it be the case that in certain contexts, dealing with a nation’s / people’s appointment, designation, the meanings of ἐπίκλητος and ἐκλεκτός partly coincide? The Georgian equivalent of ἐπίκλητος allows such an assumption to be proposed; in some of the Georgian MSS ἐπίκλητος is rendered by գամօրհօնեած, գանհօնեած having the meaning of *to call, to denominate, to term*:⁴² Josh 20:9 αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐπίκλητοι ქալայնո հոգեծյլնօ Ge^G] ქալայնո գանհօնեցլնօ Ge^{BDS}; cf. քաղաք հնյալսապ (*renowned, celebrated*). In other parts of the Old Testament where the context provides the meaning of *calling*, ὅμοιος is found in all the Georgian sources. Thus, in this case we might possibly be dealing with a translator’s selection of the contextual equivalent, rather than a misreading.

3. Ge contra Arm

Contrary to the above-mentioned four correspondences of Georgian and Armenian which, as noted above, are unlikely to indicate an Armenian origin of the Georgian readings, quite a large number of Georgian-Armenian differences could be cited, according to the following categories:

1. misreadings or mistranslation/confusions of the Greek words by one of the versions;
2. lexical equivalents that could be explained by different interpretations of the Greek text;
3. differences originating from the *Vorlagen* of the different text types;
4. formal/structural differences.

³⁸ This would be even more evident when considering the rendering of those Greek words that have correspondences in one of these languages, while lacking them in the other. In such cases the translation equivalents are also different (e.g. see section 3.4.4. below, the rendering of ιξευτής in Amos 3:5; 8:1).

³⁹ αἰχμαλωτισθησονται λαὸς Συρίας ἐπίκλητος.

⁴⁰ A similar occurrence in 3:2, where in the Armenian translation again լնտրել is employed. See section 3.2.1 and n. 58 below.

⁴¹ οὗτοι ἐπίκλητοι τῆς συναγωγῆς ἀρχοντες τῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πατριάς χιλίαρχοι Ισραὴλ εἰσίν.

⁴² auszeichnen, auswählen, abrufen, sichtbar machen, see Joseph Molitor, *Altgeorgisches Glossar zu ausgewählten Bibeltexten* (Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica 6; Roma, 1952).

3.1.1. Misreadings /confusions in Armenian

A clear example of the difference between the Georgian and Armenian translations is in 9:7 ἐκ βόθρου δღզմօտ Ge] ի Բոթրայ (*bothora*).⁴³ In the Armenian translation βόθρου is understood as a toponym and is transcribed in the same manner as the toponym Βαιθωρων in 1 Sam 13:18.⁴⁴ It is absolutely clear that the Georgian ծջմօտ corresponds to the Greek common noun ἐκ βόθρου (*ditch*), it is also evident that this equivalent belongs to the translation, rather than the result of revision against the Greek, since if the Georgian translation had employed a *proper noun* ծոտոր according to the Armenian, the transcription of the very Greek reading would not have been changed through the revision against the Greek.

Assfalg explains the following Armenian variant as a result of Greek homography: 3:10 չօտաւ էնառտիօն ավտիշ ոյմը (ոյցնեց Ge^G) ճնճամք մօսսա Ge] զլինելոց եղեղն իր. In the Georgian էնառտիօն is understood as a preposition, while in the Armenian it is rendered as a noun,⁴⁵ which Assfalg translates into Latin as *adversitatem* (*malignitatem*),⁴⁶ apparently equating the Armenian word to τὸ էնառտίօն (*the opposite*).

6:10 παραβιῶνται յօժլլցծօդօն (յժլլցծօդօն (err) Ge^O) Ge^J; օժլլցծօդօն Ge^G] իշանեն (*descend, fall, decline*). In Georgian παραβιῶνται is understood as παραβιάζομαι, while in the Armenian as παραβάίνω.⁴⁷ The misidentification of the Greek verb by the Armenian is determined by the context.⁴⁸

3.1.2. Misreadings in Ge

Տօժլլցծօդ (< օժլլցծօն), which was correctly employed in 6:10 as an equivalent of παραβιάζομαι is mistakenly used for rendering the Septuagint's *hapax legomenon* – καταβιόω in the following context: 7:12 καὶ ἐκεῖ καταβίου καὶ ἐκεῖ προφητεύσεις. In the Armenian καταβίου is properly understood (as καταβιόω): կեաց (to live, to be, to exist).

7:1 εἰς Γῷ մի Գովզ] զեցոց (*uisagog*) Ge^O; զուցոց (*uiisgoug*) Ge^J; զացօսսա մօմարտ Ge^G: Due to the obscure context⁴⁹ εἰς is interpreted differently in all these sources. In the Armenian it is rendered as a numeral (մի – one), while the Georgian MSS differ: in Ge^{OJ} εἰς is regarded as part of a *proper noun* – ΕΙΣΓΩΓ, while in Ge^G it is understood as a preposition of Γῷ, the equivalent of which – մօմարտ is inserted as a correction into the text by scribe of the Gelathi Catena Bible.

8:7 ἐπιλησθήσεται (<ἐπιλανθάνω) մնոասցին (to forget); զազօթյնեն Ge^{SB}] ձօզենյեն Ge^{OJ} = էմպլηսթիսետա (<πίμπλημι). Assfalg considers the Georgian variant as the result of a misreading of the Greek majuscule (a confusion of ΕΜΠΙΛ and ΕΠΙΛ).⁵⁰

It should also be mentioned that along with these misreadings or misunderstandings of the Greek *Vorlage* there is not a single case of a similar kind in the Georgian translation that could be explained by the Armenian *Vorlage*.

How important are the cited examples for establishing the origin of the Georgian translation? Assfalg emphasizes that generally translation's mistakes due to the translator or due to the damage or paleographical peculiarities of its *Vorlage* are considered to be the most important argument for identifying the language

⁴³ The context is as follows: τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ τοὺς Σύρους ἐκ βόθρου. It is noteworthy that Assfalg does not point out in his notes that the Armenian variant differs from the Georgian. He only indicates the difference between the Armenian toponym relevant to Կապածուաց – ի Գամրաց (< *Gamira*) and the Georgian զածագոցօն (Kapadokia), see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 186.

⁴⁴ 1 Sam 13:18 Βαιθωρων] δշտոր (*bethor*). It needs to be emphasized that βόθροις, as a common noun is properly translated both in Georgian and Armenian: 1 Sam 13:6 ἐν τοῖς βόθροις] տրմոցծօն (pits); ի խորխորասու (abyss).

⁴⁵ եղեղն – *rascality, offence, misdeed, malice, wickedness, fatality; catastrophe*.

⁴⁶ Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 167.

⁴⁷ See this correspondence in Isa 31:1 οἱ καταβαίνοντες] իշանեն.

⁴⁸ λήμψονται οἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτῶν καὶ παραβιῶνται τοῦ ἐξενέγκαι τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου : մոսկյնեն և ակլցուալուա մատուա დա յօժլլցծօդօն (յժլլցծօդօն err O) զնօցծօն(օ) մատուա սահլուսացան: առնուցուն զընտանիս իրեանց, և իշանեն հանել զնուկ բն նոց ի տանէ անտի.

⁴⁹ իծու բրոնչօς εἰς Γῷ ծ թատլենց.

⁵⁰ Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 357.

of the original.⁵¹ *Paradoxically*, when dealing with the Georgian translation such a common rule becomes invalid for establishing the textual value of the variant reading so that the Assfalg can claim that a misreading might belong to the reviser rather than the translator.⁵²

Such logic in Assfalg's reasoning and the reconsideration of a well-attested approach in textual criticism serves the purpose of fitting the textual data to an *a priori* conclusion regarding the Armenian origin of the Georgian translation. In my opinion, an objective evaluation of the previously discussed material would lead us to admit that the mistakes of both the Armenian and Georgian MSS belong to the stratum of translations, indicating that both the Georgian and Armenian translations originate from a Greek *Vorlage*.

3.2.1. Semantic changes in Armenian

The following Armenian readings that disagree with the Greek may have different text-critical values: some of them might be ascribed to a copyist, while some of them should be attributed to the translator. In all these cases the Georgian follows the Greek.

3:6 ՚ի՞ն ՌՈԹԵԼՈ Ge] եւ (and). By changing a relative pronoun with a coordinate conjunction hypotaxis is replaced with parataxis in the Armenian: ՚ի՞ն քըրիօս օ՞նք ՚ԵՊՈՒՆԵՎ ՌՈԹԵԼՈ ՇՋԱԼԺԱՆ ՚ԱՐԱ ցո] եւ Տեանս չիցէ արարեալ.⁵³

1:3 ἔπισον γαδ(ὶ)κερκβიდეს Ge] կսրէին (cut, devide, separate, lop).⁵⁴ Lexical change is especially obvious in this case: *figura etymologica* of LXX, which is adequately rendered by the Georgian, is not reflected in the Armenian.⁵⁵

3:2 ἔγνων γοւԾნց Ge] ընտրեցի (*elect, choose*).⁵⁶ The Georgian equivalent reflects the basic meaning of γινώσκω. As for the Armenian ընտրել, it usually corresponds to ἐκλέγω⁵⁷ and its use in the verse under consideration must be determined by the context: ἔγνων as in verse 1:5 refers to a *nation, people*.⁵⁸

4:10 ἀνήγαγον (ἐν πυρὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς ὑμῶν) αღმოვიყვანე Ge^{OJ} ; – ნენ Ge^G] ვსაჯე (=ჰკრია) Ge^L ; ծախեցի (ծախել – *consume, absorb, devour, corrode*). The equivalents of the source word in Georgian and Armenian are selected due to different considerations:⁵⁹ in the Georgian translation ἀνάγω is rendered through segmentation of the word (ἀν – = αღ-; – γαγον = მოვიყვანე), reflecting the basic meanings of these segments.⁶⁰ However, the Armenian again uses the contextual equivalent – the word that occurs with հնոր (fire) elsewhere in OT.⁶¹

4:13 στερεῶν βρούτην καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα ἀδνῶματιούσει μηδέποτε παραπέβαλλον σημαῖον Ge^{OJ}] πρ

⁵¹ „durchschlagende Beweise für die Sprache der Vorlage einer Übersetzung“ (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 356, 438).

⁵² See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 438.

⁵³ In his notes Assfalg does not point out this difference.

⁵⁴ կոստորել corresponds to δια(κατα)κόπτειν in Amos 1:5 and 9:1. See also Mic 1:16 κεῖραι : ՏՅՈՒՅԱՐՆԵՐ Ge : կարեա.

55 It should also be noted that apart from lexical change, this rhetorical figure is not rendered also because of the changes in word order in the Armenianian. ἔπριζον πρίσσων σιδηροῖς τάς ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσας τῶν ἐν Γαλαսαδ: **გաճ(Յ)եցրեցօքը եցրեօտա** რკინიսաօտա մուցգոմծօլուա ($\theta\text{უცელյմնულთა } \text{Ge}^{\text{I}}$; მოციქულთა ($\text{err } \text{Ge}^{\text{L}}$)) მათ გალაადს შინა ($\text{გალაადისთა } \text{Ge}^{\text{L}}$) Ge^{OJL} ; **გაճեցրեցօքը եցրեօտა** რკინისაօտა მუცელյմնულთა გალაადთას Ge^{SB} : կտրին զյիս Գաղատաց **ngunngop**՝ **երկաթէօր** (ἐπρίζον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσας ἐν Γαλαսաδ πρίσσων σιδηροῖς). Assfalg sees the difference between the Georgian and Armenian only in terms of transposition (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 160).

⁵⁶ On the difference between the Georgian and Armenian, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 165.

57 Cf. 5:11 ἐκλεκτὰ = ρῆγοι = ἐντραնαι(ἐντραն) and, as noticed above, in 1:5 it (ἐντηρή) corresponded to ἐπίκλητος (see section 2.4. above).

58 ἔγνων ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν τῆς γῆς – ընտրեցի յամենայն ազգա երկրի. The equivalents of *γινώσκω* / *γνωρίζω* are changed in other parts of the Armenian Amos as well: 3:3, 10. *ճանաչել* (*to know, to remark, to recognize, to discern, to comprehend, to conceive, to understand*) and 5:12 *զինել* (*to know, to perceive; to learn, to understand, to feel, to recognize; to consider, to observe, to note*). The Georgian equivalent (*განვიხილო*) is consistent in all these cases (3:2, 3, 10 and 5:2).

⁵⁹ Neither this difference is commented by Assfalg.

⁶⁰ On the formal equivalents, see section 3.4.1 below.

61 For instance: Zech 9:4 ἐν πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται: ცეცხლითა განილიოს Ge^O: სუ ჩერებ ძალებუღ; Joel 2:3 πῦρ ἀναλίσκον: ცეცხლ(ი) განმდლეველ(ი) Ge : ხილ ძალის. In these cases as well the Georgian employs equivalents that correspond to the lexical meaning of the Greek words.

հաստատեմ զերկինս եւ հաստատեմ զինդմս. The Greek *Vorlage* is again literally followed by the Georgian translation, unlike the Armenian one, which deviates from the Greek. This deviation can be explained by the parallel from Hos 13:4 στερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν ῥωμέλθαն დავამყარე და და დავპტადე ქუյցանაօ: որ հաստատեցի զերկինս եւ հաստատեցի զերկիր. In both of the Armenian translations of Amos and Hosea the two Greek participles (*στερεῶν* and *κτίζων*) that have different meanings are rendered with the same word (*հաստատել*), while the Georgian renders both Greek words with relevant equivalents that reflect the basic meanings of the corresponding Greek words. The same is true for the equivalent of *βροντὴν*: the Georgian renders its basic meaning – ქუխილ(6)օ, while the Armenian *զերկինս* (*caelum, heaven*) corresponds to Hosea's *οὐρανὸν*. Unlike the Armenian, there are no parallels between the Georgian Amos and Hosea; moreover, the same word *στερεῶν* is rendered differently by means of the synonyms: Amos 4:13 განვამტკიცო; Hos 13:4 დავამყარე.

9:8 է՛չար աւտին] աղջողո օցօ Ge բարձի՞ց զդա (բախնալ – *to take away, to remove, to carry off, to displace*) 9:8 է՛չար տὸν օῖχον] աղջողո Տաթլո Ge; ջնջեցից (ջնջել – *to clean, to dust; to erase, to cancel, to expunge; to destroy, to undo, to suppress*) զոռունն. The Georgian uses the same equivalent in both cases, chosen according to the basic meaning of the Greek counterpart, whereas the Armenian changes the equivalents according to the context.

7:15 է՛κ τῶν προβάτων ցերպարտացան Ge] ի հոսից (*flock of sheep, of goats*). The Georgian translation again selects an equivalent relevant to the basic meaning in the Greek, while the Armenian renders it with an equivalent that corresponds to *ποιμνίων* in other contexts of Amos: 1:2 *ποιμνιῶν* Q* III (86^{txt}) Aet Cyr^{comm} = Տամբիցսորտանո Ge^{OJL} = հոսից; 6:4 է՛կ ποιμνίων = Տամբիցսորտացան = ի հոսից.

8:14 πεσοῦνται დაეცნენ Ge^{OJG}] կործանեցին (Assfalg: *deicientur; overturn, subvert, overthrow, demolish, destroy, ruin*). In this context (πεσοῦνται և օ՛ւ մի անատառ) the Armenian changes a usual equivalent of *πίπτω* – անկանել (cf. Amos 3:5, 14; 5:2; 7:17; 8:3; 9:9, 11) with կործանել – a polysemous word which in different contexts corresponds to different Greek words.⁶²

1:11 μήτραν Տամբո ։ Ge^G] μητεրա B-V II'(86^{mg}) C'-68-239 La^S დედა Ge^{OJ}; զեղայր (brother) Arm. Lexical change in the Armenian could be explained by a parallel from the same verse (τοῦ διῶξαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ρόμφαιᾳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ) and may be secondary.

8:4 առ տῆς γῆς] επι տην γην 36^c Sa Aeth Gild ქუյցանասա Ցեդա Ge^{OJ}; Թօմբշերո Ge^{SB} = յերեկորեայ (vespere; of the evening): lexical change in the Armenian could be explained by the context;⁶³ One might also consider the possibility of confusion of երկիր (earth, land) and Երեկորեայ. It is noteworthy that the editor of *Mtskheta Bible* Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani applies an equivalent similar to the Armenian one – Թօմբշերո.⁶⁴

3:4 է՛կ τῆς μάնδρας ծյջոտ ցածր Ge^{OJ}; ծազօსացան Ge^{GSB}] ի մայրւոյ (մայր – cedar)⁶⁵ cf. Amos 2:9 քէծրու ճածց] մայրի; The Georgian translation of *τῆς μάնδρας* corresponds to the basic meaning of the Greek (*an enclosed space*). As for the Armenian equivalent, it could be explained by the parallel from the same verse⁶⁶ or by graphic confusion: in similar contexts մորի (den, lair) is an equivalent of *μάνδρα*.⁶⁷

The examples discussed show that the Georgian and Armenian translations in forms that have come down to us have no immediate connection with each other. Furthermore, these examples display different translation tendencies: the Georgian version provides a more literal translation, focusing more on lexical meanings by choosing of equivalents for the Greek words, while the Armenian is rather a free translation based mostly on contextual meaning. Some of the variants attested in the extant Armenian text are due to the parallels. In his notes Assfalg does not mention most of these differences at all or considers them (without analysis of any of the readings) to be the result of revision against the Greek.

62 For instance, in 5:2 կործանեցան corresponds to չսփալեն, and անկան, corresponds to չպետեն, see section 3.2.2. below.

63 ձկոնսաթե ծի տանտա օ էկտրիթոնտես էլէ տո պրու պենդա և կատածնաստենոնտես պտաշոնս առ տῆς ցին.

64 See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 183. On the corrections against the Armenian by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani see above, note 11.

65 Assfalg does not note this difference.

66 εἰ էրեւ չետαι λέων էկ տու ծրսմօն անտու ... ει ծասեւ տկύմνօս ֆանին անտու էկ տῆς μάնδρας անտու: Եթէ զոչիցէ՝ առեւծ յանտառ (forest)... Եթէ տայցէ՝ կորիւն արիւծու զձայն իւր ի մայրւոյ իւրմէ.

67 See Jer 4:7 անեթի լέωն էկ տῆς μάնδրաս (Տացովյալու Ge^{OJ}) անտու; Ps 9:30 աս լέωն և տի մանծրա (Տացովյալու Ge^G; Տացովյալու Ge^G) անտու.

3.2.2. Differing Interpretations of the Greek original in the Georgian and Armenian

The following examples of Georgian-Armenian differences provide cases reflecting different understanding of Greek lexical units.

5:2 ἔσφαλεν] შესცოდა⁶⁸ (*peccavit; to sin; sündigen*) Ge^{OJ}; ცთომა-ყო (to do wrong, false; to sin) Ge^G; կործանեցաւ (*overturn, subvert, overthrow, demolish, destroy, ruin*). Assfalg: *eversa est; deicientur*;⁶⁹ > Ge^L. The context is as follows: 5:2 ἔπεσεν οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῇ τοῦ ἀναστῆναι παρθένος τοῦ Ισραὴλ. ἔσφαλεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀναστήσων αὐτῆν] დაეცა, არღარა შესძინოს (-ო J) აღდგომად ქალწულმან, ასულმან ისრაელისამან. შესცოდა ქუეყანასა თვისსა (მისა J). არავინ არს, რომელმან აღადგინოს იგი Ge^{OJ}; Անկալ (տունի Խորայելի, եւ)⁷⁰ ոչ եւս յաւելուցու յառնել կոյսն Խորայելի. կործանեցաւ յերկրի խրում, եւ չիր որ որ կանգնից զնա. The problem for the translator is apparently the task of rendering the Greek synonyms – πίπτω and σφάλλω. For πίπτω the Georgian and Armenian versions apply standard equivalents, while the equivalent for σφάλλω is selected according to its contextual meaning. However, due to the fact that the Georgian and Armenian translators interpret the context differently the meanings of their selected equivalents also differ from each other. In terms of vocabulary, there is another difference between the Georgian and Armenian translations in this context: the Armenian renders ἀναστῆναι and ἀναστήσων with different words (յառնել (*rise, arise, get up, stand up*) and կանգնից (*rise, lift up, reinstate, reestablish; raise up, erect, set up, build, rebuild*)), while in Georgian, similar to the Greek, the same verb occurs (აღდგომად; აღადგინოს).⁷¹

6:8 τὴν ὕβριν] გინებად Ge; հպարտութիւնս. The Georgian and Armenian renderings reflect different meanings⁷² of the Greek polysemous word ὕβρις;⁷³ both Georgian and Armenian translations use their own standard equivalents: გინება (*shame, insult*)⁷⁴ and հպարտութիւնս (*pride, arrogance, haughtiness, vain-glory, superciliousness*).⁷⁵ It is also noteworthy that հպարտ is a Parthian borrowing into Armenian; the same loan word is also attested in the Old Georgian vocabulary (ამპარტავანი). Therefore, should the Armenian version have served as a *Vorlage* for the Georgian translation the latter would be expected to apply the same word as the Armenian.

6:6 τὰ πρῶτα μύρα პირველთა მიჰრონთა Ge^{GSB}] ოჩეუელსა (*chosen, cf. electis Ach*) ნელსაცხებელსა Ge^{OJ}; անոյշ (*dulci, sweet, agreeable*)) իւղով. The Georgian and Armenian translations provide different interpretations of the obscure expression of the *Vorlage*.

3.3. Various textual traditions underlying Georgian and Armenian

1:11 νῖκος δηλεγεῖται Ge] εἰς νεῖκος B^c L-49'-407 91^c 106 Ach Syh ի հակառակութիւն (*contrariety, opposition, resistance; dispute, quarrel, contest, combat*)⁷⁶

8:7 εἰς νῖκος δηλεγεῖται Ge] εἰς τελος σ' θ' ի սպառ (*in finem*)

3:15 προστεθήσονται შეიძინებ (შეიძრნებ(err) O; შეეძინებ GSB) Ge] αφανισθήσονται L'-407^{mg} Syh^{mg} անկցին Arm Th. Tht.; Ziegler considers the Armenian անկցին to be the equivalent of the Lucianic ἀφανίζειν. In other contexts (3:14; 5:2; 7:17) անկանել corresponds to πίπτω, while in 7:9 ἀφανισθήσονται is rendered as ապականեսցին. The change of the equivalent of ἀφανίζω in 3:15 is apparently caused by the rendering of ἀπολοῦνται (=წარწყმდენ Ge) with ապականեսցին in the same verse.⁷⁷ As for the Georgian

68 This word is a standard equivalent for ἀμαρτάνω. See e.g. Hos 10:9; 12:9 ἥμαρτεν.

69 See this Armenian equivalent above, in 8:14. Assfalg does not note this difference.

70 οἶκος Ισραὴλ is transmitted from the end of 5:1.

71 Assfalg does not note this difference.

72 Assfalg does not note this difference.

73 *wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion, insolence (LSJ); insolence, pride, arrogance; shame, insult, mistreatment (LEH).*

74 See in Minor Prophets: Mic 6:10; Nah 2:2; Zeph 2:10; 3:11; Zech. 9:6; 10:11.

75 See Mic 6:10; Nah 2:2; 3:11; Zech. 9:6; 10:11.

76 Assfalg does not note this difference.

77 ἀπολοῦνται οἵκοι ἐλεφάντινοι καὶ προστεθήσονται (//αφανισθήσονται) οἵκοι ἔτεροι πολλοί: წარწყმდეն სახლնი იგი პილოԱს-ժյալედნი და შეიძინებ (შეიძრნებ O) სახლնი მრავალნი სხუანი (ἔτεροι πολλοί): սպականեսցին ապականը

equivalent of προστεθήσονται – შეიძინებ, the literal rendering of the semantics of προστεθήσονται makes the meaning so obscure that in the Oshki manuscript შეიძინებ is changed into შეიძრნებ (shake, move) (=σείω 1:14; 9:1; σαλεύω 9:5).

6:2 βασιλειῶν μέτρητα γανίσაτα Ge^L; τα γανίσατα (err)⁷⁸ Ge^O; μέτρητα Ge^{GSB}] πόλεων 26 քաղաքներ Arm. However, the Armenian variant might be a rendering independent of the MS 26, since the cities (Եմաթ, Պաթթա, Γεթ) are referred to in the context.

3.4. Division of words into the segments

The following, formal correspondences of the Georgian against the Greek, and its differences from the Armenian absolutely exclude the Armenian origin of the Georgian translation and clearly reveal its immediate dependence on a Greek *Vorlage*. The following will deal with the formal rendering of the Greek prefixes, composites and derivatives in Georgian. Let us start with the first one.

3.4.1. Preverbs

The Armenian language lacks the preverb, while Georgian is equipped with quite a well-developed preverb system, which is the result of very intensive translation activities from Greek into the Georgian. We can trace the formation of this system diachronically: ancient Georgian literary sources and, especially, the translations clearly reveal the tendency of the Georgian to reflect the Greek preverbs formally by choosing between different equivalents.

The Georgian translation of Amos is a good example of the language still in the process of establishing the system, and it clearly shows how the formal translation stimulates the very process. The Georgian translator attempts to reflect not only the lexical meaning of the Greek word but also its structure. The same is true for cases when semantically it is not necessary to render the preverbs and, moreover, when the rendering of the preverb leads to pleonasm in the sentence (4:11; 5:3 in the *List* below). Of special interests are the cases when the formal rendering of segments leads to coining unnatural neologisms, the meaning of which is obscure in Georgian (5:8; 5:15; 4:2 in the *List* below).

The process of development of the preverbal system is also apparent in the relative consistency of equivalents in Amos. The text applies standard equivalents for ἐκ – (გამო-) and ἀνα – (აღ-//აღმო), while for ἀπό – and εἰσ-, it changes the equivalents due to contextual or lexical meaning. The variety of equivalents for polysemous preverbs such as κατά-, παρα-, διά-, μετά-, is of special interest, which points to the fact that the translator is in search of equivalents for these preverbs.⁷⁹

The list below provides cases where (unlike the Georgian translation) the Armenian renders only the semantics of the Greek word and does not follow its structure: here simple, organic forms correspond to preverbal Greek forms. Obviously, should the Georgian translation have used the Armenian version as its *Vorlage*, its equivalents would respectively be simple forms too, i.e. without preverbs.⁸⁰

1:4 ἔξαποστελῶ გამოვავლინო გe^{OJ}] αποστελ ლ C'-68 Th.Tht მოვავლინო გe^L; մօվավլո გe^G; առարկեցից (առարկել – to send, to dispatch, to expedite) = 1:7, 10, 12. է՛քապօստել გամոვավլინո] առարկեցից

5:4, 14 է՛չηγτήσατέ გაմომնიց 14 გամոնძიց) გe⁸¹] Խնդրեցէք (խնդրել – to seek, to look for, to search for or after, to make inquiries, to investigate, to examine)

փողով կայ, եւ բազում եւ այլ ապարանը անկցին (καὶ ἔτεροι πολλοὶ ἀφανισθήσονται).

78 It is possible that τα γανίσατα of the Oshki manuscript was considered by a copyist to be a toponym (*Tagan*).

79 It should also be noted that the difficulty in rendering these prepositions both with verbs and nouns in Georgian is found not only in earlier translations but also in later revisions; see for example Natia Mirotdzze, “The Equivalents of the Preposition κατά in the Old Georgian Recensions of the Book of Psalms,” in *Issue of Linguistic, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University* (2009. 1–2), 205–213.

80 The examples presented in this paper are only part of the Greek-Georgian correspondences of preverbal forms. On the importance of rendering preverbs for establishing the origin of the Georgian translation see Bernard Outtier, “Preverbs and the Origin of the Georgian Bible,” in *Issue of Linguistic, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University* (2009. 1–2), 229–232.

81 Cf. non-preverbal form 5:5 է՛չηցե՛տ գամոյնոց გe^{GSB}] յօյնոց გe^{OJL}.

3:12 ἐκσπάσῃ γαμο(υ)ταζნის Ge^{OJ}] կարասցէ թափել (*to be able to take away, to take by force*)⁸²

3:12 ἐκσπασθήσονται γαմոιταζնեն Ge^{OJ}; γαմոտացեծուլ օյմեցն Ge^{GSB}] զերծցին⁸³ (զերծանել – *to take away, to carry off, to detach; to strip, to despoil, to rob*)

4:11 չչεսպասմենօս չք πυρός γαմոթացեծուլո ցըցելուսացան Ge^{OJG}] γամոթացեծուլո ցըցելուտ Ge^L; զերծեա ի հրոյ

5:3 չչ ի՞ս չչεպօրεնոնտո րոմլուսացան գամլովուրուցյև Ge^{OJC}; րոմլուսաօ գամլչճօն Ge^L] յորմէ ելանին (ելանել – *to go out, to go from the inside to the outside*)

5:19 εἰσπηδήσῃ նցարճօն Ge^{OJ}] օվլուրուցյև Ge^{GSB}; փախնուցու (փախչել – *to flee, to run away, to escape*)

5:5 չիսպօրεնէսթէ գանեցնալոտ Ge^{OJL}; նցեցնալոտ Ge^{GSB}] մտանէք

2:10 անյացոն առմոցուցանեն Ge^J հանի (հանել – *to draw or pull out, to take away, to abstract, to remove, to dislodge; to raise, to lift up, to carry up*)

4:5 անցնասան առմոցութեյս Ge^{OJC}; առմոցութեցուցյև Ge^L] Ընթեռնուին (ընթեռնուլ – *to read*)

9:5 անաբիշետա առմոցուցյև Ge^J ելցէ (ելանել – *to go out, to go from inside to outside; to ascend, to go to a higher place*)

5:6 անալամպի առաթցուցյև Ge^{OJL}; առենտօնս Ge^G] բորբոքեցի (բորբոքել – *to inflame, to kindle, to set on fire, to burn; to warm, to heat*)

1:14 անձիս առցացնեյ Ge^J բորբոքեցից (see for example 5:6. անալամպի)

4:2 սուօւակումենոս վայացնացնելուադ Ge^O վայացնացնելուադ Ge^J վայացնացնելուադ Ge^G] ցանցուրցեծուլսա Ge^L; ջեռուցեալս (ջեռուցանել – *to heat, to warm, to make hot or warm; to boil*)

9:13 առօստալաչէ ցամուաճոնեցն Ge^J բոլիւցնէ ն (բոլիւլ – *to flow, to drop, to gush, to stream; to derive, to emanate, to come, to proceed, to arise, to spring from*)

5:15 առօստաստիսատ ցամաճմուացյատ Ge^{OJL}] ճայմթկուցուս Ge^G; Ճաստատեցէ՛ք (հաստատել – *to grow harder, to become stronger, to be confirmed, to take root in, to settle oneself, to stay*)

1:3, 9 առօստրափիսօմաւ ցարցմուցէցու Ge^{OJ}; ցարցմուցօւցու Ge^G] դարձայց (դարնալ – *to turn, to turn about, to return, to go and come back again*)

9:5 կատաբիշետա նարմուցյև Ge^{OJ}; նարմուցուցյև Ge^{SB}] իջուցից (իջուցանել – *to descend; to fall*)⁸⁴

9:3 կատածնասուն նարմուցյև Ge^{OJ}; ճակացյև Ge^{SB}] ընկենուլ (ընկենուլ – *to throw, to cast, to hurl, to pour*)

9:2 կատաչա ցարճամոցստենոյ Ge^{OJ}; ցարճամոցինոյ Ge^{SB}] իջուցից (իջուցանել – *to descend, to cause to fall; to let down, to lower; to pull down, to take down*)

5:8 մետասկեսաչան ցարճացալուցյանուտան Ge^{OJL}; ցարճաչմիջացյանուտան Ge^G] նորոգէ (նորոգել – *to mend, to repair, to restore to the first condition; fig. to renew*)

8:12 պերճբամօնտա մոմռճօնուցօնան Ge^{JLSB}] ընթասցին (ընթանալ – *to run, to run to; to slide; to gallop; to walk*); > Ge^O

3:11 ծարպացիսօմաւ մոմռսաթացեծուլ ոյուս Ge^J յափշտակեցին (յափշտակել – *to ravish, to carry off by force, to carry away with violence*)

5:5 ծարբանետէ նարմեցնալոտ Ge^{OJ}; նարմէցնուոտ Ge^L] անաբ. W" A"-Q-49'-198-233-534 Bo Aeth Arab Cyr.Th. առեցնալոտ Ge^G; ելանէք (ելանել⁸⁵) Arm

6:2 ծարբանետէ նարմէցնուոտ Ge^{OJ}; ցարճացեծուոտ Ge^G] Անցէ՛ք (անցանել – *to pass, to flow, to run; to pass away, to pass over*)

8:5 ծիւլենսետա ցարճաչցյև⁸⁶ Ge^J անցցէ

82 In this context the Armenian changes also the equivalent while the Georgian keeps it and consequently repeats the word, similar to the Greek: 3:12 δύν τρόπον ὅταν ἐκσπάσῃ ... οὕτως ἐκσπασθήσονται γοιταργά-սաხցօդ ցամութացնօլ ... ցարց ցամութացնօլ Ge^{OJ}; ցոտար-սաხցօդ օղյօն ցամութացնօլ ... ցարցու ցամութացեծուլ օյմեցն Ge^{GSB}; Զոր օրինակ թէ կարասցէ քսիկէ ... այնպիս զերծցին. There are also other cases where the Georgian, unlike the Armenian, does not avoid repeating the word by following its Greek *Vorlage*. See e.g. 9:8, section 3.2.1 above.

83 Arm changes equivalent, cf. previous case.

84 Cf. the same correspondence 6:10 παραβαίνω, section 3.1.1 above.

85 See above: 9:5 անաբիշետա.

86 Cf. 5:17 ծիւլենսօմաւ ծիւլ մէսօն] ցանցլու նորօն (նամուլ).

7:8; 8:2 τοῦ παρελθεῖν ταῦτα βάρσουλγαρ Ge] αὐτοπιγῶντες (to pass; to cause to pass; to transmit)

5:23 μετάστησον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ γαρ διαδόξοντο οἱ μέγαν Ge^G] γανδαθωρῆντο οἱ μέγαν Ge^{OJ}; Η ψώ̄ γ αρι (ψω̄ - very far; from afar, απόντες - make) γίνονται.

3.4.2. Prefixes

The formal rendering of the prefixed nouns forms compounds — i.e. neologisms in Georgian:

3:15 τὸν περίπτερον γαρ γέμωντα τετελεόν Ge] φτειωτόν (φτειωτόν – winged, that has wings; φτει – wing)

9:1 τὰ πρόπυλα] δέκτητα βίνδας Ge^{OJ} (πρό = βίνδας; – πύλα = δέκτητα; cf. Soph. 1:9 βίνδας δέκτητα Ge^{OJ}); βίνδαδέκτην Ge^G; πρωτηγέρη (πρωτηγέρη – jamb, threshold; door-posts; portal, entry)

The Greek adverbs are segmented in the Georgian translation:

2:9 ἐπάνωθεν δέρδακέρδω] ἡ ψερπούσιν (from above, from on high)

2:9 ὑποκάτωθεν δέρδακέρδω] ἡ θερπούσιν (under, below)

Despite the fact that the Armenian is capable of making a negative form by adding a prefixal particle, the following Armenian equivalent represents a simplex, while the Georgian divides its source word into segments, rendering both parts literally: 7:17 ἀ-καθάρτῳ αρά-βίθιδασα] ψηδόνιμ (ψηδόνιμ – impure, unclean, profane; filthy, foul, dirty).

3.4.3. Simplex vs Compositum

In the following example there is a calque in Georgian – a compound corresponding to the Greek *hapax legomenon*. As for the Armenian, it applies a completely different way of translation – *figura etimologica*:

7:15 οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγωγήσῃς] οὐ γροισ-κρέδασ(α) ȝyρօց Ge; մի՛ ժողովս ժողովեր (ժողով – assemblage, collection; heap; assembly; company; council, synod; session, sitting; meeting, assembly; crowd, multitude, people; ժողովել – to assemble, to collect)

Or on the contrary: the Georgian, similar to the Greek, employs a simplex, while the Armenian provides a compound or a descriptive form:

1:1 τοῦ σεισμοῦ δρῶσα θοἰς Ge^{OJLG}] ქუյցանօսա ժցրօսա Ge^{SB}= զգետն-ա-շարժն (զգետն-ա-շարժ (զգետին – earth, land, place; շարժել – move) (cf. 1:14 σεισθήσεται) Ծյօժրաս; շարժեցի)

5:10 ἐβδελύξαντο θονδαցεὶς Ge] պի՛ հծո⁸⁷ արարին (պիդ – foul; արարել – make)

2:4 οἵς ἐξηκολούθησαν ρωμῆλταցա Ծյուզգեց Ge] զորոց զիւտ զնացին (with whom they left/departed)

6:10 τοῖς προεστηκόστι βίνδαմծլցարτα մատ Ge^{OJ}; ծյօթմծցմելտա Ge^{GSB}] շայ յնսիկ որք կայցեն առաջի (those who are superior /in the front)

4:1 καταπατοῦσαι] գաստրցցնացտ Ge; առ ոտն հարկանել (առ (by, with) ոտն (foot) հարկանել – to beat)

6:11 ἐντέλλεται αθροῖς Ge] հրաման ն տացէ (հրաման – command, order; permission; edict; տալ – to give, to present, to offer; to make, to render, to produce, to cause)

In order to emphasize that when establishing the origin of a translation it is essential to consider the peculiarities of a target language and translation techniques I will specifically point out the following case:

3.4.4. Derivatives in Georgian

8:1 ἵξεντοῦ μεθαβούροισασα Ge^J; μεθαβούροισασα Ge^O] հաւ-որսաց (հաւ (bird) որսորդ (hunter)) cf. 3:5 ἵξεντοῦ μεθαβούրոισα Ge^J; մաթզուն (err) Ge^O) որսորդի (hunter). As we can see, in cases where the equivalent of the Greek word exists in Georgian, unlike Armenian, these translations formally differ: the Georgian employs a formal and semantic equivalent of the Greek word while the Armenian applies different ways of translation for these two occasions. In one case (8:1) it descriptively renders the source word by means of a compound հաւ-որսաց (bird hunter),⁸⁸ while in another case (3:5) it renders it by a generic term: որսորդ (hunter).⁸⁹

⁸⁷ See 7:17 ἀκαθάρτῳ, section 3.4.2. above.

⁸⁸ Here Assfalg only indicates the difference in number between the Georgian and Armenian versions.

⁸⁹ Neither of these formal differences is mentioned by Assfalg.

The following are cases where the Georgian derives the verb from the same root as the Greek, while the Armenian applies a contextual equivalent.

δύναμις – ძალი, δυνάστης – მძღვრი

4:1 καταδυναστεύουσαι] ჰმდლავრობთ; զրկեք (զրկել – deprive)

8:4 καταδυνασտεύոնտεս] ჰმდლავრობտ; զրկիք

փառή – չժա

3:6 φωνήσει (σάλπιγξ)] շմա-սցյա (-սցօն O) (საყვრმან) Ge^{OJ}; շմա-ցոն Ge^G; հարկանիցի (փող).

When the Georgian verb is derived from the substantive չժա that corresponds to φωνή, the Armenian employs a polysemous word which in different contexts refers to different Greek words.⁹⁰

4. Conclusion

What can be concluded on the basis of this rather tedious comparison of the Greek, Georgian and Armenian vocabulary⁹¹ of Amos?

1) Certain mistakes, structural and semantic calques of Greek words, renderings of the lexical meaning of Greek words, and interpretations originating from the Greek all make it evident that the Georgian version was translated from a Greek *Vorlage*.

2) A few similarities between the Georgian and Armenian as well as other daughter versions are typological. These similarities do not indicate immediate interdependence between these versions. They can be explained by noting that similar problems in the respective parent texts led to similar ways of finding solutions among different translators.

3) The distinction between the Georgian and Armenian versions is due mainly to different methods of the translation: the Georgian is more literal, while the Armenian, more free; the Georgian reflects the lexical meanings of Greek words, the Armenian, their contextual meaning; the Georgian renders the structures of source words, while the Armenian translates their semantics; lexical equivalents are used more consistently in the Georgian as compared to the Armenian.

4) The Georgian and Armenian versions were translated from the LXX-MS(S) of different textual traditions.

5) There is no tracable connection between the oldest Georgian MSS (i.e. Oshki, Jerusalem) and Armenian sources in their extant forms.

But what if Assfalg was right and the extant Georgian translation is a result of extensive revision(s) with reference to the Greek? Hypothetically, anything is possible. But the *question still remains*: if a critical part of the first translation was entirely changed because of the revision, and the layer that had been translated from the Armenian has disappeared, then how can we possibly discuss the origin of the non-existent text?

Experts of any literary languages are capable of tracing the influence of one language on the other without thorough comparative examination of the translation. Georgian translations carried out from the Greek and Armenian languages distinctively differ in character⁹² and in order to establish the *Vorlage* of the Georgian Amos one need not conduct a detailed research. The present paper was aimed to engage those who unquestionably accept the idea proposed fifty years ago in an entirely different context.

90 հարկանի (to beat, to strike, to give or deal a blow; to strike or sweep the chords of the lyre, to vibrate, to touch, to play or perform on; to ring; to knock; to thump; to prick; to bite; to wound, to hurt, to harm; to knock down, to beat to death, to kill; to spoil)
4:1 καταπατοῦσαι] დახორგუნავთ Ge; ան նսն հարկանի; 4:9 ἐπάταξα] დაցց(6)ց Ge^{OJG}; ցցցցմնց Ge^L; հսրի՛; 6:11 πατάξει] დასցյա Ge; հսրի՛; 5:19 δάκη] սցօն Ge^{OJ}; վզնօնօն Ge^{GSB}; հարկանից; 6:5 οἱ ἐπικροτοῦντες] რომելնո տաճա- շტպպյուլաვთ Ge^{OJ}; როմելնո թքյցըլվարյօնց Ge^{GSB}; Որ կայթս հարկանիք (կայթս հարկանի).

91 The present paper does not deal with proper nouns and loan words because their textual value in the medieval MSS is usually questionable. However, I would like to mention that also in its handling of proper nouns the Georgian is closer to the Greek when compared to the Armenian. See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 433–436.

92 A good example illustrating this are the two Georgian translations of the text of Ezra 1, surviving both in the form of a 7th-century manuscript fragment translated from the Greek and the complete text of the Oshki manuscript translated from the Armenian.

LA “COLONNA VIVENTE” COME FATTO MISTICO*

Nella გართლისა (La conversione della Kartli) si narra il miracolo di quella che divenne colonna portante della prima chiesa a Mcxeta. L'episodio serve a evidenziare che la colonna materiale, quale elemento principale della struttura architettonica della chiesa, divenne pure un perno mistico della Chiesa di Georgia. Essa non solo diede il nome alla cattedrale di Mcxeta ma comprese in sé quasi tutti i dogmi cristiani, esprimendo simbolicamente la sintesi dei principi sia nazionali sia cristiani universali.

La conversione della Kartli fa riferimento concretamente a un cedro dal quale fu scolpita la colonna che venne eretta grazie a un miracolo. Questa narrazione è tramandata non solo nelle fonti letterarie georgiane ma anche in quelle greco-latine (*Storie ecclesiastiche* di Gelasio di Cesarea CPG 3521, di Rufino Tiranno CPG 3495 e di Teodoreto di Ciro CPG 6222), come una tradizione sulla fondazione della Chiesa di Georgia. Secondo *La conversione*, dopo il primo prodigo, la colonna ne fece molti altri; pare, tuttavia, che nella storia della colonna ci fu un periodo particolare, definito con rammarico dal katholikos Nikoloz Gulaberisze (1150-1178) come „მრავალრიცხვთა წელთა დუმილი“ ossia “silenzio di numerosi anni”. Il riferimento dovrebbe, con ogni probabilità, significare che la festa della colonna era stata abbandonata per lungo periodo, mentre il katholikos ne avrebbe ripristinato la commemorazione liturgica, dedicandole i გალობანი სუეტისა ცხოველისანი ossia I canti della colonna vivente¹ e საკითხავი სუეტისა-ცხოველისა, კუართისა საუფლოსა და კათოლიკე ეკლესიისა ossia Lettura della colonna vivente, della tunica del Signore e della Chiesa cattolica.²

In questo modo, nella storia della colonna come reliquia ci furono due fasi: la prima in cui essa era visibile a tutti e la seconda in cui la reliquia visibile si era trasformata in mistero nascosto, rimanendo oggetto dell'esperienza di pochi.³

Nella prima fase, comune accessibilità della visione provocò una forte carica religiosa: „იწყო სრბად, მკურცხლ მოსვლად და ყოვლისა ერისა სიმრავლე მის თანა. და ვითარცა მოვიდეს და იხილეს საკურველი იგი, ნათლითა მბრწყინვალე სვეტი იგი ჩამოვიდოდა ადგილად თუსა“,⁴ cioè “E si misero a correre presto vi giunse tutto il popolo che, arrivato vide quella miracolosa colonna, avvolta in una luce abbagliante che scendeva [dal cielo] sul posto.” La carica fu talmente potente che durò per secoli, entrando in molte leggende. „ნეტარ მას უამსა, რად იგი იქმნებოდა!“, ossia “Beato quel tempo in cui questo accadeva” – queste parole poteva dire solo un testimone oculare. „და იქმნებოდეს მას დღესა შინა სასწაული მრავალი“ (“E si compivano in quel giorno molti prodigi”), prosegue il testo. Solo così, tramite questi prodigi si poteva dare principio al periodo in cui la nuova religione veniva diffusa “grazie alla paura e alla gioia”.

Nella seconda fase, la colonna luminosa fu rivestita da una copertura, pur continuando a produrre i prodigi. Nella narrazione di Sidonia, allieva ebrea di santa Nino, questo fatto è tramandato nel modo seguente: „ვიდრემდის მეფემან შექმნა საბურველი ძელისა გარემოს სუეტსა მას და დაფარა ხედვისგან და ეგრეთ შეეხებოდეს ერნი სართულსა მას და განიკურნებოდეს მსწრაფლ“,⁵ vale a dire, “...fino a quando il re non fece fare una copertura lignea attorno alla colonna, rendendola inaccessibile alla vista; così il popolo ne toccava il tetto e subito si guariva”.

Alla fine, l'importanza della colonna passò per metonimia alla chiesa, la cui cupola reggeva fisicamente.

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1 ძველი ქართული პოეზია, 1 = ქართული პოეზია თხუთმეტ ტომად [Poesia georgiana in quindici volumi], 1. ძველი ქართული პოეზია V-XII სს. [Antica poesia georgiana V-XII secc.], Tbilisi 1979, 201-207.

2 G. Sabinin, საქართველოს სამოთხე, [Paradiso della Georgia], SPb. 1882, 69-207.

3 Si veda Z. K'ik'naže, მთა და გამოქვაბული [Montagna i caverna], in „გელათის მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის უწყებანი“ [“Messaggero dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Gelati”], 2, Kutaisi 1996, 45-48.

4 შატბერდის კრებული, [Raccolta di Scatberdi], Tbilisi 1979, 345.

5 *Ibid.*, 346.

Nell'Epistola che il re Mirian scrisse prima della propria morte la prima chiesa costruita a Mcxeta viene menzionata come „წმიდათა წმიდა“ ossia *Sancta Sanctorum*, il re afferma: ქუმრსა ეკლესიასა ერქუა წმიდა წმიდათა წმიდა“, vale a dire “a chiesa bassa era chiamata *Sancta Sanctorum*” e, ancora, „ყოვლადვე ვერ ვიკადრებდი კართა მისთა განხუმად თვინიერ ხოლო დღესა კურიაკესა, არცა შესვლად ვინ იკადრებდა თვინიერ მღვდელთასა, რომელი გალობედ მას შინა, რამეთუ შიში დიდი დაცემულ იყო ყოველსა ზედა კაცსა სუეტისა მისგან ცხოველისა. და ჰედვიდა ყოველი კაცი სუეტისა მას ვითარცა ძალსა ღმრთისასა. და მიხედვადცა ვერ ეძლო კაცთა სართულსა მისსა, რომელსა თვით ვხედავთ“, vale a dire “non avrei osato aprirne le porte se non la domenica; né alcuna persona avrebbe osato entrarvi eccetto sacerdoti che vi cantano, poiché ognuno aveva il timore della colonna vivente. Ognuno la considerava forza di Dio. Né gli uomini potevano vederne la volta che noi vediamo”.⁶

Il testo succitato, importante sotto vari profili da analizzare in altra sede, sottintende molto di più rispetto a quello che rivela esplicitamente. È evidente che la prima chiesa divenne *Sancta Sanctorum* grazie è uno spazio impenetrabile, vincolato dal divieto d'accesso per tutti, eccetto che per il sommo sacerdote che ha la facoltà, però, di oltrepassarne la soglia una sola volta all'anno. Nella letteratura cristiana, il termine *Sancta Sanctorum* è attestato per la prima volta negli scritti di Eusebio di Cesarea, e si riferisce al santuario ossia a quella parte della chiesa in cui si compie il sacramento per eccellenza della liturgia cristiana: la discesa dello Spirito Santo sul pane e sul vino e la transustanziazione. Allo stesso tempo, sono rari i casi in cui l'intera chiesa venga definita *Sancta Sanctorum*, mentre, nel caso della prima chiesa di Mcxeta, tutto lo spazio della chiesa viene considerato un santuario, in cui si compie il mistero della transustanziazione. Il *Sancta Sanctorum* di Mcxeta richiama una cappella omonima del Palazzo del Laterano, in cui solo i vescovi di Roma avevano il diritto di celebrare la liturgia. Sul suo portale c'era scritto: “Non est in toto sanctior orbe focus”. In questa cappella erano custodite la più importanti reliquie degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo.⁷

Il *Sancta Sanctorum* della “Chiesa bassa” ossia della cattedrale di Mcxeta Svet'icxoveli era chiuso, eccetto nel giorno del Signore, la domenica. Solo in questo giorno, l'unico in cui la Chiesa dei primi secoli sanciva la celebrazione della liturgia, si poteva oltrepassare la soglia della chiesa detta *Sancta Sanctorum*.

Come abbiamo visto, la colonna subisce una costante misterizzazione, cioè, in termini concreti, se separa sempre di più dalla realtà esteriore: in un primo momento, attorno ad essa viene costruita una copertura, in un secondo, essa viene a trovarsi all'interno della chiesa, e, infine, la sacralità della colonna si estende a tutta la chiesa dichiarata *Sancta Sanctorum*.

Alla fine di questo percorso, essa, essendo materialmente colonna reggente della prima chiesa, diventa un fatto mistico, al pari delle reliquie veterotestamentarie come, ad esempio, la colonna di fuoco che precedeva gli israeliti usciti nel deserto dalla cattività egiziana (Es 13,21-22). Malgrado Nikoloz Gulaberisze ricorra a simboli affermati nella litteratura cristiana, la base della sua interpretazione mistica della colonna vivente è costituita dalla sua esperienza personale di aver visto la colonna di fuoco che guidava gli israeliti nel deserto. Si tratta della visione avuta dal katholikos nell'infanzia la notte in cui attraversava l'Aragvi inondato: „ვიდრემდის წყალსა იმერით ვიყავ, ნათელსა მთოვარისასა ვხედევდ, ხოლო წყალსა რა შთამოვხედ, არღარა მთოვარისასა ვხედევდი, არამედ სხუასა რასმე ნათელსა ეკლესიასა ზედა მდგომარესა [...]; ვიდრემდის წყლისა მის მდინარესა შინა ვმოგზაურობდით, ესრეთ იხილვებოდა, ხოლო ვითარცა გამოვედით, იგივე ჩუელებრისამებრი ნათელი მთოვარისა იხილვებოდა...“⁸ vale a dire “finché stavo davanti all'acqua, vedivo il chiaro della luna, mentre entrato nell'acqua, non vidi più la luna, ma un'altra luce posata sulla Chiesa [...] ed era visibile per tutto il tempo che attraversammo il fiume. Quando uscii, si vedeva il solito chiaro di luna.”

L'esperienza del fanciullo Gulaberisze ha radici nella tradizione delle visione mistiche, scaturita dalla colonna e formatasi presso i monaci; essa è riflessa persino nell'esperienza spirituale di Davit IV il Ricostruttore

⁶ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁷ H. Leclercq, *Latran*, in DACL, 8:2, 1929, 1611; H. Grisar, *Il Sancta Sanctorum ed il suo tesoro sacro, Scoperte e studi dell'autore nella cappella palatina Lateranense del medio evo*, Roma 1907; si veda inoltre: Iohannis Diaconi *Liber de Ecclesia lateranensi*, in PL 194, Paris 1855, 1541-1560; A. Campanari, T. Amodei, *La Scala Santa*, (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 72), Roma 1963 315-150; *Sancta Sanctorum*, Milano, Electa, 1995, 292-298; M. Campanari, *Sancta Sanctorum Lateranense, Studi storico-archeologici dell'antica area dell'oratorio palatino papale*, Viterbo 1998.

⁸ Sabinin, *Paradiso*, 109.

(1089-1125). Nik'oloz Gulaberisze è colmo di devozione per questa tradizione che gli dà la facoltà non solo di sentire come della speculazione teoretica o di vederlo. La sua visione non è frutto contrario, essa ha una propria valenza assolutamente oggettiva, essendo basata sull'ontologia del sacro. È una delle rare testimonianze concrete attestata nella letteratura spirituale georgiana.

Donde riceve luce la colonna?

Secondo la convinzione di Gulaberisze, confermata dalla tradizione ecclesiastica, la colonna (ovvero-sia, il cedro dal quale fu scolpita la colonna) è situata sulla tunica del Signore e „ნათობს საუფლოსა და ზეგარდმო ქსოლსა კუართსა ზედა...“ (“risplende sulla tunica celeste del Signore”), e cioè, partecipa della luce della tunica. La tunica a sua volta partecipa della luce del Giordano e del Monte Tabor, dato che Gesù Cristo la indossò durante il battesimo e la trasfigurazione. Essa partecipa, dunque, della luce non creata che apparve prima sul Giordano e poi davanti agli occhi dei tre discepoli. Questa luce colmò per sempre la tunica” “il suo voltò brillò come il sole e le sue vesti divennero candide come la luce.” (Mt 17,2).

Il rapporto tra la tunica e la colonna è marcato da un particolare: sulla tunica, quale reliquia sacra per tutta la cristianità, è fondata la sacra reliquia locale. La colonna si colma dal contenuto universale. assumendo il contenuto della colonna luminosa degli Israeliti e ricoprendosi della luce del Giordano e del Monte Tabor. Su questa via la colonna di una chiesa (edificio) concreta passa nella dimensione universale, portando con sé anche la Chiesa di Georgia.

Tuttavia, il profondo senso mistico della colonna non si esaurisce qui. Nel primo periodo della sua storia sacra, dalla colonna scaturisce il santo *myron*; avvenimento divenuto leggenda all'epoca del Gulaberisze e riflesso nei suoi *Canti*, in cui il *myron*, insieme al trono e alla colonna vivente, forma un'immagine della Trinità, sostituendo la Trinità altrimenti espressa come: “trono – tunica del Signore – colonna.” Nei *Canti* si afferma che se la colonna, da una parte, protegge la carne, il corpo fisico dell'uomo, dal pericolo (come difese il fanciullo Golaberisze dalle acque dell'Aragvi), dall'altra, essa illumina lo spirito grazie alla forza del santo *myron* da essa scaturita. Considerata identificazione simbolica della Madre di Dio nella colonna luminosa (“სუეტო ჩუენო და ნათელო, დედაო ძისა ღმრთისაო!” ossia “Colonna nostra e luce, Madre del Figlio di Dio!”), il *myron* diventa l'immagine mistica del latte con cui la Madre vergine allattava “Gesù Dio”. Così, grazie a questa simbologia Gulaberisze introduce la chiesa della colonna vivente nella dimensione mario-logică: la cattedrale con il suo seno, quale la colonna da cui scaturisce il *myron* dà il *myron* al polo dei fedeli: „ცათა მობაძებსა ტაძარსა, რომელსა საშუალ საშოსა სუეტი უპყრიეს ძუძუდ და უშურველად წარმოგვიდგენს მიჰრონსა წმიდასა სახიდ სძისა“⁹ vale a dire: “...alla Chiesa, immagine di quella celeste, che tiene in grembo la colonna come seno e ci dà in abbondanza il santo *myron*, come latte.”

Plat'ōn Ioseliani fa notare che la storia ignora la data in cui la grazia cessò di scaturire. Egli suppone che Dio volle coprire con questo gesto l'evento miracoloso dalla profanazione.¹⁰ Secondo una leggenda popolare, il *myron* cessò di scaturire perché una donna, trasgredendo la legge che ammetteva solo gli uomini nella cattedrale, v'era entrata travestita da uomo. Il *myron* cessò di scaturire poiché c'è tempo in cui scaturire e c'è anche quello in cui cessa di scaturire; e questo alternarsi dei tempi ha la sua periodicità, eppure il tempo in cui cessa significa che il *myron* quale reliquia mistica, scese dalla realtà in profondità; si assiste, in altre parole, alla sua sublimazione sulla materia.

Il *myron* non esce più, eppure questa non è l'ultima tappa della sua esistenza. Una realtà, “cessando di esistere”, passa a esistere misticamente; questo passaggio è espresso nella leggenda con l'atto di coprirsi. Lo testimoniano i *Canti* di Gulaberisze, dedicati, nella maggior parte, al tema del *myron*. Il katholikos spiega il suo aspetto mistico, che rimane nascosto nella vita quotidiana. Questo è esplicito anche in una leggenda popolare di Xevsureti sull'albero del pioppo di Xmala, da dove scaturisce il *myron*. I *Canti* di Gulaberisze e la leggenda popolare con il *myron* fanno riferimento a un fatto mistico. Nik'oloz Gulaberisze mette in rilievo l'aspetto mistico, ribadiamo, del *myron*, che rimane invisibile nella vita quotidiana Nella leggenda popolare, il *myron* come sacra reliquia ha una funzione simbolica: esso è astratto dalla sua diretta funzione, esprimendo quell'aspetto della croce che è visibile solo agli uomini scelti dalla croce, che partecipano della natura angelica.

9 Antica poesia georgiana, 1. 202.

10 P. Ioseliani, Мцхетский храм в Грузии [La Chiesa di Mcxeta in Georgia], in Кавказский календарь за 1847 г. [Il caledario del Caucaso del 1847].

Considerati i Canti di Gulaberisze la colonna luminosa non è una delle sacre reliquie della Chiesa di Georgia bensì l'unica che concentra in sé tutte le altre. Essa è, la sacra Reliquia per antonomasia donde scaturisce ogni altra reliquia. Essa e la sacra Reliquia negli origini, in quanto piantata sulla tunica. Pertanto l'innografo poteva chiamarla „ჭეშმარიტისა სარწმუნოებისა აღმომჩინებელი“, ossia “chiò chef a scoprire la vera fede”. Essa divenne una pietra di prova che pericolo de re David il Ricostruttore. Se all'inizio, ai tempi di santa sa, più tardi essa divenne donatrice della saggezza di Dio e fonte di ispirazione. Nik'oloz Gulabersze nella *lettura* afferma: „სვეტისა წმიდისა ნათელმან განაბრძვნეს გონებანნი ჩუენნი“, vale a dire, “la luce della colonna santa rende saggi le nostri menti”. Egli riporta la notizia secondo la quale sulla cima della colonna i monaci vedevano con gli occhi spirituali un vecchio che consideravano il Vecchio di giorni (*παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*) della visione di Daniele (On 7,9 e ss.). A prima vista questo dovrebbe essere naturale per la chiesa che era considerata *Sancta Sanctorum* nell'epoca della sua fondazione: sia il Vecchio di giorni sia il *Sancta Sanctorum* sono concetti veterotestamentari. A questo proposito, però, dobbiamo prendere in considerazione la notizia della fonte secondo cui il re Mirdat', nipote di Mirian, avrebbe ornato la cima suindicata della colonna con una croce scolpita dalla colonna miracolosa: „მაშინ ამან მეფემან მირდატ მისვე სუეტისაგან შექმნა ჯუარი ზომიერი, და რომელი დარჩა სუეტისა მისგან ცხოველისა, მას გარე მოქმნა ქვითკირითა, და აღამაღლა ქვითკირი პირველ სუეტისა ოდნად; და თავსა მის სუეტისასა აღმართა ჯუარი იგი“¹¹ ossia “Allora il re Mirdat' fece scolpire una croce. Quello che rimase dalla colonna vivente, lo fece fare con calcina e fece alzare leggermente calcina sulla prima colonna, sulla sua cima fece scolpire la croce”. Bisogna supporre che questa croce fosse visibile all'epoca del re Davit e anche noi possiamo vedere con i loro occhi l'icona del Vecchio di giorni con un nimbo crocifero. L'esperienza mistica dei monaci fu confermata dall'esperienza del re Davit il Ricostruttore ch sognò il Vecchio di giorni e sentì le parole illuminanti della sua mente che cominciava a dubitare della validità del miracolo della colonna: „დავით, დავით, არა უწყია, ვინა ვარ აქა შ~ნ..“¹² vale a dire: “Davit, Davit, non sai chi sono qui dentro?”.

Il pentimento condusse il re, futuro autore dei *გალობანი სინანულისანი* (*Canti penitenziali*), sulla via della conoscenza di Dio, divenendo così la colonna – a dire di Nik'oloz Gulaberisze – “rinnovamento della fede venuta a mancare” sia per lui sia per molti altri.

A proposito della tradizione del sacro della colonna vivente che perdurò fino ai tempi del re Davit e fu ristabilito ai tempi di Gulaberisze, dobbiamo ricordare una notizia che Leont'i Mroveli (XI sec.) conservò sulla diffusione di questa tradizione nell'epoca dopo la sua fondazione. Nella fonte si legge: „მაშინ ამის მირდატის მეფობასა იწყეს ქართველთა სუეტისა ცხოველისაგან ნაწილის გამოღებად და ქმნად ჯუარად, რამეთუ დიდი სასწაული და კურნებანი იქმნებოდეს, სადაცა იყვის ნაწილი სუეტისა ცხოველისა. [...] და განეფინა ყოველთა ადგილთა ქართლისათა ნაწილი სუეტისა ცხოველისა“¹³ vale a dire, “Allora, sotto il re Mirdat' cominciarono a prendere alcuni parti della colonna e a trasformarli in croce, poiché si compivano grandi guarigioni, dovunque si trovassero le parti della colonna vivente”. questa è nuova tappa nella vita della colonna: mentre ai tempi di Mirian essa incuteva un tale timore che neanche il re osava far scavare la propria tomba ali ombra della colonna, ora l'intensità della sua forza sacra sembra essere diminuita. In realtà, la colonna è stata “sacrificata” per il bene della Kartli recentemente convertita e la sua forza sacra è stata distribuita a tutte le parti della Kartli, divenendo come il pane (carne di Cristo) spezzato per tutti.

Qui è evidente il parallelismo: la distribuzione delle croci scolpite dalla colonna vivente in tutto il territorio della Kartli riflette in un certo senso – si direbbe preannunzia – la distribuzione del santo *myron* nelle chiese di Georgia. Secondo la tradizione ecclesiastica, dalla colonna vivente scaturisce il *myron* e, come testimoniano i Canti di Nik'oloz Gulaberisze, il trono di Mcxeta „საშუალ საშოსა სუეტი უპყრიეს ძუძუდ და უმურველად წარმოგვიცინებს მიჰრონსა წმიდასა სახედ სძისა“ ossia “tiene in grembo la colonna come seno e ci dà in abbondanza il santo *myron*, come latte”.

11 ქართლის ცხოვრება, [La vita della Georgia], Tbilisi 1955, 1, 32.

12 Sabinin, *Paradiso*, 111.

13 *La vita della Georgia*, 1, 32.

EGYPTIAN ENLIGHTENER RIFA'A AT-TAHTAWI*

Abstract

From the 19th c. in Arab countries, first of all, in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, the political, economic and cultural life begins to revive, which is known as the Revival (the “Nahda”). In this process enlighteners played the crucial role.

The aim of the present article is to focus attention on several questions of the world outlook of Rifa'a at-Tahtawi, the first Egyptian enlightener, in particular, his interpretation of the notions of “homeland” and “nation” and his views on the relationship between the West and the East, on the organization forms of states and societies.

In order to demonstrate the question, a brief overview of the viewpoint of the enlighteners (al-Afghani, Abdo, Adib Ishaq, Mustafa Kamil, Farah Antuni, Lufti as-Saidi) and at-Tahtawi is offered.

The article also deals with at-Tahtawi's views on problems of women's emancipation, his attitude towards the questions of upbringing and education. In addition, attention is devoted to his views on the notions of “lawfulness”, “freedom”, “equality”, “justice”, etc.). At-Tahtawi was the first among the Arabs, if not among the Egyptians, who turned the notion of “citizen” into an object of public discussion and defined the status of “citizen”.

The study of these questions leads to the conclusion that at-Tahtawi supports the successful achievements and reasonable synthesis of Western and Eastern civilizations, that European science and in general European civilization do not contradict Islam and the Koran. Furthermore, he considers that in his contemporary Europe, France in particular, there develops such a form of the society organization which has long since been known and acceptable to Islam.

From the 19th c. in Arab countries, first of all in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, after a long decline, the political, economic and cultural life begins to revive, which reaches its climax in the second half of the same century. The main reason of this revival was the interest of advanced capitalist countries in the Arab world, the rule of Muhammad Ali (1805-1848) and the reforms carried out by him, the activities of Western missionaries, especially in Syria and Lebanon. This process is known as the Revival (“the Nahda”). In this process enlighteners played the crucial role. The enlightenment movement became widespread in the second half of the 19th c. and covered almost all spheres of Arab life. The enlightenment movement reached its summit at various times in different countries. E.g. in Syria-Lebanon it occurred circa 1850s-1870s, more exactly, from the opening of the first enlightenment organization till the end of the 1870s. In Egypt this occurred in the 1880s-1890s, which was caused by the establishment of the rule of Abdul Hamid II in the Ottoman Empire, when everything progressive and progressive-minded public figures were persecuted in the countries of the Empire. This was especially strong in Syria-Lebanon, neighboring upon the centre of the Empire. Many enlighteners working here, such as Adib Ishaq, Farah Antuni, Jirji Zaidan and others, had to leave their homeland and move to Egypt. Although Egypt was within the Ottoman Empire, due to its territorial remoteness, the Turkish dominance there had the formal character. The migrated Syrian and Lebanese enlighteners continued their intensive educational activities there. As regards the other Arab countries, the revival and rise of the political, economic and cultural life there begin later, at the end of the 19th c., more from the beginning of the 20th c.

In the enlightenment movement in Egypt and the entire Arab world, in general, an especially outstanding place is occupied by Rifa'a at-Tahtawi. In fact, together with Ali Mubarak (1822/4-1893) he is considered as the first enlightener in Egypt.

Rifa'a at-Tahtawi (1801-1873) was a cleric. He was educated at the Al-Azhar University. He, as a mullah, was the head of the 40-person group sent by Muhammad Ali to France in 1826 with the purpose of train-

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ing necessary specialists for the state. At-Tahtawi stayed five years in France, mostly in Paris, he familiarized thoroughly with the political, economic and cultural life of the country, its achievements in all spheres of social life, which had a tremendous influence on the formation of his world outlook. Practically there was hardly found another person in Egypt of the 19th-century, who was so enthusiastic about the achievements of the Western civilization, was such an active supporter of the introduction of the Western achievements that would be acceptable for the Arabs. It should also be noted that at-Tahtawi did not support blind imitation, borrowing and adoption of everything Western, but his aim was the adoption and introduction of what would be acceptable and useful in the conditions of local life. Actually, he was against any extremes – accepting everything without hesitation, or rejecting everything. By his activity and work he was a propagandist of these two, as though opposite and incompatible sides (cf. R.Kipling's words: "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" or the below-cited words of Al-Afghani), a reasonable synthesis of the achievements of civilization. This is confirmed clearly by his work.

The aim of the present article is to focus attention on several questions of at-Tahtawi's world outlook, in particular, his interpretation of the notion of "homeland" and "nation" and his views on the relationship between the West and the East, as well as his vision of upbringing and education, etc.

At first, in order to demonstrate the question, I offer a brief overview of the viewpoint of Arab enlighteners on the above-mentioned problems, the more so as their bringing to the forefront was directly linked with the beginning of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries.

As the national liberation movement did not develop in a similar way in the Arab countries, proceeding from this, the attitude towards the Western countries and the Ottoman Turks was not identical. E.g. Syrian and Lebanese progressive thinkers in the second half of the 19th c., when Syria was still a colony of the West, struggled against the Turkish dominance and set hopes on the Western assistance. In Egypt, on the contrary, they expected assistance from the Turkish Sultan in the struggle against the British colonists (Levin, 1972: 101-102). Pan-Islamism that took shape in the same period and preached the unification of the Muslim world around the Ottoman Turks in order to resist European colonialism and defend the interests of the Muslim world, found many followers in Egypt (Levin, 1972: 104). Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897/8), a public and political figure of the Afghan origin, living in Egypt, always an adversary of the West and said: "The West opposes the East. The spirit of the crusades still makes hearts thrill" (Levin, 1972: 109). In his view, only the Ottoman Empire, which would unite in its boundaries the majority of the Muslims, could fight against the West. Muhammad Abdo (1849 – 1905) and Adib Ishak (1856-1885) shared this opinion almost fully. Mustafa Kamil (1874 – 1908) considered the acquisition of the complete independence of Egypt from Great Britain as the main objective of all Egyptians. Like al-Afghani, he regarded the creation of a common Muslim caliphate under the direction of the Sultan as the only solution of the Eastern problem (Dolinina, 1968: 88, 89). In Farah Antun's (1874 – 1922) opinion, the decisive role in all the misfortunes of the East was played by Western colonists, without the deliverance from which the progress of the Arab countries was impossible. Therefore he called upon the Egyptians to struggle (Dolinina, 1973: 167). The viewpoint of the enlighteners in the sphere of culture was almost identical: to borrow from the West what was useful – the energetic, free, independent spirit, and to reject everything what opposed the interests of the Eastern countries and was alien to the Eastern morality (Dolinina, 1973: 171).

Syrian enlighteners, as noted above, were distinguished by anti-Turkish tendencies and inclined to the West. Some of them wished to create the Arab caliphate, in which the Arab countries situated on the Arabian Peninsula would be united. Al-Kavakibi (1849–1902/3) called upon foreigners to allow the Arabs to solve their affairs by themselves (Dolinina, 1973: 63). Notably enough, the attitude of the Egyptians and the Syrians to the West and the Ottoman state was determined by the fact that the Turkish dominance over Syria-Lebanon, neighboring directly upon the centre, was stronger, whereas the Western colonists were not politically strengthened there yet. Egypt, due to its territorial remoteness, was in the Ottoman Empire only formally and in fact was a British colony.

Naturally, under such conditions the notions of "homeland" and "nation" moved to the forefront. According to the concept accepted in Europe, Adib Ishaq formulated the notion of homeland as follows: "Homeland as a political notion which denotes the place from which a person originates, where the safety of this person, his family and property is guaranteed" (Levin, 1972: 63). He and Al-Kavakibi stated that "there is no

homeland in the conditions of despotism”, because in this case man is stripped of rights (Levin, 1972: 178). Lutfi As-Seidi (1872–1953/63) added to this notion the common material (economic) interests (Levin, 1972: 178). Farah Antuni interpreted “homeland” as the commonwealth of the peoples making up the Ottoman Empire, the union which should have resisted the European expansion (Dolinina, 1973: 169).

“Nation” in the Arabic sense was the unity of all Muslims regardless of the language, race and ethnicity, or location (Levin, 1972: 179). In the course of time such a concept changed. It was not already a mere group of persons united by kinship, but a collective of persons having a common language, a single place of residence and religion (Levin, 1972: 179). Here the emphasis is on the language and territory. Al-Kavakibi ruled out the link with the religion and defined “nation” as “the unity of persons related through a common race, homeland and rights (Levin, 1972: 180). Lutfi As-Seidi characterized “nation” as a social group united by common interests, and not by the religion (Levin, 1972: 180).

Such were in brief the views of the Arab enlighteners concerning the mentioned questions. But this was later, in the period of the upsurge of the enlightenment movement, circa middle of the second half of the 19th c. at-Tahtawi, who worked in an earlier period, outstripped them in time and in fact these questions were put on the agenda thanks to him.

What was at-Tahtawi’s attitude towards the above questions like?

Let us begin from at-Tahtawi’s idea of “homeland” and “nation”. It should be noted that these two concepts are not demarcated clearly with at-Tahtawi. As is known, the traditional idea of “homeland” derived from the meaning of this word in Arabic “Al-Watan” – the place of a person’s birth and residence. At-Tahtawi as early as the 1860s added to the traditional notion of “homeland” the idea of patriotism, love for the homeland. In his view, tireless work for the interests of the homeland, making one’s contribution to its building was the primary duty of a citizen of a country. To the theme of the homeland he added the national theme and placed both even above the religious ties. According to at-Tahtawi, there is a close relation between fellow countrymen, there exist certain rights and duties with respect to one another, and what is the most important there is national brotherhood between them, which is higher and more important than religious brotherhood. Each citizen of the country has moral obligations, he should spare no effort for the glory and dignity of his homeland. At that time it was not easy to voice similar ideas in public, especially for a person having a religious education, as the entire Muslim world, and not any particular country, was usually regarded as the homeland for all Muslims. As noted above, many Arab enlighteners, proceeding from the traditional idea of the homeland, in the struggle for independence from the colonists demanded the creation of the common Muslim caliphate, or the unification of all Muslims around the Ottoman state. Egyptian enlighteners were especially distinguished in this regard. The reason for this was discussed above. The idea of the creation of the common Muslim, or the common Arab caliphate or state is not found in at-Tahtawi’s work available to us. This is also supported by the fact that at the period of the upsurge of the enlightenment movement (circa final quarter of the 19th c.) Egyptian nationalism originated. At-Tahtawi as early as the 1860s on the basis of the patriotic sentiments stressed that “Egypt is the dearest land for its children.” (Levin, 1972: 179). One might say that at-Tahtawi’s these views, as many others, outstrip the slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians” put forward by the Egyptian nationalists.

As regards at-Tahtawi’s attitude towards the Western world, it may be said with confidence that he was one of the first, if not the first, propagandist of the Western, namely, French civilization in Egypt. His loyal attitude found reflection in his entire activity. This is demonstrated especially clearly in his book “A Paris Profile” dealing with the five-year period spent in France. At-Tahtawi takes a great liking to the European civilization, the tendency of the French people to move forward, to perfect their knowledge, which, in his view, the Arabs should adopt and introduce. He pays great attention to the system of education in France. Indeed, later on, several years before his death, at-Tahtawi was put at the head of the commission drafting the curricula in connection with the foundation of the first girls’ school in Egypt (Kakharova, 1968: 22-23). He introduces many things from the French education system and tries to adjust them to the local conditions. In addition, when in “A Paris Profile” he offers the analysis of the political and public institutions, he writes with exceptional sympathy about the constitutional government, the parliament and electoral system. He thinks that the people must take active part in the ruling of the country. Dealing with the legal issues, at-Tahtawi notes that “... Justice is the basis of civilization” (at-Tahtawi, 1991: 66). He partly touched upon the

notion of “freedom” in the book, but he, the first of the Egyptians, offered its detailed analysis at the beginning of the 1870s. He regarded it as the most important factor of the existence of human beings, and singled out its five varieties: 1. Freedom as the natural state of a human being, 2. Freedom of behavior, 3. Freedom of conscience, 4. Civil freedom, and 5. Political freedom (Levin, 1972: 27). Interest attaches in the book to the author’s reasoning concerning the principles of “lawfulness” and “equality”. He believes that citizens must respect the rule of law. At-Tahtawi recognizes the equality of all persons before the law, the demands that the rulers of the country also follow the laws, obey the law and control the protection of the people’s rights. Actually, he preaches the supremacy of law. At-Tahtawi already at the beginning of the 1870s, earlier than Muslim reformers, was the first to focus attention on the fact that it is necessary to bring the laws into conformity with the requirements of time. In “A Paris Profile” he arrives at the conclusion that notions “freedom”, “equality”, “lawfulness” (justice), as the form of the social structure were known to the Muslims for a long time, and they do not contradict Islam.

Arabic education was closely linked with the religion. Enlighteners considered reformed Islam as a resource of spreading their ideas. They planned to establish the new public and political ideas with the help of Islam and to explain scientific achievements on its basis. They believed that the only way of progress was in Islam, free from any “strange disfigurements”. These were the ways which created the reforms or modernism in the 1870s. The key principle for the modernists was that Islam was the universal, world religion, useful for any nationalities, any periods and any kind of cultural circumstances, and that it did not contradict modern civilization.

At-Tahtawi lived before the modernists, but one finds a number of modernist religious approaches among his sayings, e.g. when members of the modernist movement noted that Islam was the universal, world religion, he asserted the same in his saying: “Islam is the religion of the heaven” or “...I saw Islam in France without Muslims...”(Ibrāhīm Jawdat, 2008: 27-28). He noted that many generations have been distorting the provisions, dogmas and doctrines of Islam for a long time, a lot of people pretended to be Muslims, but in fact they did not fulfill the requirements of Islamic legislation. The continuation of the above-mentioned quotation: “...I saw Muslims in Egypt without Islam...” is in fact a confirmation of this. When At-Tahtawi speaks about “the laws of nature”, he notes that modern states and societies should be formed according to them (i.e. according to the rules of nature). He does not see any contradiction between Islam and “the laws of nature”. That is why he thinks it is necessary to explain and comment on Islam, to gain insight correctly into the ideas of Islam, in order to identify in what Islam agrees with the requirements of time, and hence, to see what is the contradiction between science (knowledge) and religion. He believes that the contradiction between them is false, invented, feigned and it may be eradicated. At-Tahtawi also notes that rationalistic notions, dominating in Europe, are not strange to Islam, Islam appeals us towards them. Therefore it is not Islam that contains flaws, but in the course of time Muslims themselves distorted it (“...I saw Muslims in Egypt without Islam”). So, it is necessary to give back Islam its original form. Hence, his belief that the task (mission) of the Muslim civilization is to create a balance between the great bifurcation, which divides the world into two opposing parts: belief and disbelief, paradise and hell, rational truth and religious truth, etc. (Ibrāhīm Jawdat, 2008: 28).

Let us return again in brief to the attitude of the Egyptians towards the West. It is a fact that the attitude of the Egyptians and the Arabs in general to the West and the Western culture was not homogeneous. The West and its culture influenced greatly the Arab enlighteners, cultural workers, as well as representatives of another trend which followed them, it gave a stimulus to the revival and rise of the Arab life and culture, appearance of new literary trends, overcoming old literary forms, formation and development of new genres, etc. But this was not a simple process. The progressive part of the society had to overcome great obstacles due to predominant views in themselves as well as the society. The Arab, especially Muslim society was unprepared for serious transformations. It should also be taken into consideration that the Western culture and life greatly differed from the Arabic, at the same time, for the Egyptians this was the culture of the colonists (England). Along with this, superficial borrowing and imitation of everything European occurred in every sphere of life, which in its turn caused in every strata of the population great aggression, a back reaction to anything new, the tendency to retain at any cost their old image, customs, the centuries-old Muslim world-view. E.g. in literature this was manifested in the protest against translated books, in the tendency somehow to revive, to breathe new life to old literary forms, subjects, to retain intact the Arabic language, etc. Such nega-

tive phenomena were successfully used by conservative powers against supporters of progress (enlighteners). The opposition was in fact uncompromising, which eventually ended in the revival of Arab life. However, the struggle between these two powers did not cease at any stage of the development.

The viewpoint of Arab enlighteners about the interrelation of the West and the East, according to "A Paris Profile", at-Tahtawi's attitude towards the West, the influence on his views on laws, "freedom", "equality", "justice", "homeland", and other notions have already been discussed above. Here I would like to add at-Tahtawi's opinion about "citizenship of a country", as the Western influence is obvious there. At-Tahtawi was the first to pose as the object of public discussion the notion of "citizen". A citizen did not exist in the Arab world. In his place there was a subject. So, here the population of a country did not consist of citizens, as in Europe, but subjects. The difference was that the notion of "citizen" implied independent existence of an individual, who had rights and obligations defined by the law before the country and fellow countrymen. A "subject" had obligations, but he was devoid of legitimate rights. His fate was governed by his master, or the ruler of the country, or e.g. in the Ottoman Empire – by the Sultan (Ibrāhīm Jawdat, 2008: 30). At-Tahtawi raised the question of introducing the status of "citizen" in Egypt, and defining a citizen's rights, in which he primarily implied the political right: the right to criticize the authorities, in case a citizen found mistakes in their actions, to express one's opinion concerning rectifying those mistakes, the right to take part in the political life of the state, which was directly linked with the principles of freedom of the individual, justice and equality.

Along with this, under the influence of the European civilization, at-Tahtawi was the first among the Egyptians to begin struggling for women's rights. His views were not less progressive than those of the well-known enlighteners Kasim Amin (1865 – 1908), Wali Ad-Din Yakun (1873 – 1921) and others.

At-Tahtawi made great contribution to the upbringing and education of the youth. He, as an excellent specialist of school affairs in Egypt, was actively engaged in the improvement and provision of school education of the country. In the school curricula, prepared under his guidance, and in his view on upbringing and education, he rested on the experience of the French system of education, but he also took into consideration the requirements and needs of the Egyptian society, the specificity of the Muslim culture and life. The basic requirements (see At-Tahtawi's main work "Reliable Guide in Education of Girls and Boys") may be formulated in brief as follows: 1) upbringing and education of girls and boys is one of the main supports of the revival of the country; 2) it is necessary to evaluate and use properly the experience of other countries (mostly, the West), to introduce its positive aspects and adapt them to the problems and needs of the local society, to take into consideration the specificity of the Muslim and Arab culture and life; 3) upbringing and education should be based on the love for the homeland, kindling of patriotic feelings; 4) the basis for upbringing and education should be relevant laws; 5) it is necessary to work out appropriate and well-organized school and educational programs; 6) girls and boys should study at school together, there should be no difference between their teaching, etc. (at-tahṭāvī, 2000).

A great role in the formation of At-Tahtawi's world view, along with the education received at the Al-Azhar University, was performed by the years spent in France, profound familiarization with French culture, literature, philosophy, social and political works, which ultimately defined his Western orientation. In addition, his close cooperation with well-known French orientalists – Silvestre de Sacy and Caussin de Perceval, his direct supervisor Academician E. F. Jomard, a participant of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition as a military engineer, apparently also played a certain role.

It is obvious that by his active public work at-Tahtawi tried to convince the Arab readers, which is also clear in his "A Paris Profile", that European science and European civilization, in general, do not at all contradict Islam and the Koran.

At-Tahtawi was a great and versatile public figure, excellent translator, author of good original works. His mental outlook was quite broad and, proceeding from this, his service to the homeland was enormous. Doctor Shukri al-'Ayad in the book "The History of New Arabic Literature" refers to him as "a herald of the new revival" (al-'Ayād, n.d.: 20), but K. Öhrnberg in his book "Rifa'a Bey at-tahṭāvī (1801-73)" writes: "... standard-bearer and symbol of Arabic renaissance, the most well-known thinker of his epoch" (Kutelia, 2007: 141).

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PECULIARITIES OF NADER SHAH'S CAUCASIAN POLICY ACCORDING TO GEORGIAN PRIMARY SOURCES*

The reign of Nader Shah (1736-1747) is one of the most crucial periods in the history of not only Iran, but also the whole East and Caucasus. There are several primary sources describing Nader's political and military activities in Iran, as well as in Caucasian countries (Mirza Mohammad Kazem, Mirza Mohammad Mahdi Khan Astarabadi, Hakop Shemakhets, Abraham Cretats, Jonas Hanway, etc.)

For clarifying events or facts, connected with the history of Caucasus of this period, it is very worthy to study Georgian sources. It is also to be taken into account that some references, preserved in the Georgian and Iranian sources, are mutually exclusive.

Nader Shah's contemporary famous and reliable Georgian chroniclers such as Papuna Orbeliani, Oman Kherkheulidze, Vakhusheti Batonishvili give us quite ample and interesting information about the policy of Iran, in particular, that of Nader Shah, conducted in Caucasus in the 18th century.

These Georgian sources are outstanding by their reliability, even for the reason that the abovementioned chroniclers often themselves were the direct eyewitnesses and participants of the events they have described.

In the paper, I propose, are highlighted several unknown aspects of Nader Shah's Caucasian policy, based exactly on such sources.

As I have already noted, Oman Kherkheulidze is one of the prominent representatives of Georgian historiography. His historical work is "Rule of King Irakli the Second, Son of Teimuraz". There is very little biographical information about Oman Kherkheulidze. We are aware that he occupied the post of "lashkarnavis" (army writer) at the court of Erekle the II.

Restoring the biography of Oman Kherkheulidze is not possible neither by the data, contained in his work. However, in the historical documents of the following period, in particular from the 70th years of the XVIII century and the beginning of the XIX century, there are relatively more references about him.

Oman Kherkheulidze actively worked at the court of Erekle the II (this is evident in the documents, preserved in the Central State Historical Archives of Georgia).

As it appears that, the author of the work was also participating in military operations. He, contrary to Papuna Orbeliani (about whose work "Ambavni Kartlisani" ("Stories of Kartli") I also will talk below), has not left other kind literary heritage.

Though, as Ivane Javakhishvili writes, "Our chronicler has not specially underlined that he was contemporary and eyewitness of the events like others, he also particularly notes about his oral source that they were "reliable men", therefore, neither Oman Mdivani has not forgotten this indispensable requirement for the authenticity of the historical writings."¹ Also therefore, it should be said that this work of Oman Kherkheulidze is a reliable and important source.

In Oman Kherkheulidze's work, the following note is interesting and merits attention:

In 1735 The Lezgins had raided Kiziki, and 15-year-old Erekle has gathered a troop from the villages and fought against Lezgins. He had demonstrated great courage and has defeated them, making reason for a great joy. In the same year, Nader Shah sent the message to the Ottomans, who were in Tbilisi: "I have won at Saraskari and you too, be ready." The Ottomans left Tbilisi, and then the Nader entered it and gave Teimuraz the reign of Kakheti and his nephew – Ali Khan – that of Kartli. In Tbilisi he nominated other person, a Kizilbash khan.

In 1736, Nader Shah sent a commander Sepi khan to Kartli who demanded Teimuraz to collect the Kakhetians and Kartlians in the village of Pkhvenisi, where Teimuraz was betrayed (by Givi Amilakhori, Aragvi Eristavi Baram, Tarkhan Luarsab, Cholokashvili Givi, Kisiqi administrator Kaikhosro). Kizilbashes captured traitors and took them to Persia. Then they pardoned them. Nader Shah took the king Teimuraz to

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, 10, 2017, pp. 227-231.

¹ Ivane Javakhishvili, *Old Georgian Historical Literature*, Works, (Tbilisi, 1977), 371.

Kandahar and told him: If you bring your son Irakli, I will set you free.² As Oman Kherkheulidze writes: "But Georgians and kakhetians, hearing this, unanimously did not want Erekle to go to Persia, though Erekle went to Persia – "They shall detain my father there and if I come there they will let him go, and if I stay and do not go there, this is impossible for my part," he said.³

In my opinion, the most interesting and worthy of attention from this passage is the dialog between the prince Erekle and the shah of Iran.

After coming of Erekle to Iran, Nader shah had demanded him to convert to Islam, but Erekle had refused. We are citing this part of the work:

"In February 1737 Irakli went to Shah Nader and entered Kandahar. Nader shah had occupied Kandahar on March 16 and when Irakli came, they at once introduced him to Nader shah and Shah-Nader started to talk and asked Irakli with command voice and threatening expression: "will not you become Tatar?" and he like martyr recognized Christ before the powerful, and took responsibility young by age but wise by mind: "My death is possible, and nobody is able to kill the soul, and neither I will adopt Mohammedan faith". Then Nadir told him: "Do not be afraid, I will no longer force you." And on the second day he made bring the king Teimuraz and the Georgians and Kakhetians and dismissed them all and let them go and Nadir himself went for military campaign to India and took with him the king Teimuraz's son Irakli."⁴

The content of this particular dialogue is interesting not only because we are reading it in the narrative source, but also because it gives us the opportunity to express several opinions (to analyze) the Nader Shah's political approach or diplomatic moves towards the Caucasus and, in particular, towards Georgia.

Despite the fact that for the Iranian governors it has always been important to Islamize a conquered nation, in this case Nader Shah revealed loyalty to the Prince Erekle and did not force him. Why? I think because:

A) For his next campaigns he needed Erekle, who, though was still young, but was distinguished by his courage and devotion.

B) King Teimuraz's authority was increasingly growing at the court of Iran, and hence, if Nader Shah and King Teimuraz retained such loyal relationships, the relationship of the Georgian nobility with Christian Russia would be hindered and this would be favorable for Iran for the purposes of strengthening its positions in Caucasus.

C) Ottoman empire factor was also important. They have been constantly trying to gain over Georgian princes and thus carry out their policies, and, naturally, taking roots in Georgia.

Papuna Orbeliani's "Ambavni Kartlisani" (Stories of Kartli) is another notable monument of Georgian historical literature. The author of the work writes about Kartli and Kakheti, of the 30th – 50th years of XVIII century.

We know about the life and work of Papuna Orbeliani from his work, but it should be said that it is not possible to restore his biography completely by means of the information, contained in it, though he was eyewitness and often participated himself in the events, described in his own work, he still gives a very little information of autobiographical character. The author does not even mention what position he was occupying, but about the other members of the Orbeliani family he refers to as commanders and other senior officials.

In Papuna Orbeliani's work, the important place is given to the 1722 revolt of the Georgian prince Givi Amilakhori. His connection with the Lezgins and the Ottomans, as well as the united opposition of Teimuraz and Kizilbashes against the rebellious Georgian princes is extensively discussed.

I would like to draw attention to the particular information, where in details is described how Givi Amilakhori derogated from the king and at the same time, naturally, from Nader Shah.

"In these events, in the month of April and Yew night, Givi Amilakhori, who was a lawyer, slid from the town in the night, went with his wife and children, and took with them Paata Abashidze's and Sarinda Ertistavishvili's wives. Paata Abashidze and some of the princes from the upper Kartli, who were accompany-

2 Oman Kherkheulidze, *Mepoba Irakli meorisა* (Reign of Irakli the Second), (Tbilisi, 1989), 40.

3 *Ibid*, 40.

4 Kherkheulidze, *Irakli*, 41.

ing the khan of Kartli as a troop, slid the same Yew night from the Iori riverside, and came to Amilakhori.”⁵ When Givi Amilakhori arrived to Mtskheta, the bridge was broken, Aragvi Eristavi Bezhani was waiting for him with boats and they came to Dusheti safely. Then Amilakhori “collected the men of the Ksani and Aragvi gorges, gave them what was to give them and swore them and made all the princes of the upper Kartli to be devoted and united them”. When this was reported to Nader Shah, first he asked Givi Amilakhori the reason why he did this and when he received the answer: “The country was ruined and it was not possible to do anything. I could not serve the king any more and I went away”, then he several times promised him to forgive mistakes if he would come, “but he did not want and they could not make obey Amilakhori by no means.”⁶ The order of the king arrived, he commanded the khan of Kartli to fight against Amilakhori.⁷

Later, Amilakhori established connection with the Ottoman Empire and with the court of St. Petersburg. At first, this revolt had some success, but it did not last so until the end.

In 1745, Amilakhori, locked in the Surami fortress, surrendered to Teimuraz II’s wife Tamar after a five-month siege. Teimuraz sent him to Nader Shah.

In Papuna Orbeliani’s work we read:

“They were sending a man to Amilakhori and inviting him to come out from the fortress, but they could not subdue him, he had even several Lezgins in the fortress and the fortress also was well supplied with food and weapons. They did not hope to take the fortress, day and night they were shooting cannons and bombs and it was impossible to see the fortress because of the smoke. Also, they were shooting cannons from the fortress. They appointed five hundred warriors in the night for watch over the roads that no one could escape the fortress.”⁸ (After that, Nader Shah again made known Amilakhori that he would not hurt him, if he would come out from the fortress, but Amilakhori, lying as always, first tried to surrender, but then again reinforced the fortress). Then Shah sent out “three great men from his noble court” and he ordered them: “Obey to Teimuraz Khan as if it were me and take his dictations.”⁹ Shah had also sent an artist and ordered him to paint the Surami fortress. They drew the fortress and sent it to Nader Shah. Nader issued such a command: “Let’s make around the fortress such a wall that no man could get out of it and surround this wall with the troop and you go away. Leave him there so long till he asks us himself.”¹⁰ “They used one mine against Surami Fortress and it did not harm anything, then they used the second mine and it destroyed half of the fortress, and many of the people being in the fortress were injured. Givi Amilakhori started talking about this and said: “Let Her Majesty the Queen come here and I’ll trust her.” The Queen Tamar departed and arrived to Surami. Amilokhori Givi immediately stepped out and came to Queen, and swore that he would not betray her.”

The lords also promised that they would not neither hurt nor kill him. He surrendered the Surami fortress and the Queen went to the city and brought Amilakhori Givi with her.”¹¹

It is noteworthy that Nader Shah, because of King Teimuraz and Queen Tamar, pardoned Givi Amilkhori and sent this note to Teimuraz: “You are the owner of a half of my wealth, always count on my great favor. We have pardoned Amilakhori’s blood for you.”¹² Teimuraz and Tamar became happy first for this and then for the reason that “Nobody is receiving such a note, no owner of any country, neither beglar-beg.”¹³

From these particular sections of Papuna Orbeliani’s work, once again, clearly are seen Nader Shah and Teimuraz II’s solid political and often personal close relationships. Clearly is seen also King Teimuraz’s position towards Givi amilakhori and his mates revolt: when Nader Shah’s many thousand army was fighting in Dagestan and objectively acted in the interests of Kartli and Kakheti, as Dagestan’s feudal aristocracy in that period was conducting a permanent war against east Georgia, That is why the uprising of Amilakhori was less

5 Papuna Orbeliani, *Ambavni Kartlisani* (Stories of Kartli), (Tbilisi: 1981), 53.

6 *Ibid.*, 53.

7 *Ibid.*, 55.

8 *Ibid.*, 92

9 *Ibid.*, 94

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, 97.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*, 98.

responding to Teimuraz II – correctly calculated political moves. That is why the correct and rational actions of King Teimuraz in relation to the above revolt, it could be told, further strengthened Nader Shah's trust in Teimuraz and, based on the above said, in my opinion, Shah's decision to replace in 1745 "Kizilbashes" with "Georgians" and let Teimuraz to be crowned in Christian way, is more a kind of a political compromise than forcing of Nader Shah by rebels to retreat, as many historians remark.

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LE MANUSCRIT BILINGUE GRÉCO-GÉORGIEN DU LIBAN* **

Abstract

The subject of this article consists in the phonetic and phonological data of the bilingual (Greek-Georgian) manuscript Lib-1 272 (14th century) discovered in the monastery of the Holy Savior in Lebanon, in which the Greek text is written by means of transliteration using the Georgian alphabet. The peculiarities of the Greek pronunciation make it evident that the initial Greek text, included in the Georgian liturgical collections, originated in a linguistic setting of the Bohairic dialect of the Coptic language and carries the signs of Greek-Coptic interferences. The results of the phonetical analysis are shown in the tables.

Le manuscrit gréco-géorgien conservé au Liban représente un recueil liturgique d'un texte grec encodé en alphabet géorgien. Ce manuscrit s'est rendu célèbre grâce aux soins que lui a accordés Šalva Vardidzé, un savant géorgien installé à Beyrouth. Il s'est chargé de copier et d'envoyer ce témoin à l'*Institut des manuscrits géorgiens* où actuellement lui est assignée la cote Q-1477. C'est dans le monastère de St. Sauveur (de confession „monophysite“) situé dans les montagnes de Saïda que Š. Vardidzé a découvert son original.

Précisons dès maintenant que la copie effectuée par Š. Vardidzé est digne de toute confiance. En effet, son auteur, éduqué en Europe et catholique de confession, était un professeur de l'université de Beyrouth et fut connu pour ses multiples travaux scientifiques et ses traductions. Il a également dirigé un monastère géorgien à Istanbul pendant la première décennie du XX^e siècle.¹ Dans la notice qui accompagne sa description du manuscrit le chercheur indique:

„Le manuscrit que j'ai copié mot à mot se trouvait dans le monastère du St. Sauveur où parmi de nombreux manuscrits, il portait le numéro 1272. Le monastère ne dispose pas d'information sur sa provenance. Il ne doit pas s'agir d'un manuscrit archéotype. Cependant le nom du copiste et la date de copie n'y sont pas signalés. En collaboration avec le secrétaire du Musée de Beyrouth, nous avons confronté le papier de ce témoin aux autres papiers et nous sommes tombés d'accord pour le dater du XIV^e siècle“.

À la page 10 de sa copie Š. Vardidzé indique en outre:

„J'ai copié les lettres *mkhedrouli* et onciales en respectant l'original. J'ai transmis en rouge les rubriques qui étaient en rouge. Le manuscrit est lacunaire et il doit lui manquer quelque quatre folios au début, étant donné que les lectures des Évangiles pour le samedi et le dimanche y font défaut. Je me suis mis à la copie le 24 juillet 1953. Le manuscrit m'était confié pour une semaine“.

Les dix premiers folios du manuscrit contiennent les lectures des Évangiles, des prières sacrales traduites du grec ancien vers le géorgien ancien et quelques lectures des livres de l'Ancien Testament. Le scribe utilise les abréviations (dites „*ქარაგბა*“) dans la partie où le texte est en géorgien. Quant à son principe de translittération du texte grec, il annonce:

„Ainsi prend fin cette prière en grec. Je l'ai copiée avec beaucoup d'attention pour faire correspondre correctement les lettres géorgiennes à l'original“.

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** Article traduit du géorgien par Tamara Pataridzé (UCL).
1 Il a également passé des années d'émigration en France où il a collaboré à „Bedi Kartlisa“, *Revue de Karthvéologie*. Il s'est consacré à l'étude des données sur les missionnaires catholiques en Géorgie. Sa riche archive est actuellement la propriété du Vatican. Voir à propos de son activité un article de გ. ბაბულაშვილი, ბეირუთის უნივერსიტეტის პროფესორის ცხოვრების გვ. [E. Babulasvili, *La biographie d'un professeur de l'Université de Beyrouth*], dans *Saba*, 7 (1996), p. 16.

1. Description du manuscrit

Le manuscrit Q-1477 est copié avec une écriture fine mais bien lisible. Il se compose de 103 pages. La première partie du manuscrit reproduit exactement l'original en présentant le texte en deux colonnes par page. Une autre partie, en revanche, est copiée en bloc et de cette manière, le manuscrit présente deux pages de l'original regroupées en une. Ainsi, les 103 pages de la copie de Vardidzé reproduisent les 145 pages du manuscrit Lib-1272.

Lib-1272 ne possédait pas une pagination régulière. Le scribe qui confectionna le manuscrit utilisa, en toute vraisemblance, plusieurs manuscrits différents comme modèles. Cette conclusion est renforcée, entre autres, par l'étude du texte grec. La pagination (en lettres géorgiennes) commence seulement après les dix premières pages soit les pages „a“ à „mz“ qui couvrent le texte depuis la *liturgie de Jean Chrysostome* jusqu'à la première page de la *liturgie de St. Basile*. Comme pour les premiers folios, la pagination manquait également pour les deux derniers folios, ceux qui sont, en outre, copiés d'une écriture minuscule difficilement lisible. Ces deux pages sont ajoutées au manuscrit à la fin, le papier en est d'une autre nature, transparent, qui laisse l'écriture visible de l'autre côté. Sans titre. „Je le copie tel quel“ – expliquait S. Vardidzé (Q-1477, p. 101). Ce manuscrit est copié en caractère *mxedruli* avec les lettres capitales en *khutsuri*.

2. Contenu du manuscrit

Le recueil liturgique Lib-1272 (respectivement Q-14 77) commence par les lectures des Évangiles pour les sept jours de la semaine (p. 1-4), viennent ensuite des lectures pour les vêpres, les sept prières pour les sept sacrements (p. 5-9), des lectures des livres de l'Ancien Testament (p. 10), la liturgie de Jean Chrysostome (p. 13-39, grec-géorg.), les antiphonies des jours de la semaine tirés de Menaion des fêtes (p. 39-41, grec), lecture des *Actes* pour les sept jours de la semaine (p. 41-45), les antiphonies de Pâques (p. 45-46), petits hymnes sur le Psaume (33, 9) et *stichera* de la Litanie (p. 46-52), office de la bénédiction de l'eau (p. 53-57), la liturgie de St. Basile (p. 59-83), les enseignements (p. 84-86), la liturgie de Grégoire le Grand sur la chasteté (p. 87-98), prière de renvoi (p. 99-100, grec) et les prières d'action de grâce après la liturgie (p. 101 – 103).

Ce recueil a été composé par une personne ayant de bonnes compétences pratiques dans le service liturgique du rite monastique et dans les textes religieux. La langue officielle de la liturgie du monastère semble être le grec, alors que les prêtres devaient être de langue maternelle géorgienne. Par conséquent, le texte grec se trouve imbriqué dans ce recueil, représenté par la translittération géorgienne.

Les lectures et prières ne sont pas identiques en grec et en géorgien, elles s'enchaînent selon le principe suivant: les prières sacrées exprimées par les prêtres et diacres „avec dévotion et crainte“ et „humblement“ sont en géorgien. Celles qui doivent être entendues par les paroissiens (par ceux qui prient) et sont à prononcer à haute voix sont en grec. De même, sont en grec les antiphonies des sept jours, normalement chantées par la chorale. Le texte grec constitue ainsi un tiers du manuscrit.

Ce type de recueils n'est pas inconnu des chercheurs. Ils étaient avant tout codifiés par une juridiction d'Église et surgissaient dans les régions où la liturgie était interdite dans la langue locale alors que le clergé ne maîtrisait pas la langue officielle. Ou encore, si la paroisse était mixte

3. Le concepteur et le destinataire du recueil

Le concepteur anonyme du recueil nous livre quelques phrases où il s'exprime à la première personne: „Ici prenez en considération ce que nous avons déjà annoncé à propos de la première prière,“ ou: „ici il faut procéder de la manière que nous avons décrite dans la liturgie de Chrysostome“ (Lib-1272, p. 63-64). Chronologiquement les textes géorgiens et grecs ne se situent pas à la même époque. En outre, ce fin connaisseur de la langue géorgienne ne devait pas avoir une bonne maîtrise de la langue grecque, si du moins les écarts par rapport aux normes et les corruptions présentes dans le texte grec ne relèvent pas de la responsabilité des copistes postérieurs. Nous pensons ici notamment aux découpages illogiques des phrases et des mots grecs. Cependant, si on applique les corrections nécessaires au texte, il se trouve en stricte adéquation avec les extraits respectifs des liturgies canoniques.

Si on revient au niveau chronologique des textes que nous venons d'évoquer, il faudra prendre en consi-

dération l'observation suivante: les parties du texte grec transcrites en géorgien semblent avoir un caractère plus archaïque que les traductions en géorgien. Ce caractère s'est forgé dans le cadre d'une longue cohabitation entre les langues copte et grecque avant la période de l'expansion de l'arabe. Ainsi, le moine géorgien qui a translittéré le texte grec, aurait suivi une prononciation propre à son parler local. Il est difficile à définir où et quand on aurait pu parler en grec de cette manière. Il se pourrait que la translittération ait été réalisée dans le milieu copte d'Égypte, à une époque très archaïque et que, postérieurement, elle ait été remplacée par des textes en géorgien: plus précisément par les extraits des Évangiles, les liturgies de Jean Chrysostome et St. Basile, tous dans la traduction de George l'Hagiortite (XI^e s.). Ceci amène à croire que cette compilation ne peut pas être considérée comme antérieure au XI^e siècle. La partie grecque du recueil démontre qu'il était destiné au rite monastique. Cette hypothèse est confirmée, entre autres, par une mention dans les prières qui se répète plus d'une fois: „**ტონ ადელფონ ტის აიას მონის ტავტის**“ (ton adelpon tis aias monis tavtis – Lib-1272, 20; 60; 68; 116).

4. La provenance linguistique du modèle grec du manuscrit Lib-1272

La vocation pratique du manuscrit libanais détermine d'emblée son caractère. La totalité de la célébration liturgique devait être compréhensible pour les croyants. Mais compréhensible dans la langue en usage, selon la prononciation de l'époque. Conformément à cet objectif, cette liturgie est marquée par l'oralité vu qu'elle ne prend pas en considération les paramètres textuels, à savoir, la correspondance orthographique avec la prononciation, et ne reflète ainsi qu'un flot de langage. La perception graphique des mots grecs qui sont derrière ce discours y fait défaut.

La reconnaissance de l'importance des papyri grecs pour l'étude du grec postclassique est un apport des chercheurs des XIX^e-XX^e siècles. Leurs travaux sont fondés sur les publications des papyri qui ont rendu clair le rôle de ceux-ci comme témoins des premières traces écrites de bon nombre de caractéristiques du grec moderne. Les travaux de Hatzidakis, Dieterich, Thumb, Deissmann, Radermacher, Mayser² ont été fondateurs dans le domaine, leur problématique est toujours d'actualité et suscite un intérêt majeur auprès des scientifiques.

Les plus anciens papyri grecs contiennent des écrits magiques et sacrés, des ostracas, des documents administratifs ou économiques, de la correspondance privée, des consignes astrologiques et médicales, de la correspondance officielle ou informelle, etc. Tout ceci est écrit dans la koinè grecque pratiquée sur le territoire égyptien depuis les années 30 av. J.-C jusqu'au VIII^e siècle de notre ère. Il s'agit ici de la koinè hellénistique ayant subi des transformations dans le langage des Égyptiens locaux. Ainsi, il s'est défini comme Je fruit de l'interférence entre deux langues: le copte et le grec. Les études linguistiques consacrées à la koinè grecque égyptienne se basent sur ce corpus de documents. Ces recherches identifient les phénomènes caractéristiques puisés dans un grand nombre de documents sources, les analysent et y décèlent des propriétés au caractère systématique. Pour établir la grammaire des papyri de l'époque romano-byzantine, F. Thomas Gignac a analysé 32284 documents dont environ 15000 papyri, 8000 ostracas, 6000 inscriptions,³ etc. Quant au manuscrit Lib-1272, il reflète tout le spectre de la phonétique et de la phonologie du parler local. Les matériaux donnés démontrent que le grec des papyri égyptiens se caractérise par des indices bien pertinents et qu'il livre une information phonétique précieuse pour la phonologie. Les éléments étrangers incorporés à ce système du grec ont été analysés comme le résultat de l'interférence gréco-copte.

L'adoption de l'alphabet grec pour le copte s'est produite dans un contexte de rivalité entre le gnosticisme et le christianisme. Il s'est formé alors un système d'écriture aligné sur le système du grec classique de l'époque.

² G.N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Bibliothek d. indogermanischen Grammatiken, 5), Leipzig, 1892; K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrh. n. Chr.*, Leipzig, 1898; A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg, 1974; A. Thumb, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Armenischen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kouř und des Mittelgriechischen, dans Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 9 (1900), p. 388-452; A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular: Grammar, Texts, Glossary*, Chicago, 1964; G.A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions*, Edinburg, 1901; L. Radermacher, Koine, Wien, 1947; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, 1. *Einleitung und Lautlehre*, Berlin, 1970.

³ F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 1. *Phonology*, Milano, 1975, p. 41-60 (=Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*).

L'identité des créateurs de ce nouveau code ne nous est pas parvenue. Ils sont supposés être les traducteurs alexandrins de la Bible, ainsi que les savants de Hermopolis.⁴

Les chercheurs indiquent que l'étude de la langue copte se complexifie à cause de la grande influence du grec. Cette influence a touché tous les niveaux de la langue, depuis le lexique jusqu'à la phonétique, la phonologie et la syntaxe. La morphologie même n'y a pas échappé malgré la différence fondamentale entre les structures de ces deux langues. Dès lors, il est impensable d'entreprendre une étude qui porte sur le dialecte grec de l'Égypte sans considérer le copte. Les historiens de la langue grecque se voient aidés dans leur tâche de reconstruction de la prononciation grecque, par l'analyse des mots grecs empruntés par le copte. Les unités lexicales qui sont passées du grec au copte constituent vingt pourcents du vocabulaire copte et elles préservent et reflètent l'image de la prononciation grecque de l'époque. Les Coptes n'ont jamais respecté l'orthographe du grec, ni ne s'y sont jamais vraiment attachés. Ils notaient les mots en respectant leur prononciation, selon le seul aspect de l'oralité. Cet état de choses s'observe dans les papyri grecs égyptiens. Leur grec est souvent évalué comme „mauvais“. En effet, ce type de grec caractérise les papyri égyptiens. S'appuyant sur l'analyse d'un vaste corpus, F. Gignac a pu démontrer que les défauts de la langue présents dans les papyri n'étaient pas la propriété exclusive du parler des Égyptiens, mais qu'ils sont le résultat des interférences communes partagées aussi bien par les Grecs que par les Égyptiens.⁵

Ces hypothèses sont confirmées par les données de notre manuscrit qui n'a été écrit ni par un Copte ni par un Grec, mais par un religieux géorgien qui, selon toute vraisemblance, appartient au même domaine linguistique que sa paroisse.

Pour l'analyse linguistique détaillée des données de notre manuscrit nous renvoyons le lecteur à notre article „The Data of the Old Georgian Written Sources and their Significance for the History of the Greek Language“.⁶ Nous nous bornerons ici à un exposé sommaire des résultats, suivi de tableaux présentant des données statistiques. Celles-ci démontrent l'importance des informations fournies par le manuscrit géorgien pour l'étude du bilinguisme gréco-copte et pour l'analyse des particularités du dialecte de la koinè grecque d'Égypte. Le système phonologique très riche du géorgien joint au caractère phonographique de son écriture rendent possible, dans la plupart des cas, la notation par écrit de tous les changements advenus à l'oral.

Ce constat est avant tout démontré par:

1. La substitution libre, non-systématique et non-fonctionnelle que le géorgien propose à l'égard des occlusives sourdes non-aspirées grecques, en les remplaçant tantôt par des occlusives sonores, tantôt par des spirantes. Cette même fluctuation est repérée dans les papyri écrits en grec égyptien. En effet, les dialectes coptes ignorent la distinction phonématische dans les occlusives entre les sonores et non-sonores. Les graphèmes π, τ, κ grecs désignent en copte des phonèmes qui sont semi-sonores et leur perception acoustique varie entre voisée et sourde, ainsi qu'entre spirante et non-spirante. Ce fait est prouvé par les équivalents géorgiens de π qui sont – ჰ [ɣ], ბ [b], ფ [p]; ainsi que par le τ transmis par გ [t], օ [t] et, enfin, par le κ représenté par զ [g], չ [k], ջ [k]. Ils sont employés sans prendre en considération leur position, les unités lexicales ayant d'autres formes parallèles.
2. Les équivalents géorgiens des occlusives sourdes β et γ sont des spirantes. β est transmis par ვ [v] qui tombe souvent dans une position intervocalique. La variante positionnelle de γ est ღ [γ] devant les consonnes et voyelles postérieures. Le γ tombe devant les voyelles palatales et dans les positions intervocaliques, ou bien il s'assimile avec la voyelle [i] qui le suit: [j] + [i] > [i]. Au niveau de la translittération, l'influence de l'arabe se manifeste par une correspondance entre γ et ڇ [ž], correspondance qui se réalise dans les positions palatales. Cependant ce phénomène est chronologiquement tardif et éloigné du moment de la création de l'archéotype. Nous le considérons comme une propriété acquise par le grec local sous l'influence du dialecte arabe de Syrie: en effet, ce phénomène a un caractère systématique et se manifeste uniquement dans les positions palatales. Le ڇ

4 П. В. Ернштедт, *Исследования по грамматике коптского языка*, М., 1986, п. 14; А.С. Четверухин – А.Л. Хосроев, *Вводная статья*, п. 3-51.

5 Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, p. 47-48.

6 N. Makharadze – N. Lomouri, *Byzantium in the Georgian Sources*, Tbilisi, 2010, p. 503-536.

[ჰ] apparaît très rarement devant les voyelles [i] et [e].

La particularité de la prononciation de გ n'est pas claire. En géorgien il est rendu par გ quelle que soit sa position. Dans le cas où l'occlusive sonore dentale aurait été maintenue, on se serait attendu à un τ tant que son équivalent. C'est-à-dire qu'on aurait dû le transcrire par გ [t], cependant cela arrive seulement dans deux occurrences qui sont exceptionnelles face aux nombreux contreexemples. En même temps გ [d] observé comme un équivalent stable porte à croire que dans le milieu dialectal où l'archétype a été créé, l'interdentale [5] n'existe pas encore et que le géorgien ne la distinguait pas de გ [d].

3. Parmi les aspirées occlusives la transmission de /θ/ réalisée par ვ [t] et გ [t] a un caractère non systématique et non pertinent du point de vue phonétique. Ainsi, /θ/ est prise à l'égal de τ copte. En même temps on constate qu'il n'est pas affecté par une transformation en spirante, semblablement au /φ/ qui est rendu en géorgien par ვ [p] uniquement; Soit, il est de formation secondaire sous l'influence d'un dialecte bohaïrique qui, seul parmi les dialectes coptes, possède des occlusives aspirées.
L'occlusive sourde spirante /χ/ se transmet par deux variantes positionnelles: dans la position palatale χ = ڻ [š], observation qui s'applique à tous les dialectes coptes. En face des consonnes et voyelles vélaires χ = ՚ [x]. La spirante vélarisée [x] n'existe que dans le dialecte bohaïrique des Coptes où elle est rendue par son propre caractère démotique. Un équivalent sporadiquement repéré est ՚ [k] qui se manifeste dans les unités lexicales traditionnellement connues en géorgien (ქრისტე, ქრისტიანი/ Christ, chrétien). On ne remarque que très rarement ՚ [č]: exclusivement en face des voyelles palatales.
4. Dans la translittération on observe une substitution, une perte et une apparition grammaticalement peu justifiable des finales – v et – ՚. Ce fait suggère qu'ils ne se prononçaient pas. Ce phénomène est largement présent dans les papyri grecs de l'époque byzantine et romaine.
5. L'interférence ne touche pas les liquides λ et ρ. Il est à noter qu'ils sont très marginalisés en prononciation car ils ne se substituent pas même dans les positions phonétiquement justifiables et dans un cadre logique de la langue grecque. La distance phonémique est davantage creusée entre eux. Cet état de choses exclue de la zone d'influence le dialecte fayoumique qui ne possède qu'un seul phonème liquide /l/. Par conséquent, l'amalgame entre λ et ρ est une chose ordinaire dans les papyri fayoumiques.
6. L'interférence ne concerne pas non plus le couple des sifflantes sonores et sourdes. L'opposition /s/-/z/ est respectée, malgré le fait que le système phonologique des dialectes coptes ne connaît qu'une seule sifflante /s/, alors que la fluctuation non-fonctionnelle entre les graphèmes σ et ζ est le fruit de l'interférence du copte dans les papyri grecs. Ce phénomène ne se retrouve pas dans notre texte et la cause de cette absence devrait être l'influence de la langue géorgienne qui respecte cette opposition.
7. Dans le système des voyelles, on observe un itacisme complet ainsi qu'une transmission des sept signes graphiques (ι η υ ει οι η υι) par une seule voyelle ο [i]. On constate également l'assimilation des voyelles similaires, la perte des voyelles d'anlaut, etc. La substitution non-systématique entre les voyelles οω > ου et ου > οω donne l'impression qu'ils auraient dû être de prononciation identique. Cette particularité s'explique par un système vocalique propre aux dialectes coptes.
8. L'ensemble des observations citées ci-dessus augmenté de quelques similitudes détectées avec le dialecte bohaïrique suggèrent que le modèle du texte grec de notre manuscrit libanais a pu se former dans les milieux de locuteurs appartenant au dialecte bohaïrique. Par conséquent, ce monastère où la pratique liturgique se déroulait en grec et en géorgien, et était célébrée par les moines géorgiens, doit être recherché dans un espace couvert par le dialecte bohaïrique.

Il est également important de considérer le facteur des influences réciproques entre les dialectes coptes dotés de systèmes phonétiques différents l'un de l'autre. Ces influences doivent être prises en considération lors de l'analyse des processus intralinguistiques et lors de l'évaluation des résultats de leurs interférences.

TABLEAU 1
Consonnes
Occlusives sonores / Spirantes
 $\beta \delta \gamma$

<i>Graphème</i>	<i>Translitteration géorgienne</i>	<i>Nombre d'occurrences</i>	<i>Remarques</i>
β ბეტა/ვიტა	> ვ [v]	200	Dans toutes les positions
	> ბ [b]	2	À cause du géorgien classique
	> ვ [ვ]	1	Probablement β [v] > φ[f] Ou β [b] > φ[p]
	β [v] Intervocalique tombe	20	Le plus souvent devant les voyelles o ω [o] et ou
	ღ [d]	286	dans toutes les positions
	ঁ [t]	2	Exception
	interdentale δ [ð]	-	[d] > [ð] l'absence des preuves
γ გამა/ღამა	> [γ]	300	[a] [o] [u] devant les voyelles et les consonnes
	Devant les voyelles [e] et [i] > [j] a) intervocalique γ[j] tombe ou b) s'assimile avec une voyelle [i] qui le suit	35	γ [j]+[i] > Liil > [i]
	>[g]	22	Sans distinction de la position On suppose l'influence d'un dialecte arabe égyptien
	> ვ [վ]	4	Seulement devant les voyelles [e] et [i]. On suppose l'influence de l'arabe classique littéraire
	> շ [չ]	40	Seulement devant les voyelles [e] et [i]. On suppose l'influence du dialecte arabe Syrien

TABLEAU 2
Occlusives sourdes non-aspirées
 $\pi \tau \kappa$

<i>Graphème</i>	<i>Translitteration géorgienne</i>	<i>Nombre d'occurrences</i>	<i>Remarques</i>
π პ	> პ [პ]	700	Dans toutes les positions
	> ბ [b]	82	Sans distinction de la position. Parfois dans le voisinage de λ et ρ
	> ვ [p]	20	Sans distinction de la position

τ ტაუ	> ტ [t]	Plus que 1000	Dans toutes les positions
	> ო [t]	208	Dans toutes les positions. Le plus souvent devant les voyelles [e] et [i]
	> ტო [tt]	1	Exception
კ ჯაპჰა	> ჳ [k]	490	Dans toutes les positions
	> გ [g]	109	Devant la voyelle [e] et en position dans les complexes -κδ-, κλ-, -κρ-
	> ჸ [k]	422	Dans toutes les positions
	> ჸს [ks]	1	Exception

TABLEAU 3
Occlusives aspirées / spirantes
φ θ χ

Graphème	Transliteration géorgienne	Nombre d'occurrences	Remarques
ფ ვი	> ვ [p]	130	Dans toutes les positions
	> ვ [v]	7	Dans les complexes ოფ > ბვ [sv] ფθ > ვო [vt] აფθ > ავო [avt]
	Interdentale _[f]	-	Absence de preuves d'une transformation φ [ph] > [f]
თ თეტა/თიტა	> ო [t]	272	Dans toutes les positions
	> ტ [t]	165	Sans distinction de la position
ხ ჯი/ხი	> ხ [x]	82	Devant les voyelles [a] [o] [u] et consonnes
	> ხ [x]	2	Devant la voyelle [i] – exception
	> ჸ [k]	31	„Christ“ et „Chrétien“ traditionnels; Devant les voyelles [e] et [i] et dans les complexes ხθ ხμ
	> შ [š]	20+5	Devant la voyelle [i] et dans le complexes ოხ
	> ჩ [č]	7	Devant les voyelles [e] et [i]

TABLEAU 4
Nasales
μ ν

La perte de -v finale	Position	Nombre d'occurrences	L'ajout de -v finale sans fonction	Nombre d'occurrences
Dans les noms	Acc. sing.	9	Dat. sing.	6
Dans les articles	Acc. sing.	3	La simplification d'un complexe intervocalique μ ν – μ ν > გ [m]	3
	Gen. pl.	26		
Dans les verbes	μεν > გე-[me]	5		
Dans les prépositions	συν > ნი-[si]	1		

Dans les participes	μενον > ḡbɔm [meno]	1	La simplification d'un complexe – νσ- -νσ – > -b-[s]	1
En fin de phrase		2		

TABLEAU 5

Sifflantes

σ ζ

Graphème	Transliteration géorgienne	d'occurrences	Remarques
σ/ζ	> b [s]		Comme d'habitude
	> ბ [z]: ბბ [zm]	25	Dans les complexes σμ
	ბ3 [zv]	14	Dans les complexes σβ
ζ	- ბ [z]		Comme d'habitude

-ζ final		-σ – médian	
Perdu	Nombre d'occurrences	Perdu dans les complexes	Nombre d'occurrences
a) Devant les mots qui commencent par: – ζ + σ – > b [s]	7	-σκ – > չ [k] -σφ – > չ [v]	2 1
b) Devant les mots qui commencent par la voyelle: – ζ + voc. > voc.	4		
c) Dans le verbe 2 ^e p. sing. ειζ > յօ [ei]	1		
d) Dans l'adverbe: devant un mot commençant par une dentale: – τωζ + τ – + չօ [tօ]			

La substitution des -ζ et -ν		
	Nombre d'occurrences	Remarques
La confusion des cas: Gén. sing. à la place de l'acc. sing.	1	
Nom. sing. à la place de l'acc. sing.	6	
Dans le verber mobile: – ν > – b [s]	1	exception

TABLEAU6
Les doubles consonnes

ξ ψ

ζ		ψ	
-Ջb [ks]	50	-Ջb [ps]	14
-Յb [ks]	3	-Յb [ps]	3
-Ճ [k]	4	-Ճb [bs]	3

-bł [xs]	1	-għ [pč]	2
		-ħġeb [mps]	1
		-ħbl [ms]	7
		-għbl [nps]	1

TABLEAU 7
Les processus phonétiques

ɛ [e] > o [i]	3	ɛɪ [i] > ɔ [e]	2
ɛ [e] > ɔ [a]	6	u [i] ɔ > [e]	5
ɛ [e] > ɔ [u]	1	ɪ [i] ɔ > [o]	3
aɪ [e] > o [i]	1	o, ɔ [o] > ɔ [u]	19
aɪ [e] > ɔ [a]	1	oʊ[u] > ɔ [o]	17+5 22

La coalescence des voyelles

uŋ [ii] > o [i]	3
ɛuŋ [ii] > o [i]	2
oʊ [oo] > ɔ [o]	6

La perte de la voyelle d'anlaut

ɛau [e] > ɔɔ [av]	3	ɑμ [am] > θ [m]	2
ɑπ [ap] > ɔ [a]	6	ɑχ [ax] b > [x]	5

La perte d'une voyelle médiane

Perte de la ɑ	3
Perte de la ɪ	7
Perte de la o	1

L'insertion d'une voyelle

ɔ [o]	4
o [i]	2

THE BASIC COLOUR CATEGORIES IN DIFFERENT SEMITIC LANGUAGES*

The main inferences of the paper are based on consideration of basic colour terms corresponding to the basic colour categories in non-literary Semitic languages, namely, in Ethio-Semitic Harari and Tigre, as well as in Modern South Arabian (MSA) languages Mehri, Shahri, Soqotri and Harsusi. Finally, the data of regarded languages are compared with Arabic and Hebrew. The Colour term system has been analyzed in order to verify Berlin and Kay's universal model of colour categorization, the main concept of which is the one of the basic colour term category. It should be noted, that some colour terms in different languages are basic and others are non-basic. Berlin and Kay proposed criteria to establish basic colour terms, according of that some colour categories were defined as universal ones.¹ The criterion contains four main and four additional points.² Farther the model has been refined and universal colour categories had been defined more precisely regarding colour categories as fuzzy sets of colour hues. Thus, there are three types of universal colour categories: 1. Primary (simple) ones – White, Black, Red, Green, Yellow, Blue; 2. Compound ones, which are defined as fuzzy unions of the primary categories (e.g., Cool= Green or Blue, Warm= Red or Yellow); 3. Composed ones, which are defined as fuzzy intersections of the primary categories (e.g., Brown =Yellow and Black, Pink = White and Red) etc.³

At first, it should be noted, that all considered Semitic languages are non-literary. They are spoken by a few number of people in Oman, Yemen and Ethiopia. The South-Arabian (MSA) languages are grouped together with the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, Old South Arabian – also called Epigraphic SA – and Arabic in the South Semitic branch.⁴ The MSA languages are spoken in the South of Oman (Dhofar province) and the south-east of Yemen, where Arabic is the official language; thus, Arabic has a strong influence on MSA languages, which are not dialects of Arabic, but independent ones concerning Semitic language family with their specific features. As for also non-literary languages Harari and Tigre, they are spoken in Ethiopia, where Amharic is the official language. Harari belongs to South-Ethiopic group and demonstrates more similarity to Amharic, while Tigre belongs to North-Ethiopic group and shows more similarity to Old Ethiopic language Geez.

We studied a number of words with color semantics in Ethio-Semitic and Modern South Arabian (MSA) non-literary languages for distinguishing between basic and non-basic terms. A term has been considered basic if it met four main criteria: (1) It was mono-lexemic. (2) Its signification was not included in that of another term. (3) Its application was not restricted to a narrow class of objects. (4) It was psychologically silent. In the article also were used additional criteria: (6) a color name was suspect if it was also the name of an object characteristically having that color. (7) Recent loan words were suspect.⁵

The language material for considering in Harari has been taken from the *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, by Wolf Leslau.⁶ According to main and additional criteria of distinguishing between basic and non-basic color terms, in Harari were determined four basic terms. So, the basic colour term system in Ethio-Semitic language Harari contains the following terms:

White	načih	(< Semitic root nhš “to be or become white, pure; to shine”)
Black	tay	(< Semitic root tlm “to be obscure”)

* First published in: *Oriental Studies* №6 2017, pp. 59-63.

1 Berlin B. and Key P., Basic Color Terms; Their Universality and Evolution, (Berklay& Los Angeles, 1969), 90-94. Ether Soselia, Semantic Universals and Kartvelian Languages: Patterns of Colour Categorization, Tbilisi 2009 (in georgian). pp.7-8.

2 Berlin B. and Key P., Basic Color Terms, 104.

3 Key P. and McDaniel Ch.K., The Linguistic Significance of the meanings of Basic Colour Terms, Language 54/3, (1978), 644.

4 Moskati S. Spitaler A. Ullendorf E. von Soden W. An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, Phonology and Morphology, (Wiesbaden , 1964),185.

5 Carolyn B.Mervis and Emilie M.Roth, The Internal Structure of Basic and Non-basic Color Categories, Language, volume 54, number 3,(September 1978), Edited by William Bright, 385.

6 Wolf Leslau, Etymological Dictionary of Harari, (Berklay& Los Angeles, 1963),19-168.

Red	qeh	(< Semitic root qyh)
Green	wariq	(< Semitic root wrq/yrq “green, liefe, vegetable”).

All four basic colour terms are connected with Primary (simple) categories White, Black, Red and Green. As for terms ḥurd-i and samaw-i for Yellow and Blue categories, in Harari they are non-basic, ḥurd-i and samaw-i are not mono-lexemic, moreover, ḥurd-i is a loan word (< Arab.) , so they could not be considered as basic terms. Other terms connected with Primary colour categories for Broun (bōra, ayrōr , dāma) , Orange (burtuxan), Purple, Pink (ma-wardi) and Gray (ḥamäde), could determined as non-basic too, e.g., burtuxan “orange” is the name of an object characteristically having that color; same explanation might be used for ma-wardi “pink”, (<ward “rose”), moreover the term is not mono-lexemic; a term dāma “brown, of dark color (man)” is defined non-basic, because its application is restricted to a narrow class of objects; a term bōra “brown, cream-colored” also is non-basic, because its signification is included in that of another term; as for ḥamäd-e “gray, who has the color of ashes” (< ḥamäd “ashes”), the term is not mono-lexemic and its signification is included in that of another term, thus, it could be regarded as non-basic etc.⁷

In the same way was studied the basic color system in Ethio-Semitic language of Tigre too. The language material for considering in Tigre has been taken from the *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, by Enno Littman and Maria Höffner.⁸ The basic colour term system in Etiosemitic language of Tigre contains the following terms:

White	sa'ey	“white”	(< Semitic root s'y “to be or become white”);
Black	fanday	“black”	(< Semitic root fnd “to be black”);
Red	qayeh	“red”	(<Semitic root qyh);
Green	lami'	“green”	(<Semitic root lm' “green, liefe, vegetable”).

All four basic colour terms are connected with Primary categories White, Black, Red and Green. As for numerous terms for Yellow and Blue, as well as for Broun, Pink, Purple, Orange, Grey in Tigre language, they are non-basic and could not be consider as basic color terms, e.g., derhay (Semitic root drh) “yellow (as a leopard's skin; brownish-grey”, 'astaro “bluish”, čabele “ash – coloured, dusty; ugly”, haamas “ yellowish – brown (skin of a camel)”, kamhal “redish – brown”, hamare “ red-brown (horse, cow)”, kakay “shining black”, kadaray “light-brown”, zall “ugly grey or dark brown” etc. In Tigre language could be found a high number of similar non-basic terms, much more than in Harari. They should be defined as non-basic for different reasons; some of them are not mono-lexemic, application of others are restricted to a narrow class of objects as well as their significations are included in that of another terms, some of them are recent loan words etc. So, these terms could be regarded as non-basic.⁹

Third group of languages studied in the same way are MSA languages. The considering data in MSA has been taken from the *Harsusi lexicon and English-Harsusi Word-List*, by T.M. Johnstone.¹⁰ As a result of analysis it should be claim that all four MSA languages demonstrate the same basic colour terms system, which contains the following terms:

White	elbon	(< Semitic root lbn),
Black	swad	(< Semitic root swd),
Red	'afer	(< Semitic root 'fr),
Green	hežor	(< Semitic root hṣr),
Yellow	hežor	(< Semitic root hṣr),
Blue	hežor	(< Semitic root hṣr).

The evidences of Harsusi, Mehri, Shahri and Soqotri languages allows to reconstruct for common South Arabian group four basic colour categories .There are three Primary (simple) categories: White, Black

⁷ See more on Harari: Marina Meparishvili, The Basic Colour Terms in Ethiosemitic Language of Harari,Oriental Studies #5, 2016, (Tbilisi, 2016), Edited by Apollon Silagadze, 230-235,(In Georgian).

⁸ Enno Littman and Maria Höffner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, (Wiesbaden, 1962). 1-678.

⁹ See more on Tigte-language: Marina Meparishvili, The Basic Colour Terms in Ethiosemitic Language of Tigre,The Near East and Georgia,VIII, Ilia State University Press,(Tbilisi, 2014), 66-71 (In Georgian).

¹⁰ T.M. Johnstone, *Harsusi Lexicon and English-Harsusi Word-List*, (London, New York, Toronto, 1977), Oxford University Press, 1 – 181.

and Red. As for last one, it should be defined as a fuzzy union of simple colour categories, that is Green (= Yellow and Blue). At the next stage the composed category was differentiated. Thus, for rather established Yellow is used new non-basic term me-karkem, as for basic term hézor, it is connected with Compound category Cool (= Green or Blue). The process does not end until now.¹¹ It could be added that quantity of colour non-basic terms in MSA are much less than in Ethiopic ones.

All considered non-literary languages have shown four basic colour categories, though in Ethio-Semitic languages of Harari and Tigre are Primary categories White, Black, Red and Green, while in MSA – three Primary – White, Black, Red – and one Compound category Cool (= Green or Blue). Comparing them with other Semitic languages (are known as ones having rich literary traditions) it should be noted, that in Arabic and Hebrew colour system is defined more precisely, they have shown six Primary categories – White Black Red Green Yellow and Blue, which are corresponded by six basic terms. Thus, the basic color term system in Arabic contains the following terms:

White	'abyad	(< Semitic root bys	"to be or become white"),
Black	'aswad	(< Semitic root swd	"to be or become black"),
Red	'ahmar	(< Semitic root ḥmr	"to be or become red"),
Green	'axdar	(< Semitic root xṣr	"to be or become green"),
Yellow	'ṣfar	(< Semitic root ṣfr	"to be or become yellow"),
Blue	azraq	(< Semitic root zrq	"to be or become blue").

All six terms are connected with six Primary colour categories: White Black Red Green Yellow and Blue. Other numerous terms could not be regarded as basic ones for different reasons, e.g. Brown bunn-iy (< bunn "coffee grain"), term is non-basic because it is not mono-lexemic and its signification is included in that of another term; in the same way could be explained another term for Pink Ward-iy (< ward "rose") etc.

Six Primary categories have shown in Hebrew like Arabic too. The basic colour terms corresponding to them in Hebrew are:

White	lābōn	(< Semitic root lbn),
Black	šāhōr	(< Semitic root šhr),
Red	ādōm	(< Semitic root 'dm),
Green	yārōg	(< Semitic root yrg),
Yellow	ṣāhōb	(< Semitic root ṣhb),
Blue	kāhōl	(< Semitic root khl).

Finally, comparing evidences of different Semitic languages considered above, it might be done some conclusions:

- All non-literary languages (Ethio-Semitic Harari and Tigre as well as MSA ones) have shown four basic colour categories, though in Ethiopic are Primary ones : White, Black, Red and Green, while in MSA – three Primary – White, Black, Red – and one Compound Cool (= Green or Blue) categories.
- In Tigre language could be found very high number of non-basic colour terms, much more than in Harari, in MSA languages they are much less than in Ethiopic ones.
- In Arabic and Hebrew colour system is defined more precisely, they have shown six Primary categories – White Black Red Green Yellow and Blue.

11 See more on MSA languages: Marina Meparishvili, Basic Color Terms in South-Arabian Languages, *Studia Semitica*, VI, (Tbilisi, 2003), 213-217. (In Georgian).

VIE DE SAINT MARC L'ASCÈTE (V^E S.)*

Attribué à Sérapion, la Vie de Marc l'ascète, est un récit hagiographique du V^e siècle¹ Il est lié au thème de l'ascétisme, sujet mythique et enraciné dans la première hagiographie byzantine.

Le récit retrace l'histoire du célèbre Père du désert, Marc l'ascète d'Athènes qui a quitté la vie terrestre et établi sur un mont dans le Sud d'Egypte. Le jour de sa commémoration est le 5 mars. Voici le bref sujet:

Saint Père Sérapion racontait que quand il dormait à Scété après de l'abbé Jean, deux solitaires lui apparurent en rêve. Ils lui annoncèrent qu'il devait se rendre aussitôt au mont de Tarmak pour y assister aux derniers instants du saint Marc l'ascète et l'ensevelir dignement. Au matin Sérapion révéla la vision à l'abbé Jean, qui, reconnaissant un signe de Dieu, lui donna sa bénédiction pour partir en voyage. Sérapion, arriva en cinq jours à Alexandrie, où il demanda aux marchants le chemin qui menait à la montagne et il s'engagea dans le désert terrible. Au bout de vingt jours de marche, pendant lesquels il n'avait rencontré aucun être vivant, il tomba à terre, épousé de fatigue et de soif. Mais les deux solitaires lui apparurent encore et lui donnèrent à boire et à manger. Sept jours plus tard, ils parvinrent enfin au mont de Tarmak, haute montagne dénudée dont le sommet semblait se perdre dans le ciel. Il découvrit la grotte du saint aussitôt, car les Anges se tenaient au-dessus d'elle et chantaient les louanges. En s'approchant Sérapion entendit le vieillard qui chantait les psaumes. Il arrêta soudain les chants, salua Sérapion et l'embrassa.

Il raconta à Sérapion qu'il était athénien d'origine et enseignait la sagesse de philosophie. A la mort de ses parents, il décida de quitter le monde et s'adonner à Dieu. Il se dépouilla de ses vêtements, s'assit sur une planche et Dieu le conduisit jusqu'au mont de Tarmak.² Pendant les trente premières années il menait un combat redoutable contre la faim et la soif, mais surtout contre les diables qui s'acharnaient sur lui pour le chasser de ce lieu qui leur appartenait. Alors la Grâce de Dieu descendit et le rendit imbattable au climat rigoureux et aux combats avec des diables. Comme le jour se levait, Sérapion alors aperçut l'aspect du saint et fut troublé, car il était recouvert de poil, comme un animal. Marc lui annonça que les poils lui avaient été accordés par Dieu pour le protéger contre le froid. Ils parlaient longuement; Marc demanda à Sérapion des nouvelles du monde et se lamentait sur le peu de foi des Chrétiens; puis il invita Sérapion à une table couverte de nourriture délicieuse et exceptionnelle et il lui dit que depuis que Dieu lui rendit la grâce, il lui envoyait toujours une telle nourriture.

Après l'agape, le vieillard annonça avec une grande joie à Sérapion que le moment était venu pour son âme de sortir de ce corps corruptible et se rendre à la demeure des justes, afin d'y trouver le repos éternel. A

* First published in / Publié initialement en: *The Near East and Georgia*, 9, 2016, pp. 166-171.

1 L'auteur de la Vie de saint Macaire le Grand (4^e s.), Sérapion vécut en Égypte au 4^{ème} siècle. Jeune homme, il reçut une éducation supérieure dans la théologie chrétienne. Pendant un moment il dirigea la célèbre école d'Alexandrie. Après cela il partit dans le désert, où il devint moine. C'est là, qu'il connut Antoine le Grand et, pendant des années, essaya très durement d'imiter le patriarche, fondateur du monachisme chrétien. Lorsque Antoine apprit le moment de sa mort, il commanda à ses disciples de cacher son corps, de donner son bâton à Macaire, sa peau de mouton à Athanase et sa calotte à Sérapion. Plus tard il devint évêque de Thmuis, une ville d'Égypte inférieure. Il assista à un synode des évêques à Sadica en 341. Sozomène le site, comme "Sérapion le Grand". Serap...wn Đ meglij ka^ Pitur...wn, Đj par! Qhba^oij t³n diatrib³n euch, ka^ Pacemjio, Öj ḥrchgÖj "gšneto tñ kaloumšnw Tabennhsiwtn (Le grand Sérapion et Pityron, qui vivaient en Thébaïde, et Pachôme, qui fut l'initiateur des Tabennésiotes). Sérapion est mentionné dans l'Histoire Lausiaque de Pallade: Serap...wn tij NnOmati gšonen, tū gšnei A.,gÚptjo, "p..klhtoj Sindōnjo, parektÖj g|r sindon...ou oÜdšpote oÜde' n ¥lo perieibfleto (Il y eut un nommé Sérapion, Égyptien de naissance, qui fut surnommé le Sindon, car il ne fut jamais vêtu que d'un suaire). Pallade lors de son séjour dans les montagnes de Nitrie, évoque Sérapion avec d'autres bienheureux Pères: makar...wn paterin. Sérapion fut enterré dans un sarcophage en pierre, près d'un monastère habité par les moines de saint Pachôme. Ce lieu pouvait être une succursale du monastère de Tabennéssi, fondé aux environs d'Antinoë. Pallade y vécut aux 4^e-5^e siècles. D'après J.C. Guy, l'existence de Sérapion à Scété est assurée seulement par Cassien. Il fait partie de la troisième génération de moines de Scété. Mais un Sérapion son contemporain (fin du 4^e siècle) est peut-être l'Arsinoïte, voir P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et Sanctorum*, p.263-342 ; M. Driot, *Les Pères du désert*, p.45 ; É. Amélineau, *Histoire des monastères*, p.20-22 ; Sozomène, HE 3, 14(4) ; PG 34, chap. LXXXIII, col. 1182; A. Lucot, *Histoire Lausiaque*, p.62 ; J.C. Guy, *Les apophthegmes des Pères*, p.71 ; PG 34, col. 1180; PG 65; col. 413-416 ; P. Cheneau, *Les saints d'Egypte*, vol.I, Jérusalem, 1923, p.431-439.

2 D'après la version copte le nom de la montagne est Tarmak, or la version grecque parle d'un mont Thrace. L'une et l'autre montagne est d'ailleurs inconnue.

ces mots, une lumière éblouissante remplit la grotte, en jetant ses éclats tout autour de la montagne. Le vieillard fit une prière pour la grotte, les églises, pour tous ceux qui vivaient dans les déserts et, après avoir fait promettre à Sérapion de ne rien garder de ses vêtements, il l'embrassa, pria pour lui et l'invita à s'agenouiller avec lui. Sérapion entendit une voix du ciel et vit l'âme de saint Marc, toute vêtue de blanc, traverser les troupes de diables qui essayaient d'empêcher sa montée au ciel. Sérapion boucha l'entrée de la grotte avec des pierres et avec l'aide de deux solitaires arriva à Scété, à la cellule de Jean le vieillard et tous les deux rendirent gloire à Dieu.

Il n'existe qu'une seule forme dans l'hagiographie géorgienne: la forme ancienne (keimena) conservée dans le manuscrit sinaïtique (Sin.36) d'où procèdent des variantes transmises dans les manuscrits. Les 11 manuscrits où figure le texte de la Vie de Marc le solitaire sont conservée au Centre National des Manuscrits de Tbilissi.

Liste des manuscrits :

Sin.36 (925) 246v-253v; A-199 (XII-XIII ss.) 118r-v; Jer. 120 (XIV-XV) 195r-201v; A-649 (1785) 99r-103v ; A- 691 (XVII) 186r-193r; H-286 (1853) p. 390-399; H-972 (XVIIs.) 404r-408r; S-3640 (XIXs.) 39r-46r; Q-40 (XVIIIs.) 36v-41r; Q-103 (1749) 863r-864r; K'ut. 592 (1832) 28r-31v.

Comparaison des textes géorgiens

Après avoir analysé et confronté le texte de la Vie conservé dans le manuscrit sinaïtique Sin.36 (S) avec les textes transmis dans les manuscrits A-649, Q-40, A-691, S-3640, H-286, H-972, on a établi que ces derniers n'apportent rien de neuf pour l'établissement du texte. Les copies conservées dans les manuscrits tardifs peuvent être comparées avec l'ancienne rédaction de la Vie. Pour ce faire on a retenu le ms. A-649 (rédition A). La corrélation des textes démontre des analogies, mais légères divergences s'observent.

Les titres ne s'accordent pas; A suit S mais omet certaines phrases. Puisque la dernière page de S est manquante, le texte a été emprunté dans A. L'étude des textes géorgiens insérés dans 11 manuscrits démontre qu'elles représentent de simples variantes de la plus ancienne version, conservée dans le manuscrit sinaïtique du 10^e siècle (925).

Comparaison avec les textes grec, latin et copte

La comparaison de S et A est faite avec le texte grec, publié dans Acta Sanctorum martii, III, p. 40-43 (Grec); le texte latin, publié dans Acta Sanctorum martii, XXIX, p. 778-781(Latin), ainsi qu'avec le texte copte, publié dans l'ouvrage de E. Amélineau, Histoire de Marc le solitaire, dans Contes et romans de l'Egypte chrétienne, 2, Paris, 1988, p.55-73, (Copte).

Etudiant la composition des textes géorgiens et particulièrement la transcription de lieux géographiques vis-à-vis l'original grec, ainsi que le copte on observe le caractère assez libre de la version géorgienne.

Pour établir les origines du texte sinaïtique (S) l'étude approfondie de lieux géographiques s'impose. Le texte géorgien donne des configurations de toponymes assez singulières. Examinant le corps du texte on observe que non seulement les passages mentionnant les lieux géographiques s'écartent du Grec mais le contenu entier sécarte et s'accorde plutôt avec le Copte.

Les titres :

Géo S et Géo A ne coïncident pas entre eux et s'écartent pareillement de l'original grec et copte. D'après Grec Marc l'ascète demeura sur la montagne de Thrace, située à la frontière d'Ethiopie et du pays de Hittites, selon Latin, il vécut en Lybie, or Géo et Copte ne mentionnent aucun lieu.

S: წმიდასა მარკოზ განშორებულისათვეს თქმული (A propos de Marc l'ascète);

A: ცხოვრება და მოქალაქობა წმიდისა ჩუენისა მარკოზ განშორებულისა (Vie et conduite de notre saint Marc l'ascète).

Grec: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ δσιοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ΜΑΡΚΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΤ τοῦ ἀσκήσαντες ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Θράκης τὴς εἰσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν Αἰθιοπίαν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἔθνες τῶν Χετταίων, AASS, martii III, p.40-43;

Latin: De S. Marco Athenien eremita in Lybia, AASS, martii XXIX, p. 778-781 ;

Copte: Histoire de Marc le solitaire, Amélineau, p. 55.

Le prologue de A est légèrement diffus par rapport à

S: გვითხრობდა ნეტარი სერაპიონ, რაუამს იყო იგი შინაგანსა სკიტისასა, რომელი არს შინაგან ეგვიპტისა დასასრულსა, ვითარმედ: ვიზილე ჩუენებად: fol. 246 (Le bienheureux Sérapion nous racontait quand il était dans les profondeurs de Scété qui est à l'extrême de l'Egypte profonde : je fis un rêve) ;

A: გვითხრობდა ჩუენ წმიდა მამა ჩუენი სერაპიონ. ეს წმიდა სერაპიონ იყო კაცი ღმრთისა და ყოველთა დღეთა ცხოვრებისა მისისათა უდაბნოთა მთათა და ქუაბთა და საკვირველთა ქუეყანისათა და მონასტერთა და ქალაქთა და სოფლებთა ვიდოდა. და მრავალნი წმიდანი და სათხონი ღმრთისანი კაცნი იხილნა და აღწერნა საქმენი მათნი. ამანვე ნეტარმან მამამან ჩვენმან სერაპიონ მოგვითხრა წმიდისა და საკვირველმოქმედისა მარკოზ განშორებულისათვის და იტყოდა: ამანვე ნეტარმან მამამან ჩვენმან სერაპიონ მოგვითხრა წმიდისა და საკვირველმოქმედისა მარკოზ განშორებულისათვის და იტყოდა: „ვიყავ მე უამსა ერთსა სკიტეს, რომელ არს შინაგან ეგვიპტისა და მისტუმრა დიდმან მამამან ჩვენმან ამბა იოანე. fol.99r (Notre saint Père Sérapion nous racontait. Ce saint Sérapion fut un homme de Dieu et tous les jours de sa vie il circulait dans les déserts, les cavernes, les pays prodigieux, les monastères, les villes et les villages. Il vit beaucoup de saints et vertueux de Dieu et décrit leurs œuvres. C'est le bienheureux notre Père Sérapion raconta à propos de saint et prodigieux Marc l'ascète et disait : C'est le bienheureux notre Père Sérapion raconta à propos de saint et prodigieux Marc le solitaire et disait: «Un jour j'étais à Scété qui est dans les profondeurs de l'Egypte, chez notre grand Père Jean.»).

Grec: Διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ Ἀββᾶς Σεραπίων ἐν τῇ ἐσοτέρᾳ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, λέγων οὕτως, p.40;

Latin: Narravit nobis Abbas Serapion in eremo interiori Ägypti, sic dicens, p. 779.

Copte: Sérapion nous raconte: «Lorsque j'étais à l'extrême des sables du désert intérieur, j'eus un songe», p.55

D'après les prologues Géo S, A la cellule d'Abbé Jean serait à Scété, or Grec, Copte, dans Latin le nom de Scété est omit.

Grec et Latin mentionnent le mont de Thrace, tandis qu'après Copte est Géo le nom de la montagne se-rait Tarmak Tarmakis mTa. Cette appellation distincte revient à deux reprises dans Géo et Copte et sécarte formellement du Grec et Latin.

Géo. S, Géo. A., გინა ვითარ არა მისრულ არს იგი ამბა მარკოზ მოხუცებულისა, რომელი მკვდრ არს მთასა თარმაკისასა (pourtant il ne fût jamais allé voir Marc le vieillard qui est établi sur la montagne de Tarmak. qui est établi sur la montagne de Tarmak), fol. 246v, fol. 99v;

Grec: καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀββᾶν Μάρκον τὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Αἰθιοπίας Θράκης οὐκ εἰσῆλθες, AASS, p.40;

Latin: non iuisti ad Abbatem Marcum, qui degit in monte Äthiopiæ Thraces dicto?, AASS, p. 779;

Copte: Et cependant il n'est point allé jusqu'à Marcos de Tarmak, Amélineau, Contes, p. 56;

Un autre exemple:

Geo S, A: ესე მთა თარმაკისად არს ალექსანდრიით ოცდახუთისა დღისა გზა და არს იგი საზღვართა ჰაბაშთა ქუეყნისასა, ზღუასა ზედა დიდსა ქაფთანელთასა, fol. 247r, A fol. 99v (Cette montagne de Tarmak est vingt cinq jours de route d'Alexandrie sur la frontière du pays des Abashes, en haut de la grande mer de Kapathaniens).

Grec: τὸ ὄρον τῆς Θράκης τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μακράν ἔστιν ; εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ἔστιν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς ἐισόδου Αἰθιοπίας ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Χεπταίων, p. 40.

Latin: Dierum viginti, versus partes per quas ingredimur Äthiopiam, circa mare magnum gentis Chettæorum, p. 779 ;

Copte: D'ici à Tarmak, il y a vingt-cinq jours de marche. Cette montagne est située sur la frontière d'Ethiopie, en haut du grand fleuve, E. Amélineau, p. 57.

Le mot Tarmaki T'armaki mentionné dans Géo S et A dérive indubitablement du modèle copte de Tarmak, cependant la montagne du nom identique reste introuvable. En revanche Grec et Latin propose un autre patronyme du mont en question ; selon eux, la montagne s'appellerait le mont de Thrace: Grec τὸ ὄρον τῆς Θράκης, Latin Äthiopiæ Thraces. L'examen des origines de ce dernier montre que le mot proviendrait du nom de la région de Thrace (grec Θράκη, lat.Thracia) située en péninsule balkanique partagée entre: la Bulgarie (Thrace du Nord), la Grèce (Thrace occidentale ou Thrace égéenne) et la Turquie (Thrace orientale).

Un autre détail: Grec, Latins, ainsi que Copte placent la montagne de Thrace dans la région d’Ethiopie. Cette indication est probablement erronée, car le mont de Thrace en ne peut en aucun cas être situé en Ethiopie. En revanche on peut situer le mont de Tarmak mentionné dans Copte dans le Sud d’Egypte à la frontière d’Ethiopie. Cependant la recherche nous mène à la conclusion que c’est un nom imaginaire, créé par l’auteur. C’est-à-dire qu’il n’existerait nulle part le mont de Tarmak, ni le mont de Thrace.

La comparaison de S avec Grec et Copte montre qu’ils ne sont pas apparentés. On y trouve des additions, ainsi que déviations; examinant non seulement les configurations des toponymes mais le corps du texte, on peut relever des empreintes sémitiques notamment arabes.

Les origines du mot habaSi (habaši)

ჰაბაში est mentionné qu’une seule fois dans S, A mais afin d’établir les sources du texte, il est essentiel l’étude des origines du mot:

და არს იგი საზღვართა ჰაბაშთა ქუეყნისასა, Géo S, A.

Grec: τὴς εἰσόδει Αἰθιοπίας;

Latin: Interiorem Aethiopian;

Copte: Cette montagne est située sur la frontière d’Ethiopie, E . Amélineau, p. 57; le Copte omet ce mot et donne l’Ethiopie à sa place.

Dans le texte traduit de l’arabe Massacre des Pères de Sinaï- Raïthou, selon le manuscrit sinaïtique du X^e siècle, le mot ჰაბაშები (Arabes) est mentionné à plusieurs reprises. Pour relever les traces d’un substrat arabe S et A ont été comparés avec Grec et Copte, ainsi que le texte géorgien ancien Massacre des Pères de Sinaï- Raïthou.

Sinaï-Raïthou Géo: ჰაბაშნი გამოვიდეს ზღუასა მეწამულსა და მოკლედ ყოველი, ვინცა იყო მონაზონთაგან რაღოს (les Arabes arrivèrent à la Mer Rouge et tuèrent tous les moines qui furent à Raïthou), p. 6;

კრებული დიდი ჰაბაშთა მოიწია პირსა ზღვისისასა (Un grand rassemblement d’Arabes arrivèrent au bord de Mer), p.11;

რამეთუ ფარანელნი იგი უმრავლდს იყვნეს ჰაბაშთასა და აჯობეს (Puisque les Pharaniens furent plus nombreux que les Arabes, ils les conquirent), p.17.

On signale que la haute Ethiopie est appelée par les Arabes et autres peuples, Abash, Abesh, Habesh, Abassia, d'où les Européens ont formé le nom d'Abyssinie.³ Il s'avère que l'interprète géorgien probablement a travaillé sur une version arabe où l'Ethiopie était donnée sous une locution ჰაბაშები (ჰაბაშთა ქვეყანა). S'il le texte initial mentionnait le mot Arabe, il aurait été rendu sous une forme არაბი, არაბიელი, სარკინოზი (sarkinozi) sarak»noi, saracène, une configuration classique pour désigner les Arabes dans le géorgien ancien.

L'influence arabe se fait sentir dans un autre mot: il s'agit du terme ქაფთანელები (K'ap'tanelebi), une locution bien étrange et introuvable.

Géo: ზღუასა დიდსა ქაფთანელთასა;

Copte omet le mot et il ne mentionne que le fleuve au lieu de la grande mer : “Cette montagne est située sur la frontière d’Ethiopie, en haut du grand fleuve.”⁴

Grec: ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Χετταίων (sur une grande mer du peuple hittites).

Latin: gentem Chettaeorum.

Grec et Latin donnent un toponyme Χετταίων

Si l'original mentionnait ὁ Χετταῖοις (le peuple) Hittites, le géorgien aurait rendu sous une forme

3 P.J. Roubaud, Histoire générale de l’Asie, de l’Afrique, de l’Amérique, Paris, 1772, p. 800 ; La Nubie et l’Abyssinie forment ce qu’on appelle l’Ethiopie, qu’on divise en haute et basse. La basse Ethiopie renferme la Nubie, Sennar, etc... La haute Ethiopie, plus élevée que la précédente, située au Sud est appelée par les Arabes Abash, Abesh, Abassia d'où l'Abyssinie. Celui d'Ethiopie dérive du nom Itjopja, que les Abyssins donnent à leur pays, F.F. Brunet, Parallèle des religions, part.I, vol.1, Paris, 1792, p. 764 ; Abash, Abesh qui veut dire mélange ou du mot hébreu sheba ou saba, Revue britannique, vol.5, 1867, p. 266 ;

4 Les anciens Égyptiens appelaient le Nil Atour ou itéru (trans. = jtrw) signifiant la grande rivière, représentée par les hiéroglyphes.

ქეტელი (k'eteli).⁵ Mais c'est ne pas le cas ; on signale que Grec et Latin donne une interprétation du lieu parfaitement erronée, car le pays de Hittites ne pouvait en aucun cas être situé en haute Egypte, à la frontière de l'Ethiopie. D'autant plus que le Copte ne donne aucune indication, or Géo S et A évoque un terme assez singulier.

La recherche mène à une hypothèse: la locution ქაფთანელი pourrait dériver du terme arabe Qibt désignant les Coptes. Après l'arrivée des Arabes en Egypte en 640, ils appelaient le pays "Dar al Qibt" (Maison des égyptiens), puisque le christianisme était la religion officielle en Egypte, le mot Qibt désignait non seulement les adeptes chrétiens, mais tous les habitants de la vallée du Nil.⁶

Un autre détail important doit être révélé: Géo A donne უფალო გვაკურთხენ (Bénis-nous, Seigneur) qui s'accorde avec Copte et Grec, tandis que S propose le mot ბარხმარ (Barkhmar) qui s'écarte parfaitement des autres transcriptions et montre plutôt un substrat sémitique; Géo S: ბარხმარ (Barkhmar); Géo A: უფალო გვაკურთხენ (que le Seigneur nous bénisse); Grec: 'Κύριε ἐλέησον'; Copte: Que le Seigneur la bénisse; Latin : Domine, benedic.

D'après la recherche, le mot ბარხმარ (Barkhmar) n'est rien d'autre que la transcription erronée du mot syriaque Barakhmor ou Barkh-Mor. C'est une formule de saluer en Syrie, particulièrement à l'égard des Ecclésiastiques: elle signifie proprement: Bénissez Père, Bénissez Seigneur. Correspond à Benedic Pater, Domine benedicere. Barek-Mor mentionné dans Géo S s'accorde parfaitement avec les formules semblables citées dans Grec, Latin et Copte.

L'an 644 du l'Hégire Gaiuk Khan ayant succédé à Oktai son père dans l'Empire des mongols, il favorisa tellement les chrétiens qu'il en fit des principaux ministres. Les historiens remarquent que le nombre des Mongols faisait profession publique du christianisme étaient si grands que l'on entendait parmi eux dire autre chose que Barkh-Mor lorsqu'ils rencontraient en se saluant les uns les autres.⁷ Le prêtre syrien monte à l'autel pour y offrir le saint sacrifice. Il se tourne vers ses confrères et sollicite leur pardon par la phrase rituelle : "Barek-mor 'al šubqôno",⁸

Quelques variantes textuelles :

Sinaï-Raithou Géo, p.5: და ვიწყეთ კურნებად წყლულთა მათ წუხილითა დიდითა და ტირილითა მწარითა (Et nous commençâmes à soigner les blessures avec une grande tristesse et des pleurs amers).

Géo S: მაშინ ვიწყე ტირილად მრავლითა ცრემლითა (Alors j'ai commencé de pleurer de larmes abondantes) fol.252r;

Copte: Alors je commençai de pleurer, de verser d'abondantes larmes avec douleur de cœur, p. 69;

Géo S: და ვითარცა ამას იტყოდა, მე ვტიროდი ტკივნეულად მწარითა ცრემლითა და ლმობი-ერითა გონებითა და სულითა მწუხარითა (Quand il disait ceci, je pleurais avec peine de larmes amères, l'esprit chagriné et l'âme triste) fol.253r ;

Copte: Lorsqu'il eut dit ces paroles, je me mis à pleurer, p.71.

Grec omet ces passages.

5 და მევე სოლომონ იყო დედათმოყუარე და მოიყვანნა ცოლნი უცხო თესლთაგანი მრავალნი და ასული იგი ფარაოსი და მოაბელთა და ამანიტელთა და იდუმელთა და ასურასტანით და ქეტელთა და ამორეველთა, cf. III mef. 11 :1; კაὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλაμων ἦν φιλογύνιαις καὶ γσαν αὐτῷ ἄρχονται Συγατέρα Φαραὼ, Μωαβίτιδας, Αμ-μανίτιδας, Σύρας καὶ Ιδουμαίας, Χεπτάις καὶ Αμορραίας ; 1 ezs. 8 : 66.

6 La locution "Copte" dérive du grec Αἰγυπτίος – "Egyptien", à travers le copte Κυπταῖος ετ Θιβτ. Αἰγυπτίος δώριας δε "ηικαπταη", μαισον δε "Κα" (l'esprit) de Ptah. D.K. Gardner, A. Weissman, C. Howles, Textbook of Assisted Reproductive Technologies, 2012, p.452 ; Le nom de l'Egypte provient de l'égyptien. Il dérive de Kep tard Kheb, ou Khept ; Khebt est un pluriel pour le double terme Kep-Kep désignant le pays de la Nubie. Kep ou Kheb signifie la chambre, l'utérus ou le lieu de naissance, G. Massey, A Book of the Beginnings, vol.2, 2007, p.601 ; Copte est une version anglaise de l'arabe Qibt, qui elle-même était une variante de Aiguptiōj grec, ce qui signifie, tout simplement Egyptien. En Egypte l'emploi de la locution arabe Qibt (Géo. ქიბთ) était visé pour définir la population non-musulmane, non-arabophone jusqu'à 9^e siècle. Les Arabes, en arrivant en Egypte en 640 A.D. appellé l'Egypte Dar al QIBT ("la maison des Égyptiens"), G. Warren, P. Brown, O. Graber, Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World, 1999, p. 395; Le nom Kuptios > Copte serait une prononciation Kame (KAME) du grec Greek Αἰγυπτός – Egypte. Le nom grec Αἰγυπτός – une prononciation de l'égyptien –Ht-K3 –Pth ou du babylonien – hikuptah = maison du Ka de Ptah. C'est ce nom Ht- K3 –Pth que le copte prononcerait suivant ses différentes dialectes comme : Qibt, Hipt, Gibt. Les Coptes n'appellent pas leur pays "Egypte" ou "Copte", mais plutôt : KHME, KAME, KHMI, cf. N.Kalamba, M. Bilolo, Héritage du discours théologique Negro-Africain, vol.2, 2011, p. 87-88.

7 B.d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque orientale, 1977, p. 365.

8 L'Orient syrien, vol. 3, 1958, p. 238.

Un autre passage comportant des additions qui s'écartent du Grec et Copte:

Géo S: და ვითარცა ლოცვად წართქუა ჩემ ზედა, მოვიკითხე და ვიკურთხე მისგან და წარვე-
მართე ალექსანდრიად.

და იყო იგი მიერ ადგილით ათორმეტისა დღისა სავალსა შორითა და წარმიძღუა მე ჩუენებად
იგი, რომელი ვიხილე. და მივიწიე ხუთ დღე, რამეთუ ვიდოდე მე გზასა მას მრავლითა ჭირითა და
მწუხარებითა დღუ და დამჟ განუსუენებელად სიძნელისა მას გზისასა, უამსა სიცხისასა, რამეთუ
მზუ დასწუვიდა მიწასა ქუეყნისასა, fol. 252v (Quand il fit la prière (pour moi), je l'ai salué, il me donna
sa bénédiction et je partis à Alexandrie. Elle fut de douze journées de route de ce lieu. J'ai été conduit par
la vision que j'ai vue et j'y suis arrivé en cinq jours, mais je marchais sur la route avec beaucoup de peine
et chagrin, le jour et la nuit sans relâche, (malgré) la difficulté du chemin et la chaleur ardente, car le soleil
brûlait la terre).

Grec: Καὶ ποιήσαμον ἡμῶν εὐχὴν ἡσπασάμην αὐτὸν καὶ ὀδεύπας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὀδὸν
ἡμερῶν δωδεκα ἐν τὴν πολλῆς ὀπτασίᾳς κατέλαβον αὐτὴν δι' ἡμερῶν πέντε, p.41.

Copte: Je reçus sa bénédiction et j'acheminai vers Alexandrie, ville située à une distance de douze journées
de marche. Comme le songe avait excité mon ardeur, j'y arrivai en cinq jours, p. 57.

Il serait superflus de mentionner d'autres passages de Géo S qui contiennent des additions considérables
et s'écartent son seulement du Grec mais du Copte également. Effectivement les exemples étudiés relèvent
quelques particularités du texte géorgien; les variantes textuelles, les transcriptions de lieux géographiques,
une locution syriaque révélée montrent que la version géorgienne A propos de Marc le solitaire contient les
empruntes sémitiques. Etablir la source du géorgien est une tâche difficile. La traduction peut provenir de
l'original grec mais par intermédiaire arabe, ou syriaque de la Palestine, car le géorgiens contient les calques
arabes et syriaque.

En résumé, il est probable que les origines du géorgien soient palestiniennes, notamment sabaitiques
(VIII^e-IX^e siècles). Créé au monastère de Saint-Sabas, le texte a été transporté ultérieurement au mont de
Sinaï à cause des invasions de musulmans et inséré dans un manuscrit sous le titre Sin.36.

SURREALISTIC ELEMENTS IN IDWĀR AL-KHARRĀT'S CITY OF SAFFRON*

Abstract

The influence of surrealism and the surrealistic methods of reaching subconscious were widely used in literature. The first attempt to bring surrealism to Egypt was in the 1930-40s; but later in the 1960s surrealistic elements were more widely applied by the writers of the New Sensibility. The best example is Idwār al-Kharrāt; he first became interested in surrealism during his detention in the 1940s. Later reality became one of the most important subjects of his works. His novels are distinguished by a unique style created by the merging realities and dream-like images coming from the narrator's unconscious. A very good example of al-Kharrāt's special narrative style is *City of Saffron* in which the narrator remembers his childhood and youth using some surrealistic techniques – analogical thinking, child's imaginations and dreams. The narration of events is not linear; realistic descriptions of the events are followed by dream-like almost hallucinatory episodes and through them the author gives a wonderful image of Alexandria.

Key words: Modern Arabic Literature, Egyptian Novels, Idwar al-Kharrat, New Sensibility, Surrealism.

Introduction

Surrealism, which appeared in Paris in the 1920s, had always attracted big interest; The methods and techniques used by surrealists in discovering human unconscious and free action of mind have been widely applied in arts and literature. Accordingly, the influence of surrealism was spread across the world; it reached Egypt as well and surrealistic vision or protest could be traced in works of several Arab writers. Among them is the famous Egyptian novelist, short story writer, critic and translator Idwār Al-Kharrāt whose novel *City of Saffron* shows many surrealistic elements, symbols, images, and perception of reality characteristic for surrealism.

In 1924 André Breton published the First Manifesto of Surrealism and according to the main principles given in the Manifesto the young artists gathered around Breton tried to express "pure thoughts" in their works without moral limitations or the conscious imposition of accepted aesthetics and structure. The surrealists dedicated themselves to the spirit of investigation and discovery; and the field of research was broadly viewed as the entire human subconscious. Surrealistic methods of reaching unconscious and the poor thoughts hidden there gave possibilities of different approaches and perceptions of reality.

The first attempt to bring French surrealism to Egypt was connected with the surrealistic group *Association of Art and Freedom* in the 1930-40s. The Association didn't have a long life, but its members played an important role in development of the Arabic fiction and art. Later in the 1960s surrealistic elements were used by the writers of the *New Sensibility*. In opposition to realism, the new generation, instead of describing the visible reality, moved to the inner world of a man and tried to show a different and deeper reality. Surrealism suggested unique means for achieving this aim and, respectively, surrealistic features appeared in many fiction works. Unlike the trend of the 1930-40s, this time the influence of surrealism was stronger on the Arabic prose. From the 1960s, works employed surrealistic elements with greater frequency and stimulated the emergence of a new literary vision. Idwār Al-Kharrāt, one of the leaders of the 1960s generation, significantly contributed to the development of the new trend in the modern Arabic literature. As Muhammad Amīn Al-'Ālim (2000) writes al-Kharrāt is a literary man who is well-acquainted with different aspects of literature (p. 46). Idwār Al-Kharrāt was one of the editors of *Gallery 68* – a literary and cultural magazine, which gathered Egyptian intellectuals known as the *Generation of the 1960s*, the group of writers who established the *New*

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Sensibility in the Arabic literature. It was al-Kharrāṭ who coined the term *New Sensibility* (*al-hassāsiyya al-jadīda*) referring to the avant-garde of the 1960s and 1970s. Elisabeth Kendall (2006) discusses this new trend in the Arabic literature which “[...] uses explosive, sensitive language to observe reality from the inside on the assumption that first truth lies in the soul. [...] Time is released from its external chronological boundaries, to be free as in dream. Hesitation and obscurity are the rule. Boundaries are blurred between internal and external, between reality and fantasy” (p. 100). For studying this trend Idwār al-Kharrāṭ’s works are good examples, as his novels show many elements characteristic to this new trend. The paper will focus on al-Kharrāṭ’s novel *City of Saffron* discussing its surrealistic features.

Idwār al-Kharrāṭ and Surrealism

As mentioned above, Idwār al-Kharrāṭ, like other writers of the *New Sensibility*, widely used elements of surrealism as tools for reaching different realities and his works contain many surrealistic aspects. The writer first became interested in surrealism during his detention for involvement in the revolutionary activities in 1948. This was the period when the *Association of Art and Freedom* and its founder George Henein had made the first attempt to bring European surrealism to Egypt. Al-Kharrāṭ’s interest in surrealism is also apparent from the fact that in the seventh issue of *Gallery 68* he published translations of Paul Eluard’s poems (Kendall, 2006, p. 236). Later he published works about surrealism (الخراط، 1997). In one of his works al-Kharrāṭ (1991) discusses the characteristics of the currents of the *New Sensibility* in the Arabic literature. According to him, the current he belongs to is a current of “inner-vision involving not only the inner eye but also the entire inner life which is evoked in the ephemeral dream-like fields of vision and perception. In works belonging to this trend we see the hidden reality of man where normal time ceases to count, barriers are removed between dream and wakefulness, ambiguity and sharp-edged lucidity, inner and outer, reality and illusion. Surrealistic imagery and diction seem to have a natural place here. Obviously all that helps to escape from “reality” towards another “reality”. At the end he states that, “the present writer, since the late 1940s and up to the present time, has made what contribution he could to this vein” (pp. 198-190). But we can not claim that al-Kharrāṭ is a surrealist or his works are purely surrealistic. We can only speak about the surrealistic elements in his creative works. His novels are distinguished by a unique style created by the merging realities and dream-like images coming from the narrator’s unconscious.

The writer often uses the term “meta-real” in his writings. With this term he implies whatever exists behind reality. He believes that reality often presents an erroneous picture of what exists behind it and this false picture cannot show the truth. It cannot help us in discovering and understanding the truth and for that reason there is a need for literature which can reach the world existing behind the visual reality and reach the depths and the mysteries hidden there. Al-Kharrāṭ tried to realize this vision in his literary works. Reality is one of the most important subjects of his novels and stories. Reality is variable and multifarious in his works. The author does not simply describe the present or the past; here we have different forms of time and place, which follow specific narrative lines. The narrative line is often interrupted and dreams and fantasies are interposed. All the mentioned characteristics are widely used in his novel *City of Saffron* (ترابها ز عفران).

City of Saffron

We can call *City of Saffron* a novel, but at the same time it can be considered as a collection of short stories. The subtitle of the work is *Alexandrian Texts* (نصوص اسكندرانية). The book consists of nine chapters or texts. Each of them can be viewed as a complete literary work, but at the same time each text is linked to the previous or the next text. The author, while describing his work in the preface, tries to avoid using the terms “novel” and “short story” (قصة قصيرة) (رواية) (نص). Instead, he uses “texts” (الخراط) (نص) (1999). “Text” does not mean any specific genre about which a reader may have a specific expectation. Muhammad Barrāda (1986) writes that in the early 1960s at the lectures, which he delivered on literature, he cited al-Kharrāṭ as an example of a writer whose literary works transgress the borders of any definite form or genre (pp. 6-7).

City of Saffron is a semi-autobiographical novel. Though Idwār al-Kharrāṭ (1999) says in the introduction that the book is not an autobiography (سيرة ذاتية) (p. 5), many events in the novel resemble events that took place in the writer’s own life. It is a generally accepted view among critics that the novel is indeed autobiographical.

graphical. Al-Kharrāṭ (1998) also accepts this opinion but finds it incomplete; he writes: "Now it is an open question whether these incidents that are but illusions, these figures that are only visions, those flights of fancy and those memories of things that never happened though they should have, are also autobiographical in their own right. Obviously I am not referring to what might be dubbed factual accuracy based on documented evidence; I am only wondering whether these imaginings of a writer are perhaps more authentically "biographical" than what actually had "really" happened" (p. 9). As Magda al-Nowaihi (1994) suggests, we can consider *City of Saffron* to be the autobiography of Mīkhā'il, the main character and narrator; and al-Kharrāṭ is an author who creates a literary work out of Mīkhā'il's memories, dreams and thoughts (p. 35). We are following Mīkhā'il's thoughts and the images connecting his memories and in this we can find similarities with the analogical thinking – a very popular method among surrealists.

It's also a surrealistic approach to use child's visions and pure thoughts. *City of Saffron* begins with Mīkhā'il's memory from his childhood when he was riding a cart (الخراط, 1999, p. 7; Al-Kharrat, 1989, p. 1) and afterwards all the narrative follows the process of remembering. The character continually looks back into the mirrors of childhood and youth and brings some episodes back to life. In different texts memories are revealed differently. Memories are not presented chronologically, but rather follow the stream of Mīkhā'il's thoughts. Perception of the world by the child is firmly connected to imaginings and feelings. The child's memories interact with fantasies full of religious symbols or literary and folk images. The adult narrator still remembers what the child felt at the particular moment, what he saw, what he heard and imagined. The novel is developed around the images imprinted in Mīkhā'il's memory. These are the images or scenes which he as a child saw or experienced whether in reality or in his imagination. Those scenes became images which stayed in the child's mind and re-emerge at a later time from Mīkhā'il's unconscious, bringing back feelings and associations. The narrator engages in a type of analogical thinking. Mīkhā'il's past is recovered by association and analogies. Stories from his childhood re-emerge in a sequence that accords only with the images remembered and the feelings and associations they induce. Accordingly these images serve the function of binding elements in the narrator's memories.

Certain images frequently reappear and become symbols. Birds, for example, figure in the title of the three chapters: *Black Crows in the Light* (النوارس بيضاء الجناح), *White-Winged Gulls* (غربان سود في النور) and *Wingbeats of the Doves Alight* (رفرفة الحمام المشتعل) (الخراط, 1999, p. 75, 93, 161; Al-Kharrat, 1989). The most recurrent images are those of the sky, clouds, birds, wings and flying or the sea, waves and its shore; sometimes we also encounter vines or grapes. As al-Nowaihi (1994) explains, these images unite the themes of love, death, salvation and release from the confines of time and space. In these spaces people can taste freedom and immortality (p. 42).

Discussing symbolic images, attention should be paid to the title of the novel. The title does not refer to the city of Alexandria by name. According to al-Nowaihi (1994), the author offers an image adopted from a popular song about its saffron sands (p. 43). Westney (2000) suggests another interesting possibility about the saffron sand image used in the title. She discusses the semi-mythical portrayal of Alexandria of the past as a lost paradise and connects the novel's title with a description of Paradise found in the Islamic ḥadīth:

[...] وحصاها الياقوت واللؤلؤ و ترابها زعفران (p. 152).

Mīkhā'il's early memories are often connected with birds and flight. Usually these images of birds, wings and flight express themes of love and death. We see them before or after someone's death, or sometimes birds symbolize a beloved one or love emotions that often have a power of destruction comparable to death. One memory is the terrifying image of silent black birds standing in the light of a street lamp. He saw the birds from his window and in spite of the many years that have passed the image still has a disturbing effect on him (الخراط, 1999, p. 76). This scene frightens him but he knows that his fear is also associated with the absence of father. His mother is holding the frightened child in her arms, but he doesn't feel secure enough in her embrace and the child calls for his father (الخراط, 1999, p. 76). This episode prefigures his father's death. After six pages the narrator mentions his father's death (الخراط, 1999, p. 82) and then in the next chapter he tells about the cold winter night when his father died (الخراط, 1999, p. 97).

There is another interesting episode when child Mīkhā'il lies awake because of pains from an ear infection and fever and hears the beating of an angel's wings (الخراط, 1999, p. 93). It is implied that the angel responded to his mother's supplications and saved him from death. The memory may be suspected from a

rational point of view, but for Mīkhā'il it is real. The memory lives so vividly in his mind that Mīkhā'il, the adult, does not doubt that it faithfully represents the reality of his childhood experience (الخراط, 1999, p. 93).

As we can see, death is a recurring theme for Mīkhā'il's life. The images which have turned into symbols also point at death. For Mīkhā'il and probably for the author as well, death, the fear of death and the urge to defeat it are topical problems. Al-Kharrāt also speaks about the problem of death and immortality in his interview given to Sabry Hafez (1982), where he points out that he had always been interested in the contradiction which exists between finiteness of human life and a human's longing for immortality (p. 94). *City of Saffron* ends with a scene in which Mīkhā'il imagines his own death. After the realistic description of violent demonstration Mīkhā'il imagines a scene of burning bodies falling into the sea and then their screaming heads floating on the waves. Among them the face of his beloved appears and her eyes make him fall deep into the sea. His body drowns but wings of doves and tongues of fire are lifting him up into the blue sky (الخراط, 1999, p. 182). In this episode death has an image of eternal travel, in which love, death, the sea and flight are fused. There are other episodes where a person who dies passes into unlimited space. Mīkhā'il sees a girl committing suicide. She is jumping from the balcony. The child perceives her jumping as flight (الخراط, 1999, p. 172). Mīkhā'il's imagination changes the reality; the girl is not falling but she is in eternal flight: "أرى رفرفة البتة التي تسقط، وهي تطير..." ("I could see the fluttering of the girl as she fell, but she was flying now...") (الخراط, 1999, p. 178; Al-Kharrat, 1989, p. 169). Mīkhā'il accepts death as inevitable, but denies death as the power terminating existence.

The dream-like memories and unreal images and thoughts coming from the narrator's imagination or unconscious most often appear at the end of the chapters. These episodes mostly start as actual events and then proceed into a fantastic world where borders between dream and reality are erased. In these episodes images of the sea and flight dominate. According to al-Nowaihi (1994), they are expressions of fear, especially fear of death and the urge to overcome it and its result, nothingness. The fear of death is the fear of annihilation of his existence. Mīkhā'il desires to escape from the finiteness of this world which implies his own mortality. He escapes from the confines of time and space and this is achieved in different ways in these fantastic episodes (p. 44). One example is the union with his beloved, who becomes either a bird or a bird-like creature. The woman's desire to sacrifice herself, her worldly flesh for him makes the character see the signs of immortality in love (الخراط, 1999, p. 80-81).

In these visions and memories Mīkhā'il and probably al-Kharrāt rejoins their past and present and tries to pass into infinity. In order to defeat the fear of death and annihilation and achieve immortality Mīkhā'il tries to unite the past and the present by uniting the various "selves" that he was with that which he is now. We constantly meet expressions of the one, the ideal and absolute in many different faces and forms. The most interesting and obvious example of the interrelationship between one and many is the main character of the novel. He is one but at the same time he is several: the author, the narrator and the child. Three of them see the facts from different perspectives, but they are faces of one person and create one united whole. It is also an interesting fact that Mīkhā'il loves several women but actually all these women are representations of the one. Sometimes we meet hymns addressed to the letters of the alphabet (namely ن - nun and م - mim) in the narrative. In these hymns he praises the women he loved and we get the impression that these different women are different faces of the same beloved woman. This unity is achieved thought dreams and imaginations. As al-Kharrāt (1981) says in *My Understanding of a Novel*, dreaming is an individual means for escaping the reality (p. 318).

As it was shown the novel is abundant in episodes that bear little resemblance to reality. They are like dreams and owe their existence to the mind. The imagination of Mīkhā'il as a child is often linked to the experience taken from the different fields of knowledge. The persons, characters and stories which he knows from literature or oral narratives take part in his day or night dreams next to his family members, neighbors, friends and acquaintances. The dreams become the mirrors in which the child sees his world. As Liardet mentions in the introduction of his translation: "the *Thousand and One Nights* takes place again in the streets of Gheit el-Enab" (al-Kharrat, 1989, p. viii). Fairy tales and folk stories retold by his aunt reemerge in the child's nightmares and visions (الخراط, 1999, p. 131). The child's thoughts and imaginations are also full of religious images as well. The episode when he sees the picture of St. Simeon and associates him with his father is

interesting in this context (الخرّاط، 1999, p. 97). The child always connects events and stories to Michael the Archangel after whom he is named and who is his protector.

Through Mīkhā'il's memories, realistic descriptions of the events which are followed by dream-like almost hallucinatory episodes, the author gives a wonderful image of a city – Alexandria, which has always been a center of cross-cultural experiences. Alexandria is one of the most frequent and important themes of al-Kharrāt's works. It can be said that the author is at once telling his own story and that of Alexandria. As we have mentioned above the title of the novel refers to the city. Alexandria dominates in other works of al-Kharrāt as well. The city is a historical, religious and philosophical world for him. Muhammad Siddiq (2007) writes that Alexandria for al-Kharrāt is not only "a beautiful geographic location, and a place of meeting and confrontation between people who work, love, and die in the course of daily life; nor is it merely a storehouse of deep-seated ancient and modern cultures and civilizations. It is all that, to be sure. But it is also a condition of soul, a quest adventure to grasp an inner truth, in addition to being a metaphysical encounter with the obscurity of the abstract and death, stretching over a now placid now tumultuous surface of the sea, towards an enigmatic, limitless horizon" (p. 69). According to Maggie Awadalla (1991), Alexandria often appears in al-Kharrāt's imagination as a beloved woman. It is a dream woman, muse and Phoenix resurrected from the ashes. It can be a black bird of the darkness and a white gull. The city is transformed into the world where eroticism, mysticism, real and unreal are mixed (p. 229). In the novel we meet episodes with unreal descriptions of certain places in the city and the descriptions are full of fantastic images.

Conclusion

As a conclusion I would repeat that *City of Saffron* shows all the features characteristic to al-Kharrāt's prose in general. This novel is a multifaceted literary work in which the narrator remembers his childhood and youth. The narration follows the process of remembering, the stream of Mīkhā'il's memories. In investigating the child's world, therefore, the narrator attempts to combine the past and the present, to unite "I"-s, the persons whom the narrator was. The novel is abundant in episodes which are very close to dreams or hallucinations. Often, the episodes start as a real story and then gradually or suddenly they continue in the world of fantasy, where the boundaries between dream and reality are deleted or missing. These unreal episodes may be termed surrealistic. In the character's dreams and imaginary visions true thoughts are revealed, which are coming from his subconscious mind. The author tries to follow the associations emerging during the remembering process and follows intuitive connections rather than logical thinking. Through the realistic descriptions of the events and the dream-like almost hallucinatory episodes the author tells the story of Mīkhā'il's life and at the same times gives a wonderful image of Alexandria.

In *City of Saffron* we see the themes and forms of expression which are common to surrealism: dream, imagination and reality are merged; a child's pure thoughts and fantasies play an important role; rational control of the mind is weakened and the thoughts follow the associations without any logical connections; very often the chronological sequence of the narrative is also interrupted. However, the novel is not an unclear, disordered mix of names, places and incidents, but rather a masterful literary work, in which even the smallest detail is used with purpose. The novel shows many elements that could be called surrealistic; however, Idwār al-Kharrāt cannot be considered as a true surrealist writer. We can say that the writer interested in surrealism created fiction, in which surrealism is presented to a large extent.

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GRAVES OF THE CHRISTIAN GEORGIANS IN IRAN *

The paper depicts the Georgian part of the complex of the Doulab Christian cemeteries in Tehran and, also, contains additional information on the Georgians buried in those of the other confessions' in Iran. Even though existence of the Georgian part of the complex of the Doulab Christian cemeteries and the relevant problems had been known, its present status could not have been examined and the ways of rehabilitation defined (first and foremost, this concerns Ms. Minadora Khoshtaria's Georgian church-shaped sepulcher).

Within the scope of the project, we conducted the research in several directions: inspection of the present status of the Georgian part of the complex of the Doulab Christian cemeteries, identification of the graves mentioned in the records but hardly detectable at present (in this regard significant success was made – all the Georgian graves of the cemetery were identified and cleaned); inspection of the other sectors of the cemetery in order to identify the graves associated with Georgia (several of those, one with a legend in Georgian were found in the Catholic part of the Doulab cemetery complex). Also, we detected a few Georgian graves in the Armenian cemetery, namely, in the courtyards of the Armenian churches in Isfahan, Gilan province. Our Iranian colleagues were instrumental in detecting several tombs bearing legends in the Georgian language.

Another direction of the study was the search for information on the Doulab cemetery at some of the Iranian archives and libraries, which was a fairly laborious work. Although scarce, the materials are truly unique and, therefore, of a high scholarly significance.

The main task of the project was examination of the present status of the Georgian part of the complex of the Christian cemeteries in Teheran's Doulab district and determination of the ways of its rehabilitation and conservation (to avoid inevitable destruction, the sepulcher of Ms. Minadora Khoshtaria needs urgent rehabilitation). We approached the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia and they agreed to perform the relevant works.

The Doulab Christian Cemetery: Background

The complex of the Christian cemeteries is located in Teheran's south-eastern Doulab district which, as the maps of the time show, was not a part of the capital in the early XX c. Address of the cemetery: Shahid Malahat highway, Pasdaran-e Gomnam (the Unknown Pasdars) Ave., Shahid Rezai-Tajer St.

Relying on the publication by Ettemad as-Saltaneh entitled "Marat al-Baladin", in her paper „The Doulab Cemetery: History Buried in the Heart of Tehran”, Ms. Zahra Salehi-Nezhad says that in 1137 by Hijri lunar calendar, Kerim Khan resettled Armenian masons from Isfahan to the village of Doulab, close to Teheran and by doing this, paved way to the first non-Muslim community there. That's where the name of the cemetery comes from. Back in 1855, during the reign of Naser ad-Din Shah, his personal doctor Louis André Ernest Cloquet, a French Catholic was buried next to the Armenian cemetery and that's how the history of the Catholic graveyard started.¹

As the historical maps of Teheran of the time and a 1909 document entitled "Looting of the Orthodox Cathedral in the Village of Doulab" preserved at the National Archive of Georgia make it evident, the village of Doulab was not a part of Teheran in the early XX c., as yet.

As the city expanded and Teheran took the village of Doulab into its boundaries, the complex of the cemeteries, formally closed by then, faced destruction, especially so in the 1990s. The 1996 City Hall project envisaged roads and a park in its place. However, the high ranking Armenian, Catholic, Russian and Assyrian clergy, as well as embassies of the Christian countries stood up against the scheme. It was owing to their repeated appeals to the Foreign Ministry and Cultural Heritage Protection Organization of the Islamic Republic of Iran that the problem gained international publicity and the Teheran City Hall had to back down, while the Cultural Heritage Protection Organization of Iran proclaimed it a national monument (N2688, 06.07.2004)

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, XII, 2020, pp. 171-182.

1 <https://www.kojaro.com/2016/9/24/122162/cemetery-doolab/>

and by doing this, saved it. Here we should mention the efforts of Mr. Jamshid Giunashvili, the Georgian Ambassador to Iran in 1994-2003.

Our investigation of the actual status of the complex of the cemeteries, namely the sepulcher of Minadora Khoshtaria relied on the documentation supplied by the Iranian Research Center for the Cultural Heritage and Tourism. The first such document: "The Project for Investigation of the Sepulcher of the Georgian Princess and Identification of the Problems",² underlay the fortification and rehabilitation of the monument in 2003-2004.

Two documents drawn up by the Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of the Tehran province list the performed rehabilitation works, set out the actual status and registration of the cultural heritage monument.³

Another problem associated with the complex of cemeteries in Doulab is that, the descendants of people of various nationalities buried, let's say in merely the Catholic part of the complex, no longer live in Iran and the graves are in charge of the relevant embassies. Digitalization of Catholic cemetery in Doulab (Doulab Catholic Cemetery Grave Mapping Project) initiated by some of the European embassies and the Catholic mission in Tehran is going on. Plenty of work has been performed; a lot of materials processed and the Project remains open to new information.⁴

The Polish government funded replacement of the tomb stones of their compatriots, who died in Tehran during the World War II and the access pathways to the Polish sector were surfaced. We see small national flags hoisted at the French, Italian, Hungarian etc. graves, which are also relatively well tended to.

Georgians on the Doulab Cemetery

Alexander Zarkeshev, the hegumen (now archimandrite) of the Russian Church in Tehran had initiated digitalization of the Russian Orthodox graves. He and his subordinates collected plenty of materials but the initiative fell through. The archimandrite, who serves at the Russian church in Abu Dhabi now, visits Tehran several times a year. Although the database has not been set up, the collected materials are still very important. It should be said that Georgia-Russia tensions, actual absence of collaboration and coordination between the two embassies in Tehran hinder protection of the Orthodox part of the Doulab complex. The Georgians could rely on support of the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran and its agencies, including the Research Center for the Cultural Heritage and Tourism, as well as St. Nicholas' church in Tehran with whom the Georgian embassy staff and their family members maintain pretty close personal and business relations. We are grateful to the high ranking clergy of St. Nicholas' church, who were helpful in terms of making the aforesaid database available. It was owing to their benevolence that this project was a success.

In the preparatory works, we identified 40 Georgian graves with the legends in the Georgian and Russian languages. The expedition members mapped and cleaned the graves and took their photos from various angles. We paid special attention to Minadora Khoshtaria's sepulcher, which is unfortunately in a decrepit state. We got the photos depicting its restoration by the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran initiated by the Georgian embassy in 2003-2004. We talked to Mr. Mahdi Metanat, the keeper, who related about its rehabilitation in detail. From each grave, we picked up the broken off pieces.

In the Catholic cemetery, we detected a grave with a Georgian legend and several other tombs of purportedly Catholic Georgians.

The team members visited Thaddeus and Bartholomew church in the grounds of the Tehran bazaar and took photos of the graves there. We also held talks with the Armenian clergy. As far as we know, a story about

² Project supervisor: Eskandar Mokhtari; author: Mohammad Beiraqi. Tehran, 1382=2003) prepared by the Department for Protection and Rehabilitation of the Cultural Heritage Monuments of the Cultural Heritage Organization of the Tehran province. In the first years of XXI c., the Georgian embassy in Iran took the lead in terms of protection of the Georgian part of the complex: before broadening the road next to the complex, several graves had been relocated and the sepulcher fortified but because of a very poor quality job done by an Iranian company, it is now in even a worse shape than before the rehabilitation.

³ 1. The Case of the Registration of the Georgian Princess' sepulcher (Author: Omid Ali Sadeq, Tehran, 1383 = 2004). 2. The Space of the Armenian Cemetery and Georgian Princess' sepulcher (Authors: Javad Akbar and Tamtam Ruzaneh, Tehran, 1385 = 2007). (in Persian)

⁴ <http://www.doulabcemetery.com/en/aboutus.asp>

Prince Alexander's grave in the courtyard of Thaddeus and Bartholomew church, widely believed in certain circles in Georgia should not be true.

Also, we visited an Armenian cemetery in the town of Rasht, Gilan province, where we detected 6 Georgian graves and filmed them.

At the initiative of the expedition members, the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia sent a fact-finding team to Tehran in order to plan the restoration works some of which were performed in the Orthodox and Catholic parts of the complex of cemeteries in Doulab. Photos of Minadora Khoshtaria's sepulcher from outside and (although risky) inside were taken.

The researchers working at the Iranian archives and libraries found quite a few new documents on Iran-Georgia relations.

Hegumen Alexander, who in late XX and early XXI cc., set up the database of the Orthodox cemetery of the Doulab complex, listed the Georgians buried there and delivered it to the Georgian embassy in Tehran in May 2004. Later, it became evident that the list was not complete, some of the Georgian surnames were wrongly read and dates were inaccurate, as well. So the research team supplemented and corrected the list:

- Ali-Zadeh (Okreashvili, correct form – Okriashvili or Okrusahvili) Tamara 1902-1976
Andtamaridze Evdokia Trofimovna 1866 – 9.1.1944
Afrand (Tvalavadze) Marina Yesenovna 1928-1969
Baghaturia Tona (Tina?) T 1892-1975
Bagradze(Bakradze?)-Gharibian Maria Ilinichna 1905-1969, born in Tbilisi
Balanchevadze (correct form – Balanchivadze) Mikhail Davidovich †9.7.1957. 77 years old).
Baramidze N.A. 1879-1942
Varazashvili Ivan Sofromovich 1879-1955
Gegenava Iosif Platonovich 1883-1955
Zakaria (Zakaraia?) (Kargaratelli, correct form – Kargarateli) Evgenya Vasilievna 1909-1973
Kargaratelli Alexandra Ivanovna 1887-1955
General Vasil G. Kargaletti (correct form – Kargareteli), 1881-1955. The date of his death should be wrong. We suppose it was a technical error and it should be the date of his wife's death since the dates engraved on the cross say 1881-1946. Researcher Mamuka Gogtidze suggested 29.07.1880-1938.⁵
Koberidze Valerian Lukich 4.4.1885 – 23.7.1940
Korkia (Kargaretelli, correct form – Kargarateli) Margarita Vasilievna 12.2.1910-12.4.1971
Korkia Mikhail 1900-1964
Machabelli (correct form – Kargarateli) Zurab, prince 1894-1936
Machavariani Konstantin Georgievich 1894-1936
Meraboshvili (correct form – Merabishvili or Merabashvili) Elena Georgievna 1891-1953
Mikeladze Grigol Semionovich 1898-1957, prince 1898-1957
Mikeladze Elena (Elene) Nafanailovna, 23.5.1932-19.6.1932
Mikeladze Elena Nafanailovna, princess 8.2.1890-29.5.1952
Mikeladze Nina (Nino) Khrisaforovna, princess 1990-1989
Turkia Vladimer Matveevich 1875-1948
Khomaradze Alexandra Yakovlevna 1885-1948
Khomaradze Tamar Petrovna 1914-1964
Khoshtaria Minadora Ignatievna 1882-1924
Ioseb (Joseph) M. Tsalkomonidze (correct form – Tsalkalamanidze) 1879-1955 (a locomotive drivers' instructor)
Tsalkomonidze (correct form – Tsalkalamanidze) Nina (Nino) 1895-1974
Tsitsikashvili (Tsitsishvili?) Irakli Nikolaevich, prince 1890-1953
Tsitsikashvili (Tsitsishvili?) Nina (Nino) Georgievna 1898-1970
- We added the following surnames to the list:

⁵ See Mamuka Gogtidze, Generals and Officers – Georgian in the Military forces of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan <http://caucasianhistory.info/?p=639> (in Russian). Retrieved 06/04/2019.

Vakhtangadze Irakli Fomich 1890-1958
Kipiani (Vakhtangadze) Mariam Georgievna 1907-1994
Kandelaki Dimitri Ivanovich 1904-1963
Vakhtangadze Dodo Iraklievna 1925-2007
Bokuchava Vasil – d. 2009

Giorgi (George) I. Vakhtangadze – died in January 2019. The legends on this tombstone are in the Georgian and Russian languages, while the one on the cross is in Persian. His birth and death dates are given according to the solar calendar: 1314-1397.

By the database of the cemetery, the grave of Mr. Alexander T. Lomidze (wrongly spelt in Russian as Домидзе Александр Тариелович (Alexander T. Domidze)), which should have been next to Minadora Khoshtaria's sepulcher (sector II, row №3) is undetectable now.

According to the cemetery register, the grave of Helen Tsikhistavi (wrongly spelt in Russian as Елена Цихостав (Helen Tsikhostav)), also untraceable by now should have been in the V or VI row of the same sector.

According to the same register, the grave of Sylvester Chikovani (wrongly spelt in Russian as Чековани Сильвестр (Sylvester Chekovani)) similarly vanished should have been in the VIII sector, row №2.

We presume that the persons below buried in the Orthodox part of the Doulab cemetery complex should have been Georgians:

Sumbatov Nikolai Iosifovich 1890-1953
Gurjiev Victor Georgievich 1920-1958
Alkhazov Ivan Alexandrovic 1895-1949 Alkhazova Margarita Vasilievna 1900-1963

Two graves in the Catholic part of the complex of the Christian cemeteries in Doulab bearing Russian legends should also be of the Georgian mother and daughter, whose husband and father's name was Teimuraz used as the surname.

Here we should mention well-known non-Georgians like Nikolai Markov, architect and Anton Sevruigin, photographer closely associated with the Georgian capital Tbilisi in their young days.

Information on the Georgians in the Doulab Cemetery

The database of the Orthodox cemetery in Doulab preserves concise information on some of the Georgians there. Archimandrite Alexander is still working in this direction. Our team also collected some library and archive materials in the Georgian, Persian etc. languages. However, we had expected more light to be shed on the issue. Neither did our expectations that the descendants of the deceased would come forward with the documents preserved at home or anecdotes come true.

Below, there are some new or little known sources concerning some of the Georgians:

Memoirs of General Hasan 'Arfa contain some interesting information on Grigol Mikeladze, the Georgian serviceman, who made his career at the Court of Reza Shah.⁶ The author recurrently refers to his fellow military Grigol and his brother Constantine (Kostya) Mikeladze (B. 1895), who in 1921, was killed in the battle against the rebel Kurds on the approaches to the town of Maku.

The grave of Princess Helen N. Mikeladze (1890-1952), supposedly the wife of Constantine Mikeladze is nearby.

The record on Grigol S. Mikeladze in the register of the Doulab cemetery says: "1898-1957, nobleman of an ancient and distinguished Georgian family, a Russian Imperial officer, aide-de-camp to Reza Shah and an Iranian Brigadier General. In 1939, his wife Nina, a Russian gave birth to a daughter Eter."⁷ In the database we found her description: "True to her noble title, she stood out for her manners, which set the couple apart from most of the other Russian emigrants". A few weeks old Helen Mikeladze who died in 1932 is buried next to her parents.

⁶ Under Five Shahs, by General Hassan Arfa, (New York William Morrow & Co., 1965), 115, 125, 129, 140, 152, 15 8, 221, 228, 301. Our Acknowledgments to Dr. Grigol Beradze for providing us these memoirs.

⁷ Alexander Zarkashev, Hegumen. Russian Orthodox Church in Persia-Iran (1597-2001) (SPb.: Satis, 2002) (In Russian).

In his book,⁸ Mr. Ambako Chelidze relates about General Vasil Kargareteli closely involved in the military reform initiated by the Shah. In “The History of Gilan”,⁹ Mr. Naser Azim, Iranian scholar also describes him as a prominent participant of the movement known as the “Forest Revolution” led by Kuchak Khan. Also, we searched the Internet for the military career of V. Kargareteli in Iran, where he was referred to as „Shahpur”.¹⁰ The record in the database of the complex of Doulab cemeteries says that Vasil D. Kargareteli (1881-1955) “was a general. In his memoirs, the last commander of the Persian Cossacks brigade colonel Verba mentions captain Kargareteli of the General Staff, who fought at the Persian front under General N.N. Baratov”.¹¹

In 2009, Georgian retired Colonel Vasil Bokuchava, who, for years had been accompanying Ms. Clair Bokuchava, still a piano tutor in Teheran, was also buried at the Doulab cemetery.

Besides, the database contains records of several civilian Georgians:

Vladimir M. Turkia (1875-1948), MD, descendant of the Megrelian princes, who fought in World War I. He had been practicing just in front of the Soviet Consulate in Tehran and was much appreciated for his kindness. He was married to the proprietor of “Cinema Iran”.

Constantine G. Machavariani (1894-1936), a news agent, who sold Russian newspapers and magazines next to “Cinema Palace”.

Valerian L. Koberidze, another Georgian buried at Doulab cemetery, who according to his relatives had been in the film industry in Tehran and Isfahan. In his memoirs, Mr. Ambako Chelidze mentions a Mr. Sakvaleridze who ran a movie house in Tehran. We were unable to detect his grave. All in all, it is only Mr. Akaki Khoshtaria, businessman and General Kargareteli that Mr. Ambako Chelidze describes as successful in Iran.

Up until 2019, 3 persons with the surname of Vakhtangadze were buried in the Orthodox part of the Doulab cemeteries: Irakli T. Vakhtangadze (1890-1958), MD, Mariam G. Kipiani (Vakhtangadze) (1907-1994), his wife and Dodo I. Vakhtangadze (1925-2007), their daughter. In mid-January of 2019, Giorgi (George) I. Vakhtangadze, their son was buried in the same cemetery at the age of 83. Mr. Mahdi Metanat, the cemetery keeper told us that his friends had buried him in the grave he had bought next to his parents and sister. The only surviving member of the family is the ailing sister of Giorgi (George) I. Vakhtangadze. He was the only Georgian in Tehran, who in 2006 visited the Georgian embassy and talked to the Ambassador and advisor, who got the impression that the fear and distrust of the Soviet Union and KGB was too great for the other family members to venture any contact even with the embassy of independent Georgia. As against the Georgian, Russian or bilingual epigraphs of the other Georgians buried there, the one engraved in a simple cross set up on Giorgi Vakhtangadze’s tomb is made in Persian only.

There is a small record in Mr. Niko Nikoladze’s notepad he kept in Paris on Ms. Minadora Khoshtaria and her husband: “January 2 1924: I met Minadora Khoshtaria and Hanibal, the family lawyer. Akaki has returned.”¹²

Mr. Mahdi Metanat, the cemetery keeper similarly to his father and grandfather remembers the latter’s story concerning Mr. Akakli Khoshtaria. In his words, as soon as the traders and shop keepers of the Doulab district saw Mr. Akakli Khoshtaria heading for his wife’s grave, they would leave their businesses and sit at the cemetery entrance pretending to be beggars. Mr. Khoshtaria would give them the amount larger than their annual income. It should be said that the account of Metanat Jr. on rehabilitation of Minadora Khoshtaria’s sepulcher he had been involved in along with the other workers, as well as the other reports proved to be very helpful to our project. The project team is very appreciative of his kind attention. By the way Mahdi Metanat appeared in a Russian RT channel report on the Orthodox part of the Doulab cemetery complex.¹³

8 Ambako Chelidze, Six Years in Persia (Tbilisi: Metsnireba, 1964), (in Georgian).

9 Naser Azimi, Tarikhe Gilan – az vorude Shah-Abbas avval be Gilan ta payane enghelabe jangal. (Rasht: Entesharate Farhang Ilia, 1395=2016/2017), 594-95, 597, 605, 639 Naser Azimi. History of Gilan... (In Persian).

10 See also Gogitidze, op.cit.

11 Zarkashev, op.cit.

12 Notebook of N. Nikoladze, National Parliamentary Library of Georgia, Doc.36/280

13 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yfUIhlriGt8>.

Compagnioni Family in Georgia and Iran

During the field works at the Catholic part of the Doulab cemeteries in Tehran, a group of researchers found the grave of Stefan A. Compagnoni born in 1882, whose surname was inscribed in the Georgian and Latin languages.

It was the inscription in Georgian that roused our interest.

From the archive materials we learned that in the mid-XIX c., his father Antoine (Anton) F. Compagnoni arrived in Georgia and settled down in the city of Kutaisi. He also had a property in Batumi.

Antoine's wife was Maka I. Kharatova. They had four sons Stefan, Joseph-Constantine, Clement and Ivan (Stanislav).

In 1908, Stefan was a teacher at the gymnasium for boys in Kutaisi opened by Constantine Mkurnali¹⁴ that operated until 1918. There is no trace of Stefan Compagnoni in Georgia after 1919.

We do not know how he and his family ended up in Iran. The archive materials say that he and his wife Susanne (Shushana) Zubieva had three children Henriet-Venice (b. 1906), Ludwig-Napoleon (b. 1909) and Anton S. Compagnoni, a student on the 1923-1924 list of the Catholics of Kutaisi: Anton S. Compagnoni, 18, residing in Police St., a student of no property, baptized catholic. However, the record says nothing about his earlier life.

Apparently, only Stefan's brother, Joseph A. Compagnoni (1884-1947) and his family remained in Georgia. From 1918, he worked as a mining engineer in Kutaisi.

Joseph A. Compagnoni had studied mining abroad and then returned to Georgia, where he stayed all his life. In the 30 November 1918 issue of "the Republic of Georgia" newspaper, we came across a note bearing his name: "Joseph A. Compagnoni, mining engineer with the Trade and Industry Ministry of Western Georgia declares that he arrived in Kutaisi and lives and works (business hours: 09 am - 3pm) in Moshiashvili house, Police St. He started working on 20 November, Wednesday according to the relevant order of the said Ministry approved by the Finance, Trade and Industry Minister on 7 November 1918."¹⁵

Joseph Compagnoni was involved in the mining industry all his life. "He's regarded the pioneer of the field."¹⁶ Prof. Joseph Compagnoni, a founder of the Polytechnic Institute (now the Technical University) of Tbilisi¹⁷ died unexpectedly at the age of 62. His daughter Jeanne Compagnoni (1918-1997) named Varvara J. in the birth certificate stepped into her father's shoes and was an associate professor with the Technical University. Apparently, she had no family of her own and sheltered a family displaced from Abkhazia.¹⁸

Now to the other Compagnonis who moved to Iran: according to the 1923-1924 materials detected in the archive in Kutaisi by Mr. A. Vacharadze, a project team member, Mr. Ivan A. Compagnoni (Stefan's brother), 30, chemist, Susanne G. Compagnoni (Stefan's wife), 35 and Anton S. Compagnoni (their son),¹⁹ 18, who seem to have moved to Iran before long, are mentioned among the Catholics of Kutaisi.

Below there are some other Compagnonis buried next to Stefan Compagnoni in the Catholic part of the Doulab cemetery complex:

Compagnoni Susanne (1882-1981) – Susanne (Shushana) Zubieva, Stefan's wife;

Compagnoni Louis (1910-1930) – presumably Ludwig-Napoleon, their son. There is only a year's discrepancy between the dates in the Georgian and French inscriptions engraved in their tombstones.

There is another French inscription on the tombstone: Compagnoni Étienne (1883-1962), who should be the same person as Stefan Compagnoni, whose birth in 1883 was recorded in the registry of the Catholic church in Kutaisi.

¹⁴ See Lia and Guram Gabunia, The Private Male Gimnasium of Konstantine Mkurnali, newsp. Akhali Ganat'leba, 2-8/06/2001, N21 (535), 10 (in Georgian).

¹⁵ Newsp. Sak'art'velos respublika, N105, 30/11/1918, 3 (in Georgian).

¹⁶ The Georgian Soviet Encyclopaedia (1980), v. 5, p. 609.

¹⁷ See Elizbar Tsiskarishvili, Two Friends, newsp. Sak'art'velos respublika, N270, 30/10/1997, 7 (in Georgian).

¹⁸ See her obituaries, newsp. Sak'art'velos respublika, N N195, 13/08/1997, 8 and N244, 01/10/1997, 8 (in Georgian).

¹⁹ Anton Vacharadze, Activities of the Church of the Russian Imperial Mission in Iran according to the Archival Materials of Georgia-Imereti Synod Office. In: N. Nakhutrishvili, G. Sanikidze, (eds), Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Tehran. (Tbilisi: Ilia State University Press, 2019), 46.

The following persons are buried side by side in another part of the cemetery:

Compagnoni Jean (1894-1944) – Stefan's brother Ivan, MD, according to his tombstone. There is no mention of his daughter Teresa-Louise (b. 1918)

Compagnoni Clément (1887-1937) – Stefan's brother.

Compagnoni Marie (1897-1964) – her age makes us think that she was one of Stefan's sisters-in-law. There is no mention of her in the Georgian documents.

We were unable to detect the graves of Anton S. Compagnoni and Henriet-Venice Compagnoni in the Catholic cemetery of the Doulab complex. According to the information obtained by Dr. Donald Stilo, an American Iranist and expert in the Indo-Iranian languages and dialects of Dutch origin, Anton S. Compagnoni was still alive in the early 1960s and lived next to an Armenian "Ararat" club at the end of a blind alley, Noubahar St., Nader (now Jomhur) Ave., Tehran. Donald Stilo a student of the Iranian studies at the time, who stayed in Iran for a few years to study the Persian language also took Georgian lessons from Anton S. Compagnoni. He remembers that Anton, a handsome man with a pleasant voice got his legs paralyzed in an accident (he jumped off a bridge across the Rioni River) while still in Kutaisi. In Tehran, he was looked after by the Catholic nurses. Dr. Stilo did not mention Susanne (Shushana), Anton's mother. As to Stefan, his father, he had died a little before they got acquainted.²⁰ By the way, it was owing to Anton Compagnoni's instruction in Georgian that Dr. Donald Stilo recorded the speech of the Georgian expatriates in Iran's Fereydan province, whose digitalized version he presented at the International Congress on Language Islands in Iran held in Berlin in 2018. He also provided recordings of simple sentences in the Georgian language made by Anton S. Compagnoni.

Prof. Mohammad Roushan, a linguist with the University of Tehran who is now 88, remembered a fellow student of linguistics at the Tehran University, a tall, good-looking young man, whose surname was Compagnoni. Prof. Mohammad Roushan did not remember his first name though. He could not have been Stefan Compagnoni's son Anton, who was paralyzed and stayed at home all the time. He may have been Anton's, cousin, son of Clément or Jean (Ivan) Compagnoni.

In 2018-2019, during our business trip in Iran, we walked around the Tehran district, where Stefan Compagnoni and supposedly his brothers may have lived but the local residents said they had not heard of them. It is highly probable that the surviving Compagnonis left Iran after the Islamic Revolution.

Where should the Graves of the Christian Georgians be in Iran?

The initial goal of the project had been investigation of the Georgian graves in the Orthodox part of the complex of Christian cemeteries in Doulab. Although the scope of the project expanded later on, we did not study the cemeteries of the Georgian communities existing in Iran over the last four centuries. The Georgian converts to Islam have been and are still buried there. Along with the inscriptions on their tombstones and memorial plaques in the Arabic and Persian languages, there are now quite a few ones made in Georgian, which is a clear indication of the revival of the national identity.

Prior to opening of the Doulab cemetery in Tehran in 1894, the Christian Georgians used to be buried in the Armenian cemeteries or the courtyard of an Armenian church. An instance of this is the graves of the people who, along with Alexander Griboedov were brutally killed in Tehran on 30 January 1829. In his book I. Enakolopov says: "among the mission members killed on that day was Adelung, second secretary of the embassy, Nariman Mirza Shahnazarov, interpreter, S. Kobulov (Kobulashvili), a clerk, doctor Malberg, Rustam, B. Dadaashev, a newcomer who had just arrived to Tehran with some gifts for the Shah, A. Griboev, Griboedov's servant, Mr. G. Mamatsov (Mamatsashvili), P. Kalatozov (Kalatozishvili), who was the interpreter to the embassy secretary Maltsov (who survived – N.N. G.S.), I. Sarkisov and Kh. Shahnazarov, the couriers originating from Tbilisi, S. Shakhpulov (Shakhpulashvili) etc. The embassy guards of Cossacks were killed, too."²¹ The passage makes it clear that at least four of the people of the Georgian surnames and two Armenians

20 Donald Stilo generously provided us with his memoirs in English about Anton S. Compagnoni which is published in: Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Tehran (Donald Stilo, A Young American learns Georgian from an Extraordinary Man, 118-122).

21 I. K. Enikolopov, Griboedov in Georgia. (Tbilisi: Zarya Vostoka, 1954), 84 (in Russian).

originating from Tbilisi were among those who were killed on that day and buried in the courtyard of the Thaddeus and Bartholomew church, under construction in the grounds of the Tehran bazaar.

Incidentally, Helen, the daughter of Prince Alexander of Georgia, married to an Armenian who died in 1836 is buried inside the same church, with her memorial plaque built in a wall. The inscription in the plaque is quite legible. Referring to her, Mr. Vladimir (Lado) Aghniashvili, who arrived in Iran in 1894, remarks that he was unable to detect the grave of Prince Alexander deceased in 1846 and said to have been buried in the same place. He is listed in the church brochure among the other prominent people buried there. During our visit to the church in 2018, we reported Mr. Aghniashvili's information to the hegumen, who seemed quite surprised. We were told that the courtyard looked the same since its renovation some 50-60 years ago. Therefore, we suppose that even 125 years ago, there was no trace of Prince Alexander there. So the opinion asserted by some scholars and amateur researchers about his grave in the church courtyard should be wrong. The assumption underlying the view is that he should have been buried next to his daughter. Mr. Lado Aghniashvili supposes that Prince Alexander may have been buried in one of the villages the Shah had granted him. Talking to us, several Iranian scholars said that since Prince Alexander had adopted Islam, he could not have been buried in the courtyard of the Armenian Church.

Relying merely on anecdotes, in a publication, Dr. Goudarz Rashtiani, the Iranian historian points out at the Armenian church in the grounds of the Tehran bazaar as Prince Alexander's burial place.²²

It should be said that in the 1990s, Prof. Jamshid Giunashvili, Georgia's first Ambassador in Iran tried to obtain some new information on Prince Alexander. In his note to the Foreign Ministry, he requested permission to work at the Iranian archives. However, after a few months' waiting, he was told that the Iranians would look for the documents on their own and indeed, Ambassador Giunashvili was given photocopies of a few documents ungrounded by Research Center of the Foreign Ministry of Iran. However, there should not have been anything of interest in them concerning Prince Alexander's final years and death in Iran since Prof. Giunashvili had not mentioned it in his publications.

Therefore, the issue remains unclear at least until a new document is found.

As to the people perished along with Alexander Griboedov, on the initiative of archimandrite Alexander Zarkeshev, a memorial plaque saying: "... was put up on a wall of the Thaddeus and Bartholomew Armenian Church on 14 February 2014.

Apart from the Orthodox cemetery in Teheran's Doulab district, we traced the Georgian graves on the Protestant and Muslim graveyards, as well. Namely, Sylvie-Sophie-Skiriladze (23.03.1905-11.03.1941)²³ is buried in grave #24, row IV, the right section of the Protestant cemetery opened in 1890 in Teheran's southern Akbarabad district.

Mrs. Helen Benashvili, who in 1930s accompanied her Iranian husband to Iran, is buried at Imamzadeh Abdullah cemetery. We were told her exciting story by Dr. Ahmad Chaichi Amirkhiz, the Iranian scholar, who was the grandson of her husband Mosayeb Mahdi-zadeh (Derashkhani).²⁴

Mrs. Ana A. Khizanishvili (1903-1974) married to an Iranian resident of the Georgian capital Tbilisi, who incidentally was killed there in unclear circumstances, is buried at Behesht-e Zahra cemetery. They had two sons and a daughter. To save them from extreme hardships of 1930s, her mother-in-law took the boys to Iran. It was only 33 years later that the mother and her elder son Ismail met in Tbilisi. As to Ibrahim, the younger son, she met him already in Teheran some 40 years after their separation. The event proved to be too much for her and she died of a heart attack in Teheran. As agreed with their sister in Tbilisi, the brothers buried their Christian mother at a Muslim cemetery. We learned the tragic story from the descendants of Mrs. Ana Khizanishvili.²⁵ Also in 2018, we detected 6 graves of Kiknadze family at the Armenian cemetery of the town of Rasht, Gilan province.

گودرز رشتیانی، شاهزاده ایران گرا: بررسی وضعیت گرجستان و نقش الکساندر میرزا در جنگ‌های ایران و روسیه - فصلنامه تاریخ و روابط خارجی، سال پازدهم، شماره 42 - بهار، صص 49-79

23 <http://tpc.kirche.ir/index.php/gravestone-gallery/sections/right-section/396-sylvie-sophie-skiriladze#prettyPhoto>.

24 Ahmad Chaychi Amirkhiz, "The Journey of the Georgian Lady and her Burial place on the Imamzadeh Abdollah Cemetery of Teheran. In: Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Teheran, 105-114 (in Georgian).

25 Georgian Lady Ana Khizanishvili on the Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery. In: Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Teheran, 115-117 (in Georgian).

The grave of Mr. Shalva Dolidze, a Georgian revolutionary, who died in 1908, may also be in the same town.²⁶

On 10 April 1919, Mr. Sylvester Lomia, a young Georgian specialist of Iranian studies and a student of Nicholas Marr, a Georgia-born historian and linguist, who had arrived in Iran to polish up his Persian died there. In 1924, Ms. Vera Bardavelize, later a prominent ethnographer urged the Rector of Tbilisi State University to support her in the reburial of her husband in Georgia.²⁷

During our visit in Isfahan in 2019, Abolqasem Ahmadi-Miandasht, ethnic Georgian of Iran's Fereydan province helped us obtain the photos of the Georgian graves in the courtyard of the Armenian St Nerses Church. Description of those and the other Georgian graves in Isfahan can be found in one of Prof. Magali Todua's publications.²⁸ It should be said that even after 50 years, the graves are well preserved. By the way, in 2005, Said Mulian, MA of Isfahan University, another ethnic Georgian of Fereydan province showed Prof. N. Nakutsrishvili several tombstones bearing the Georgian legends at the local Armenian cemetery (still operational), which could not have been filmed at the time. The search for the Georgian graves in Isfahan and the other Iranian cities should carry on.

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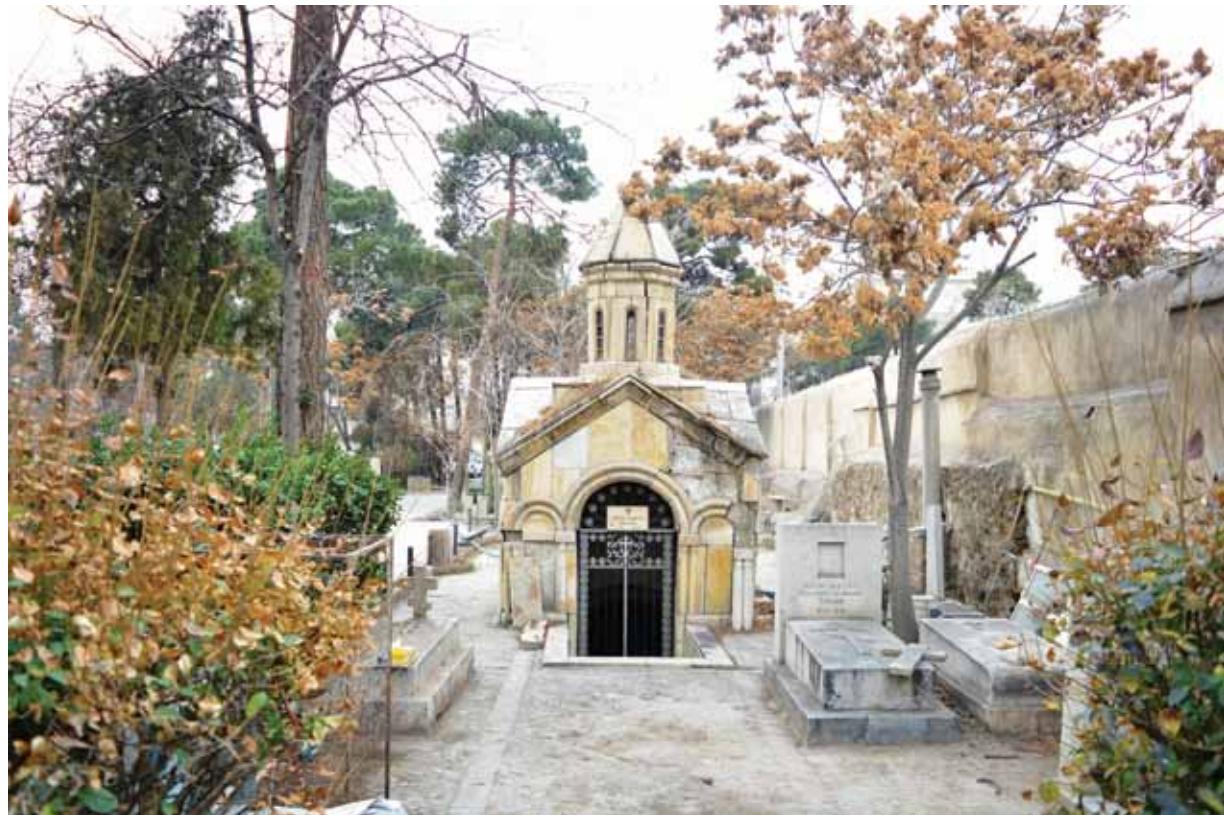
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1. Minadora Khoshtaria's Georgian church shaped sepulcher



2. The grave of Mikhail Korkia and Margarita Korkia



3. The grave of Stefan Compagnoni

JOSEPH ROUSSEAU ON GEORGIA AND THE PLANNED INDIAN EXPEDITION (1807)*

In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France is a 222 page manuscript entitled *Tableau général de la Perse moderne ou mémoire géographique, historique et politique sur la situation actuelle de cet Empire* (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, 59r-169r). It is dated 1807 and signed by J.-B. (i. e., Joseph) Rousseau, the son (J.-B. Rousseau fils). Who was J.-B. Rousseau, the son, and what was his purpose when he wrote this work of quite significant size, with highlighted notes about Georgia?

After the expedition against Egypt (1798-1799), the First Consul together with the Russian Emperor Paul I, planned a land expedition against India via Afghanistan (Rouir, p. 88). It is significant, that in that same period, Emperor Paul adopted a more active Caucasian policy (Markova, p. 245). On January 18, 1801, the Manifesto of Paul I regarding the annexing of Georgia to Russia was published in St. Petersburg, and on February 27, the regiments of the Cossacks of Don set out from Orenburg for the expedition against India, following the instruction of the Emperor (Shilder, pp. 417-420). This plan was aborted, however, when Paul I was murdered on March 11.

After two unsuccessful attempts, Napoleon decided to include Persia in the expedition against India, taking into consideration the territorial proximity of Persia and Afghanistan. With this purpose in mind, in October 1803, he sent the ambassador of France in Constantinople, Marshal Brune, and the commissioners of the commercial relations of France in Baghdad and Aleppo, Jean-François Rousseau, and Allesandro-Louigi de Coranchez, to collect detailed information about Persia and to investigate the attitude of the court of Tehran towards France.

Jean-François Rousseau had been born and raised in Julfa, a suburban township of Isfahan, which makes the information he provides a source of special merit.¹ In a letter of October 22/28, 1804 (an 13), he informs Talleyrand, that he had contacted influential persons in Persia, among them al-Eslām of Isfahan Mirza Morteza, with whom Jean-François Rousseau had long been friends (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fol. 105r), and who had confided in him the eagerness of Fath-'Ali Shah to establish relations with Napoleon. In this same letter Rousseau touches upon the detailed plan that he had made long before on how to drive away the British from India, and points out possible ways to proceed along with potential allies. In his plan, a tripartite alliance between France, Persia and Kandahar would take place, and Fath-'Ali Shah would be the mediator between Kandahar and France. Should the emperor approve this plan and decide to send an ambassador to the king of Persia, Rousseau suggested that he choose a person whose interest in the mission would be complemented by a knowledge of the traditions and customs of Persia. He also, noting his solid knowledge of Persia, Persians and the current events at the royal court in Tehran, indicated his readiness to leave for Tehran, "notwithstanding his age", in order to prepare the necessary grounds for the mission's accomplishment. He further demanded that, should the emperor order him to go, his son, Joseph Rousseau, would accompany him (in many documents kept in AMFAE, J.-F. Rousseau and J.-B. Rousseau are mentioned as Rousseau, the father, and Rousseau, the son). According to him, his son, despite his relatively young age (24 years old), knew all oriental languages (Persian, Turkish and Arab – I.N.) and was prepared for diplomatic service. He emphasized that, despite the considerable amount of money used by the British ambassador in Persia, he could

* First published in: *Journal of Persianate Studies*, Vol. 1, No.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 230-242.

1 The Rousseau family had settled in Persia in the beginning of the 18th century. Jacques Rousseau (1679-1753), father of Jean-François Xavier Rousseau (1738-1808) and uncle of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, had left together for Persia with the embassy sent by King Louis XIV to the Safavid court of Shah Soltān-Hosayn (r. 1694-1722) in 1705. A jeweler and watch-maker by profession, he stayed on in Persia and worked as such for the court under the last Safavids and Nāder Shah Afshār. It was he who was entrusted by Nāder Shah to choose and process for his crown the diamonds that he had brought from India. After the death of his father, Jean-François left for Bandar Abbas, where he ran a profitable trade operation, accumulating substantial wealth. From 1756 until the end of his life he was in a trade and diplomatic service of France in the Near East (*Eloge historique*, pp. 2-3; Rousseau, pp. iv-x; Dehérain, II, pp. 26-27; Naraghi, p. 83).

achieve better success than the British, due to his experience and enthusiasm ('AMFAE, CP/Perse vol. 8, doc. 64, fol. 182r-189v').²

This information exactly corresponded to Napoleon's intentions at the time of the preparation of the Third Coalition against France and the first Russo-Persian War (1804-13). But in spite of the great contribution of Jean-Francois Rousseau in preparing the ground for the Franco-Persian relationship, in March 1805, Napoleon sent the 25-year-old Amédée Jaubert, his private secretary-interpreter, and afterwards an experienced officer, the 41-year-old Adjutant Commandant Alexandre-Antoine Romieu, to investigate the possibilities in Persia for an expedition against India and for negotiations with Fath-'Ali Shah. The main purpose of their missions was gathering detailed information about Persia and its neighboring countries. Romieu, as a military person, had an additional mission to study in detail the military state of Persia (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 8: doc. 2, fol. 45r; doc. 25, fol. 238r). In this connection, Alexandre Romieu's letter, addressed to Talleyrand, about his mission in Persia before his death in Tehran (12/11/1805), and the report of March 6, 1807, received by Napoleon from Amédée Jaubert about the same subject are of great significance (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 9, doc. 27, fol. 54r-60r; Archives Nationales, doc. 16, fols. 1-25). Unlike the report of Jean-Francois Rousseau, Romieu regarded the outlook of the expedition against India negatively, and he presented objective arguments for his case. Romieu considered that it would be necessary to send Rousseau, the son, who purportedly spoke all the oriental languages, to the king of Kandahar to assess his attitude toward the expedition against India (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 9, doc. 27, fols. 54r-60v). Also, in contrast to Amédée Jaubert, he doubted the benefits of an alliance with Persia (Amini, pp. 93-94).

J.-F. Rousseau, in a letter dated May 1, 1806 and addressed to Talleyrand, tried to neutralize the negative impressions of Romieu. He criticized Romieu's opinion that establishing relations with Persia would not be a fruitful or a reliable factor, and attributed Romieu's attitude to his ignorance of the Persian language. In the letter, he emphasized again the necessity of sending a French ambassador to Persia. He also noted that detailed information about Persia was included in the work of his son, who was impatiently waiting for the opportunity to prove his devotion to the emperor, and needed only an order to leave for Persia (AMFAE, CP/Perse, doc. 9, doc. 26, fols. 52r-53v).

It seems that J.-F. Rousseau was very displeased because Napoleon entrusted other persons to conduct the negotiations with Fath-'Ali Shah, the grounds of which had been prepared by him. He considered himself and his son best qualified to conduct an important diplomatic mission in Persia, because he had been born and raised in Persia and had served France in the Orient for four decades. Besides, his family had established a century-old contact with the Persian court,³ and he himself had friends among high officials of the Ottoman Empire and Persian nobles. Therefore, he tried again to involve his son more actively in Napoleon's Oriental policy, to secure for him a way towards a diplomatic career, and to promote him to manage commercial operations of France in the Orient. To show Napoleon that his son was an excellent expert in the affairs concerning the Orient, he presented Joseph Rousseau as the only author of the work *Tableau général de la Perse moderne ou mémoire géographique, historique et politique sur la situation actuelle de cet Empire*, written about Persia at Talleyrand's request; though, in one of his letters to the minister, he informed him that he himself was busy writing the ordered work about Persia (Gotteri, no. 469, pp. 517-18).

JOSEPH ROUSSEAU'S NOTES ABOUT GEORGIA

Tableau général de la Perse moderne is arranged in fourteen chapters and a prologue consisting of Rousseau, the son's French version of Sa'di's words about how to govern a state (*Max. Polit. de Saadi*). The prologue

2 It is not impossible that the plan of the mentioned expedition, in a certain way, was conditioned by J.-F. Rousseau's non-objective attitude. Jean Raymond, an ex-sergeant of the East India Company and an eye-witness writes that the primary concern of Hartford Johnes, the Resident of Great Britain in Baghdad since 1798, was the urgent deportation of Jean-Francois Rousseau from this town (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 8, doc. 165, fol. 399r). After the French invasion of Egypt, J.-F. Rousseau was put in shackles and thrown into the prison of Mardin. He remained in prison for eleven months before his friend, Solaymān, the Pasha of Baghdad (1777-1802), could liberate him (Rousseau, pp. iv-x).

3 J.-F. Rousseau was close to the court of Karim Khan Zand (1760-1779), where he became acquainted with the young Āghā Mohammad Khan, the future founder of the Qajar dynasty (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. I, fols. 139r-139v; *Eloge historique*, pp. 2-3, 9; Rousseau, pp. iv-x).

is followed by an address to Talleyrand, a preface, and a translation of a Persian ode in praise of Napoleon. Chapters cover various aspects of the history, geography, historical administrative units, religion, traditions, education, art, Fath-'Ali Shah and his circle, the state of military affairs, foreign relations, trade, etc. (AMFAE, MD/Peres, vol. 6, doc. 19, fols. 57r-169r). In the preface, Rousseau, the son notes that *Tableau général de la Perse moderne* was written according to Napoleon's desire to have complete information about the situation in modern Persia. Rousseau, the son "durst to give complete guarantee" that the gathered information on geography, administration, customs, habits and commerce of Persia was reliable. He stated that, to compile the necessary information, he studied Persian manuscripts, spoke with competent people and used the knowledge of his father Jean-Francois Rousseau, who had forty years of experience in the Orient (AMFAE, MD/Peres, vol. 6, doc. 19, fols. 59r-61v).

Several chapters contain notes about Georgia and Georgians. In the first chapter, *Idée général de la Perse*, devoted to the description of the historical-administrative parts of Persia, the author writes:

"Under the Safavides there were fifteen big provinces in Persia, and many nomad and militant peoples living at the banks of the River Sind [i.e., Indus River], were its tributaries. But after Kandahar became an independent kingdom [1747], Zabolistan got under Afghanian yoke, Georgia went under the rule of Russians, this large and prosperous kingdom [i.e., Persia] found itself in a tight corner and now actually contains only twelve provinces". (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fol. 70r).

Joseph Rousseau left the following note about Georgia in the context of activation of Caspian policy of the Russians:

"The Russians, who proudly rule over different ports of the Caspian Sea, were always eager to conquer these provinces of Persia, so that they would be able to extend their conquests further and further and open the way towards India, where Russia, like the British, wants to establish itself. Their progress towards Persia began during the reign of Catherine,⁴ but Āghā Mohammad Khan, with his courageous warriors, could stand up against their ambitions. Although the Russians hold away over many ports, Darband, Baku etc., after the death of their sovereign, Catherine [November 1796] they were forced to withdraw their troops and give up other plans too. It has been already three years since the Russians renewed their military operations [1803] and the rulers of Georgia, which was given to them by unanimous will of the people of this province, without difficulties occupied again their old ports on the Caspian Sea,⁵ and today they are looking for an exit towards Māzandarān and Gilān". (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fol. 80r-80v)

In the third chapter, "Conclusion," Joseph Rousseau touches upon the activities and characters of the representatives of different peoples living in Persia, including Georgians:

"Georgians, although taken away from their native country, do not change. They lose neither their habits, nor their customs. They are as dissolutes, swindlers and drunkards in Persia as they are in Tiflis and Akhaltsikhe. Persians appreciate their courage and devotion. Since they do not suffer remorse while changing their religion for the sake of promotion in military ranks, they easily advance and mostly join the guards of the princes, which is the highest rank in the militia of the kingdom. In spite of this, after the Russians became the rulers of their country, almost everybody left Persia to enjoy a new life among their families". (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fols. 98v-99r).

In the fifth chapter, "Portrait des Persans," Joseph Rousseau touches upon a very important function of Georgian and Cherkesian women in the harems of Persian nobles:

"The best blood in Persia is the result of their mixture with Georgians and Circassians, who were in the harems of the nobles, and that should have greatly contributed to giving them (Persians) good color of skin and slender frame. The women mainly have calm and attractive appearance, slim waist, black, expressive eyes, tender and healthy skin. They like pastime and pleasure; they are merry and

⁴ In 1796, Russian troops, under the command of Valerian Zubov, occupied Darband and the central towns of North Azerbaijan.

⁵ In the summer of 1805 the khans of Sheka, Shirvan and Karabagh took the side of Russia and the following year Russian troops occupied almost all Transcaucasus, with the exception of Yerevan and Nakhtchevan Khanates (Dubrovin, p. 418).

busy, sensitive to love and submissive only by force". (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fol. 106r).⁶

In the fourteenth chapter, "Notice sur le Kandahar, le Zabulistan et la Géorgie," information about Georgia is given separately as the third subtitle (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fols. 167r-168r). There, he provides information about the frontiers of Georgia, describing the population and touching upon Āghā Mohammad Khan's invasion of Georgia and the reasons for the integration of Georgia into Russia. Following is the complete translation of the subchapter "De la Géorgie" (About Georgia):

ABOUT GEORGIA

"Georgia, in ancient times known as Iberia, is a beautiful country, surrounded in the north by Caucasus, in the south by Yerevan, in the east by Shirvan and the Caspian Sea, and in the west by the Black Sea. Its climate is healthy and the territory is fertile with crops, fruits and vegetables. As to its people, communication with them is less pleasant; they are proud, vindictive and perfidious, and, what is more, they drink hard and idle. I will not say anything about the beauty of Georgian women, so praised by the travelers; I will only be content with noting that they exaggerate their charm very much and they are neither more reserved nor more modest than the men."⁷

Georgians successively obeyed to Turks and were tributaries of Persians. Before the Russian invasion they [Georgians] did not recognize any master except the latter [Persians]. The western part of their country, which covers Mengrelia, Imereti and Guria has been under the rule of the Ottomans since the death of Nāder Shah. Their history is not well known. We know only that during a period of more than two centuries they were governed by viceroys of Georgian nationality, who were all vassals of the monarchs of Persia. Some of them had even converted to Islam to get easily the investiture of governing of a province.⁸ At the end of the reign of the eighty-year-old King Erekle (Héraclius),⁹ the predecessor of their last king, the eunuch Āghā Mohammad Khan, furious at Erekle's rejection of his suzerainty, invaded Georgia, put Georgians to fire and sword and took as slaves more than 100,000 unfortunate families, dispersing them in Persia.¹⁰

After Erekle's death in 1798 and the ascension of his elder son to the throne as Giorgi XII,¹¹ Georgians decided to improve their fate by changing their overlord. They invited Russians to take possession of

6 Amédée Jaubert, on the basis of information acquired in Persia in the summer of 1806, wrote the following about this issue: "In Persia there are the privileged creatures of foreign origin, who enjoy great influence in business. They are the young girls brought from Georgia, Cherkesia and Mingrelia. Being more beautiful than the Persian women, they rouse strong love, and that is why they are more desirable for those who hope to have children like them by having relations with them" (Jaubert, p. 320). Of interest in this connection is the note of 'Azod al-Dowla Soltān-Ahmad Mirzā, the forty-ninth son of Fath-'Ali Shah. According to him, his father had fifteen Georgian women in his harem who bore him twenty-nine children. Most notable among them were Zibāchehr Khānom, the Georgian mother of Mohammad-'Ali Mirzā Dowlatshāh, the first son of Fath-'Ali Shah; Tāvus Khānom Tāj al-Dowla, a Georgian woman born in Isfahan, the mother of 'Azod al-Dowla Soltān-Ahmad Mirzā himself, who was the favorite wife of Fath-'Ali Shah, and bore him nine children (Soltān Ahmad Mirzā, pp. 19-27, 80, 334-351).

7 This remark apparently identifies the mode of life of Georgian women living in Georgia with that of the Moslem women, whose mode of life was strictly regulated.

8 Rousseau-son does not specify who these converted Muslim viceroys were. He seems to have been generally aware that the Georgian kings were forced to adopt Islam for political reasons. It is noteworthy that by two firmans of 1803, Fath-'Ali Shah granted the title of Amir to the Georgian royal princes Alexandre (1770-1844), son of the king Erekle II, and Teimuraz (1782-1846), son of George XII, as the independent viceroys (*vāli*) of Georgia, and he called Georgia "an integral part of the dominions of Persia" (Acts, II, pp. 802-04).

9 Erekle II (r. 1720-98), the king of Kartli (1744-62), and then of Kartli and Kakheti (1762-98), is called Héraclius in French sources.

10 In his note about Āghā Mohammad Khan, Rousseau, the son seems to have partially relied on the information of his father. In the letter, dated 1797, Rousseau, the father wrote: "The eunuch's army committed all those horrors that can be caused by a war, unlimited cruelty and barbarity of warriors. More than 40,000 people were enslaved, amongst whom almost three fourths were Georgians, and the remaining fourth Armenians and Sunnite Muslims. It seems that this number is not exaggerated, as it is asserted in Baghdad that the number of the captives was 70,000" (Dehérain: 1938, p. 36). The number of the captives given in contemporary authors of different nationalities varies from 15 000 to 50 000 (Jaubert, p. 276; Champollion-Figeac, p. 4; Shashenidze, pp. 168, 435; Tchubabria, pp. 11, 24, 46, 72, 80; Katsiadze, p. 441).

11 Giorgi XII (r. 1798-100), king of Kartli and Kakheti.

their country so that they protect them from a new disaster [presumably a new invasion from Iran] they were threatened with.¹² The Russians, who could not wish anything better, immediately sent their troops and in less than a year took away from the Persians this beautiful land, which since then is under their rule.¹³

The religion of Georgians is a mixture of the Greek and Armenian. They are not superstitious, but they often change their religion because of profit. They are not fond of much work and prefer military activities. As for their trade, it is quite important and consists of silk, fur, wine and many kinds of European and Persian goods

I finish this article noting that Georgians are disappointed from their idea about the moderateness of Russian rule. They are already complaining because of the severity of the Russians and are awaiting impatiently the opportunity to take off their heavy yoke, similar to that of the Persians, but that they themselves put on." (MD/Perse, vol. 6, doc. 19, fol. 167r-168r).

This work is dated 1807, but some of the notes in it show that the author finished it at the end of March 1806. In a letter presented to Napoleon in August 1806, Talleyrand noted that he had received a sizeable work from Joseph Rousseau about the actual situation of Persia (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 9, doc. 41, fol. 83r-83v). Joseph Rousseau pointed to this also at the end of his report *Plan du passage de l'Armée française par la Turquie et la Perse dans l'Inde* (7.01.1808), presented to General Gardane in Tehran: "The article about the government, trade and other issues of Persia is the theme of my detailed essay that I presented to the government of his majesty a long time ago" (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 7, doc. 38, fols. 84r-91r). That is why we can suppose that the date 1807, marked on the *Tableau général de la Perse*, indicates the time of its entrance to the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of France. This work has never been published, escaping the attention of researchers for two centuries. Joseph Rousseau's book – *Notice historique sur la Perse ancienne et moderne et sur ses peuples en général*, Marseille, 1818, by its structure differs from *Tableau général de la Perse moderne*.

In the biographical information about the father and son Rousseau, we do not see any indication that they ever visited Georgia. We may suppose that the younger Rousseau had got from his father the historical information about Georgia, while the information about the contemporary situation in Georgia was acquired from the merchants in Baghdad. It should also be noted that the Rousseaus and Outreys, their relatives, settled in Baghdad and had very close relations with the Armenian merchants staying there (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 8, doc. 165, fol. 399r).

On April 12, 1807 Napoleon assigned Brigadier-general Claude Mathieu Gardane plenipotentiary minister at the court of Persia (1766-1818), his brother, Paul-Ange-Louis Gardane, the first secretary of the mission, and Rousseau, the son, the second secretary (AMFAE, CP/Peres, vol. 9, doc. 85, fol. 184r-184v). The Gardane brothers were the grandsons of that Ange Gardane, consul of France, who arrived in Isfahan in 1718 and stayed there with his brother until 1730 (Touzard, II, pp. 297-316). The father and son Rousseaus were disappointed again.¹⁴

12 It seems that Joseph Rousseau had not been mindful of a main reason for Georgia's desire to join Russia, namely the identity of the religion. In Avaloff's view "Georgians had only a very vague idea about Russia . What would they gain from the help of Russia, how and what was Russia's state apparatus, and how it was run... They looked at it with their superstitious eyes of orthodox people. These conservative people (nobility, clergy and peasantry) could not imagine what kind of fundamental and all-round break off will Georgia undergo" (Avaloff, p. 251).

13 On January 18, 1801 the manifesto of Emperor Paul I about Georgia joining Russia was published in St. Petersburg, and on September 12, 1801, his son and successor, Alexander I, announced the annexing of the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti to the Russian Empire.

14 Though Jean-Baptist-Louis-Jacques (Joseph) Rousseau (1780-1831) did not get from Napoleon the post of ambassador of France in Persia, which was sought for him by his father, the subsequent diplomatic career and scientific activities of Rousseau, the son were quite successful. He served as the consul of France in Basrah (1805-08) and Aleppo (1808-14) and then as the general consul in Baghdad (1814-24). From December 15, 1824 he was assigned general consul and *charge d'affaires* of France in Tripoli. For his scholarly activities in the field of Oriental studies, he was elected the correspondent of the Academy of Letters and Literature of France, and, for years of diplomatic services for France in the Orient, the government of France conferred upon him the title of baron. Joseph Rousseau died in Tripoli at the age of 51 in 1831 (Rousseau, pp. x-xv).

CONCLUSION

The issue of Georgia became very important for France in the spring of 1807. In April 1807 in Warsaw, the government of France elaborated a Draft of Alliance between France and Persia. This document was composed of 16 Articles, of which articles 3 and 4 directly concerned Georgia.¹⁵ On May 4, 1807, as a result of negotiations and the matching of wills of the party of France and of the ambassador of Fath-'Ali Shah, the Treaty of Alliance between France and Persia was concluded in Finkenstein (Eastern Prussia). This document, known as the Treaty of Finkenstein, composed also of 16 Articles, was mainly directed against Russia and England and stipulated that the shah of Persia, himself, would use all his influence to help the French fight against the English in India. Articles 3 and 4 of the treaty also concerned Georgia directly, but they are different from the relevant articles of the Draft.¹⁶

In the view of the present author, during the elaboration of the Articles 3 and 4, which directly concerned Georgia, Joseph Rousseau's notes were taken into consideration along with the information provided by other French diplomats, namely G.-A. Olivier, sent to Āghā Mohammad Khan in 1796, Rousseau, the father, and Pascal Fourcade, the French consul in Synop. (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 8, docs. 156-158).

Though Napoleon's expedition in India did not take place, the creation of *Tableau général de la Perse moderne ou mémoire géographique, historique et politique sur la situation actuelle de cet Empire* was engendered by the idea of its possibility that Rousseau-father wished to materialize. The separation of the theme of Georgia as a subtitle, together with the theme of the kingdom of Qandahar, which had strategic importance in the itinerary of the campaign against India, underlines once more the geopolitical importance of Eastern Georgia, which was then already part of Russia.

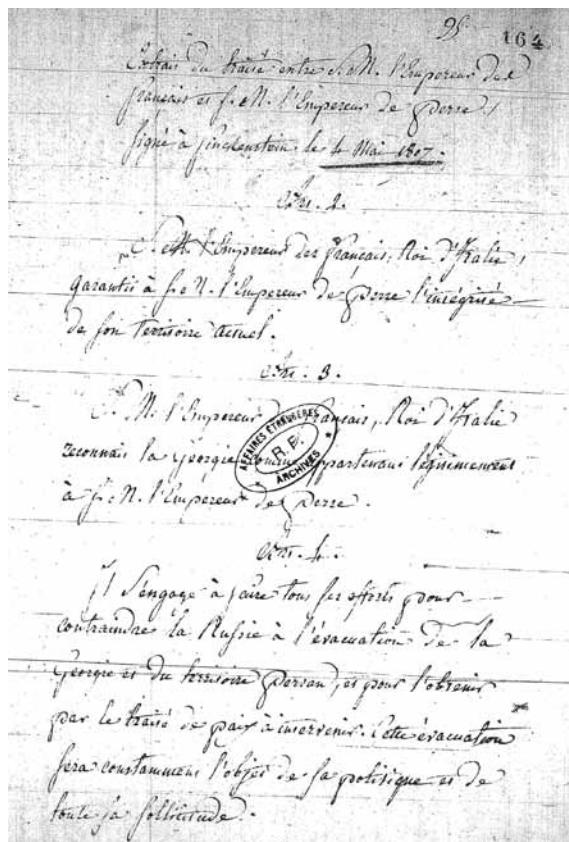
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¹⁵ It should be noted that, for the Persians, Georgia was the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti, that is, East Georgia, which, from 1801 had been a part of Russia. "Article 3: In case that the Persian army recovers Georgia from Russia and takes possession of Tiflis, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, undertakes to help to have stipulated in the treaty a guarantee of the full and entire sovereignty over this province for His Majesty the Emperor of Persia. Article 4. In this same case his majesty the emperor of Persia will agree to send to his majesty the emperor of France annually the necessary quantity of Georgian *mamluks* for the purpose of having his full complement of *mamluks* attached to his guards" (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 9, doc. 94, fol. 161r). Article 4 of the Draft Treaty is noteworthy in terms of Napoleon's interest in having Georgian soldiers, called *mamluks*, in his personal guards. It seems that Napoleon, at the time of his stay in Egypt, became impressed by the martial merits of *mamluks*, who had been bought in from the Caucasus and Georgia and whom he calls "slaves" in his famous *Manifesto* (*Vie de Napoléon*, p. 62).

¹⁶ "Article 3: His Majesty, the Emperor of France, the King of Italy, recognized Georgia as belonging legitimately to His Majesty, the Emperor of Persia. Article 4: His Majesty, the Emperor of France, the King of Italy, undertakes to direct every effort toward compelling Russia to withdraw from Georgia and Persian territory. This withdrawal will be the constant goal of his policies" (AMFAE, CP/Perse, vol. 9, doc. 95, fol. 164r; Hurewitz, I, pp. 184-85). By giving first priority to the issue of Georgia in this Treaty of Finkenstein, Napoleon outlined the prospect of resolving the most important issue for Persia, the liberation of Georgia for Persia, and built his relations with the Persian Empire upon this promise. Three decades later, in 1839, Lefebvre de Becours, the French historian, commented on this step of the emperor of France saying: "The most precious, almost the only useful articles, were about Georgia, the remainder was just the extra load" (AMFAE, MD/Perse, vol. 8, doc. 25, fols, 241v-242r). The issue of the restitution of Georgia to Persia was still actual during the negotiations carried out by Fath-Ali Shah's ambassador Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Khan in 1809-1810 in London (Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Khan, pp. 60, 64, 69, 119, 164).

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The Treaty of Finkenstein between H. M., the Emperor of the French, King of Italy and H. M., the Emperor of Persia.

- Archives du Ministère français des Affaires étrangères, *Correspondances Politiques*,

Perse, IX, doc. 95, fol. 164r, 4 Mai 1807.



3. de la Géorgie.

La Géorgie, connue autrefois sous le nom d'Iberie,
 est un beau pays, qui est borné au Nord par le Caucase,
 au midi par l'Elbrouz, à l'Orient par le Chirvan et
 la mer Caspienne, et à l'Occident par le Taur-Euxin.
 Son climat est salubre et son territoire fertile en
 graine, en fruits et en légumes. Pour ce qui est de
 ses habitants toutes les relations en font une peinture
 peu favorable : ils sont fiers, vindicatifs, perfides et
 adoucis à l'irréverence et au libertinage. Je ne dis
 rien de la beauté des femmes géorgiennes, sans doute
 par les voyageurs il ne suffit d'observer qu'on a
 trop

The beginning of the section entitled "de la Géorgie" of Joseph Rousseau's *Tableau général de la Perse moderne*.

- Archives du Ministère français des Affaires étrangères, *Correspondances Politiques, Mémoires et Documents*,

Perse, VI, doc. 19, fol. 167r.

GIUSEPPE FRESCURATI VERONESE *

Among the numerous documents discovered at the end of the last century in Italian and French archives by the well-known Georgian scholar M. Tamarašvili I should like to draw the Italian reader's attention to a letter written in Italian, the author and the addressee of which are both Georgians, or more precisely, two outstanding Georgian statesmen.

The letter in question, dated 20 February 1714, was written from Isfahan by Vakhtang VI (1675-1737) to his uncle Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (1658-1725) who had arrived in France and was about to leave Marseille for Paris to meet the French king, to report to him the plight of Vakhtang VI, forcibly detained at the Safawid court, and request political and economic aid to Christian Georgia. What had caused the curious occurrence of the Georgian king sending the Georgian writer and lexicographer a letter in Italian – a language which he did not know, and the addressee, too, would probably find difficult to read?

An answer to this question is provided in a passage of the letter which reads: "Non ardisco scrivere niente di proprio pugno, per la paura che tengo del mio fratello Giessé Generale dell'artelieria, il quale sempre come demonio inimico e ribelle mi circonda per divorarmi, siche il tutto lo potrà sapere quando il suo antico amico Giuseppe venirà in Francia, che spero partirà doppo questa Quadragesima abenche ciò mi rende difficile di lasciarlo partire, mentre e il solo che giornalmente viene consolarmi ma non posso fare altrimenti e fine d'evitare di scrivere in propri carateri... Del mio dilletissimo Sig. Zio Humilissimo suo Nipote. In loco principii Suo humilissimo devotissimo obligatissimo servitore incontaminabile, Giuseppe Freseurati (sic) Veronese." Vakhtang VI arrived at Isfahan in 1712 in order to obtain the Shah's endorsement of his ascent of the Kartlian throne in place of his elder brother Kaikhosro that had perished in a campaign against the rebellious Afghans. But an indispensable condition for the ascent of the throne of Kartli – the country being under the aegis of Safawid Iran – was the renunciation of the Christian faith and adoption of Islam, which Vakhtang VI categorically refused to do. At the same time, his younger brother Iese, mentioned in the letter and who had embraced Islam, had claims to the throne of Kartli.

At the Safawid court every step of Vakhtang VI was closely watched; hence his attempts to keep the Safawid authorities in the dark about his correspondence with the French embassy at Constantinople. The obtaining situation caused the compilation of Vakhtang's letter to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani in Italian.

It may be conjectured that the Giuseppe, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's "old friend", mentioned in the letter, and the Giuseppe who translated the same letter into Italian are one and the same person.

The identity of the Italian Giuseppe is specified by the French historian Louis-André de la Mamie de Clairac. In the catalogue of sources in his three-volume work, apart from many other MSS and books, we find the following indication: "Lettere di Giuseppe Frescurati, Verenoze (sic), Chirurgo Maggiore del Principe di Georgia Kai Cosurof Kan, Generalissimo, etc. scritte da Farrà, nelli confini del Corassan, li 29 Novembre 1710, et primo Jenaro 1711". Mamie de Clairac notes that in the Kandahar campaign Kaikhosro was accompanied by three Catholic missionaries of whom one perished together with the Georgian King. However, the French historian does not give the names of the missionaries. It may be conjectured that the Giuseppe Frescurati, mentioned in the catalogue of sources as Kaikhosro's chief surgeon, was one of them. As is known, Catholic missionaries splendidly combined their principal work with medical practice. We can be certain, however, in that Giuseppe Frescurati was not a Catholic missionary, for other sources provide the names of the three missionaries that accompanied Kaikhosro. These were: the Italian capuchins Father Reginaldo and Father Ambrosio, and the French Carmelite Father Basil who died together with Kaikhosro. It is conceivable that at the beginning Giuseppe Frescurati served as a physician at the Safawid court, and later accompanied Kaikhosro who had been appointed as commander of the Iranian army for a campaign in Kandahar.

* First published in: *Georgica* I, a cura di Luigi Magarotto e Gianroberto Scarcia, Roma: ArtiGrafiche Scalia Editrice, 1985 (Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasiologia dell'Università degli Studi di Venezia, vol 22), pp. 126-131.

The question naturally arises as to where could Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani have met the Italian surgeon. As noted above, according to Mamie de Clairac, Giuseppe Frescurati's letters from Farah are dated 29 November 1710 and 1 January, 1711. In his autobiography, Sulkhan-Saba reports that he left Kartli for Khorasan on 1 December, 1710, as "King Kaikhosro had summoned him." He returned from Khorasan on 20 February, 1711. Although Sulkhan-Saba does not indicate the object of his brief visit to Kaikhosro, the chief point of interest here is the coincidence of the dates, which allows us to state with certainty that Sulkhan-Saba's acquaintance with Giuseppe Frescurati started in Kaikhosro's armed camp. Later they must have met each other again, for Sulkhan-Saba accompanied Vakhtang VI who arrived at Isfahan in 1712. Frescurati must have already returned to Isfahan from the abortive campaign in Kandahar.

We learn that, apart from personal impressions, Frescurati's letters sent from Farah to Constantinople contain stories of earlier events told by Georgian participants of the Kandahar campaign.

Mamie de Clairac quotes Frescurati's evidence (together with that of other authors) in narrating the revolt of the Kartlian king Giorgi XI against the Safavid rule, his reconciliation by Shah-Sultan Husain, and his appointment as the beglarbeg of Kandahar in order for him to quell the Afghan revolt, etc. Particularly important is the evidence referring to the events of 1709-1710.

The following is Mamie de Clairac's account of the tragic death of Giorgi XI: He left Kandahar at eight o'clock in the morning and visited the Afghans encamped outside the town.

The hosts received the governor of Kandahar with due respect, and a sumptuous table was laid. The abundance of choice wine and the midday heat drowsed the honorary guest and he fell asleep in the tent where the feast was held. The Afghans took the nobles and servants of his retinue to their own tents. As soon as the careless guests fell asleep the Afghan leader Mir Vais gave the conspirators the signal and the Afghans massacred all the guests. Mamie de Clairac quotes also the story told by Giuseppe Frescurati: Giorgi XI sent the larger part of the Georgian troops to the mountains to reduce the rebels, himself waiting for their return in a garden lying at three day's walk from Kandahar. But several thousands of fresh rebels, led by Mir Vais, made a surprise attack on him and the beglarbeg of Kandahar perished in the unequal clash. Mamie de Clairac observes that the Italian surgeon's evidence is doubtless of considerable weight, for it was written from Kaikhosro's army that was in the following year encamped at the borders of Kandahar. However, he adds that the murder of Giorgi XI is described in a different way in the relation of Joseph the Georgian and Mustafa Effendi. In Mamie de Clairac's view Frescurati was interested in altering the truth in order to whitewash the carelessness shown by the uncle (Giorgi XI) of his own master (Kaikhosro) in trusting the Afghans whose loyalty he ought to have doubted. Therefore he follows the more authoritative sources, leaving it to the reader to decide according to his own liking. The French historian's observation is highly noteworthy, for the Georgian sources (Sekhnia Chkheidze, Vakhushti Batonišvili) tend to favour Frescurati's evidence. As correctly observed by Lang, a significant similarity is notable in the differing narration of the Georgian historians just mentioned: they do not refer to the feast arranged by Mir Vais and the massacre of the sleeping Georgians. Giorgi XI dies on the battlefield.

Lockhart writes about the difficulty of reconstructing the exact picture of the circumstances in which Giorgi XI perished, for the sources contain contradictory evidence, and even the two principal Georgian sources disagree with each other.

Hence we are impelled to repeat the words of the old chroniclers: "And God know the best."

Frescurati's reporting of the retreat of the Georgian force sent to the mountains against the rebels must be based on the account given by the Georgians. Mamie de Clairac calls it "Belle retraite": Mir Vais led five to six thousand horsemen to intercept the Georgians. But he soon realized that he was dealing with troops that were much better trained and seasoned than were his own men. The Georgians abandoned their booty and cut their way through with their swords, defeating the enemy at each encounter. After almost continuous fighting that lasted for eight days the Georgians were out of the Kandahar province. During a single day the Afghans attacked them five times and, despite their numerical superiority, were invariably repulsed crushingly, to that in different encounters they lost over two thousand men, while, only fourteen of the Georgians were killed.

According to Frescurati, Mamie de Clairac's figures for the army led by Kaikhosro to reduce Kandahar were 30,000 Persians and 1,200 Georgians. In November 1710, the Georgian king, encamped in the vicinity

of Farah was carefully gathering information on the strength of the rebels and the nature of the country. He sacrificed the desire of revenge to the well-being of all by agreeing to the short-lived truce and entering into negotiations with the rebels.

According to Frescurati, Kaokhosro outwardly bore himself as a Muhammedan but remained a Christian at depth.

Frescurati appears to have returned to Isfahan safely from the Kandahar expedition and, three years later, we find him comforting and encouraging Kaikhosro's younger brother Vakhtang VI who was under house arrest. Vakhtang's letter to Sulkhan-Saba states that Frescurati was to leave for Europe after Lent. In 1714 the Easter fell on March 28, but on the 10 March Vakhtang was exiled to Kirman.

The subsequent fate of the Italian surgeon is unknown to us, i.e. whether he returned to Europe or remained in Iran.

Lockhart notes that: "A copy of a letter from Frescurati to the Georgian prince, Sulkhan Saba, dated 20 September 1714, is preserved in the French archives (AEP, vol. IV, fols. 92b-93b). Unfortunately, Lockhart says nothing about the content of the letter. In all probability, Frescurati informed Sulkhan-Saba about the exile of Vakhtang VI to Kirman.

Thus, the available information on Frescurati is rather scanty, yet he appears to be a colourful figure in the annals of Georgian history as well: chief surgeon of King Kaikhosro, "old friend" of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, and comforter and confidant of Vakhtang VI. Such were the close relations the Italian surgeon had established with the progressive statesmen of 18th century Georgia. Hence our interest in his personality is but natural.

It is possible that new materials will be found in Italian archives that will shed light on the life and activities of Giuseppe Frescurati Veronese.

References:

- 1 On Sulkhan-Saba's embassy See M. Brosset, *Documents originaux sur les Relations diplomatiques de la Géorgie avec la France vers la fin du Règne de Louis XIV*, "Nouveau Journal Asiatique", 1832, t. IX; M. Tamarati, *L'Église géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nous jours*, Rome 1910, pp. 591-605; D. M. Lang, *Georgian Relations with France during the Reign of Wakhtang VI*, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society", October, 1950.
- 2 The 17 -18 cent. Kings of Kartli and Kakheti are referred to in European sources of the period as "princes", while in Georgian sources, as "kings". In this connection the outstanding Italian traveler Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) notes "i Giorgiani I loro principi gli chiamano re, e credo che con ragione possano chiamargli." See: *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino, Descritti da lui medesimo in lettere famigliari all'erudito suo amico Mario Schipano, divisi in tre parti, cioe: la Turchia, la Persia, e l'India, cor la vita dell'autore*, Brighton 1843, vol. II, p.148.
- 3 Apparently, as the result of his relation with Italian missionaries established in Georgia Sulkhan-Saba had learned a little Italian. At any rate, he is known to have compiled a concise Georgian-Italian dictionary.
- 4 Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, "Perse", t.3,f.98, quoted according to M. Tamarashvili; see M. Tamarashvili, *Istorija katolikobisa Kartvelta soris*, Tiflis 1902, p.726.
- 5 In a letter sent by the Capuchin missionary Pierre d'Issoudun to the French ambassador at Constantinople, dated 28 August 1712, Vakhtang VI is quoted as saying to him: "qu'on le taillerait plutôt on pièces que de lui faire quitter sa Religion". Archives...,t. 3,f. 19; quoted from D. Lang; see D.M. Lang, *op.cit.*, p.117.
- 6 Louis-André de la Mamie de Clairac, *Histoire de Perse depuis le Commencement de ce Siècle*, Paris 1750, t. I, p. LIII. Obviously, we have a misprint in the spelling of the Italian surgeon's name both in the work of Mamie de Clairac and in that of M. Tamarašvili, the correct spelling should be: Giuseppe Frescurati's Veronese. The French historian acquainted himself with Giuseppe Frescurati's letters at the French embassy in Constantinople, where he gathered materials from his book in 1724-1726. On Mamie de Clairac see L. Lockhard, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghans Occupation of*

Persia, Cambridge 1958, pp.525-530.

- 7 Mamie de Clairac, t.I, p, 93; the French historian cites the following sources; *Relazione della Rivoluzione di Persia*, composta dal Signor Giuseppe Giorgiano, *Interprète del Console di Francia a Ispahan Histoire de la dernière révolution de Perse*, Paris 1728.
- 8 The Krusinski, *Tragica vertentis Belli Persici Historia*, Leopoli 1740, pp.273-274; *Mémoire sur la dernière guerre Civile de Perse*, Archives..., t. 6, ff.268-269; quoted according to I. Tabagua, *Masalebi XVIII saukunis pirveli meotkhedis Sakartvelos istoriisatvis*, Tbilisi 1982, pp.261-262. Neither does Lockhart consider Giuseppe Frescurati to have been a Catholic missionary. He notes that when Kaikhosro and his army marched from Isfahan in November 1709, there were three missionaries (listing their names) in his retinue and Italian surgeon Giuseppe Frescurati. L. Lockhart, op. cit, p.88.
- 9 Sulkhan-saba Orbeliani, *Tkhzulebani*, vol. IV, 2, Tbilisi 1966, p.643.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 On the activities of Giorgi XI and Kaikhisro on the military and political scene of Safawid Iran, see L. Lockhart, *op. cit*, pp. 84-90; D. M. Lang, *The Last years of the Georgian Monarchy*, New York 1957,pp.98-102.
- 12 Mamie de Clairac, t. 1, pp.67-68. Reference is made to Joseph the Georgian's relation in Italian and a work by Mustafa Effendi, one of the secretaries of the Ottoman reis-effendi, translated from Turkish: *Relation de la dernière revolution de Perse*. According to Lockhart, the Mustafa Effendi just mentioned was a Bavarian renegade. L. Lockhart, op. cit, p.526.
- 13 Mamie de Clairac, t.1, pp. 70-71.
- 14 *Ibid.* pp.71-72.
- 15 M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, t. 11, p.1, St-Petersburg 1856, pp.102-103, t.11, 2, 1857, pp.29-30.
- 16 D.M. Lang, *Georgia and the fall of the Safavi Dynasty*, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies", vol.XIV part 3, 1952, p. 532.
- 17 L. Lockhart, *op.cit.*, p.87.
- 18 Mamie de Clairac, t.1, pp.77-78.
- 19 *Ibid.* pp.86-88.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 93. Frescurati's evidence agrees with the information found in other sources. Thus, the above cited Carmelite Father Basil, in a letter dated 29 January, 1710, quotes Kaikhosro as having said to him: "the Shah knows that I embraced Islam outwardly, but as he needs me, he closes his eyes to it", see: *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVII and XVIII Centuries*, London 1939, vol.1, p.569. Still earlier, namely in 1708, kaikhosro had written a letter to the Pope, stating that he had secretly adopted the Catholic religion. Most interesting in this letter is Kaikhosro's inquiryto the Pope: "e di notificargli se venendo egli a Roma può sperare asilo, e ricovero appresso Sua santità". *Lettere della S. Congregazione*, vol. 97, p. 212 (quoted according to M.Tamarašvili, *op. cit.*, p. 718)
- 21 M. Tamarašvili, *op.cit.*, p. 726.
- 22 M.Brosset, t. 11, 2, p. 32.
- 23 L. Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

K'AK'I, GEORGIAN URBAN CENTER: THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY*

Introduction / Goal

The medieval Georgian Kingdom disintegrated in the wake of the eight invasions of Tamerlane in 1386-1403, as well as the consequent invasions by the Qarā Quyūnlū and Āq Quyūnlū turkmans; Giorgi VIII (1446-1466), the last king of the united realm, fought unsuccessfully against the internal feudal opposition, but managed to retain power only in the easternmost province of K'akheti, becoming (as Giorgi I) the first monarch (1466-1476) of the newly established Kingdom of K'akheti.¹ By 1490 the state was ultimately divided into the Principality of Samtskhe, Kingdoms of Imereti, Kartli and K'akheti.

Loss of unity naturally resulted in the debilitation of the national defence capacity; the country had to yield to foreign aggressors: Imereti acknowledged the Ottoman suzerainty, whereas Kartli and K'akheti yielded to the Ṣafavids, while Samtskhe had been a disputable territory for quite a while, until eventually directly incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.

Political fragmentation was followed by at least partial disintegration of the national economic market, differentiated evolution and relative isolation of the economic processes in the newly established Georgian principalities. From numismatic point of view one has to note the conception of several new money minting centers: in addition to the traditional mint of Tiflis (capital city of Kartli), new mints started functioning in K'akheti, Samtskhe, later on also in the Odishi principality (which seceded from the Kingdom of Imereti).

The Kingdom of K'akheti had to accept the Ṣafavid suzerainty already in the 16th century.² Political dependence was reflected by the monetary affairs. Albeit the principal K'akheti mint was seemingly controlled by the local Georgian King,³ the right of *sikka* was usurped by the Ṣafavid shāh: all the coinage from precious metals had to be minted and was minted indeed in his name.

The only urban and mint producing center of K'akheti we knew before was Zagami (also known as *Bazari* [i.e. *Bazaar*] or *Tsaghma-Bazari* [i.e. *Bazaar-on-the-other-side*]⁴ in Georgian and Russian sources), designated on coins (and by foreign authors employing the Arabic graphemes) as “Zakam” or “Zakām”⁵ (زَكَام or كَام), one of the two capital cities⁶ (Gremi was another). It started minting money at least since 1552/3 (AH 960), albeit in the name of the Ṣafavid sovereign.⁷ This Georgian mint and the coinage minted there were first studied by Tinatin Kutelia and Levan Ch'ilashvili, prominent Georgian scholars.⁸ The recent years have

* Original version: *Pro Georgia. Journal of Kartvelological Studies*, №26, University of Warsaw, 2016, pp. 117-140.

1 The medieval kingdom of K'akheti and Hereti was incorporated into the west-Georgian kingdom, uniting various provinces of the country, by Davit IV the Builder, in 1104.

2 გელაშვილი ნანა, ორან-საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან (XVI ს). [From the History of Relations between Iran and Georgia (16th C.)] თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1995.

3 Пагава Иракли, Туркия Северине, “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”. [“New Data on Minting Ṣafavid Coinage in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia)’] *Расмیر: Восточная нумизматика*, 1-я международная конференция, 29-31 июля 2011 г., ред. И. Пагава, В. Безпалько (Одесса: ТДМ, 2013), 111-112.

4 *Chaghma-Bazari*, [i.e. *Downside-Bazaar*], in Temo Jojuა's opinion.

5 Кутелин Тинатин, *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)* [Georgia and Ṣafavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)] (Тбилиси: Мецниереба, 1979), 14-25; ფალავა ორაკლი, „სეფიანებთან საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან – კახეთის ქალაქი ბაზარი (ზაგემი) XVII-XVIII საუკუნეებში (ნუმიზმატიკური და წერილობითი მონაცემებით)“ [From the History of Georgia's Relations with the Ṣafavids – The K'akhetian City of Bazari (Zagami) in the 17th-18th Centuries (According to Numismatic and Written Data)], ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო VII (2012): 191-199.

6 ჭილაშვილი ლევანი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of K'akheti] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980), 157-163, 171-175.

7 Paghava Irakli, Bennett Kirk, “The Earliest Date for the Kingdom of K'akheti Silver Issues of the 16th Century”, *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 225 (Autumn 2015), 25-26.

Perhaps the degraded silver, billon or copper coins of the kings of K'akheti had been minted there before as well?

8 Кутелин, *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)* [Georgia and Ṣafavid Iran (According to Numismatic

witnessed a multitude of new publications dealing with various aspects of Zagami numismatic history.⁹ Despite these findings, the research of the numismatic history of the K'akheti Kingdom has evidently remained incomplete, even in terms of monetary typology.

Perhaps the most sensational of all the recent discoveries have been the data leading us to understanding that Zagami was not the only mint on the territory of the Kingdom of K'akheti. Our objective is to establish the existence of yet another, previously completely unknown mint located in this province of Georgia, which was regularly issuing both copper and silver currency bearing the mintname "Kâkhed" or "Kâkhetâbâd". Our discovery sheds some extra light on the economical and political history of the east-Georgian Kingdom of K'akheti and its relations with the Šafavids, Ottomans and the mountainous tribes of Daghestan in the 16th-17th c.

It has to be noted, that currently we do not pursue a goal of reviewing the typology of the coins bearing the aforesaid mint-names. We do conduct a research targeted at reviewing the coinage produced in (the Kingdom of) K'akheti as well as the detailed political background for local minting activities (in co-authorship with Giorgi Gogava)¹⁰, but the results will be published separately, as the scope of the present article is different.

Nevertheless, before proceeding with locating the mints of "Kâkhed" and "Kâkhetâbâd", we have to review, at least briefly, the monetary artifacts bearing these mintnames, as well as history of the research in this field.

Discovery and Research of the "Kâkhed" Mint

The mint "Kâkhed" (کاخد) was read on several copper and silver coins published in 2012/2015¹¹ by Alexandr Akopyan and Davit Alexanyan, two numismatists from Moscow (the Russian Federation)¹² (the initial version of the article was dealing exclusively with copper coinage (Fig. 1) and was available online already in 2012: it was intended for publication in the collection of articles – *Путями средневековых монет: Археолого-нумизматический сборник памяти Алексея Владимиоровича Фомина*; however, evidently, the

Data)], 14-25; ჭილაშვილი ლევანი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 175-179.

9 Album Stephen, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Volume 9 Iran after the Mongol Invasion* (Ashmolean Museum Oxford: Chameleon, 2001), plate 39; Акопян Александр, Алексанян Давид, "Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства" [Ganja Hoard and the Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of K'akheti], Этиграфика Востока XXXI (2015), 147-170; Bennett Kirk, A Catalog of Georgian Coins (2013), 223-230; Gabashvili Goga, Paghava Irakli, Gogava Giorgi, "A Low-Weight Copper Coin with Geometrical Design Struck at Zagemi (in Eastern Georgia)". *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 222 (2015), 16-17; Goron Stan, "The Coinage of Safî I (AH 1038-1052)", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 176 (2003), 28-33; Goron Stan, "The Coinage of Safavid ruler, 'Abbas II up to AH 1060", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 177 (2003), 17-19; Goron Stan, "The Coinage of Safavid ruler, 'Abbas II up to AH 1060 – Part II", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 178 (2004), 35-40; Paghava Irakli, "Chronicler's Note on Minting Ottoman Coins in Kakheti (Eastern Georgia)", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 215 (2013), 22-23; Paghava, Bennett, "The Earliest Date for the Kingdom of K'akheti Silver Issues of the 16th Century"; Paghava Irakli, Gabashvili Goga, "Silver Coinage Issued at "Kâkhed" in the Kingdom of Kakheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?" *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 223 (2015), 20-21; ფალავა ორაკლი, „ოსმალური სამყაროსა და საქართველოს ურთიერთობა ახალი ნუმიზმატიკური მონაცემების მიხედვით“ [The Relations between the Ottoman World and Georgia According to Numismatic Data]. კონსტანტინებრე ფალავა 90. რედ. ლ. უორჯოლიანი, მ. ვაჟაძე. (ობილისი: თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამოცემლობა, 2012), 128-129; Пагава, Туркия, "Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)". [New Data on Minting Šafavid Coinage in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia)]; ფალავა ორაკლი, გოგავა გორგი, „კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები“ [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო IX (2015), 271-280, 345; Paghava Irakli, "The Georgian City of Bazari (Zagam) According to Numismatic Data", Al XVI-lea Simpozion de Numismatică. Programul și Rezumatele Comunicărilor. Chișinău, 22-23 septembrie 2016. Chișinău: Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, (2016), 42-44; Paghava Irakli, Hasanov Samir, "A Hoard of Zagam Silver Coins of Muhammad Khudâbandah Discovered in the Republic of Azerbaijan", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 228 (2016), 23-27; Alexanyan David, Yanov Dmitriy, "New Data about the Ottoman Minting in South Caucasian Region in the End of 16th-Beginning of 17th C.", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 230 (2018), 21-29; Gogava Giorgi, "The First Record on Countermarking the Silver Coins in the Kingdom of Kakheti", *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 230 (2018), 29-31.

10 A work on the numismatic legacy of the east-Georgian Kingdom of K'akheti encompassing a plethora of new discoveries is currently in process (conducted by Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava); the authors plan to publish the results as a separate volume.

11 Акопян, Алексанян, "Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства." [Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti"], 146-170.

12 But originally from correspondingly Yerevan, Armenia and Tbilisi, Georgia.

latter has never been published). The authors considered this toponym to be derived from the designation of the entire province of *K’akheti* (კახეთი) (Kingdom of K’akheti), i.e. “Kākhēt” (კახტ).¹³ In their opinion, the *Kākhēd* coinage was minted also in Zagami.¹⁴

Already in 2015 Irakli Paghava and Goga Gabashvili have published the *silver* coin also minted at “Kākhēd” (კახდ); the authors attributed it to Muḥammad Khudābandah and conjectured that “Kākhēd” could designate *Gremi*, yet another capital of the Kingdom of K’akheti.¹⁵¹⁶ It also became clear that *Kākhēd* was issuing both copper and silver coinage.

In 2016 Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava authored an article devoted to the monetary series issued in the Kingdom of K’akheti in the name of the Ottoman sultān: the authors discussed the silver coins minted in the name of Murād III (1574-1595 / AH 982-1003) and Muḥammad III (1595-1603 / AH 1003-1012) at two different mints – “Zakam” (زکم) and “Kākhēd” (კახდ).¹⁶ *Inter alia*, it became clear that the silver coin type of *Kākhēd* first published by Irakli Paghava and Goga Gabashvili¹⁷ constituted a K’akhetian-Ottoman and not K’akhetian-Şafavid issue.

Two more Ottoman types of *Kākhēd* were published by David Alexanyan and Dmitriy Yanov in 2017.¹⁸

Discovery of the “Kākhetābād” Mint

Relatively recently, back in 2016, we have discovered a new mint (or at least *mint-name*), namely “Kākhetābād” (კახტაბად). We have devoted a special article to this discovery, submitting it to Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society.¹⁹ It would not be irrelevant to reproduce here the principle theses.

The work has been devoted to reviewing the so far unique silver coin bearing a previously unknown mint-name: Kākhetābād. Yet another objective has been to clarify the location and chronology of money-issuing activity of this mint, as well as the general historical background and significance of this discovery.

The coin was discovered (presumably, by metal-detecting activities) in 2016; we know only the approximate find location: Zaqtala or Qax rayon of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan (i.e. Saingilo, south-eastern part of the historical east-Georgian province / Kingdom of K’akheti, occupied by the Safavids by the early 17th century and never fully recovered afterwards, but still preserving a significant ethnic Georgian minority).

The coin constitutes a regular full-weight (1 tūmān = 2000 nokhūd, ‘abbāsī of 7.68 g) Safavid silver issue in the name of ‘Abbās I, namely, an ‘abbāsī (mint, date and royal protocol in the centre, neat calligraphy, the die not significantly broader than the flan, i.e. D2 type)²⁰: AR, weight 7.62 g, dimensions 19-21 mm, die axis 6:30 o’clock (Fig. 2).

Obverse: Persian legend within a cartouche (standard royal formula along with the date and mint-place indication):

عباس بنده شاه ولايت
ضرب کاختاباد
١٠٣٠١

(بند serves as horizontal divider)

Reverse: Legend:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلَى وَلِيِّ اللَّهِ

13 Акопян, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”], 150-153.

14 Ibid. 155-156.

15 Paghava, Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhēd” in the Kingdom of K’akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”, 20-21.

16 ფალავა, გოგავა, „კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები“ [“Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K’akheti”].

17 Paghava, Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhēd” in the Kingdom of K’akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”, 20-21.

18 Alexanyan, Yanov, “New Data about the Ottoman Minting in South Caucasian Region in the End of 16th-Beginning of 17th C.”, 26.

19 Paghava Irakli, “Kākhetābād, New Georgian-Safavid Mint”, *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 235 (2019), 23-25.

20 Album Stephen, *Checklist of Islamic Coins. 3rd Edition* (Santa Rosa, 2011), 278.

(على لى ولى of serve as horizontal dividers)

All within complex (dots between two lines) border, surrounded by marginal legend, most probably the names of 12 imams:

علی حسن حسین علی محمد جعفر موسی علی محمد علی حسن محمد

We tend to interprete the indicated date (10301) as AH 1031 (1621/2) with one extra dot (0): that fits very well the reign of 'Abbās I (1587-1629), whose name is indicated, as well the time period when his type D2 coins were issued (AH 1026-1038).²¹

Identity of the mints

In our opinion, *Kākhetābād* (کاختاباد) was simply the alternative name for the mint *Kākhed* (کاخد) (Cf. copper coin from this mint on Fig. 2). Our arguments for attributing both *mint-names* to the same *mint* were as follows:

Origin and general similarity of both words, derived from the name of the corresponding province of Georgia – *Kākheti* (კახეთი) (Kingdom of K'akheti) (this Georgian toponym was normally spelled in both Safavid and Ottoman primary sources²² as *Kākhet* / کاخت, although we know an instance of a later spelling as *Qāketī* / قاکتی²³ while the previously published copper and possibly also silver coins bore the distorted variant of کاخد); *Kākhetābād* was produced by adding to a more authentic *Kākhet* (instead of *Kākhed*) a standard Persian suffix “-ābād” (~ *cultivated place*, i.e. *village* or *city*);

The identical provenance of the absolute majority of both the coins with the mintname *Kākhed* and the specimen from *Kākhetābād*: they all were found in Saingilo, south-eastern province of the 16th century historical K'akheti (now part of the Republic of Azerbaijan) (where the actual city minting the coins with the latter mint-name has been located; *vide infra*).

We consider that these two arguments are convincing enough to claim the equivalence of *Kākhetābād* and *Kākhed*.

Locating the “Kākhed” / “Kākhetābād” Mint: General Approach

But where was located this *Kākhetābād-Kākhed* mint? Clearly enough, somewhere in K'akheti, but where exactly? The analysis of the available data demonstrated that the aforesaid hypotheses with regard to location of *Kākhed* have become obsolete and led us to a completely different conclusion: this mint was located elsewhere. Below we would like to formulate our considerations on the geographical location of this mint and timeframe for its minting activities.

Attempting to establish the location of this mint, we considered and employed different approaches.

Firstly, a discovery and archeological study of a site with artifacts complying with the minting activities as we understand them, and an unusually high proportion of coins minted at *Kākhetābād* or *Kākhed* would have indicated a location of the mint with remarkable precision and confidence. However, currently the prospects of the further and mass-scale archeological study of K'akheti remain vague. This is probably particularly true with regard to Saingilo. Moreover, the archeological environment proper has been seemingly mostly destroyed beyond reasonable: for instance, reportedly, the site of the ancient settlement of Zagami / Ts'aghma-Bazari and its cultural layer were destroyed by agricultural activities, including bulldozing much of the debris off, to the proximate rivulet.²⁴

However, the general analysis of the coin find locations does provide us with some valuable data. It is only natural and commonly accepted in numismatics to consider that the actual mint was located in the area

21 Ibid.

22 ფუთურიძე ვლადიმერი (სპარსული ტექსტი ქართული თარგმანითა და შესავლითურთ გამოსცა), ისქანდერ მუნშის ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ. [Puturidze Vladimeri (published Persian text with Georgian translation and preface). *Iskandar Munshi's Notes on Georgia*], 20, 10; ალასანია გიოლი, ქათიბ ჩელების ცნობები საქართველოსა და კავკასიის შესახებ. [Alasania Giuli. *Katib Chelebi's Notes on Georgia and Caucasus*] (თბილისი: ჰოროსი XXI, 2013), 49.

23 Акопян, Алексанян, “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”], 151.

24 Cf. ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 166.

where the majority of the coins bearing its name were found, or at least constituted a major or significant part of local hoards or separate finds. Perhaps only mints issuing the trade coinage of international significance, like Venice, cities of Netherlands or Spanish mints in Americas were an exclusion to the rule. As far as it regards the *Kākhed / Kākhetābād* coinage, the absolute majority of the specimens that became available in the recent years were found in modern Saingilo. This indicates that the mint had most probably been located in this very region of K'akheti.

In contrast to modern mints, being *plants* producing millions and even billions of coins of different denomination, the medieval or medieval-type coins of Iran and neighbouring countries in the 16th-19th centuries were organized as a relatively primitive manufactory: “during a demonstration of medieval English coin manufacture by David Greenhalgh at the Ashmolean Museum in 1998, it was made clear that the entirety of a coiner’s equipment, including all the tools needed for die production, could easily have been carried on a single mule or donkey. The same should also have been true in medieval Iran”,²⁵ and undoubtedly in the adjacent regions too. Nevertheless, despite the indubitable mobility of the “mint”, or, better say, a celator, the economic reasons would probably have precluded minting activities far from the contemporary trade and production centers. We have never doubted that the mint of *Kākhed / Kākhetābād* was located in one of the urban centers of K'akheti. Fortunately, the latter had been thoroughly studied by the person whom we consider to be one of the most prominent Georgian historians of the modern epoch – Levan Ch'ilashvili: his *Cities of Kakheti* (ქახეთის ქალაქები), published in 1980, remains an unsurpassed guide on the topic. According to the author, K'akheti had three major cities, and three smaller towns, correspondingly Gremi, Zagami and K'ak'i, as well as Shuamta, Boetani and Mach'i (Togha).²⁶ The author had less data about K'ak'i compared to the other two bigger cities, and it might seem that K'ak'i was the smallest (least important?) out of the three; however, we have to take into consideration that the extent of the archeological exploration had played a crucial role in defining the amount of the available data (employed for comparative analysis); for instance, by now we can claim with some confidence, that Zagami has been a far more significant economic center than Gremi,²⁷ but the latter, located within the boundaries of modern Georgia, had been preserved and researched much better than the former, leaving an opposite impression.²⁸ Both K'ak'i and Zagami were located in Saingilo, as well as Boetani and Mach'i (Togha) out of the smaller urban centers. All four of them could be minting coinage (theoretically, Zagami coins could also bear the aforesaid mint-names). So far the *Kākhed / Kākhetābād* coins are not as numerous as those of *Zakam / Zakām*, so this mint-name could disguise a smaller town as well.

The written data covering the city or any other location with the name of *Kākhed / Kākhetābād* or anything similar would naturally be very helpful. Fortunately enough, we have found them, and this information has provided us with evidence sufficient for establishing the exact location of *Kākhed / Kākhetābād* mint.

Narrative Sources on the City of “Chekit” / “Caket” / “Kākhet”

The data on this city provided by the narrative sources have been collected and analyzed by Levan Ch'ilashvili and Shota Meskhia.²⁹ In essence, the venerated scholars, particularly Levan Ch'ilashvili, provided us with a clue for locating the mint of *Kākhed / Kākhetābād*. Actually, Levan Ch'ilashvili was seemingly the first to indicate that by the 17th century [for the least – I. P.] K'ak'i was commonly designated as *K'akheti*.³⁰

Georgian sources have not preserved any indication of the city called *K'akheti*.³¹ However, we can encounter it in the notes of three foreigners, who (at least two of them) traveled across Georgia or stayed there: Nicolaes Witsen, a Dutchman; Jean Chardin, a Frenchman; and Evliya Çelebi, a Turk.³²

25 Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Volume 9 Iran after the Mongol Invasion*, 96.

26 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti].

27 Paghava, “The Georgian city of Bazari / Zagam According to Numismatic Data”.

28 Cf. ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], [Cities of Kakheti], 39-181.

29 Ibid., 182-188; mesxia SoTa, *saistorio Ziebani, tomi II* [Historical Studies, Volume II] (Tbilisi: mecniereba, 1983), 218-219.

30 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 184.

31 Ibid., 185.

32 მესხია, საისტორიო ძიებანი, ტომი II [Historical Studies, Volume II], 218-219; უან შარდენის მოგზაურობა სპარსეთსა

Before proceeding with the analysis it would be expedient to provide all three texts.

Nicolaes Witsen authored extremely interesting section on Georgia, which was published as a part of his book *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* (first edition in 1692, the second revised / expanded edition in 1705, published in Amsterdam).³³ We do not think that Nicolaes Witsen visited Georgia in person,³⁴ however, he was connected with Archil II Bagrationi (King of Imereti in 1661-1663, 1678-1679, 1690-1691, 1695-1696, 1698, king of K'akheti in 1664-1675), and his son prince Alexandre, published the portraits of the Archil II and Erekle I Bagrationi (King of Kartli in 1688-1793, king of K'akheti in 1675-1676, 1703-1709), which means that he had the first-hand information about K'akheti.³⁵ Nicolaes Witsen listed four cities in the 17th century K'akheti – “Gaketti, behoorende aan den Pers, en zijn de voornamste Staeder daer van” “Gremia” (“the capital”), “Pafari”, “Karagatsch” and some “Chekiti”.³⁶ It is clear that “Gremia”, “Pafari” and “Karagatsch” designated correspondingly *Gremi*, *Bazari* and *Qaraghaji*, the latter being the quarters of the Qizilbāsh khān ruling K'akheti for much of the 17th century after the invasions of shāh 'Abbās I. However, mentioning of *Gremi* and *Bazari*, the cities falling to desolation by the 2nd half of the 17th century, indicates that the realities of the 1st half of this centennium were also reflected by the foreign author. We consider “Chekiti” to be a distorted version of *K'akheti* (this phonetic confusion is understandable; Nicolaes Witsen made some other mistakes too, for instance, he listed “Mengrelia” and “Audichi” as two separate provinces).³⁷

Jean Chardin was travelling in Georgia in 1672-1673, staying in Tbilisi for several months;³⁸ his information should date to this very time period, perhaps also the preceding years. He mentioned the “city of ... Caket” in the following context: “Toute la Géorgie a peu de villes, comme nous l'avons observé. Le royaume de Caket en a eu plusieurs autrefois; elles sont maintenant toutes ruinées, à la réserve d'une nommée aussi Caket. J'ai ouï dire, étant à Tifflis, que ces villes avoient été grandes et somptueusement bâties, et c'est l'idée que l'on en conçoit, quand on regarde tant ce qui n'en a pas été tout-à-fait détruit, que les ruines même”.³⁹³⁹ It is clear that the name of the city was identical to that of the province / kingdom, i.e. “Caket” designated *K'akheti*.

Evliya Çelebi arrived to a city he called “Kākhet” (كاخت) while travelling from Derbend across the Dagestan mountains, back in 1647. After describing the Ts'akhur / Zahūr (زاھور) and the area, the Ottoman traveler proceeded with his impressions of travel to and via Georgia: “... Daghestan ended here and now, hence we entered Georgia.

About the fortress of Udud located at the border: It is under the authority of Iran. I left this fortress at the left and went, a poor, to the borders of the Shaki fortress. We arrived to the village of Zuhuriya. This is a major village within the boundaries of Georgia, Teimuraz Khān's dominion, subject to the Tiflīs khān. His subjects are Georgian gentry [aznaurs], Armenians and Gokdolaqs.⁴⁰ Hence we continued on our way and arrived to

და აღმოსავლეთის სხვა ქვეყნებში (ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ) [Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient (Renseignements sur la Géorgie)] ფრანგულიდან თარგმნა, გამოკვლევები და კომენტარები დაურთო მზია მგალობლიშვილმა (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1975), 33, 293; ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. I. ქართული თარგმანი [Evliya Chelebi's “Book of Travels”. Part I. Georgian Translation] თურქულიდან თარგმნა, კომენტარები და გამოკვლევა დაურთო გიორგი ფუთურიძემ (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1971), 291-294; ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. II. გამოკვლევა, კომენტარები [Evliya Chelebi's “Book of Travels”. Part II. Study, Commentaries] თურქულიდან თარგმნა, კომენტარები და გამოკვლევა დაურთო გიორგი ფუთურიძემ (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1973), 106.

33 Witsen Nicolaes, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* (Amsterdam, 1705), 503-552.

34 Cf. თაქთაქიშვილი გივი, „ჰოლანდიის ოქროს საუკუნე და კავკასია“, ქართული დიპლომატია 16 (2013), 319-320.

35 Ibid., 308-315.

36 Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*, 516. Shota Meskhia paid attention to the latter city. მესხია, საისტორიო ძიებანი, ტომი II [Historical Studies, Volume II], 218-219.

37 Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*, 516. Cf. ნიკოლას ვიტსენი, ჩრდილოეთი და აღმოსავლეთი ტარტარეთი. საქართველო ანუ იბერია და სამეგრელო (თარგმნა და კომენტარები: არჩილ და ნინო ჯავახაძეები) [Noord en Oost Tartaryen. Georgia of Iberia en Mengrelia] (თბილისი: უნივერსალი, 2013), 197.

38 უან შარდენის მოგზაურობა სპარსეთსა და აღმოსავლეთის სხვა ქვეყნებში (ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ) [Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient (Renseignements sur la Géorgie)], 5.

39 Chardin Jean. *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient*. Nouvelle Édition par L. Langlès. T. II (Paris: Le Normant, imprimeur-libraire, 1811).

40 It is unclear, whom did Evliya Çelebi mean by *Gokdolaqs* [گوك دولاچ]. Evliya Çelebi mentioned them in another parts of this work, for instance, when describing the Arzrum population. ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. I. ქართული თარგმანი [Evliya Chelebi's “Book of Travels”. Part I. Georgian Translation], 201. Giorgi Puturidze conjectured that was a name

the city of Kākhet. It is [located] in Georgia and under the reign of Iran. Its first builder was Anushirvan. With the course of time [the fortress] broke down in some places. Its circumference is fourteen thousand steps. It has one hundred seventy towers and three gates. There are two thousand well-furnished houses. It has ruined jamis, shop and baths, row of shopping stalls and bazaar. Its water is crystal clear. The waters escape from the bottom slopes of the nine layers of the mountain Elbrus and having irrigated the orchards and vineyards of Kākhet flow into the river Mt'k'vari. Its silk is not vaunted, as the air inclines to the cold. Armenians, Gokdolaks and Georgians make its population. Their lord is a freestanding sultān. He has up to one thousand nukers. He has tvelwe executives and a qādī. Before the Chidir war happened between the shāh Ismā'il and sultān Selim khān, [Shāh Ismā'il] enjoyed the local climate. He lived in the city for three years. He built a vast suburb with checkered streets; one would think this is the city of Kesha, located in mid-Hungary. But shāh's one hundred thousand soldiers passed through the sword teeth in the [Chidir] war, just the shāh survived and found a shelter in Azerbaijan. Then the attacking Ottoman army and the host of Georgia came to this city, pillaged and devastated it. It could not be restored to the previous afterwards. When Ferhāt pāshā renovated the Aresh fortress, he ordered the stones [of this Kākhet fortress] be taken there by carts. Its sultān friendly gave me, a poor, a guide for one-day travel distance. We were moving to the south and rested in the village of Nodari khān. It is located at the river Mt'k'vari bank. It has one thousand houses, a jami, a shop and a bath. We continued on our way from there too and arrived to the Tiflīs fortress".⁴¹

Hereafter Evliya Çelebi mentioned Kākhet once again: "I, a poor, have not seen the Zagami fortress myself, but when travelling by the Kākhet fortress grounds, I saw the Gremi fortress, but did not enter it."⁴²

Identity of the city of "Chekiti" / "Caket" / "Kākhet", the city of K'ak'i, and the "Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād" "Mint"

Shota Meskhia considered that Nicolaes Witsen's "Chekiti" and Jean Chardin's city of "Caket" in the "Kingdom of Caket" constituted the city of Telavi; the only argument he provided was the allegation that Telavi had been the only city in the contemporary K'akheti.⁴³ His opinion was accepted by Mzia Mgaloblishvili.⁴⁴ The Dutch and French travelers' short notes provided no clues for establishing the geographical location of the city. However, Evliya Çelebi's information made it possible (vide infra) – there is no doubt that Nicolaes Witsen's "Chekiti", Chardin's "Caket" and Çelebi's "Kākhet" constituted the same place, namely, Georgian city of K'ak'i. What are the arguments therefore? We would reiterate some of the arguments first presented by Levan Ch'ilashvili, albeit with some additions and minor corrections, perhaps in a slightly more coherent way:

- The original form of this Georgian toponym was K'ak'i⁴⁵ (it was first mentioned in Georgian in this very form in the Georgian document of the first third of the 11th century – the charter of Melkisedek the Catholicos – "... and IB (12) merchants at K'ak'i"). However, later on, concurrently with the proliferation of the non-Georgian (Ts'akhur, Avar, Turkmanic, Persian) ethnic element in the area this toponym underwent a relatively minor transformation according to the phonetic norms of the corresponding languages – the first consonant "K" morphed into "G", whereas the second "k"

of some tribe. ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. II. გამოკვლევა, კომენტარები. [Evliya Chelebi's "Book of Travels". Part II. Study, Commentaries], 85. We consider that by this term the author could designate the Jews; our arguments are as follows: 1) Evliya Çelebi always (?) listed Gokdolaqs along the other ethnic groups, so this probably should be some ethnic group; 2) Evliya Çelebi did not list the Jews in these cases; 3) Evliya Çelebi always (?) listed Gokdolaqs among the urban population, which fits well the probable niche occupied by the Jewish population in the region; 4) Evliya Çelebi listed Gokdolaqs among the urban population of Arzrūm as well as the settlements in K'akheti – so this could easily be the scattered Jewish population, but not some local tribe.

41 ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. I. ქართული თარგმანი [Evliya Chelebi's "Book of Travels". Part I. Georgian Translation], 292.

42 Ibid., 294

43 მესხია, საისტორიო ძიებანი, ტომი II [Historical Studies, Volume II], 218-219.

44 ფან შარდენის მოგზაურობა სპარსეთსა და აღმოსავლეთის სხვა ქვეყნებში (ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ) [Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient (Renseignements sur la Géorgie)], 33.

45 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 184.

emerged into “kh”: Georgian *K’ak’i* turned into modern Azerbaijani *Gakh*⁴⁶ (modern *Qax / Tax* in Azerbaijan, center of the Qax rayon), which in turn influenced the Georgian toponym phonetically, transforming it into *Kakhi* / კახი; moreover, we have some evidence that this transformation was over or at least in process already by the early 17th century: By 1607 (AH 1016), when the Ottoman sultān granted ‘Alī-Sultān of Ts’akhur with several villages in what is now Saingilo, including “Qāh” (قاح)⁴⁷; by 1624 (AH 1034), when “Kākh” (خ) was mentioned in ‘Abbās I’s farmān,⁴⁸ by the mid-17th century, when Evliya Çelebi passed through the region (1647): the 1656 (AH 1066) petition to ‘Abbās II mentioned both “Zakhur” [Ts’akhur] and “Kākh” (خ) – i.e. this “Kākh” had to be *K’ak’i*. The Russian ambassadors also mentioned the village “Kākh” when travelling in 1643: “In November on the 9th day we left Bazari and spent a night by the frontier village, by K’akh, in the empty huts” (“Ноября в 9 день пошли з Бозару и начевали Теймураза царя под порубежную деревню под Кахом в пустых шелашах.”).⁵⁰ This is an argument for the identity of Evliya Çelebi’s “Kākhet” and Georgian “K’ak’i”. It is noteworthy, that the French “Caket” of Chardin still retained “k” in both occasions. It is plausible, that the Frenchman learned about the toponym via Georgian language environment, which explains why his spelling was closer to Georgian “K’ak’i”. Evidently, “K’ak’i” and “Kākhed” / “Kākhetābād” are much closer to each other than one may think;

- Evliya Çelebi, who travelled in the area in the 1647, mentioned that the city was located in Georgia, but was ruled by Iran; the Ottoman traveler also indicated that the local lord was “a freestanding sultān”.⁵¹ This corresponds very well to the local political situation in K’ak’i and its hinterland⁵² – we know, that Alexandre II, king of K’akheti, had to cede the city of K’ak’i and its vicinities to the Safavid puppet state of Elisū Sultānate; according to prince Vakhushti Bagrationi, the Georgian historian, it happened (right?) after shāh ‘Abbās I seized the Yerevan fortress,⁵³ i.e. in 1604 (as the siege started in AH 1011 (1602/3),⁵⁴ actually, in 1603, and lasted till 1604).⁵⁵ The Georgians have never managed to recapture this territory back;
- Evliya Çelebi’s description of the local irrigation of “Kākhet” (“The waters escape from the bottom slopes of the nine layers of the mountain Elbrus and having irrigated the orchards and vineyards

46 Ibid.

47 *Акты собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссию. Том II. [The Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archeographic committee. Volume II]* (Тифлисъ, 1868), 1085.

48 საბარსული ისტორიული საბუთები საქართველოს წიგნთსაცავებში, წიგნი 1, ნაკვეთი 1 [Persian Historical Documents in Georgian Library Stacks, Book 1, Part 1]. გამოსცა ვლ. ფუთურიძემ (თბილისი: საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის გამომცემლობა, 1961), 17.

49 *Тбилисская коллекция персидских фирманс, Том II [Tbilisi Collection of Persian farmāns, Volume II]*. Составители: М.А. Тодуа, И.К. Шамс. Подготовка к печати, перевод, комментарии и словарь М.А. Тодуа (Тбилиси, 1989), 24.

50 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of K’akheti], 239.

51 ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“ ნაკვ. I. ქართული თარგმანი [Evliya Chelebi’s “Book of Travels”. Part I. Georgian Translation], 292.

52 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of K’akheti], 186.

53 ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა. ქართლის ცხოვრება, ტომი IV. ტექსტი დადგენილი ყველა ძირითადი ხელნაწერის მიხედვით ს. ყაუხებიშვილის მიერ [Prince Vakhushti. Description of the Kingdom Georgia] (თბილისი: საბჭოთა საქართველო, 1973), 579.

54 ისკანდარ მუნშის ცნობები საქართველოს შესახებ [Iskandar Munshi’s Data on Georgia], 41-44.

55 There are some data that the Safavids made an attempt to seize that part of K’akheti even earlier. ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Ch’ilashvili Levani, Cities of K’akheti], 185-187; Айтберов Тимирлан, Хапизов Шахбан, Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики) [Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th – 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)] (Махачкала, 2011), 257; *Акты собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссию. Том II. [The Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archeographic committee. Volume II]*, 1085. Evliya Çelebi’s data on the Georgian attack upon K’ak’i may constitute the repercussion of the same circumstances.

The Ottoman traveler also noted that shāh Ismā’il enjoyed the area and even lived in “Kākhet” for three years before the “Childir” battle with the Ottoman sultān Selim. Levan Ch’ilashvili considered that Evliya Çelebi had written about Ismā’il II (1576-1577). ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of K’akheti], 187. However, Ismā’il II did not fight against Ottomans, and sultān Selim II (1566-1574) was not his contemporary. Evliya Çelebi implied Ismā’il I (1500-1524) and Selim I (1512-1520), who truly fought the famous *Chaldiran* (not “Childir”) battle in 1514. Therefore, if true, Evliya Çelebi’s note implies an instance of extremely early aggression of the first Safavid shāh against one of the Georgian principalities.

of Kākhet flow into the river Mt’k’vari”) proves that the city was located between the Great Caucasian range and the aforesaid river, which corresponds to the geographical location of K’ak’i, but not Telavi;⁵⁶

- Evliya Çelebi’s notes also prove that “Kākhet” designated neither Zagami nor Gremi, as he mentioned all three toponyms all at once:⁵⁷ “I have not seen the Zagami fortress myself, but when travelling by the Kakhet fortress grounds, I saw the Gremi fortress, but did not enter it”;⁵⁸
- Having left “Kākhet” and moving *southwards*, Evliya Çelebi arrived to *Mt’k’vari* (“Its sultān friendly gave me, a poor, a guide for one-day travel distance. We were moving to the south and rested in the village of Nodari khān. Its located at the river Mt’k’vari bank”). K’ak’i was located in about 50 kilometers to the north from the junction of the rivers Iori and Mt’k’vari, which fits Evliya Çelebi’s note well enough;⁵⁹
- Evliya Çelebi’s itinerary *prior* to arriving to “Kākhet” also points to K’ak’i:⁶⁰ we know, that he left Ts’akhur, passed by the fortress of Udud (leaving it on the left) and *continued in the direction of the Shakī [fortress]* – at least he declared this intention; on his way Evliya Çelebi arrived to the village of “Zuhuriya”, and then arrived to “Kākhet”. From there he moved southwards, arriving to some locaton (Nodari khān’s “village”) at the Mt’k’vari bank (i.e. not Shakī), but thence for some reason moved to Tiflīs and not Shakī, via the r. Alazani valley (since Evliya Çelebi saw the Gremi fortress). Ts’akhur and Shakī [fortress] are the two toponyms with location we know.⁶¹ Analyzing the geography of the area (presented on the Maps 1-2), it is easy to notice that he had to cross the Great Caucasus range to get from one settlement to another. We fully agree with Levan Ch’ilashvili that the shortest and easiest way for Evliya Çelebi to arrive to the r. Alazani valley was to pass through r. Kurmukhi valley where K’ak’i was located;⁶² It looks like at least initially Evliya Çelebi was planning to reach Shakī, not the r. Alazani valley (*vide supra*), or at least declared he was moving *in the direction* of Shakī. Levan Ch’ilashvili considered, that from Ts’akhur (in the r. Samur valley in Daghestan) it would have been easier to get there by taking a route not via the r. Samur valley, but via either the r. Attachay or r. Khumagon valley⁶³ [and then via the r. Kurmukhi valley]. We have checked the area employing the military topographic map (1:100,000) produced by the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces in 1977, as well as the U.S. Army Map Service, Series N561 (Sheets G7 and H7, 1:253,440), produced in 1941. It turned out that the valley of the Khumagon rivulet (streaming into the r. Kurdul) constituted a dead-end, and to get to the r. Kurmukhi valley a traveler could take either of the two ways: 1) either follow the r. Attachay / Attagaychay valley, and cross the Greater Caucasus range via either the Gyunakhay (2511 m. altitude) or Attagay / Attagaychay Pass (2693 m. altitude), then leave the Sarubash (Georgian *Qviteltava*) on the left hand side, and enter first Elisu (Georgian *Kurmukhi*), then, after taking the r. Kurmukhi valley, K’ak’i; or, 2) follow first the r. Kurdul, then the r. Khuray valleys, cross the Greater Caucasus range via the Khuray / Khuraydagh Pass (2744 m. altitude), then follow a rivulet (nameless on the available maps), arrive to Sarubash, and follow the r. Kurmukhi until reaching K’ak’i via Elisu. Both routes implied presumably (at least mostly) walking up to 40 km, incl. about 30 km of particularly rough and difficult mountainous terrain and 10 km or relatively easy walk down the r. Kurmukhi valley. If continuing his way to Shakī, Evliya Çelebi would have had to walk, or, probably, ride for 30 km more on an easy, plain terrain. That makes about 70 km in total,

56 ქილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 187.

57 Ibid., 187-188.

58 ევლია ჩელების „მოგზაურობის წიგნი“. ნაკვ. I. ქართული თარგმანი [Evliya Chelebi’s “Book of Travels”. Part I. Georgian Translation], 294.

59 ქილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 187.

60 Ibid., 186-188.

61 We are aware that the location of the current city and the 17th century Shakī probably differed to some, but relatively insignificant degree.

62 Ibid., 186.

63 Ibid., 188.

including 30 km of mountainous terrain. As to the alternative way to *Shakī*, Evliya Çelebi would have had to follow the r. Samur valley for about 4 km only, than turning to the right, following first the r. Kurdul valley (leaving the turn to the Khuray valley on the right hand side), then passing over the mountains, following first the r. Kyabakchay valley, than the r. Caravansaraychay valley, crossing the Greater Caucasus range via the Salavat Pass (2852 m. altitude), getting over some mountainous area to get to the Shin-chay via one of its tributaries, get to the plain and then turn to the left towards *Shakī*. That would have meant about 80 km in total, including 60 km of extremely difficult terrain and 20 km ride on the plain terrain. It is clear, that even if truly planning (right from the beginning) to arrive to *Shakī*, Evliya Çelebi should have taken the route via the r. Kurmukhi valley and K'ak'i. Aslo, if taking the r. Kurdul valley, he would have had to pass through various settlements, in both the r. Samur and r. Kurdul valleys, like Khnyakh, Mikikh, Gelmets, Kurdul; however, after leaving Ts'akhur, Evliya Çelebi did not mention any settlement before leaving Daghestan. Moreover, Evliya Çelebi declared his intention to move *in the direction* of *Shakī* only *after* passing by the Udud fortress, and it is unclear, whether he had been intending to *arrive to Shakī right from beginning*. In our opinion, most probably he took the r. Attagaychay valley, and finally arrived at K'ak'⁶⁴

- Last, but certainly not least, as we have already mentioned above, the absolute majority of the coins with the mintname *Kākhed* or *Kākhetābād* share the same provenance: they all were found in Sain-gilo, the region of historical K'akheti where K'ak'i / K'akhi has been located.

Evliya Çelebi's notes indicate that he almost indubitably crossed the Greater Caucasus range in the area where he had to pass K'ak'i on his way. Apparently, we also have a quantity of more or less similar, or, better say, identical toponyms: medieval Georgian "K'ak'i", and its Azerbaijani equivalent "Gakh", and modern Georgian "K'akhi"; "Qāh" mentioned in the Ottoman official document of 1607; "Kākh" mentioned in the mid-17th century Persian official document; "Kākh" in the 1643 report of the Russian ambassadors; Nicolaes Witsen's "Chekiti"; Jean Chardin's "Caket"; Evliya Çelebi's "Kākhet"; "Kākhed" and "Kākhetābād" mint-names indicated on the copper and silver coins being found in numbers in Saingilo. In our opinion we have sufficient data to claim that all these proper nouns indicated the same settlement visited by Evliya Çelebi, i.e. the Georgian city of *K'ak'i*.

Brief Outline of K'ak'i History and the Emittents of the "Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād" Coinage

We have already mentioned, that Alexandre II was forced to cede K'ak'i to the emerging Elisu Sultānate, backed by 'Abbās I, in 1604 (AH 1011/2). Since then the Sultānate and K'ak'i, its economic centre (as we would conjecture) were seemingly controlled by 'Alī-Sultān (Alibek II)⁶⁵, who took sides alternately with the Şafavids and Ottomans (during the Şafavid-Ottoman war of 1603-1618), as demonstrated by correspondingly Ottoman and Şafavid farmāns bestowed upon him.⁶⁶ 'Alī-Sultān was killed by Georgians, by the invading host dispatched by King Teimuraz I, in 1629 (1630?).⁶⁷ Remarkably, the reign of 'Abbās I (1587-1629) ended at about the same time. It is clear, that all the K'ak'i coinage *after* 1604 was *de facto* issued by the Elisu Sultānate (by 'Alī-Sultān prior to 1629, albeit *de jure* in the name of 'Abbās I, the Şafavid overlord), and not the Georgian kings of the Christian state of K'akheti. On the contrary, although we know about the Şafavid claims for the

64 It is remarkable that Evliya Çelebi left the fortress of Udud ("located at the border") *on the left hand side*. We agree with Levan Ch'ilashvili, that the name of the fortress was derived from the Arabic word for *border* – ھدود (iÜlb). ქოლაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 186. However, it is unclear where this fortress was located. If Evliya Çelebi entered the r. Kurmukhi valley from the north-west, he would have left Sarubash (Qviteltava) on the left hand, in about 3-4 kilometers. Could Udud designate Sarubash? We would also conjecture, that Evliya Çelebi's *Zuhuriya* in the r. Kurmukhi valley could be Elisu (Kurmukhi).

65 Cf. ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა. [Vakhushti, Description of the Kingdom Georgia], 539.

66 Акты собранные Кавказского археографического коммиссиию. Томъ II. [The Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archeographic committee. Volume II], 1085-1086; Айтберов, Хапизов, Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики) [Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th - 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)], 257-258.

67 ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა. [Vakhushti, Description of the Kingdom Georgia], 437; Айтберов, Хапизов, Елису и Горный магал в XII-XIX вв. (очерки истории и ономастики) [Elisu and Mountainous magal in the 12th - 19th cc. (History and Onomastics Studies)], 257-258.

area even earlier (vide supra), we think we could consider with a reasonable degree of credibility that all the K'ak'i coinage *before* 1604 was *de facto* issued by the Kings of Kakheti, albeit *de jure* in the name of the Safavid shāh or Ottoman sultān, or, in case of copper, sometimes in the form of the so called *civic coinage*.

It is certain, that the *de facto* authority, emitting the coinage in K'ak'i was not always Georgian, but sometimes even rather anti-Georgian. However, one has to take into consideration that K'ak'i has been located on the territory of Georgia, therefore, its monetary legacy has been a rightful part of the Georgian numismatic history.

Numismatic and General Historiographic Significance of Coin-Minting Activities in K'ak'i

It would not be imprudent to discuss the historiographic aspects of our discovery, which seem to be multiform.

Firstly, K'ak'i (i.e. "Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād") constitutes a new, previously absolutely unknown (in terms of localization) mint, issuing money abundantly at least in the 16th century and the early 17th century. In terms of the general numismatic history of Georgia, and even the entire Caucasus, a discovery of an absolutely new coin-producing center seems to be a valuable addition to the data collected by other scholars. Now we have one more (Georgian) mint and money-issuing political unit (Elisu Sultānate) on the numismatic map of the region.

However, the K'ak'i coinage shall be considered a valuable addition to the current understanding of the Safavid numismatic history too; particularly in terms of various aspects of coin-minting activities within the Safavid dominions (including both directly incorporated and vassal territories / principalities), like, for instance, issue of civic coppers, and the level of their anonymousness; system of denominations and weight standard/s.

Moreover, it has become clear that K'ak'i issued currency in the name of the Ottoman sultāns as well. Therefore we have one more Ottoman money-issuing center too, located in Caucasus: the K'ak'i mint has to be considered a part of the Ottoman numismatic legacy as well.

Discovery of the K'ak'i ("Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād") mint provides us with an opportunity to clarify the numismatic past of the Tsaghma-Bazari / Zagami mint by alternative attribution of some coin types previously erroneously ascribed to this city, and perhaps also providing the valuable comparative material.

Secondly, the more general historical significance of issuing coinage in K'ak'i seems to be substantial as well. Now we have an additional and high-quality primary source for establishing the history of the region in this epoch. This seems to be particularly significant, taking into account the dearth of alternative sources.⁶⁸

The fact, that a major mint worked at K'ak'i, reveals much of the history of this Georgian city, and underlines the significance and scale of this urban center in the epoch of general economic decline and de-urbanization in contemporary Georgia, albeit accompanied by a temporary and relatively short-lived but still economic prosperity of K'akheti. Evliya Çelebi's description of the grandeur of "Kākhet" (2,000 houses), incited some suspicion by Levan Ch'ilashvili, who felt that the Ottoman traveler either made a mistake or exaggerated, as the fortress [much of the city, including the jamis – I.P.] had already been ruined before his arrival.⁶⁹ However, taking into account the recent discovery of a multitude of "Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād" coin types, as well as the relatively significant number of specimens, the size of that scale of the city seems much more verisimilar now. We think that K'ak'i⁷⁰ could really have a population of at least 2,000 hearths, and probably even more.⁷¹

The neighbour cities of [Ts'aghma-]Bazari ("Zakam" / "Zakām") and K'ak'i ("Kākhed" / "Kākhetābād") constituted a powerful economic and money-issuing cluster in the south-eastern part of the contemporary

68 As testified to by the difficulties in restoring the history of K'ak'i.

69 ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 187.

70 Much more enigmatic seems to be the size of the "village" of Nodar-khān described by Evliya Çelebi: "It has one thousand houses, a jami, a shop and a bath". 1,000 hearths implies a really major settlement in one-day way from K'ak'i; it still has to be located.

71 Levan Ch'ilashvili's intuition in considering K'ak'i a relatively important city was remarkable. ჭილაშვილი, კახეთის ქალაქები [Cities of Kakheti], 182.

Kingdom of K'akheti, oriented towards foreign trade (presumably, predominantly in silk); it would not probably be an exaggeration to claim that much of the economic potential of this east-Georgia principality was concentrated in this very area.

K'ak'i and the area, albeit still preserving a significant ethnic Georgian community, has been excerpted from the political framework of modern Georgian statehood (in 1921 for the last time). Hence the particular significance of reviewing the local history within the national context. Naturally, our discovery with its historical implications bears a particular value for those researching / interested in the past of Georgia and Georgian nation: it sheds some more light on the complex relations between the east-Georgian kingdom of K'akheti, the Šafavids, the Ottomans, and the mountainous tribes of Daghestan in the 16th – early 17th century; the political (as well as economic and even toponymic) transformation of the then frontier area of K'akheti, and its gradual annexation by the Ts'akhurs, Avars and Qizilbash, initiated under the aegis of 'Abbās I the Šafavid, and supported (when established in south-eastern areas of the Caucasus) by the Ottoman sultāns. These events signified a process of utmost importance in the early Modern-Age Georgian history; it seems to be very fortunate, that the recent discoveries provide an interested scholar with an opportunity to base his or her research of Georgian-Šafavid and Georgian-Ottoman relations, specifically of the history of the Kingdom of K'akheti and the Elisu sultānate, on the numismatic data as well.

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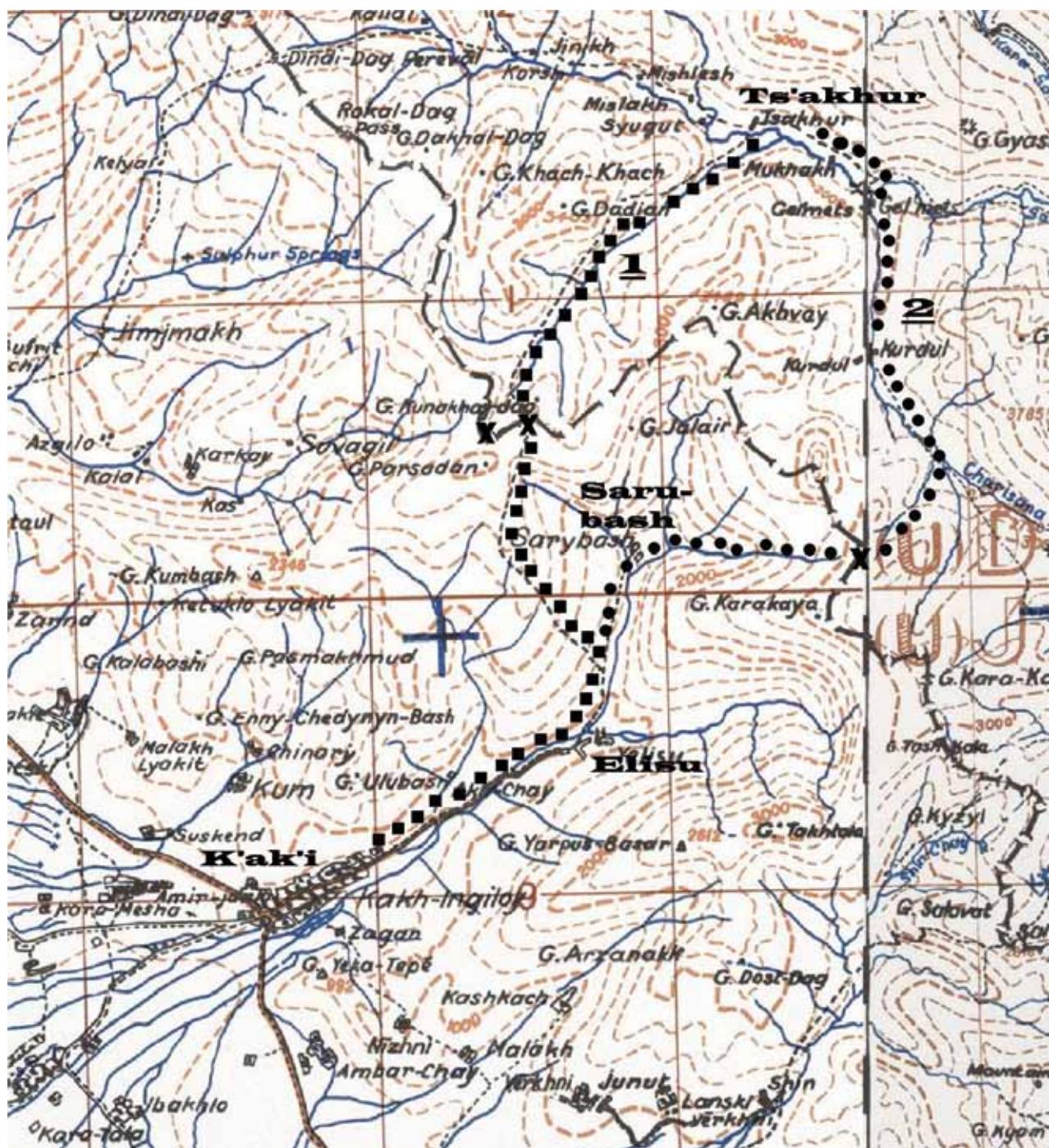
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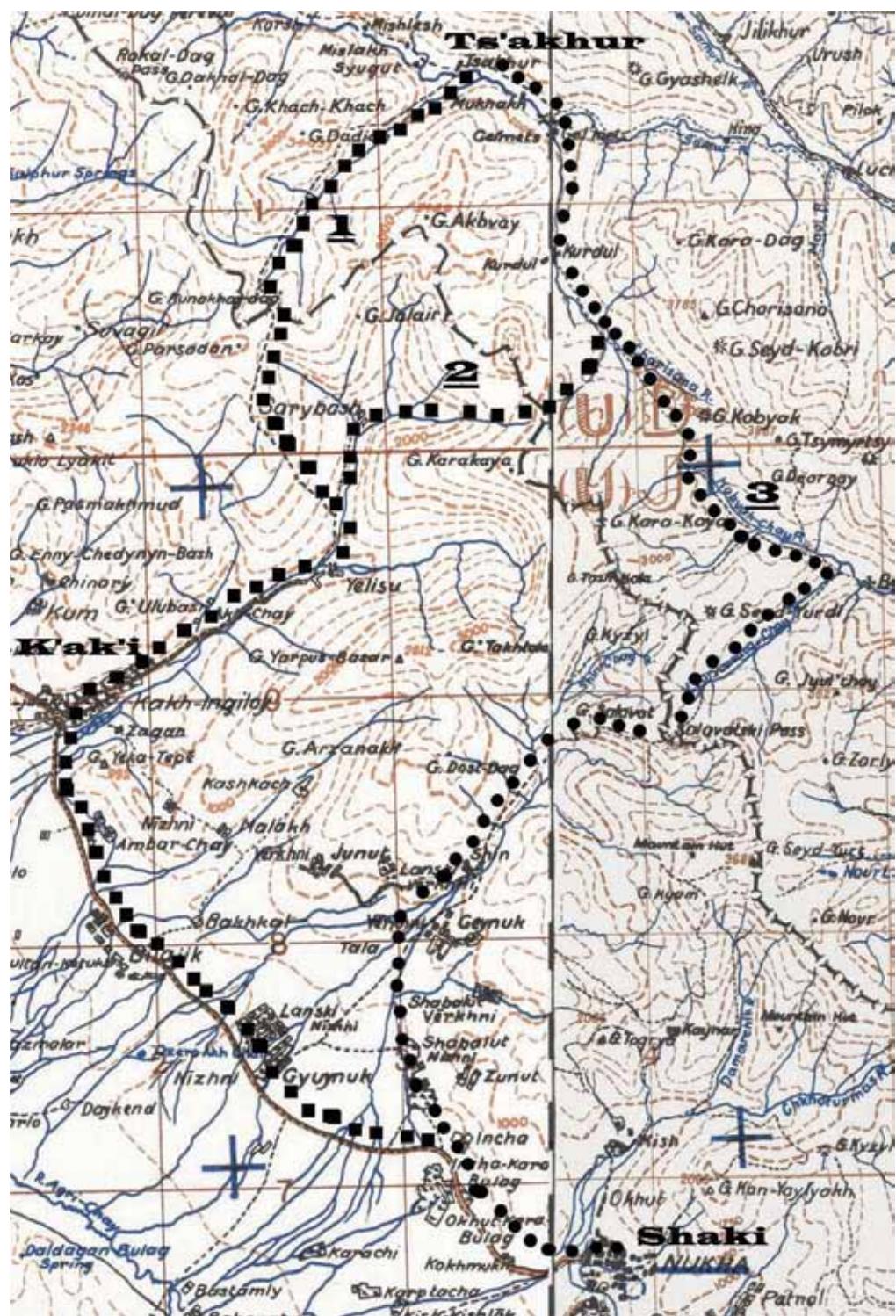
Fig. 1. Anonymous Civic Copper, *Kākhed* mint



Fig. 2. ‘Abbās I, AR ‘abbāsī, AH 1031, *Kākhetābād* “mint”



Map. 1. Itineraries from Ts'akhur to K'aki: 1) Ts'akhur – r. Attagay / Attagaychay valley – Gyunakhay or Attagay / Attagaychay Pass – nameless rivulet valley – Elisu – r. Kurmukhi valley – K'aki'; or 2) Ts'akhur – r. Samur valley – Gelmets – r. Kurdul valley – r. Khuray valley – Khuraydag Pass – nameless rivulet valley – Sarubash – r. Kurmukhi valley – Elisu – r. Kurmukhi valley – K'aki'



Map. 2. Itineraries from Ts'akhur to Shakī: 1-2) Ts'akhur – K'ak'i (by two different routes, cf. Map 1) – the plain – Shakī; or 3) Ts'akhur – r. Samur valley – Gelmets – r. Kurdul valley – passing over the mountains – r. Kyabakchay valley – r. Caravansaraychay valley – Salavat Pass – over some mountainous area to the Shin-chay valley via one of its tributaries – the plain – Shakī over some mountainous area to the Shin-chay valley via one of its tributaries – the plain – Shakī

**LITERARY HERITAGE OF RHETORIC:
ACHAEMENIANS, SASANIANS, SHAHNAMEH***

Subject. Literary Art Nature genre and relationships with Epos: experience of Georgian translations of Old Persian (OP) inscriptions and Shahnameh.

Content. This issue was mainly emphasized in the process of comparing my Georgian literary translation of Achaemenian inscriptions with the original version and defining parameters for its creative translation (Sakhokia 2012/2015; cp.: Sakhokia 2014, 2015, 2016, 2016/2017, 2018; cp.: Andronikashvili). After definition of literary degree of the Achaemenian texts, it became relevant to carry out typological comparison of their content-thematic, linguistic-textological and textological-idiomatic units with the Shahnameh of Firdousi.

The very beginning of the research works exposed such general parallel conceptual, ideological or life-related issues as: state, country, land, borders, king, religion, god, war and fighting, victory, courage, militancy, morality and ethics, people and population, art and architecture, beauty and luxury, building, detailed description of palaces, artistic systems for all sorts of detailed descriptions, navigation and so on.

Rhetoric and rhetorical aspects shape a key axis of external, creative-literary, linguistic cover of all the mentioned aspects. The very rhetoric unites two distant epochs: texture of the Achaemenian inscriptions and the verse of thick poem of Firdousi (Poetry, Poetics).

These two chains have common aesthetics mostly. Various groups and elements of characteristics and features are outlined. All thematic components in both epochal chains mostly demonstrate mutually identical rhetorical aesthetics. Components and features of the texture demonstrate a general tradition of rhetoric and aesthetics (cp.: Sakhokia 2016/2017, Sakhokia 2017, 2018).

Rhetoric, as a subject for exploration (studies), is related to the linguistics and textology fields of the text (see Sakhokia 2016/2017; Textology 2015, 2016, 2017).

All these factors and arguments are applied for exploring the materials. The third chain of the middle epoch that connects two research monuments, similar to each other, but different in time, has been outlined in the research of other author – P. O. Skjaervo (Skjaervo 1985). This is thematic and linguistic similarity between Achaemenian and Sasanian texts and this factor enables the researcher to talk about the whole continuous literary school, in my words, to talk about continuous heritage of the whole rhetorical literary and ideological tradition. Heritage of continuous tradition of rhetoric unites and interconnects all these epochs in terms of textology or spiritual aspects. Shahnameh is a creative crown of this inheritance (see: Textology 2015, 2016, 2017; Vaheddust 2008, 2010; Shahnama 2018; Shahnameh 1960-1971; Shalvashvili 2011;).

Linguistic-thematic contexts submitted by P. Skjaervo, that are common for rhetoric of Achaemenian and Sasanian texts, completely coincide with the rhetoric schemes that I have outlined for Achaemenian texts and Shahnameh, initially, when working on Georgian literary translation of Achaemenian inscriptions (in precise content), and, then, when exposing similar literary contexts in the poem of Firdousi and when identifying common signs between these chains.

The list by Skjaervo (based on inscriptions): Introduction of king, his origin and his space (space, kingdom, land, area); description of the empire (country, kingdom); signs of ideal quality of a good king and the condition of a country (land)/ situation under the ruling of such a king; (punishment/awarding included. M.S.); restoration-establishment of the state religion and its dissemination-establishment; references to inscriptions; and so on (Skjaervo 1985).

As to Pahlavi literature, if we take into account key characteristic conceptual-rhetoric features of the rich middle Persian heritage, we would reveal the following topics from sharp linguistic-thematic issues, which are common for all three chains: introduction and self-introduction of kings; characterization (self-characterization) of kings; ideal positive monarch; description of kingdom, borders; protection of kingdom,

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fighting against enemy, war, victory, strengthening borders, return of the lost; heroism, bravery; justice; fair-minded king; restoration of justice; regaining of the lost; protection of the weak, refusal of oppression, due appreciation of a worthy person; punishment of the guilty (syndrome of impunity, undervaluation of dignity and merit are not admissible); construction, building of cities, art and architecture; theme of religion, god, Ahuramazda, Ohrmazd; Arta (avest. Asha) – deity of justice; signs of behavior-rules, description of goods and dignities and so on.

Here we introduce evident graphic image of mutual correlation between all three relevant chains, based on full context of time and space of all three epochs.

See graphic image: **Annex-Scheme** (see below).

Particularly familiar aspects for the first and third chains will be also outlined, such as: Art and construction, architecture, beauty and fascination, luxury, mightiness, majesty; distinct things, their description; traditional systems for scrupulous description: detailed description of things, buildings, palaces, construction materials, process of construction process, adornments, ornaments, carvings, jewelry; evaluating characterization of channels, waters, seas of strategic importance, e. d., building Suez Canal is the best sample in Darius inscription and comparative theme of Jamshid Navigation in Shahnameh.

Samples. OP “..adam niyāštāyam imām yauiyām katanaiy. hacā Pirāva nāma rauta tyā Mudrāyaiy danuvatiy abiy draya tyā hacā Pārsā aitiy pasāva iyam yauiyā akaniya avatā yaatā adam niyāštāyam utā nāva āyatā hacā Mudrāyā tara imām yauiyām abiy Pārsam avatā yaatā mām kāma āha” (Kent, DZc) “..I gave order to dig this canal from a river by name Nile which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Persia. Afterward this canal was dug thus as I had ordered, and ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia thus as was my desire” (Kent, 117); cp. Shahnameh: “gozar kard az ān pas fe keshti bar āb, ze keshvar be keshvar gerefti shetāb” (Shahnameh 1960, I, 41) “...by ships went afterwards through water (sea, canal) from country to country quickly”.

Mutually similar details in creatively determined systems of extraordinarily detailed descriptions also draw attention, such as: dimensions for constructing buildings, length, depth, width and height, participant persons, number of builders, trade of masters and artisans and their characterization, details of long construction process, painting of beauty as a result of construction and so on.

All the above-mentioned create important part of traditional rhetoric and they are functionally full and complete in the research texts. Conceptual-creative value of similar detailed descriptions are characterized by the highest sememe (semiotic, semiology, semasiologic, semic (seme) quality.

I would like to make emphasis on one component as one of the samples of rhetoric – repetition: let's compare repetition in Old Persian and Shahnameh. First of all, the role of repetitions and other formulas are well-known in Old Persian. This phenomenon has been already appraised in my and other early works. (Sakhokia, Andronikashvili; cp. Kent). Principle repetitions as part of the comparison create the second component – Achaemenian Heritage/Shahnameh (for example: phenomenon of description); The third one is a repetition as part of Shahnameh: there are also Phrases here, more frequently, full Beyts or Mesra, sometimes in little differences, are subjected to repetitions. Not very often, but we meet similar cases; This is typical material and it is also a part of the stylistic system. It is clear that Firdousi would use vocabulary and idioms repeated in various places in analogical context for amplifying rhetoric aspects! This very component identifies repetition mechanisms of Old Persian with Shahnameh: it is a creative element for rhetoric's amplification-accentuation in both epochs.

Samples. In analogical contexts of coronation, crowning, rising on thron of 9 Kings – Kayumars Hushang Tahmuras Jamshid Faridun Manuchehr Kaus Kaixosrov Xosrov Parviz, – the most frequent repeated lexical-rhetorical units, that is the most important just identical repeated units (words, lexemes, taxemes, phrases) are the followings: “kolāh, kamar bast, rasm, kāyāni, deyhim, farr, baxt, taxt, jehāndār, farmānrvā, āj, zar o gouhar, jāygāh, jāye mehi, farre izadi, tāftan, bad kutāh kardan, ravānrā be roušani rāh kardan, manam/hamam šahriyāri o ham moubadī, kay, šāh, āyin, tāj, āftāb, xoršid, tābān, afšāndan, giti gašt rāhi, bar āmad nešast, mehi, etc. [different expressions including the words: “crown, thron, waistband (belt), hat, destiny, ligh, country, empire, obedient, rule, principle, speech, ivory, jewellery, to shorten, to multiply, king, priest,

greatness, to command, good, to rise-to be seated, down, evil, sun, shining, to shine, soul, law, gold, silver, halo, nimbus (farr), god, divine, divinity, kingly, etc.”]. (Shahnameh 1960-1971, tt. I (28-29, 33, 36, 39-42, 66, 53-78, 79, 135) III (249), IV (8-9), V (9, 58), IX (234) and cp. oth.: tt. II, VI, VII, VIII).

We can see here the paradigmatic lexical sequences as Rhetorical Codes: lexemes, taxemes, phrases, systematically repeated in the same one or in different chapters of Shahnameh. There are in OP texts the similar semantic groups by different corresponding Formulas. E. d. cp.: “gat’ava ašiyava, gat’ā, datam tya mana, drauga, Arta, t’atiy Xšā'iya, framatara, Xšāyat’iya ima dahyava, Xšāyat’iya dahyunam, dahyašuva, dahyu, etc.” (Kent).

The Repeation seems as Method of Rhetoric in Shahnameh as well as in OP inscriptions.

The factor of oral literature also ensures that all these chains are arranged in this way, as well as folk knowledge and memory and, in general, typology of epos. Some continuous line is exposed in the text structure, in the codification of texture, architectonics; the old texts demonstrate typological parallels with medieval centuries; this is epos, epic, epic poems, – first of all Shahnameh; everywhere we meet creative literature; creative literature is comparative (is subjected to comparison) with Old Iranian rhetoric. Ideological rhetorics and canonical eloquence emerge in creative literature and folk epos, orally transmitted folklore too. Iranian folk theater; ancient, durable folk dastans; folklore or author’s classical monuments, contain poetic elements of ancient Iranian monuments. Thematic or formal rhetoric tradition should be also analyzed, as well as versification issues and various technical versions of prosody; value of melodics and musicality of various textures; melodics and musicality are also met in Old Persian inscriptions, as noted earlier many times by me and by others; to my mind, similar arguments prove existence of the whole system of signs of creativeness, poetics (that is literature character) in Achaemenian inscriptions (see: Sakhokia 2012/2015, Sakhokia 2014, 2015, 2016, 2016/2017, 2017, 2018; see: Andronikashvili; cp. Vaheddust 2008, 2010; Shahnama 2018, etc.).

P. Skjaervo shapes the whole concept of the Rhetoric School, where oral or writing materials were taught in the form of stylistics and this knowledge was transmitted to generations in heritage; our conclusions agree with this consideration: this memory penetrates the epoch of New Persian writing too and this is traditional rhetoric. P. Skjaervo’s assumptions on schools of Sasanian epoch, even special schools, are very important; The matter is of an institute of upbringing, first of all, at court (Skjaervo 1985; cp. Chkheidze).

Origins, roots of the epos should be searched in the spiritual-intellectual unity of these epochs. This refers to thematic and pragmatic genesis of both this epoch and its versus, poetic forms, – versification. Iranian specialists write the following about this issue: “Old Persian inscriptions are melodic, full of melodism, textual repetitions create textual music. Therefore, Mrs Maia Sakhokia follows right strategy when transforming these inscriptions in verses in Georgian translation; this is a justified way and proceeds from the original text itself” (Bageri, Azarandazi: 2015; cp. Andronikashvili; cp. Sakhokia 2012-2018).

This consideration establishes positive attitude to the idea of considering Old Persian inscriptions as literature, outlines its deep typological connection with Shahnameh and the genesis of the epos in relation to Old Persian inscriptions. Multilateral thematic-semantic, culturology and linguistic-textological analysis of the very rhetoric material demonstrates essential systematic nature of unity and similarity of literary signs between the Achaemenian epigraphical heritage and Shahnameh.

The parallel typological-rhetoric samples submitted by us below mainly reflect the following rhetoric-thematic textual-paradigmatic units, which are common and have common aspiration for both epochal chains (semantems, sememe): 1. construction, art and architecture, construction materials of buildings, detailed description of construction works, feeling-stressing of magnificence; description of builders, architects, dimensions and so on.; (bears semantic function for reflecting epochal style); 2. victory over enemy, defense of the country, victory of justice over evil; defense-strengthening of state borders and so on; 3. Theme of water and navigation; building Suez Canal, crossing rivers in extreme conditions and so on; (characteristic style); 4. justice, equality of people, equality before the law and care; (one of the leading keynotes of just kings); 5. protection of justice against lie (Old Persian Arta and Drauga); way of god, lord; «Follow the truth! Respect the Truth! Do not Swerve from the Road! God!», and so on.

Samples. Old Persian (OP) Short fragments from Descriptions of: T’rusha Palace cp./vs Palaces in Shahnameh:

“...ima hadiš tyā Çūšāyā akunavam hacāciy dūradaša arjanamšaiy abariya ...t’ikā avaniya aniyā XL arašaniš baršnā aniyā XX arašaniš baršnā upariy avām t’ikam hadiš frāsahya....tyā ištiš ajaniya kāra hya Bābiruviya..Labanāna..At’uriya haudim abara...Karkā uta Yaunā abara..yaka hacā Gadārā abariya utā hacā Karmānā daraniyam hacā Spardā utā hacā Bāxtriya abariya..kāsaka hya kapautaka utā sikabruš...hacā Sugudā abariya kāsaka hya axšaina hauv hacā Uvārazmiyā abariya...ardatam utā asā dārvuv hacā Mudrāyā..arjanam..hacā Yaunā..piruš hacā Kūšā..hacā Hidauv..hacā Harauvatiyā abariya. stūnā at’againiya..Ūvjaiy hacā avadaša abariya. martiyā karnuvakā yaiy a’agam akunavatā abaiy Yaunā utā Spardiyā. martiyā dāraniyakarā tyaiy daraniyam akunavaša avaiy Mādā utā Mudrāyā. martiyā tyaiy dārvuv akunavaša avaiy Spardiyā utā Mudrāyā. martiya tyaiy agurum akunavaša avaiy Bābiruviyā. martiyā tyaiy didām apit’ā avaiy Mādā utā Mudrāyā...” (Kent, DSf 22-55) “This palace which I built at Susa from afar its ornamentation was brought. Down-ward the earth was dug, until I reached rock in the earth. When the excavation had been made then rubble was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth. On that rubble the palace was constructed. And that the earth was dug down-ward, and that the rubble was packed down, and that the sun-dried brick was molded, the Babylonian people it did (these tasks). The cedar timber, this – a mountain by name Lebanon – from there was brought. The Assyrian people, it brought it to Babylon; from Babylon the Carians and the Ionians brought it to Susa. The yaka-timber was brought from Candara and from Carmania. The gold was brought from Sardis and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The precious stone lapis-lazuli and carnelian which was wrought here, this was brought from Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought here. The silver and the ebony where brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought. The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia. The stone columns which were here wrought, a village by name Abiradu, in Elam from there were brought. The stone-cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, these were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians...” (Kent, 144).

cp.: some short fragments from Shahnameh:

“...konun az Madāyen soxan nou konam, sefathāye eyvāne xosrov konam, ke xosrov ferestād kashā berum behend o becin o be ābāde bum; beraftand kārigarān se hazār ze har kešvari ānk bud nāmdār! azišān har ānkas ke ostād bud, ze xešt o ze gaj o por delaš yād bud! ču sad mard birun šod az rumiān, ze irān o ahvāz o ze har miān. azišān delāvār gozidand si, azān si do rumi o do fārsi. mohandes paziroft eyvāne šāh..foru bord boniāde dah šāhraš, hamān šāhraš panj kard baraš. ze sang o ze gaj bud boniāde kār, čenin bāyad ānku dehad dāde kār. ču eyvāne eyvānaš āmad bejāy, beyāmad piše jehān kadxodāy; baraš bud o bālāš pabjāh o haft; bepaymud bālāye kār o baraš, kam āmad ze kār az rasan haft raš; kas andar jehān kāxe čunin nadid, ne az kārdānāne pišin šenid;..foru hašte zu sorx zanjir behar mohreyi dar nešānde gouhar; degar goft kārigarān āvarid, gaj o xešt o sange gerān āvarid; urā zargar āmad ze rum o ze čin, ze mekrān o baqdād o irān zamin; hazar o sad o bist ostād bud ke kardāre ān taxtešān yād bud; baraš bud bālāye sad šāre raš, ču haftād raš bar nehi az baraš; sad o bist raš niz pahnāš bud, ke pahnāš kamtar ze bālāš bud; boland piše panjāh o sad šāre(a)š, čenān bud ke barābare sudi sare(a)š; hamān šāhraš har raši zu se raš, kazān sar bedidi bone kešvaraš; bemesqāl azān har yeki pānsād, kaz ātaš šodi sorx hamču bossad; če māye ze zargouharāgin bud; har ān gouhari kaš bahā xār bud, kamābiš haftād dinār bud; ze gouhar basi māye bar māye bud; ..lājvard, pīruze, zarin o gouhar negār; šodand barān gonbade lājvard..”[transl. res.: palaces and building descriptions like OP: builders, craftsmen, experts, peoples, countries, quantities, numbers, materials, sizes, ornaments, treasures, jewellery, bricklayers, painters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, stonemasons, different lists etc.] (Shahnameh 1971, t.9, 220-225, 230-235).

Pragmatic semantics and Lexical Data create indeed Rhetorical Rules and its Paradigms.

We should note that, to stress the Old Persian rhetoric, my translation introduces thematic tables of content, based on rhetorical style of the original and they sometimes directly coincide with the text quotation (see content in: Sakhokia 2012//2015).

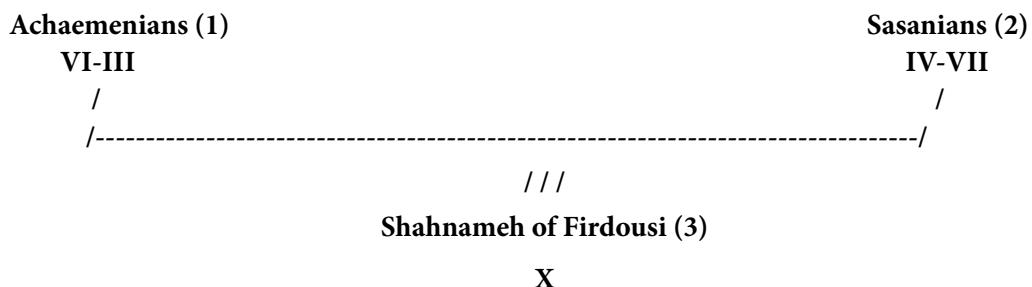
Besides key topics, there are many precisely detailed scrupulous issues; they comprise thematic units that have long sharp typical parallels in Old Iranian inscriptions; for example: Praising of King, Self-praising, introduction and self-introduction by king, personal praying, praying for kingdom, a lot of life topics, award-

ing of worthy men, saying truth, serving justice, praising-hailing of hero and heroism, the cult of becoming famous and so on – mostly noble, emotionally full and spiritually thematic (sememes).

Precise analysis reveals a lot of paradigmatic lexical sequences, paradigms of lexemes, taxemes or phrases functioning as special rhetorical rules, formulas, and codes in both Shahnameh and Achaemenian inscriptions. These data create the basis to Art Literary Translations; namely, the Experience of Georgian poetic translations of these Iranian monuments show its large possibilities in poetry fields (cp.: Andronikashvili, Sakhokia, Shalvashvili). The main question in that case is really common rhetorical features, semasiological paradigms, semantic and lexical groups to morphosyntactic expressions in monuments of both different epochs. The Typological Unity of Rhetorical data of OP/Shahnameh, showing a live tradition of Pragmatic Rhetorical Ideas, is clear. It is actual

Conclusion. On seeing mutual parallel samples, at a glance, the main aspect emerges: common rhetoric demonstrates common spirit of distant epochs, ideology, conscience, ideals, values, worldview, religiosity (with the center of this cosmic world – creator god), spiritual idealism and identical psychology for the world perception.

Annex-Scheme: 3 Rhetorical Epoch



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A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE GEORGIAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *

Abstract

Various problems concerning Georgian-Iranian relations during 19th century are discussed in this article. Georgia's incorporation into the Russian empire at the beginning of the century inevitably meant curtailing the sphere of influence of Iran over east Georgia, but even under these circumstances the relations between the two countries were not severed. After considering the historical background and the climate that took shape during the new phase in Georgian-Iranian relations, we turn to economic relations. In the nineteenth century, Georgia and its capital gradually became a transit route for Iranian goods entering Russia and Europe, and vice versa. The social life and the cultural activities of the Iranian community of Tbilisi are discussed in the final section of the article.

Keywords: *Georgia, Iran, South Caucasus, Tbilisi, Russian-Iranian wars*

The nineteenth century marks the beginning of an entirely new era in the history of Georgian-Iranian relations. The course of development was primarily the result of Georgia's incorporation into the Russian empire, which inevitably meant curtailing the sphere of influence of Iran over east Georgia. The relations between the two countries were not severed but acquired several new aspects. First and foremost, the relations were of economic nature, as Georgia and its capital had gradually become a transit route for Iranian goods entering Russia and Europe, and vice versa. The second aspect involved the filtering of European and Russian ideas as well as cultural and technical advancements to Iran through Georgia. Yet another significant aspect was the social and cultural activity of the Iranian community of Tbilisi. These aspects of Georgian-Iranian relations are considered in turn after describing their historical background and political context.

The Political Framework

South Caucasus, and east Georgia in particular, were high on the agenda of the Iranian foreign policy at the end of the eighteenth century. The Russian-Iranian relations over the cardinal issue of Georgia had been somewhat problematic even before the annexation of east Georgia, i.e. the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti. Following the Iranian invasion of Georgia in 1795 by the notorious Agha Mohammad Khan, Russia would attempt for years to convince Iran to give up its territorial claims to east Georgia. In November 1799 an auxiliary Russian legion commanded by General Lazarev was deployed in Georgia under the terms of the Treaty of Giorgievsk. The stationing of this particular contingent was followed by the arrival of Russia's representative Kovalenski. Kovalenski and Lazarev took advantage of the weakness of power of King Giorgi XII and gradually started to interfere with the internal affairs of Kartli and Kakheti. Russia thus gained a foothold in Georgia.¹

In the same year, prior to the annexation of the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti in that year, the Russia's representative at the Georgian court Kovalenski dispatched his envoy (Merabishvili) to Iran in order to deliver Russia's official stance on the issue of Georgia. According to this position, Georgia had become a protectorate of Russia after the signing the treaty of 1783; Iran had to come to terms with this fact and was expected not to harm good relations with Russia in this regard.² In his reply to Kovalenski, Fath-'Ali Shah's first vizier, Häji Ebrāhim wrote: "Georgia has never been Russia's dominion. Georgia, Kakheti and Tbilisi have belonged to Iran from time immemorial. Only Erekle³ managed to take it away from Iran and you are well aware how

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1 For the Establishement of the Russian Authority in Georgia and its consequences see: Burnashev; Butkov; Dubrovin (1871-88, 1897); Dumbadze; Lang; Markova (1966); Salia; Samsonadze; Sharashendze; Shengelia.

2 Sharashendze, pp. 69-70.

3 Erekle (Irakli, Heraklius) II (1720-1797), King of the kingdom of Kakheti (1744-1762) and the united kingdom of Kartli and

severely he was punished for it; the wrath of Āghā Mohammad Khan had been unleashed upon Georgia . . . The treaty signed by Erekle with Russia has no validity. For instance, if any of Russia's subordinate nations voluntarily decided to side with the Iranian ruler and signed a treaty with him, would such a treaty be valid? It will never be Russia's dominion . . . The throne of Iran is consolidated at present, it has a ruler who does not intend to transfer the countries in hand to others." (Dubrovin, *Istoriya*, IV, pp. 303-304)

Iran was trying to reach agreement with the Georgian king by bypassing Russia's representatives. These tactics seem to explain the fact that, while Kovalenski's envoy (Merabishvili) was being delayed in Iran, the Shah dispatched his representative with the purpose of conducting confidential negotiations with King Giorgi XII of Kartli and Kakheti. In 1799, before Merabishvili's return to Tbilisi, the Shah's envoy had an audience with King Giorgi XII and handed him an edict. The Shah demanded that the Georgian king acknowledge Iran's supremacy and send his son, David, to the Shah's court (Tsagareli, pp. 156-57) as a token of loyalty. The Iran's representative urged King Giorgi XII to comply with the Shah's proposal or face invasion by Iran. (Dubrovin, *Istoriya*, IV, p. 300)

In the same period, Tbilisi assumed a significant place in the Russian-Persian relations. The diplomatic relations between Russia and Iran were established in Tbilisi at the end of the eighteenth century. The relations continued into the first Russo-Persian war (1804-1813). The capital of Georgia had become "the military highway" for the Russians heading for Iran, as well as a place where diplomatic encounters took place. (Natchkebia 2001, p. 200) In the same period, Georgia was to lose its independence. When King Giorgi XII died in December 1800, the Russian Czar, Paul I, made the most of the situation and incorporated Kartli and Kakheti into the Russian Empire in January 1801. Under an edict of the Czar Paul I, the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti was abolished and declared a province of Russia.

Following the annexation of the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti, Russia became a direct neighbor of Iran. A new phase had started in the Georgian- Iranian relations. The Georgian political elite were divided. Some supported accession to the Russian empire, while others hoped to regain the country's independence by using the connections with Iran. Iran, for its part, envisaged regaining control over east Georgia. If this were to happen, Kartli and Kakheti would be granted much greater independence than within the Russian empire, based on the realpolitik of the time. Concerned about the establishment of the Russian rule in Kartli and Kakheti, Iran was looking for ways to dislodge Russia from Georgia. In June 1803, the son of Erekle II, Prince Alexander, who aspired to the throne through an anti-Russian uprising aiming at Georgia's secession from Russia with Iran's assistance (Orjonikidze; Bendianishvili, pp. 73-79), had an audience with the Iranian Crown Prince, 'Abbās Mirzā, in Tabriz. That same year, Grigori XII's son, Teimuraz, also fled to Iran from Tbilisi.

Fath-'Ali Shah assisted the Georgian princes, including Alexander, in every possible way. According to an old custom,⁴ he even granted a title of king to another Georgian prince, Iulon. He also called on King Solomon of Imereti (west Georgia) and Sherip Pasha of Akhaltsikhe to turn against the Russians. It is worth noting that there existed a Persian-Turkish joint plan of action against Russia in South Caucasus, but its implementation was impeded by the border dispute between Iran and Turkey. In August 1802 princes Iulon and Parnaoz, who had fled to Imereti, gathered troops and attempted to invade Kartli and Kakheti. At the same time the Iranian army approached the borders of Irevān Khanate. Iran officially declared war on Russia on March 24, 1804. The Iranian historian, Nāser Nājem, notes: "The root cause of the Russo-Persian tensions was Georgia." (Nājem, p. 40) He then goes on to explain: "The incorporation of Georgia into Russia was unbearable for Iran whose prestige had been severely damaged; this country had been considered tributary of Iran for centuries and it could not just be allowed to join such an alliance. That is why Iran was extremely frustrated and ready to put up strong resistance." (Ibid., p. 51)

Georgian princes – Iulon and Parnavaz from western Georgia, and Alexander and Teimuraz from Persia, tried to organize the resistance of Muslim Khans of Caucasian regions, highlanders and the Georgian nobility against the Russian authority. (Berdzenishvili, II, p. 320) At that time, the Shah's representative, a certain Ya'qub Beg, arrived in Tbilisi and delivered a letter from the Iranian vizier, Mirzā Shafi ', to the commander-

Kakheti (1762-1797).

4 During the Safavid period, the kings and governors of the eastern Georgia were nominated by Savafid Shahs, and were given the title of the "*vāli of Gorjestān*".

in-chief of the Russian army in Georgia, General Tsitsianov. The letter contained the Iranian government's demand for the withdrawal of the Russian army from Georgia; otherwise Iran threatened to advance on Georgia. (Quzānlu, *Tārikh*, pp. 695-96) By that time, however, the Russians had established a substantial military presence in east Georgia, and dislodging them was probably impossible.

Iranian leaders continued to seek an alliance with rebel princes of Georgia. In May 1804, Prince Iulon was visited by the Shah's envoy who informed him that the Iranian army was ready to advance on Georgia, and the Georgian princes had to prepare for battle. (Dubrovin, *Istoriya*, IV, p. 346) However, the rebel princes, Parnaoz and Iulon, were soon captured and sent to Russia. Prince Alexander, with the Iranian army on his side, engaged the Russian army under Tsitsianov. At the beginning it looked as though the scales of victory would tip in favor of Alexander, but after the final battle at Echmiadzin, Tsitsianov emerged as a victor. Despite Tsitsianov's assassination during a siege of Baku, the well-equipped and better trained Russian army managed to take over almost the entire East Caucasus. (Sharashenidze, pp. 30-35)

After the assassination of a Russian general, Lazarev, by Mariam, the last queen of Georgia, Prince Teimuraz, the son of Giorgi XII, fled to Iran. He remained in Iran from 1803 to 1810. Teimuraz was in direct contact with representatives of the French military mission, and was appointed commander of the artillery branch of the Azeri regular army. However, he later fled from Iran and defected to Russia. He settled in St. Petersburg in 1810, and attained great success in scientific activities. (Sharadze; Meskhia; Gonikishvili)

During Napoleonic wars, the so-called Treaty of Finkenstein was signed between Iran and France.⁵ Iran had turned away from England and allied itself with France over the central issue of South Caucasus generally, and of Georgia in particular. One of the key points under the Treaty of Finkenstein was the restoration of Iran's supremacy over east Georgia. Napoleon pledged his support to Iran, albeit in an ambiguous manner: he would assist the Iranians after they dislodged Russia from Georgia and took over Tbilisi.⁶ However, only 65 days later, as a result of the peace treaty of Tilzit, France agreed to give Russia *carte blanche* in the East, which amounted to abrogation of the Treaty of Finkenstein. Under the circumstances, Iran redirected its diplomatic efforts back to England. Georgia still remained a vital issue for the Qajars at the negotiations between Persia and England, although England didn't undertake any effective measures in favour of Iran either. (Natchkebia, 2008, p. 109)

Prince Alexander continued to fight against the Russians in the ensuing years as well. Following the establishment of the Russian rule, he became a leader of Georgia's pro-independence resistance and didn't give up fighting until his death. In 1812, Prince Alexander's (and other Georgian princes') objective was a revolt in Kartli and Kakheti and the blocking of the Georgian military highway. Iran was expected to assist Alexander in the restoration of the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti. The Kakhetian revolt of 1812 against the Russian domination, though eventually defeated, was a serious challenge to the imperial authority. (Markova 1951; Khantadze; Gelashvili)

By this time peace talks between Russia and Iran had ended without success. A temporary truce expired, and Abbās Mirzā decided to join forces with Prince Alexander and advance on Tbilisi to dislodge the Russians, but he was outstripped by the Russians. On November 19-20, 1812, as a result of a sudden offensive at Aslanduz, 'Abbās Mirzā's army was defeated. Alexander continued his resistance, but without success. He was forced to flee to Dagestan and later to Iran. In accordance with the old tradition mentioned above, the Shah gave him the title of the "Vāli of Gorjestān". Alexander died in Iran in 1844, and is buried in an old Christian church near Teheran, outside the gates of the Shah 'Abd al-'Azim shrine. (Sharashenidze, p. 174)

Under the Golestān Treaty signed after the 1804-1813 Russo-Persian war, Iran surrendered its claims to Kartli and Kakheti, and this signaled an end of Iran's interference with political affairs of Georgia. After the next war, 1826-28, Iran conceded Russia's sovereignty over Georgia yet again under the Turkmenchay Treaty. (Shengelia, pp. 55-72)

The true state of affairs about the early Russian-Iranian conflict on Georgia is probably best captured by the French diplomat Amadée Jaubert, who quotes the words of a ruler of an Azeri province, Ahmad Khan,

5 For the Treaty of Finkenstein and the place of Georgia in this treaty, see Natchkebia (2008); Amini (1995, 1999); Ghaffāri.

6 Nājem (pp. 96-97) notes: "The Finkenstein Treaty . . . was prepared in such a way that political interests of France, such as exclusion of England from Iran, were easily traced in it, whereas the paragraphs applying to Iran were ambiguous and vague."

regarding the Crown Prince ‘Abbās Mirzā: “our current ruler . . . with his mighty hand has united everything, except Georgia, a province that in reality hasn’t been part of the empire for a long time now.” (Jaubert, p. 118) The Persian pretense to empire proved fallow despite Āghā Mohammad Khan’s temporary subjugation of the eastern Caucasus. (Kashani-Sabet, p. 21)

The border between Iran and Russia was defined under the 1813 Treaty of Golestān. In East Transcaucasia, Iran retained two khanates – those of Irevān, and Nakhjevān. Iran gave up territories occupied by Russia during the war. Under the same treaty, Russia was entitled to the territories, which previously had been under the Turkish control. This applied to the provinces of west Georgia – Imereti, Guria, Samegrelo and Abkhazia. When Iran recognized the inclusion of these regions within the state of Russia, the Iran-Turkish alliance treaty was rendered effectively null and void due as Turkey had claimed these territories. After signing Treaty of Golestān, the Iran-Turkish relations deteriorated and even border conflicts happened between the two countries.

After suffering defeat in the second war with Russia during 1826-1828, Iran was forced by the terms of the Turkmenchay Treaty to give up other regions in the Transcaucasia, and finally surrendered its claim to east Georgia. According to Paragraph 5 of the treaty, “His Majesty the Shāhanshāh of Iran, on behalf of himself and his descendants, decrees that as a token of solid friendship with the Emperor of Russia, the dominions which . . . are situated between the Caucasus Range and the Caspian Sea be awarded to Russia.” (Binā, p. 59) The second round of the Russo-Persian wars not only cost Iran Georgia, Irevān, and Nakhjevān, but also imposed on the country a debilitating war indemnity. (Kashani-Sabet, p. 22) The Treaty also set the tone of Russo-Iranian relations down to World War I, and made manifest Persia’s inability to challenge Russia’s supremacy in Georgia and the Caucasus. (Hitchins, p. 469) Political relations between Iran and Georgia were disrupted for a long time thereafter. The remaining ties were primarily of an economic and cultural nature.

Economic Relations

Close economic relations between Georgia and Iran had had a long history prior to the nineteenth century. For long, Europeans had paid attention to Georgia, and to its capital, Tbilisi in particular, as the best transit route for trade with Iran, although effective steps regarding transit trade were not taken until the nineteenth century. In the 1760s, the French traveler, Peyssonel (p. 153), wrote: “Tbilisi indeed is the most convenient place for establishing trade with Persia.” The same author went on to say: “at times there is a possibility in Tbilisi of purchasing Iranian goods of any kind. These goods are delivered from Ganja, Shemakh, Tavriz, Eriwan and Erzerum.” During the 1750s and 1760s, up to 200 carts loaded with merchandise would leave Tbilisi daily; some of these were bound for Iranian towns, primarily Tabriz. (Salia, p. 365)

Towns of west Georgia, including Kutaisi, also had established trade relations with Iran. According to Catholic missionary Archangelo Lamberti “Kutaisi is a good trading town, because it is located in a place easily accessible on all sides by merchants . . . Precious Iranian wool, coloured Indian cloth, leather, smoked fish from the Caspian, caviar and spices are delivered by Kartlinians and Iranians coming from Kartli.” (Lamberti, p. 26; Katsitadze, p. 21) According to another missionary Don Juzeppe da Milano, the prince of Samegrelo acted as a broker between Iran and West European traders in the business of selling Iranian silk. (*Ibid.*)

Iran had exported raw silk from Georgia since the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Foreign traders (as well as local ones) bought fabric of Georgian silk in Tbilisi and resold it at a profit in south-eastern countries. Among the exported raw materials red dye in particular deserves a mention. By the end of the eighteenth century, the annual worth of red dye exported to Persia and Turkey amounted to ten thousand Rubles. (Dumbadze and Guchua, I, p. 357) Goods imported from Iran were much more diverse. Iranian goods were imported to Georgia by both Iranian and local merchants. Georgian documentary sources provide ample information regarding these goods. Items made of Iranian fabric feature quite often in these documents. The sources make reference to both ordinary and precious fabric. This fabric was being manufactured in the workshops of Yazd, Gilan, Isfahan, Tabriz, Kashan, Khoi and other Iranian towns. It is evident that the needs of Georgian feudal aristocracy were being met primarily by high quality foreign products; for this reason precious Iranian fabric (or garments made of this fabric) feature extensively in the books of dowries of nobility women. In the Georgian documents related to the end of the eighteenth century frequent reference is made

to the Khoi lain,⁷ Isfahan calico, Ganja sheidish,⁸ Tabriz taffeta, Kashan blue sheidish, Isfahan charda,⁹ Kholi calico, Kashan charda, and Tavriz charda.” (Javakhisvili, III, pp. 195-197, 200, 202-203) During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, precious stones were also imported to Georgia from Iran. Georgian dowry books and lists of goods often feature gems of Iranian origin: the Nishaburi turquoise, and Badakhshani ruby, sapphire, pearls and emerald. Remarkable leather goods were also imported from Iran, as were famous Iranian carpets.

Georgia was also engaged in international trade with countries of Near East and Europe through Iranian towns. According to the Russian author, Burnashev (p. 47), Georgian merchants exported Russian goods to the Persian and Indian markets via Georgia, while the quantity of inbound goods imported by them was much larger. Trade with Iran remained extensive after Georgia’s incorporation into the Russian empire, while old conventional practices continued. Caravans heading for faraway lands were convoyed by armed Georgian detachments, commanded by the so-called caravānbāshi, who received their pay according to the number of carts loaded with goods (one Ruble per cart). The caravānbāshi detachments continued to exist until 1817, when they were replaced by the Russian troops. (AKAK, V, pp. 1, 8)

The situation didn’t change after the Russo-Persian war broke out. Despite the war, the border between Persia and Russia remained open and commercial relations were not disrupted. “It should be noted in particular that during the last Russo-Persian war trade with Georgia did not cease at all. Caravans continued to ply in Tbilisi, as during peacetime.” (Natchkebia 2001, pp. 80-81) Goods exported from Georgia to Iran and Turkey included manufactured Russian goods delivered from the markets of Moscow, Makariev and other Russian towns by Tbilisi traders, as well as locally produced gold and silver lace, fabric embroidered with Georgian brocades, and large quantities of red dye. (AKAK, IV, №37) However, at the beginning of the century, however, Tbilisi merchants did not have close trade links with the Russian market.

Goods imported from Persia and Turkey still dominated the Georgian market. The Russian commander-in-chief in the Caucasus, General Tormasov notes that the local merchants hardly needed to travel to Russian towns as their business was solely connected with Iran and other Asian countries. (Ibid.) Merchants would arrive in Georgia from the neighbouring khanates and Persian and Turkish provinces, bringing merchandise from their countries. The annual turnover of goods at the time, including silk, cotton, fabric made of silk, cotton and flax, sugar, coffee, spices, steel, lead and other small articles imported from Asian countries to Georgia amounted to 800,000 Rubles (in silver). According to records of 1812, basic commodities and luxury items were being imported from Iran in large quantities. Goods exported to Iran from Georgia included fur, silk and cotton fabric, sackcloth, black agate and wax. Georgian linen interwoven with gold was particularly in demand. Close trade links are also evidenced by the fact that the Persian silver coin ‘Abbāsi (Abazi in Georgia) (80 French centime) was in circulation throughout all provinces of the Transcaucasia during this period. (Dumbadze, p. 89-92)

It should be noted, however, that up until the war, Tbilisi did not feature as a trade and transit route between the East and West. The city assumed this function after the war. In this regard France, which sought to exclude England from the markets of the East, was particularly interested. After signing the Treaty of Finkenstein (May 4, 1807) General Gardanne arrived at the royal court of Persia, and was received as an ally. The Tilzit Treaty (4 July, 1807) allowed him to return via Tbilisi. It was this journey of the French mission that first marked Tbilisi as a transit town between Persia and Europe. (Natchkebia 2001) The French consulate opened in Tbilisi specifically for the purpose of making use of the Georgian territory for trade with the East. The French consul, Jacques-François Gamba, wrote on the Black Sea, and therefore the significance of the Georgian territory: “an adequate measure to contain England’s monopoly and excessive might and free Europe from her influence would be the reunification of Europe and Asia, interconnection of the two by the Black Sea, i.e. closed sea.” (Gamba 1826; 1987, p. 36)

Following the truce of 1813, trade with Iran improved. Under the Treaty of Golistān, customs-duties imposed on goods imported from Iran were as little as five percent. Preferential duties and almost free trade

7 Homespun dark-blue cotton.

8 Woman’s trousers.

9 Canopy, baldachin.

allowed the local traders to accrue financial capital. People living along the main transit route (Redut-Kale-Tbilisi-Baku-Iran) were afforded an opportunity to make money. The supply needs of the Russian troops deployed in the Transcaucasia, the connection with French capital and rivalry with England, but above all the need to consolidate its position in Georgia, compelled Russia to introduce “free trade” temporarily. The object of trade with Asia was seen by Russia at the time thus: Russia must interpose itself in the European trade with Asia. By virtue of its geographical position, it should become a transit country and take advantage of the turnover of goods between Europe and Asia. Following a gradual conquest of South Caucasus, the idea of linking the trade routes of the Black Sea and those of the Caspian was again revived. The Transcaucasia was seen as a bridge between Europe and Asia as it was a convenient route for transit trade. Russia wanted to revive this very transit route, and by the decree of October 8, 1821, preferential tariffs were introduced. Customs-duties imposed on goods imported from Europe were set at only five percent of the price of goods, and transit of European goods bound for Iran via the Transcaucasia was made toll-free. Preferential duties would apply for ten years; the decree took effect on July 1, 1822. From that date onward, the European trade with Asia was to be carried out through South Caucasus, i.e. Odessa-Redut- Kale-Tbilisi. “Based on the decree of October 8 (20) 1821, all goods imported to Georgia from abroad will be taxed by only 5 percent of the declared price of the goods, in the same way duties are levied on goods imported from Iran on the basis of the Gulestan Treaty. (Gamba 1987, p. 235)

Thus the law on transit envisaged much lower duties on transit goods in both directions compared to the Russian imperial tariff (25-30 percent). By such concessions, Russia sought to make way for European goods entering the Central Asia and Iran via the Transcaucasia, as Russia itself was unable to satisfy these countries’ needs with its own production. The Russian leaders of the time assumed that by expanding domestic production they would be able, within ten years, to satisfy consumer demand which tended to favour European goods. The law was also expected to result in shifting the Trabzon- Erzurum route onto the Transcaucasian territory, and to “strengthen Russia’s political influence on the European continent and versus Iran-Turkey as well.” (Bodenshtadt, p. 170) The significance of the Georgian port of Redut-Kale (Kulevi) on the Black Sea was especially enhanced. “Redut-Kale was the busiest harbour on the east coast of the Black Sea . . . , which for years had been regarded as a linking centre for trade transactions between Persia and Europe.” (*ibid.*) Persians also traded there. (Mamatsashvili, p. 140) Redut-Kale was destroyed during the Crimean War.¹⁰

Although the five-percent tariff concession and toll-free transit meant that European countries and France in particular would secure the markets of South Caucasus and Iran, the Russian government was hoping that a ten-year period of preferential tariff s policy would encourage the markets of South Caucasus and Iran to expand; the demand for European goods would increase, but upon the expiry of this term, Russian bourgeoisie would dominate the emerging markets. This decree gave great impetus to the development of trade in Georgia, and made the country part of the international trade. During this period the transit route of Georgia was used by English as well, despite the fact that preferential tariff was directed against England and served France’s interests. In the mid-1820s, the French consul Gamba wrote: “Many Englishmen returning to Europe from India have passed through Tiflis lately. They embark from Bombay and in 15-20 days they reach the Bandar-Bushehr harbor in the Persian Gulf. The residence of consulate general of England is in this harbor; English are heavily involved in trade, and they distribute manufactured goods from India and their own country throughout Persia. From Bandar-Bushehr they easily reach Tiflis within six weeks by caravans”. (Gamba 1826, II, p. 159)

Persian goods passing through the Tbilisi custom-house during the period of preferential customs-tariff primarily consisted of the following: cotton, coarse calico, braids, woolen quilts, and linen interwoven with gold, daraia,¹¹ wool, shawls, carpets, thick felt, silk fabric and mixture, various fur-skins and salt. (AKAK, VI, pp. 1, 227) In 1827, the worth of European goods passing through the Tbilisi custom-house was 383,090 Rubles, and that of Persian goods, 1,116,696 Rubles in silver. (AKAK, VII, p. 132) During the ten-year period of preferential customs-tariff, the annual average turnover of goods amounted to 1,700,000 Rubles. (Duck-

¹⁰ For the importance of Redut-Kale for commercial relations between East and West see Pachkoria; Spaskii-Avtonomov, VIII, pp. 21-33.

¹¹ Raw silk cloth; silk shawl.

aussie, p. 410) At the end of the term of preferential customs-tariff in 1831, “The Caucasus Trade Depot” was established in Tbilisi. The activity of this commercial unit was aimed at the intensification of trade relations with Iran. “Iranian merchants who export foreign goods to their country via the Constantinople and Trabzon routes will be able to purchase the required quantities of the same goods in Tbilisi, and they will come to this city increasingly often; and finally, the European trade, which is based on price competition will wear off, since the goods exported to Iran from Tbilisi will be cheaper.” (Gugushvili, pp. 261-62)

Shortly before the expiry of the specified term, Russia cancelled preferential customs-tariff set for European goods. In 1832, an extremely high tariff was set for European textile goods. However, this decision did not bring about desired results for the Russian empire. The cancellation of preferential customs-tariffs and toll-free transits on foreign goods led to obvious change. The transit trade route from Europe into Iran that had been revived in the 1820s was now proving inefficient. The main line of Europe’s “Asian trade” (Redut-Kale-Tbilisi-Baku) had to rival with the Trabzon route. “A trade company, set up by the British in Trabzon, flooded the eastern markets with own goods.” (Dumbadze, p. 914) After the cancellation of tariff concessions trade between European countries and Iran shifted toward the Trabzon-Erzurum route. The profit, which had been gained by Tbilisi and Redut-Kale under toll-free transit, now went to Trabzon-Erzurum. Many Tbilisi merchants chose to engage in transit trade using the Trabzon-Erzurum route, by which they delivered European goods to Iran.

After the setting up of the British company in Trabzon, goods were smuggled into Georgia in large quantities. Setting up customs by the Russian empire proved ineffective in fighting contraband. Apart from smuggled goods, British goods, mostly cotton fabric, were also entering the Transcaucasia in large quantities under the brand of Iranian goods. England was shipping half finished cotton products to Iran. After the final treatment there these products were branded as Iranian goods and easily delivered to Georgia and Transcaucasia by paying five percent customs-duties. These goods were cheaper and better than Russian cotton goods, which were squeezed out of the Georgian market. By 1843 the worth of goods delivered in this way had reached 350,000 Rubles. (Dumbadze, p. 914) English calico and cotton not only squeezed out the similar Russian products, but also partly changed local production. For instance the worth of cotton goods imported by Russia from Iran in 1824 had amounted to 2,170,000 Rubles in silver, whereas in 1842 it reached 7,000,000 – , i.e. instead of increasing supplies of Russian textiles to the Iranian market, the reverse happened and the sale of Iranian goods on Russia’s home markets increased.” (AKAK, IX, pp. 662-63)

The expansion of British commerce was encouraged by the fact that Mohammad Shah Mohamed issued a decree in 1836, which granted them the right to pay five percent customs-duties on the declared price of goods imported to Iran, i.e. the same right which was granted to Russian traders under the Treaty of Turkmenchai. (Rozhkova, pp. 170-90) It was evident that the introduction of punitive tariffs by Russia was a failure. Russia had closed the Transcaucasian markets for itself, but because of low levels of industrial development it was unable to supply these markets with its own production, and as a result the Transcaucasia was flooded with smuggled goods and goods delivered via Iran. This caused the decline of Russo-Persian trade. Even under these circumstances, however, trade connections with Iran were maintained. For instance in 1838 “Trade with Iran Partnership” was set up in Tbilisi (primarily by Armenian merchants) with the purpose of supplying Iran with manufactured Russian goods, mostly textiles, and to import required raw material for Russian mills. However, this undertaking did not have much success. (Gugushvili, p. 161)

Under the circumstances, the Russian authorities were compelled to take certain measures to improve the situation. The governor-general in the Transcaucasia Aide-de-Camp, General Neidhardt, concluded that trade rules established in 1831 had failed to meet expectations. According to him: “For the purpose of redirecting the whole busy trade between Trabzon and Persia over to Tbilisi, we need to introduce toll-free transit on Persian goods along the Baku-Tbilisi-Redut-Kale route. We are aware that merchants in Persia trade European goods especially for Gilanian silk, bales of which are currently transported from Persia to Turkey – toward Trabzon. Under the toll-free transit conditions, merchants will naturally choose the Tbilisi direction.” (POCIA, f. KK, 1845, doc. #134, part IV, pp. 60-64; Gugushvili, p. 88)

In a review of Russia’s trade with the Transcaucasia prepared in 1844, one can read: “The current state of this trade has been determined by the two measures which were taken by the government in 1828 and 1831. These were 1) The “perpetual” rule established under the Treaty of Turkmenchai which specified that only five

percent customs-duties would be levied on all Iranian goods delivered to the Transcaucasia, and 2) The application of Russia's so called European extremely protectionist and essentially punitive customs duties at all ports of the Black Sea from Poti to Anapa since 1831. (AKAK, IX, p. 662) Under the law of 1846, toll-free traffic was allowed for European transit goods going from the ports of Redut-Kale and Sokhumi-Kale to Persia via the Tbilisi-Nakhjevān route, and on Persian transit goods going from Baku to Europe via Redut-Kale and Sokhumi-Kale. This move was above all directed against the Turkish route. (Gugushvili, p. 26) By reopening the Transcaucasia as a transit point in the Iran-Europe trade, the Russian empire hoped to increase customs revenues again.

In 1848, additional provisions took effect under which sale of European and Persian transit goods, including colonial goods, was allowed only in Tbilisi, needless to say after making preliminary declaration and paying the specified customs-duties. The Imperial decree of 1850 explicitly stated that: "the rules, which have been established for transiting foreign goods to Persia via the Transcaucasia shall from now on apply, without exception, to all goods sent to Tbilisi, and no customs-duties are to be levied at Redut-Kale and Sokhumi-Kale. Whereas transit goods were earlier allowed to remain at the Tbilisi custom-house without paying customs for up to six months, this term shall now be extended to one year from entry at the Black Sea ports. Upon expiry of this term, customs-duties shall be collected in Tbilisi on all foreign goods, unless they are sent en route to Persia." (Ibid., pp. 28-29)

In addition, the first article of the new transit rules established in 1852 stated: "European and colonial goods going to Persia can be transited via the Transcaucasia without paying customs from Redut-Kale, Sokhumi-Kale and Tbilisi – by the Yerevan road to the Persian border;" and its second article: "It is allowed to transit Asian goods bound for Europe without paying customs by the same road." (POCIA , f. LL, 1852, doc. №279, pp. 1-119; Gugushvili, p. 73) It is worth noting that the main items of import from Iran during the 1850s were cotton and silk fabric. As a result of these measures, the flow of Iranian goods increased not only into Europe, but also to Russian towns. At the end of the 1850s, Persian goods of great worth were being exported into the inner provinces of Russia, primarily the Novgorod market, from the Transcaucasia. (CIAR, f. 40, desc. 1, doc. 14, pp. 206, 417) Turnover of goods increased particularly in the 1860s. From 1863 onward, transit of goods from Turkey to Persia along the Erzurum road shifted to the Transcaucasia due to the fact that Turkey had established "new quarantine rules" on the Persian border. After this, the Transcaucasia transit trade developed rapidly.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Tbilisi became a major telegraph and postal junction, linking the Caucasus and Russia with Iran. (*Central State Historical Archive of Georgia*, f. 11, c. 2602, II. 97-99; f.11, c. 7343, I, 53; Ter-Oganov, p. 211) In 1864, the governor-general of the Transcaucasia, General Field Marshal Mikhail Romanov, wrote in a letter to the Caucasus Committee of St. Petersburg that the Azeri administration of Persia had given an order in December 1863 to "redirect all merchant transport, including passengers and state mail going to Europe and on their way back to the Tbilisi and Poti routes, and asked for our assistance in enforcing this order." (POCIA, f. KK, doc. №170, pp. 1-2) Extension of the network of railways led to a significant increase in trade and transit connections. Following construction of the Poti¹² -Tbilisi railway (1872), transit goods delivered from Poti to Tbilisi were sent to Persia via: 1. the Tbilisi-Irevān-Nakhjevān-Julfa route and then on to Tabriz 2. Tbilisi-Baku,¹³ and then goods were shipped onto the desired Persian ports and other trading centres. (Gersevanov, III, pp. 565-601)

The situation changed in the 1880s. In 1883, Russia cancelled South Caucasus transit route for the purpose of increasing marketability of Russian goods. This measure was somewhat similar to the decree of 1832, although this time Russian goods more marketable, and there were other possibilities to trade with Iran. A ban on transit via the Transcaucasia blocked off shipments of European goods to Iran and resulted in an increased marketability of Russian goods in northern Persia, thus increasing Russia's exports. The significance of Georgia as a transit route between Iran and Europe was therefore diminished, although economic relations between the two countries were maintained. By the end of the 1880s, Russian goods delivered to Georgia were

¹² Georgian port on the coast of Black Sea. Its commercial importance is particularly increased during the second half of the nineteenth century.

¹³ The linking up with Baku by rail led to the intensification of trade.

still partly earmarked for export to Persia. Among the items exported to Persia were 1,800,000 Rubles' worth of flour and 2,300,000 Rubles' worth of iron and ironmongery. (Dumbadze, p. 413)

Iranians in Tbilisi

Iranian population and the dynamics of its change need to be discussed before considering the Iranians residing in Georgia. Several complexities are encountered in this regard: some records (especially at the turn of the century) make it practically impossible to distinguish ethnic Persians and Azeris from other Muslim populations. At the beginning of the century, Muslims were chiefly referred to as the "Tartars;" and sometimes reference is made to "Turkish-Tartar" population.¹⁴ However, certain distinction is made later (particularly after the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian wars resulted in an increase in Muslim populations of the Russian empire). The name "Tartar" in reference to the Azeris was retained – for instance, Pushkin (V, p. 418) notes that the owner of Tbilisi's famous Persian bath-house was a Persian, while the bathhouse attendant was a Tartar. Also in the second half of the century, there were cases when censuses of Shi'ites and Sunnis were carried out separately. According to a tentative assessment, the dynamics of Georgia's Muslim population during the nineteenth century was the following: in 1801: 40,000 (total population 670,000); in 1832: 36,300 (702,000); in 1864: 51,300 (1,302,000); in 1873: 54,800 (1,439,000); in 1886: 68,800 (1,648,000); in 1897: 81,700 (1,867,000). (Antadze, p. 71)

According to the data of 1886 Georgia's "Tartar-Turkish" population was comprised of 72.5 percent Sunnis and 27.5 percent Shi'ites. The latter primarily lived in the districts of east Georgia – Tbilisi, Borchalo, Sighnagi and Telavi.¹⁵ These are only estimated figures since in most cases exact censuses were not conducted. For instance, the census of 1832 omitted Muslim women. Later censuses were not comprehensive in terms of female populations either. There existed other difficulties as well. "Residing without registration in Tbilisi was commonplace." (Antadze, pp. 32, 63) Tbilisi, as we have seen, held a special position in the relations between Georgia and Iran. In the nineteenth century, Persians comprised the largest Muslim community of Tbilisi. (Asatrian and Margarian) At the beginning of the century, Tbilisi was a relatively small town compared to the seventeenth century (rapid reduction of the population had been caused by invasion of Āghā Mohammad Khan). According to the data of 1803 the "Tartars" (implying Muslims) comprised only 2 percent of Tbilisi population. (AKAK, II; Kakabadze) A few years later, however, they comprised as much as 11 percent of the population (500 heads). (Jamburia, p. 142) In 1825, the French consul Gamba estimated the population of Tbilisi to be at least 33,000. "Among them . . . 500 families are Tartar and Persian; each family has at least six members." (Gamba 1826, II, p. 58; Polievktov & Natadze, p. 79) Gamba's data reflects the real picture, rather than numbers of officially registered residents. This is evidenced by the data of subsequent census of 1835 according to which 723 Muslims were recorded in Tbilisi (they are still referred to as "Tartars"), this amounts to 2.7 percent of the population of Tbilisi of the time. (Evetskii, p. 145)

By 1864, the Persians and "Tartars" (Azeris) are mentioned separately. Whereas the Persians comprised only 0.88 percent (529 heads) of Tbilisi population in 1864, the Persian element rose to 10 percent (7,153 heads) in the following year, according to the data for 1865. The number of the Tartars was 1,523 heads (2.2 percent).¹⁶ The Persians had increased overall by 6,624 heads in one year. Women among them had increased by only eight head (total 29). On the one hand, these facts testify to the imperfect census, but on the other hand, they provide sufficient basis for assuming that many men were temporary residents involved in workmanship and trade in the city, and often married local women. This assumption is supported by the fact that later, in 1876, only 1,700 heads were recorded, while the number jumped to over 6,000 in 1899. The number of temporary Persian populations grew during the summer. (*Central Historical Archive of Georgia*, f. 414, desc. 414, doc. 36, p. 11) Observations of the French traveler Orsolle on the Persian population of Tbilisi in the 1880s probably reflect the reality most accurately: "In Tbilisi, there live ten or twelve thousand Persians; part of the population might have settled here at the time of Iran's domination over Georgia, but . . . is continually

14 For Georgia's and Tbilisi's population in the nineteenth century, see Antadze; Jaoshvili; Kakuria.

15 *Svod statisticheskikh dannikh o naselenij zakavkazskogo kraia, izvlechenikh iz posemeinikh spiskov 1886 g.* [Collection of Statistical dates on the population of Caucasian district from families' list of 1886], Tiflis, 1893, pp. 196-199, 324-327.

16 *Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii o Kavkaze* [Collection of Statistical Information on Caucasus], part II, Tiflis, 1869, p. 69.

renewed and enlarged by numerous Persians who come to seek their fortune in the Caucasus." (Orsolle, p. 43)

As for the religious makeup of the population, Muslims comprised 3.6 percent of Tbilisi's population according to the official records in 1876. Out of the Muslim population of 4,300, 3,700 were Shi'ites.¹⁷ For the most part the Persian population retained their Iranian nationality. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the ratio of Persian nationals of Iran in the Russian empire according to statistical data. Orsolle provides valuable information on Persian nationals of the Russian empire: "as for the Persians of the Yerevan province, who have been the Tsar's subjects since 1828, they have joined the Russian army and administration voluntarily; knowledge of eastern languages makes them very needful in the Asian provinces; being adroit and intelligent the majority of them have become completely European in their habits and ideas, and have sometimes achieved high posts; above all they are remarkable gentlemen; many of them speak French fluently." (Orsolle, p. 43) From the social point of view the most advanced stratum among the subjects of Iran were merchants, followed by those of artisans, other workers and hired manpower. Orsolle (p. 43) writes on the Iranians of Tbilisi: "the majority of these Iranians are businessmen and they are distinguished by their intelligence. We should trust the saying: "it takes two Jews to rob one Armenian, and it takes two Armenians to rob one Persian."

Tbilisi's close trade links with Iran has already been mentioned. A number of nineteenth-century authors concentrate on these links. The Russian journalist Dunken-Vehling vividly describes the arrival of a Persian trade caravan in Tbilisi early in the century: "you come across a caravan of camels carrying on their humps variegated Persian carpets and precious Kirman shawls, swaying in an orderly manner and jingling numerous bells." (Dunken-Vehling; Polievktov & Natadze, p. 95) Goods from Persia entered Tbilisi by the Nakhjevān road from the towns of Tabriz, Ardebil and Rasht. There were a number of caravanserais in Tbilisi as in any other eastern city. This term had become widely used and replaced the Georgian word for 'inn' in the eighteenth century. Caravanserai was a hotel, warehouse, trade centre and a workshop all at the same time. Gamba notes that only the Persians stayed at one of the three caravanserais of Tbilisi. "In the caravanserai, there are stocks of Persian silk fabric, embroidered carpets and other splendid eastern fabric." (Gamba 1826, II, p. 160-164) Orsolle goes on to say: "the Tartar or Persian market is on the opposite bank of the Mtkvari; it is made up of broad and high arched passages... in front of the shop there sits its owner waiting for his customers and smoking a tobacco-pipe, the Persian nārgil. The majority of these traders sell silk fabric and carpets imported from Persia." (Orsolle, p. 44) Large quantities of Persian carpets, mostly from Tabriz, entered Tbilisi. One of the most famous shops of Tbilisi was G.M. Akhsharumov's and G.S. Janinov's "Persian and Caucasian Shop". (*Central State Historical Archive of Georgia*, f. 254, desc. 3, doc. 3505, pp.1-57; Anchabadze & Volkova, p. 103)

Tbilisi Muslims, above all Persians, strictly observed their traditional everyday standards, both in their family lives and public activities. Despite total Europeanization, which also affected the town's Muslim population (especially the privileged classes), even their clothes retained specific ethnic characteristics. For instance, a tradition of dying the hair and beard with henna was kept alive for a long time and marked the Persians off until the beginning of the twentieth century. The Persians wore *akhalukhi*,¹⁸ trousers, low knitted hats or tall peaked hats made of sheepskin. Their rich compatriots showed off their wealth by putting on several *akhalukhi* on top of which they wore a loose long cape made of thin woolen cloth. *Akhalukhi* were usually made of Cashmere wool. Rich Persians also wore slippers (mostly green ones worn over knitted socks). A Persian would be marked off in Tbilisi by a significant detail: by their beard, moustache and nails dyed ruddy. This tradition of dying with henna was observed by the Persian Jews as well. Men would dye their beard, while women and girls their hair, feet and even teeth. (Zisserman, p. 12; Gasthausen, p. 41)

The city administration was divided into ten police districts. The Persians lived primarily in Vorontsov #6 district, which included Seyedabad as well. This neighbourhood was located near the fortress where the descendants of Imam Ali, called Seyeds (*sayyeds*) settled as early as in the seventeenth century. The eighteenth-century Georgian historian, Vakhushhti (p. 334), noted: "Shah Sefi made the Seyeds settle here (Tiflis). That is why the Persians call it Seyedabad." The neighbourhood was originally called Tiflis, later Seyedabad and finally Kharpukh (the Armenian for common cold). In the eighteenth century Seyedabad had been a village,

17 *Tiflis po odnodevnoi perepisi 1876 g.* [Tiflis by One-Day Census of 1876], Tiflis, 1877, pp. 106-107.

18 Caucasian (tight-fitting, buttoned) tunic.

but at the beginning of the nineteenth, it was already within the limits of the city. (Beradze 1977, p. 53) The French traveler, Le Baron de Baye, writes: "The Muslim fortress had always been occupied by the Persians or the Turks. Even nowadays the Muslims live around its ruins. This part of the city includes bath-houses as well. It has retained its name of "Seyedabad", which means the residence of the Seyeds or the descendants of Muhammad." (de Baye, p. 8-9) In Seyedabad there was a customs-house, in front of which boxing matches were organized. (Beradze 1980, p. 48) There were other sites of Tbilisi bearing Persian names as well. One of the towers in the 1800 plan of Narikala (the above mentioned Muslim fortress) was called the Tabriz tower. There were Sardar-Abadi (*sardār-ābādi*), Tabriz and Abbas-Abadi (*'Abbās-ābād*) squares. The shoe-makers street was called Kharazkhaneh (*kharrāz-khāneh*), the street of cotton dealers – Bambakhaneh (*panba-khāneh*), and that of tanners – Dabakhaneh (*dabbāq-khāneh*). (Kvirkvelia) The Mushtaidi (*mojtahed*) park had special significance in nineteenth-century Tbilisi. It was considered as a public park and was even called the *bois de Boulogne* of old Tbilisi. (Beradze, 1980, p. 51) The area adjacent to the park was called Mojtahehd neighbourhood and the street leading to the park, Mojtahehd Street. The park was laid out by the Mojtahehd Āqā Mir Fatāh, who had settled in Tbilisi after the 1826-1828 Russo-Persian war. The Iranian traveler, Majd os-Saltaneh (p. 81) provides especially important information regarding the well-known Mushtaidi Park: "Āqā Mir Fatāh is the son of late Āqā Mir Yusof; he comes from Tabriz. After Iran capitulated in the Russo-Persian war he went to Tabriz. After signing truce he escaped to Russia because of this shameful fact and settled down in Tbilisi. He laid out a park here which is still named after him. There used to be a boulevard as well as a monument here. Mojtahehd is one of the famous neighbourhoods of Tbilisi."

One of the sights of the city is the "Blue" mosque, a perfect example of the Muslim architecture, which was built by order of Shah 'Abbās I (Shah Esmā'il I, according to other data). Unfortunately, it was demolished during the Communist rule in 1951. Apart from this mosque, there was a Sunni mosque as well, though the 1803 data records only a single Shiite mosque. According to the German author Guldenshtadt who traveled to Georgia in 1768-1775, the Tartar-Muslims had three mosques. (Guldenstadt, pp. 270-271; Polievktov & Natadze, p. 41) According to Klaproth (p. 6), who traveled to Georgia in 1807-1808, there were two mosques in Tbilisi: one for the Persian-Shi'ites and another for the Tartar-Sunnis. The latter had been destroyed by Aghā Mohammad Khan, but its beautiful minaret survived intact. It had been built by Eshāq Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army in 1710. According to the French commercial commissar in Baghdad, Jean-François Rousseau's information Aghā Mohammad Khan destroyed two Sunni mosques in Tbilisi. (Quoted in Natchkebia 2001, p. 197) One of the sights of Tbilisi was and continues to be even at present the Persian or 'motley' sulphur baths which fascinated a number of travelers, including A. Pushkin and A. Dumas. Dumas (pp. 293-198) was in raptures over the Persian bath which apart from its direct function also served as a place of gathering and entertainment for Tbilisi citizens. Here he listened to a guitar-like musical instrument being played to the accompaniment of Sa'di's poetry.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the architecture of Tbilisi was under a strong Persian influence. At the beginning of the century a traveler writes: "For the most part houses have the same structure as in Persia. The local houses represent more or less a quadrangle with a few built-in windows." (Melikset-beg; Polievktov & Natadze, pp 73-75) It is worth noting as well that the Persians were reputed to be the best builders in the Caucasus. For this reason many Persian construction workers settled in Tbilisi on a temporary basis. The residence of the leader of the Shi'ites of Transcaucasia, the Sheikh ol-Eslam, was also in Tbilisi. During the second half of the century, the Sheikh ol-Eslam was Abd ol-Salam Akhund-Zade. Valuable information on his activity is preserved at Batumi's historical archive: "in Tbilisi in that year (1891), died the Persian clerical leader, Sheikh ol-Eslam Akhund-Zadeh of the Caucasus, who commanded well-deserved respect not only among Muslims, but the entire population of the city. Probably everyone remembers the effective participation of the deceased in calming down the opposing sides during the Armenian-Tartar confrontation in the city – by his preaching and his personal influence, he had helped to avert bloodshed. (*Historical Archive of Ajarian Autonomous Republic*, 1891, i-7, f. 8-9, doc. 338).

Le Baron de Baye's information on Akhund-Zadeh is also worthy of note as it attests to his great authority with the city population, on the one hand, and to a strong Persian influence, on the other: "a visit to the Shiite spiritual leader of the Transcaucasia Sheikh ol-Eslam was very interesting. His name is Akhund-Zadeh. He is from the Tartar Azerbaijan and about 60 years old. He was born in Elizabetpol which adopted the Persian

language and he comes from the mullah family. He must be grateful to the Caucasus administrators for his appointment; therefore he can be regarded as a functionary, although he makes use of his strong influence over his coreligionists. The average income from furnished houses is twelve thousand Rubles and spent on his church and charity. Guided by the Shiites' leader and Mr. Velichko, who had introduced me to him, I visited a Muslim cemetery (Gabristan). After showing me a house in which the dead are embalmed, I was shown some of the oldest graves. Over one of these is placed a dome inlaid with enamel. Under the dome rests Seyed, Mohamed's descendant. In front of the mausoleum earth was red with blood. Sheep had been sacrificed in memory of the holy man. This custom is widespread, as much as lighting candles over the graves. (De Baye, p. 9)

Muslims, who are numerous in Tbilisi, are not only Shi'ites, there are Sunnis as well. Both are having remarkable Persian influence. The Sunni leader bears a title of the Mufti of the Transcaucasia. Each has a mosque of his own. Consulate-general of Persia functioned in the city; there also functioned charity, cultural and educational centres. Consulate-general of Persia was located in a new district Sololaki. "The Sololaki district is almost entirely Russian and most houses here are private. There is also a palace of a prince, descendant of the last king of Georgia. Here are the residences of the French and Persian consuls." (Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, p. 358) Officially the Persians were subjects of the Shah, and this kept them aloof from other citizens. They assembled by the consul's house to celebrate various notable dates.

The consulate carried out a number of significant functions and it was one of the most important foreign missions in Tbilisi. The consul commanded great respect among the Iranian subjects. Majd os-Saltāneh (pp. 80-81) writes: "Mo'in al-Vozarā has been appointed as Iran's consul-general of the Caucasus in Tbilisi. In no city is Iran's state consulate as privileged as in Tbilisi; special building with magnificent furniture is designated for it. The subjects are well pleased. The consul himself commands great respect among the population since he is an educated and experienced man. The consulate is a place of ceremonial receptions, paying respect and relaxation." In terms of the building and its furnishings, the state of Iran has no such consulate in any foreign land apart from Tbilisi. The consulate is the pride of Iranian subjects living in Tbilisi. (Ter-Oganov)

The Shiites would celebrate Ramadan Bairam in the square situated at the Muslim cemetery. The Namaz (Friday prayer) was held there led by the Sheikh ol-Eslam. The Tbilisi Persians also celebrated the Iranian New Year: "The Shi'ite Muslims celebrate their New Year on Sunday, March 9 (March 21 by Gregorian Calendar). The celebrations always last for three days. The Persians living in Tiflis wish a happy New Year to their consul first, a whole bunch of them come playing zurna (musical instrument) and beating drums. On that day the consul's house is well-decorated. The consul greets them with sherbet and after hearing them first says a few words himself. This year as always the Muslims have celebrated their New Year on a large scale. After visiting the consul some of them went to Mushtaidi Park and others to the Botanical Garden for a walk. Trams were overcrowded with them. You could spot smiling and well-dressed Muslims everywhere." (Newspaper *Iveria*, 1886, #55) The holiday of Moharam was celebrated by the Shiite community of Tbilisi on a large scale. (Gotsiridze; Sanikidze, pp. 34-36; Sanikidze & Walker)

The Persian influence on the city life was significant. The oriental style amalgamations of artisans and merchants called *Amkari*, formed in Tbilisi in the Middle Ages, were widespread in the nineteenth century. For instance the manager of *Amkari* was called *Ustabash*, as in Iran. Although the banner of the shop featured a Christian saint protector of the trade, yet the Iran's influence was felt: this image was called *Pir*, which is the Persian word for 'sage'. *Karachokheli*, a typical representative of the class of small merchants and artisans of Tbilisi, was a vivid figure. Some researchers find certain similarities between *Karachokheli* and *javānmardi*. This is suggested by the second name of *Karachokheli* – *Jomardi*. (Beradze, 1980, p. 48) Tbilisian troubadour *Ashugi* (oriental singer) also held an important place in Tbilisi public life. The origin of *Ashugi* is also Persian and 'Āsheq(i)' means ladies-man or admirer. Coffee-shops with *Ashugi* and *Sazandar* were introduced into everyday lives of citizens from Turkey and Persia. (Anchabadze & Volkova, pp. 102-03) During holidays the citizens of Tbilisi were entertained by clowns and jesters. Clowns were mostly Persians. They performed as acrobats. Especially popular were walking on stilts and rope-walking. (Ibid., p. 243)

The Europeanized Tbilisi attracted Persian intellectuals. Among the Persian intellectuals involved in public work in Tbilisi, Fāzel Khān Garrusi, also known by the pen-names of Ravi and Shaida, should be mentioned. He spent later part of his life (1838-1852) in Tbilisi and taught at Tbilisi's first music school. In 1847, the Russian newspaper *Kavkaz* (1847, #23) published his khutba on the occasion of the official opening

of the school. Garrusi, who was a well-known poet, also published school books – Persian and Arabic grammar, and a commentary on the Koran and sectarian doctrines. In 1821, the Iranian painter named Alaverdi (Allāhverdi) arrived in Tbilisi to study lithography on the request of the heir to the throne 'Abbās Mirzā. He studied the subject and sent books with lithographs from Tbilisi to Tabriz. (Shcheglova; Ter-Oganov, *op. cit.*, p. 209) Tbilisi became a major centre of publishing the Persian language literature. There functioned two Persian publishing houses here the 'Gheirat' and 'Aigrepin'. Persian text-books, fiction and historic literature were published in Tbilisi. Also there were Iranian charity organizations: 'Charity of Muslim women of the Caucasus' and 'Iranian charity organization.' (Anchabadze & Volkova, p. 259) The Iranian traveler, Yahyā Dowlatābādī (III, p. 17), notes that Tbilisi also played an important role as a socio-political centre for free-thinking Iranians. (Ter-Oganov, p. 213)

In conclusion it can be said that despite the modification of relations between Georgia and Iran caused by Georgia's unification with Russia, the relations during the nineteenth century still remained extensive. Whereas Iran still tried to regain control over Georgia in the first quarter of the century, which was one of the major causes of two wars between Iran and Russia, she did not press any claim to east Georgia later. Economic relations remained extensive throughout the century, although they were subject to certain changes due to the policy of the Russian empire. Territory of Georgia was the most important transit route for Iran throughout the century, as European and Russian goods entered the country and Iranian goods were taken to the European and Russian markets via this territory. The Iranian community played an important role in social and cultural life of Georgia's capital Tbilisi. Iranian influence on Tbilisi and everyday lives of its citizens was strong.

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GENERAL REVIEW OF PERSIAN PAREMIOGRAPHY *

Traditionally the history of Iranian Paremiography originates with the collections compiled in India in the middle of the seventeenth century¹. Ever since then in Iran and abroad, considerable numbers of collections of Persian proverbs, aphorisms, sayings and idioms have been compiled. For a long time the interest in Persian proverbs was restricted to their collection and publication. Thus Iranian Paremiology is relatively new discipline. The scientific literature is primarily represented by brief surveys in the collections of several Iranian paremiographers (M. Hablerudi, A. Dehkhoda, A. Bahmaniar, A. Amini, S. Haim). The term “paremiology” and its Persian equivalent “mathalshenāsi” first emerged in 1996.² The interest in Persian proverbs has noticeably increased since the 1920-30’s. At that time real theoretical considerations in proverb studies were made by A. Bahmaniar only.³ With respect to modern paremiological studies the situation changed to some extent in the last decade of the twentieth century. Here we bear in mind the works of Ahmad Abrishami. He is the only author among Iranians who is well aware of contemporary achievements in paremiology on a global scale. His recent works are newcomers to the studies of Iranian folklore.

More attention was given to the Persian proverbs in the Soviet Union and particularly by Tajik, Azerbaijan and Russian scientists who studied these paremias as a part of phraseology or from the point of view of their artistic, expressive and linguistic status. But still we should realize that “neither the Persians themselves, nor Western orientalist researchers have done much to explore, catalogue, systematize, or analyze the available material”.⁴

Numerous collections of Persian proverbs (considering their merits and demerits) are similar in many ways:

- 1) Proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, idioms and other types of phraseological units are randomly assembled. Thus in the course of translation of their titles the word “proverb” does not always faithfully reproduce the content of a collection;
- 2) In collections where there are stories connected with proverbs and idioms, for the most part we run across the personal inferences of the compiler, and the scientific analysis of the subject is done to a lesser extent. “These books mislead those who are really interested in investigation of the sources of Persian proverbs”;⁵
- 3) The collections based on alphabetical order prevail, though they do not always follow the same basic principle (attention is paid only to the first letter of the first word);
- 4) The number of the paremias is artificially increased through reuse of slightly different variants of one and the same patterns;
- 5) Global contemporary achievements of paremiology and paremiography have not been considered, and this has adversely affected the academic standards of the collections;
- 6) Most impressive is the number of “literary paremias” assembled in the collections and this is attributable to their popularity in Iran.

Based on the analysis of the available material, we divided the Persian paremiographic literature into two major groups **A** and **B** (see fig.1). In group **A** we combined the collections of genuine Persian proverbs; group **B** covers bilingual or multilingual paremiographic collections (dictionaries). These groups in their turn have been subdivided into subgroups. In group **A** three subgroups have been singled out:

- A**₁ – collections based on folklore paremias;
- A**₂ – collections based on literary paremias;
- A**₃ – collections containing paremias, each accompanied by any related story or fable.

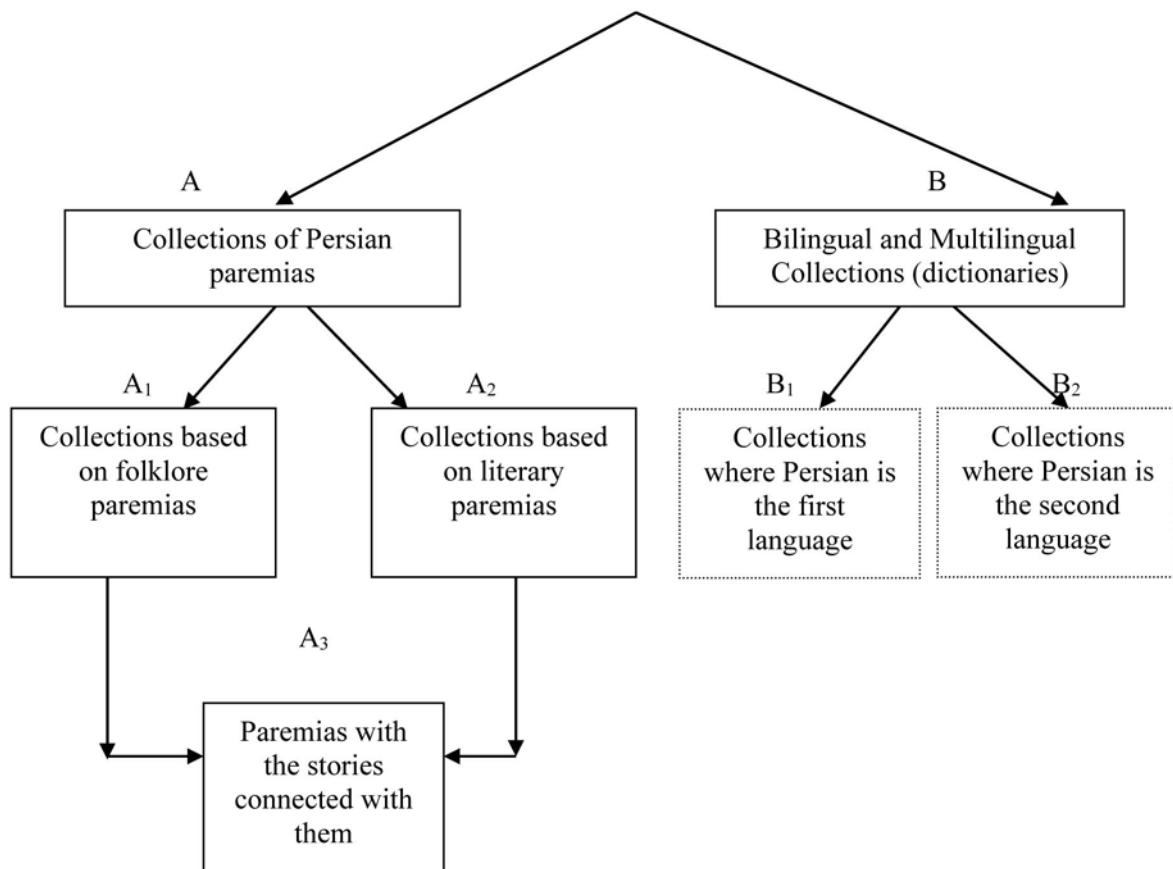
* First published in: *Proverbium, Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*, 22. University of Vermont Press: 2005, pp. 381-396.

In group **B** two subgroups have been singled out:

B₁ – collections where Persian is the first language;

B₂ – collections where Persian is the second language.

Fig.1



As a result of the analysis of dozens of Persian proverb collections, the general structure of Persian proverb collections has been established (fig.2). We think that relying upon the proposed model it is conceivable to depict any collection of Persian proverbs compiled and published up until this point and to record them via indexes. The majority of the valuable paremiographic collections and dictionaries has been covered based on the established structural model and the results are shown through the tables (fig.3). In our opinion, those interested in Persian paremiography will find it easier to understand the material and carry out their research. The extension and supplementation of the tables is still possible. The table does not cover the description of the dictionaries involved in group **B**₂, as the first language in them is other than Persian and Persian paremias are given as equivalents only. An interesting situation is revealed with respect to the collections: if a compiler of a collection of this kind is a foreigner, he takes an interest in the comparison of folklore patterns of his own country with Iranian oral traditions and in the depiction of their common and distinct features. Any practical reasoning (assistance to a translator, etc.) can be founded. However, when such a collection is compiled by an Iranian, certain circumstances should necessarily be considered alongside with practical suggestions, namely the kind of books that are compiled mainly for Iranian emigrants, who are not familiar with the phraseology and paremias of their native language. Besides, the collections of Persian proverbs compiled by Iranians are so different from those prepared by foreigners that the group **B** can be classified according to this principle also. Of course one cannot find all collections of Persian proverbs in the table. In our study emphasis has been placed on the most significant collections only. Yet there are collections that are unknown to us. The proverbs of Iranian ethnic groups have also remained outside of the table.⁶

Fig. 2

General Structure of Persian Proverb Collections

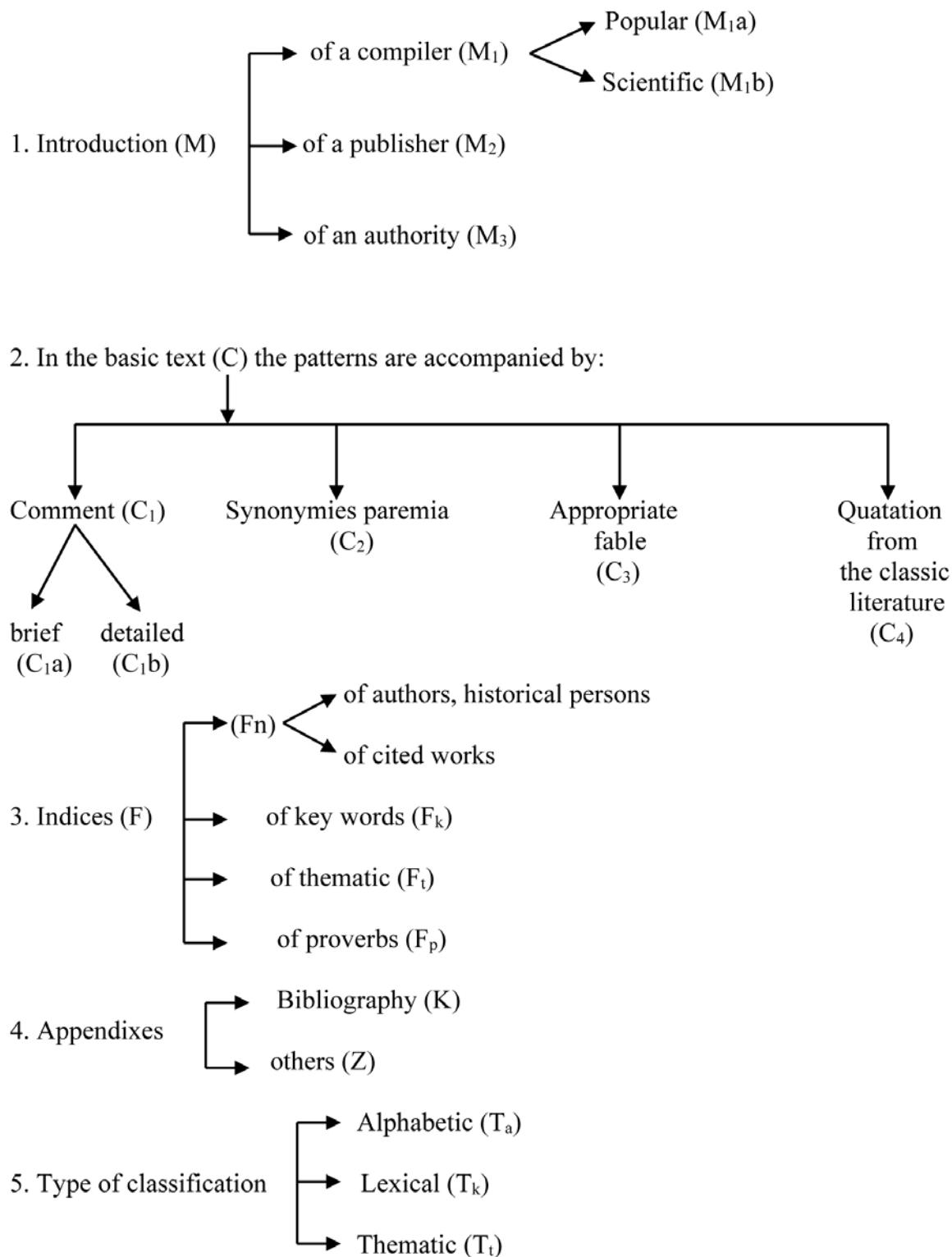


Fig. 3

Group A

N	Title of a Collection (author)	Introduction (M)	Basic Text (C) +	Indices (F)	Appendices	Type of Classification (T)	Group
1	Majma' Al-amthal (Hablerudi)	M ₁ a				T _a	A ₁
2	Proverbs and Aphorisms (A.Dehkhoudeh)	M ₂ a	C ₄ , C ₂ , C ₃ , C ₁ a	F _n		T _a	A ₂
3	Fables Connected with Proverbs (A.Amini)	M ₁ a, 2M ₃	C ₃ , C ₄ , C ₁ a	F _p		T _a	A ₃
4	Popular Proverbs of Iran (M.Soheili)	M ₁ a	C ₁ a, C ₂ , C ₃		Z	T _a	A ₁
5	Dastannam-e Bahmaniar (A.Bahmaniar)	M ₁ b, M ₂ , M ₃	C ₁ a, C ₃			T _a	A ₁
6	Historical Roots of Proverbs (M.Partavi)	M ₁ a, M ₂ , 3M ₃	C ₁ b, C ₃ , C ₄		K	T _a	A ₃
7	Persian Proverbs and Aphorism Finder (J.Shakibi Guilani, A.Haghshenas Lari, M.Ghajar)	2M ₁ b		F ₁		T _a	A ₂
8	Proverbs and Their Stories (A.Vakilian)	M ₁ a	C ₁ , C ₃ , C ₄	2F _n , F _p	2Z, 2K	T _a	A ₃
9	Proverb Land (R.Shirazi)	M ₂	C ₁ a, C ₃ , C ₄	F _p		T _a	A ₃
10	Sugar and Salt (J.Sahri)	M ₁ , M ₂	C ₁ a, C ₃ , C ₂	F _n		T _a	A ₁
11	Proverbs and Aphorisms... (R.Afifi)	M ₁ b	C ₄	F _n	K	T _a	A ₂
12	10000 Persian Proverbs (E. Shokurzadeh)	M ₁ b	C ₁ a, C ₂ , C ₃ , C ₄	F _k	K, Z	T _a	A ₁
13	Well Known Iranian Proverbs (Q.Azarli)	M ₁	C ₁ a, C ₂			T _a	A ₁
14	Best Iranian Proverbs (S.Salahshur)	M ₁ a	C ₁ a, C ₂			T _a	A ₁
15	Some Persian Proverbs and Expressions (literary and slang) (H.Rajabzadeh)	M ₁ b	C ₁ b, C ₃ , C ₄	F _k		T _a	A ₃
16	Poetic Proverbs (H.Khorami)	M ₁ a, M ₃				T _a	A ₂

17	Aphorisms and Proverbs from the Mathnavi (A.Mo'ayyed)	M ₁ b	C ₁ b, C ₄		Z	T _a	A ₂
18	A Modern Dictionary of Selected Persian Proverbs (A.Abrishami)	M ₁ b	C ₁ a, C ₃ , C ₄		K	T _k	A ₁
19	Ashura in Folklore – Proverbs (M.Arefirad)	M ₃ b	C ₁ a, C ₃	F _p		T _a	A ₃

Group B

N	Title of a Collection (author)	Introduction (M)	Basic Text (C) +	Indices (F)	Appendixes	Type of Classification (T)
1	Persian-English Proverbs (S.Haim)P	2M ₁ a, M ₃	C ₁ a, C ₂ , C ₃	F _p		T _a
2	A Dictionary of Persian Proverbs with English & French Equivalents (A.Abrishami)	M ₁ a, M ₁ b	C ₂		C ₁ a, 2K	T _k
3.	A Comparative Dictionary of Persian Proverbs and Dictums (A.Abrishami)	M ₁ b	C ₂	F _n , F _t	C ₁ a, 2K	T _k
4.	A Dictionary of Persian-English Proverbs (A.Abrishami)	M ₁ b	C ₂	F _k	C ₁ a, K	T _k
5	1001 Persian-English Proverbs (Simin K.Habibian)	M ₁ a, 2M ₃	C ₂	F _p	2K	T _a
6	A Selection of Persian Proverbs, Sayings and Idioms with their English Translation (A.Pazargadi)	M ₁ a	C ₁ a, C ₂			T _a

In connection with the general situation of the Persian paremiography some points should necessarily be defined:

We designate “collections based on folklore paremias” the ones where the majority of the patterns represent folklore paremias. In general, one can hardly find any Iranian collection in which Persian *beyts* and *misra's* (distiches and hemistiches) or sometimes even longer pieces, especially from the classic poetry, are not introduced.

We designate “collections based on literary paremias” the ones wherein the majority (if not all) of the patterns are “literary paremias”, among which are *beyts* and *misra's* of Iranian poets. (We may call them “proverbs-in-verse”). In this case the literary form of paremias was the main criterion.

Here particular emphasis should be given to the characteristic feature of the Persian paremiological fund that contains an abundance of “literary paremias”. What can be the reason for the apparent affinity of Iranians for “literary paremias”?

In relation to this topic some suggestions of M.Eslami Nodooshan come to mind. He writes: “To some degree, poetic thinking is deeply ingrained in the nature of every Iranian whether he is a herdsman, farmer,

craftsman or scientist. Therefore in folk tradition Iran is called “the country of a Rose and a Nightingale”⁷ And again, as Nodooshan remarks, in the post-Islamic period poetic thinking repressed all other modes of thought. This can be explained by two factors: on the one hand the existing social and political situation demanded rational and logical thinking to be inadmissible for Iranians, on the other hand the ban on music and painting directed the predilection of Iranians for art totally towards poetry. Namely these circumstances are responsible for a generation of brilliant Persian classic literature, the majority of which is represented by poetry and a prose with a touch of poetry.

Following M. Nodooshan, poetic thinking has best been revealed in mysticism, and it is in the midst of it that so-called “Eshraq” (intuition, illumination) philosophy (the doctrine striving to perceive the truth not by means of logic reasoning but at the expense of the lightening of the mind and inspiration) came into existence that opposed rational reasoning. Basically, this kind of thinking in literature manifests itself in the form of a verse. Precisely the “illuminative” thinking predominates in the East and prevails against rationalism.

One further moment should be taken into consideration: Sufism, widespread in Persian literature, is characterized by symbolic and figurative thinking. Sufism and proverbs have one main principle in common: something that is heard or read should be taken not in the literary but metaphorical sense.

Popularity of mysticism and the didactic character of classical literature enhanced, to some extent, the vitality of Persian proverbs and idioms as well as the popularity of “literary paremias”. At the same time, in our view, classical Persian literature, poetry in particular, hindered the development of paremiography in some sense: Iranians did not feel an acute need for such proverb collections as didactic literature, and classical Persian literature as a whole entirely gave them access to “popular wisdom”. When examining Iranian paremiography created in the twentieth century, the following tendency is observed: most of the compilers try to present proverbs together with related stories or in that context, they cite lengthy pieces from poetic works. Our observation is confirmed by the fact that from the two collections of Hublerudi,⁸ the one in which proverbs were accompanied by fables became popular, while the collections covering only proverbs were neglected. The works like “Pandnāmeh”, “Golestān”, “Mathnavi”, “Qabusnāmeh”, “Bakhtiarnāmeh”, etc. served as proverb collections.

On the other hand, it should be noticed that throughout the centuries folklore was thought to be “vulgar literature” and only its literary transformed form was considered to be acceptable by the Iranian community. A. Abrishami quite rightly pointed out: “Persian literature distinguished by its extremely high level, could not tolerate the usage of the proverbs having “vulgar” form. Due to the simplicity of the construction, the Persian proverb could not penetrate into specific and complicated forms of Persian verse... The simple structure of Persian proverbs has undergone changes in the verse and it is not clear whether it had the same shape by the time of its creation”⁹.

The language of popular proverbs differs from the language of “literary paremias” governed by the stringent laws of classical poetry. Thus in Persian paremiographical collections “popular” and “literary” layers (where the structure of a Persian verse, its archaic vocabulary and syntactic forms are preserved) are easily comprehensive as well as “a paremiographic taste” of a compiler.

The earliest collections of Persian proverbs were compiled outside Iran, in India. Why? And how much do these collections reflect the mode of thought of Iranians, that is how Persian are they?

Partially, the answer to the first question has already been provided while considering the role of classical literature in this respect. Thus the compilation of collections of Persian paremias beyond Iran makes sense: it might have been necessary to withdraw from a situation where the classical literature had total power. It may also be logical that this happened in India. For centuries this country sheltered Iranian exiles and preserved one portion of Iranian culture and civilization. Literary connections between these two countries are also well known. Taking into account the fact that the authors of the three collections (“Majma’ al-amthāl”, “Jame’ at-tamthil”, “Shahed-e Sadeq”) collected in India in the same period,¹⁰ were Iranians and their informants were Persian speaking as well, and they even now serve as the source for modern Persian paremiographic collections, there appears to be little doubt about their Persian origin. Iranians themselves consider them to be “Iranian phenomena” and date the history of Iranian paremiography back to these collections.

The history of active development of Iranian paremiography begins from the first third of the last century. What is responsible for the increased interest in Persian proverbs in 1920-30's of the twentieth century? Everything that may be said in connection with this question can also be extended to the development of folklore studies as a whole as well as paremiography in Iran. Europeans were the first to take an interest in Iranian folklore. At this time folklore studies in Europe already had a certain history and the West still expressed great interest in the countries of the East. At the centre of folklore study in Iran there were people who received a good comprehensive education, knew European languages, traveled or lived in Europe, and were more or less familiar with the situation there. Sadeq Hedayat, who contributed enormously to the development of Iranian folklore studies and compiled the plan of folklore studies that served as a guidebook for Iranians, published his "Ousaneh"¹¹ a year after returning from Europe (1931). Before S. Hedayat, A. Dehkhoda (who stayed in Europe for several years) began to publish a four-volume collection of "Proverbs and Aphorisms". "Fathers" of folklore studies saw the keen interest of industrial Europe in folklore, including Iranian folklore (and in the East as a whole). No such phenomenon was felt inside Iran. S. Hedayat writes: "In today's civilized countries special emphasis is given to folklore. It may happen that a well educated Iranian can become more familiar with the public life of Europeans than with that of his own country. How could one manage to manifest patriotism in such a situation?"¹². At the same time the necessity for industrial development was apparent. Intervention of industry would pose problems for national culture and folklore. Thus, in order not to fall a victim to industrialization, folklore – the wealth verbally passed from generation to generation – needed to be documented. It seems that the interest of Iranians in folklore might be based partly on the thought: we are an ancient nation having a long and rich history and in spite of the manifested difference in the level of development, we have too much in common with Europe. In other words, folklore was the wealth with which Iran could oppose the threatening "cultural expansion".

Naturally Iranians could be proud of their brilliant literature. Europe had already been acquainted with it, but it still bore an aura of mystery for Europeans. Hand in hand with mysterious, Europeans found much in common with Iranian folklore. In this regard, G. Kokkyara's suggestion comes to mind: by the example of European travelers (Marco Polo on the one hand and Pietro della Valle and Chardin on the other hand) he puts emphasis on the changes that took place in the attitude of Europeans towards the East. According to him, this new approach necessarily leads us to drawing a parallel between the inhabitants of the East and Europeans¹³. In the later period as well, we see the quest of Iranian authors for finding points of commonality with Europe. A. Amini looked for the sources of Persian proverbs and idioms in the works of European authors¹⁴. In the Persian introduction to his own collection S. Haim writes that the aim of the work is "to acquaint English speaking foreigners with Persian proverbs... to make it possible for them to compare an Iranian mode of thought (wrapped up in proverbial garments) with their own, and to offer scope for mutual understanding between the East and the West and comprehension of common properties"¹⁵. The same approach is traced in A. Abrishami's works. In a word, two opposite factors were in operation here: 1. Self-defense against the industrial and cultural expansionism of the West and 2. Search for common points of contact with the West. It is no mere coincidence that the fixation of oral traditions (that embraced a major part of the community) was interpreted, to a certain degree, as the movement aimed at national unity, and the latter in its turn provoked an upsurge of patriotism. An investigation of this movement from the point of view of social-political history of Iran seems to be very interesting as well. Folklore turned out to be one of the fields of collision between modernism and traditionalism, and the process of renovation proved to be a stimulus for the development of folklore studies.

The occurrence of a great quantity of obscene proverbs (which are distinguished by deep allegory and witticism) is a further characteristic of the Persian paremiological stock. There are non-obscene variants as well, where an objectionable word is substituted with a non-obscene lexical unit. If we study Persian paremiographic collections from this point of view, it turns out that the problem of fixation or ignoring of obscene paremias is more pressing for Persian paremiography of the more recent period. The collections compiled in India contain lots of examples of that kind of paremia. At the beginning of the twentieth century the situation changed and in A. Dehkhoda's collection ("Proverbs and Aphorisms") obscene paremias rarely occur, but that could not be explained by the fact that the majority of patterns given in his four-volume work are of

literary origin. Many monuments of Persian classical literature can be named where obscene expressions are found (Rumi's Mathnavi, the works of Sa'adi, Obeid Zakani and others). Thus the scarcity (nearly absence) of obscene proverbs in A. Dehkhoda's monumental work can be explained only by the modesty of the compiler.

Unlike Dehkhoda, A. Amini and A. Bahmaniar include such proverbs in their works. As to the recording of obscene proverbs in the collections published in Iran in the second half of the twentieth century, here more liberty had been shown in those edited before the Islamic revolution (S. Haim, M. Soheili), though even in collections appearing after the revolution obscene paremiyas were not ignored (E. Shokurzadeh, J. Shahri, etc.). In some proverbial collections of that period objectionable somatic lexis have been replaced by words like "somewhere", etc. The abundance of obscene utterances in the speech of Tehranians J. Shahri considers to be inherited from the governors and noble men of the Qajar period. He believes that "the culture of each epoch reveals the common features of a nation of that period. Speech is a part of culture, thus this kind of expression should not be ignored, on the contrary we should record them in collections."¹⁶

In short, two main governing factors – the inner and outer censor – were responsible for the recording of Persian proverbs. The fascination of Persian obscene proverbs often turned out to be more compelling than the censorship of those two.

In evaluating paremiographical literature an investigator may be guided by different considerations: to place emphasis on the antiquity of a collection, on the quantities and quality of the fixed material, on the method selected for the classification of its material, etc. In the process of the grouping of Persian paremiographic literature, the structure and partly the character of the material has been of primary importance for us.

In the tables given above we have deliberately not included the collections compiled by foreign paremiographers, as the aim of our study was precisely to reveal the peculiarities of the collections compiled by Iranians. It is obvious that Iranians remain faithful to their paremiographic traditions even if they live outside their homeland. "1001 Persian Proverbs" is a prominent example of this. Its compiler S. Habibian has lived in Maryland for a long time and she received a good philological education, but the achievements of contemporary western paremiology had no effect on her collection. By its nature this collection is rather entertaining.

Because of the different merits of the Persian paremiographic literature outlined in the tables, we single out several of them:

1. The most ancient collection of Persian proverbs: M. Hablerudi's "Majma' Al-amthal";
2. The biggest and most monumental collection of Persian proverbs: Ali-Akbar Dehkhoda's "Proverbs and Aphorisms" (4 volumes). It is logical that the compiler of the collection is the man who appears as the author of the one of the outstanding Persian Explanatory Dictionaries as well. The significance of the collection will undoubtedly increase if we consider the fact that Dehkhoda had to start from scratch to do his Herculean labor;
3. The first collection of Persian proverbs in which the paremiographical approach is viewed and important theoretical suggestions are given: A. Bahmaniar's "The Proverb Book of Bahmaniar";
4. The first concise dictionary of Persian-English proverbs, which has not lost its meaning even today in spite of the fact that it was created nearly half a century ago: S. Haim, Persian-English Proverbs";
5. The collection of Persian proverbs in which the whole material is represented not in literary language but in spoken Persian (Tehran dialect): J. Shahri, "Qand va Namak" ("Sugar and Salt");
6. The collection of Persian proverbs which is based on the principles and methods accepted in world paremiology: A. Abrishami, "A Modern Dictionary of Selected Persian Proverbs". All collections of this paremiographer and paremiologist fall into this category. A. Abrishami's works profoundly differ from the collections published in Iran as they do not follow the traditions of Iranian paremiography, on the contrary, they are examples of the Western approach to paremiographic problems. Thus A. Abrishami's "A Modern Dictionary..." is the most outstanding collection among those published in today's Iran.

Several collections of proverbs are published in Iran yearly. Among them there are collections of proverbs and idioms which are widespread in different parts of Iran. Each of the compilers makes every endeavor to put together such a collection that will differ from previous ones in some way, but this distinction is not often easily seen. Actually, it is not possible to provide an exhaustive classification of all the paremiographical col-

lections in one paper. In this paper only a general survey of Persian paremiography has been proposed, and we hope it will give a reader a basic introductory idea of Persian paremiography.

Finally, it is my pleasant task to thank faithfully Mr. Ahmad Abrishami for reading the manuscript of this paper and for his most valuable remarks, a large portion of which has been taken into consideration.

Notes:

1. These collections are: M.Hablerudi's "Majma' Al-amthāl" ("A Collection of Proverbs", 1049/1639-40) and "Jāme' At-tamthil" ("A collection of Fables", 1054/1944-45), M.Sadeq Esfahani's "Shāhed-e Sādeq", 1054/1644-5).
2. For the first time this term was used by A.Abrishami in his collection "A Comparative Dictionary of Persian Proverbs and Dictums with English, French, German and Spanish Equivalents", Tehran, 1996
3. For the large sections of the public this fact was unknown. In the 1925 Bahmaniar's collection "Dāstānnāmeye Bahmaniāri" ("The Proverb Book of Bahmaniar") had already been completed. In his preface to the book Bahmaniar discussed important theoretical problems of paremiology. Unfortunately, for the reasons unknown, this collection was published in 1982 after Bahmaniar's death. In our opinion, publishing of the collection had been delayed due to some reasons. After A.Dehkhoda's monumental collection ("Proverbs and Aphorisms", 1308-11/ 1929-32) had been published, Bahmaniar might have considered it unnecessary to publish his own collection and to the end of his life he had not changed his mind.
4. Marlzolph U., Illustrated Exemplary Tales: A Nineteenth Century Edition of The Classical Persian Proverbs Collection "Jame' Al-Tamsil", *Proverbium*, 16, 1999, p.167
5. A.Abrishami, A Modern Dictionary of Selected Persian Proverbs, Tehran, 1997, p.52.
6. This fact is responsible for the title of our article: "...Persian (not Iranian) Paremiography", though we should also mention that the proverb collections of Iranian ethnic groups, compiled by an Iranian fully responds to the structural model established here (fig.2)
7. Eslami Nodooshan M., *Andisheye garāyande be eshrāq, andisheye garāyande be kherad*, in the book "Irān va Tanhāiyash", Tehran, 1376 (2000).
8. see as in note 1. The readers of *Proverbium* already received brief information on these two collections from U.Marlzolph's article (see note 4).
9. Abrishami A., Paremiology and Paremiography of Persian Proverbs, Tehrān, 1998, p.210 (in Persian)
10. It's interesting enough that in India in a rather short period of time (1639/40-1644) three collections of Persian proverbs were compiled. It can be supposed that in that period there existed a kind of folklore (paremiographic) school or movement.
11. In this 36 page brochure the author debates about the antiquity and significance of Iranian folklore. Here are presented folklore texts (lullabies, nursery rhymes, plays, riddles, folk songs)
12. Hedāyat S., *Folklor yā Farhang-e toode, Farhang-e āmiāne-ye mardom-e Irān*, Tehrān, 1379 (2001), p.235
13. Kokkyara G., History of Folklore Studies in Europe (in Russian), Moscow, 1960, p.59
14. It should be mentioned that this attempt made by A.Amini is often grossly exaggerated and groundless.
15. Haim S., Persian-English Proverbs, Tehran, 1956, p.8
16. Shahri J., *Qand va namak* ("Sugar and Salt"), Tehran, 1370 (1991), p.15

Persian Proverb Collections (Group A and B)

1. Hablerudi M-'A., *Majma' Al-Amthāl* ("A Collection of Proverbs"), ed. S.Kiyā, Tehrān, 1344 (1965)
2. Dehkhodā 'A-A., *Amthāl va hekam* ("Proverbs and Aphorisms"), v.1-4, Tehrān, 2537
3. Amini A-Q., *Dāstānhā-ye Amthāl* ("Fables connected with Proverbs"), Esfahān, 1351 (1972)

4. Soheili M., *Zarb-ol-mathalhā-ye ma'roof-e Irān* (“Popular Proverbs of Iran”), Tehrān, 1349 (1970); (2nd ed.:1373 /1994)
5. Bahmaniār A., *Dāstānnāme-ye Bahmaniāri* (“The Proverb Book of Bahmaniar”), Tehrān, 1361 (1982)
6. Partavi Amali M., *Rishehā-ye tārikhi-e amthāl va hekam* (“The Historical Roots of Proverbs and Aphorisms”), Tehrān, 1374 (1994)
7. Shakibi Guilani J., Haghshenas Lari 'A, Ghajar M., *Pand va dāstānyāb* (“Persian Proverbs and Aphorism Finder”), Tehrān – Neshvil, 1366 (1987).
8. Vakiliān A, *Tamthil va mathal* (“Proverbs and Their Stories”), Tehrān, 1366 (1987)
9. Shirazi R., *Mathalābād* (“Proverb Land”), Tehrān, 1368 (1990)
10. Shahri J., *Qand va namak* (“Sugar and Salt”), Tehrān, 1370 (1991)
11. Afifi R., *Mathalhā va hekmāthā dar āsār-e shā'erān-e qarn-e sevvom tā yāz dahom-e hejri* (“Proverbs and Aphorisms in Persian Poetry of the X-XVIII centuries”), Tehrān, 1371 (1992)
12. Shokurzādeh Boluri E., *Dah hezār mathal-e Fārsi* (“Ten Thousand Persian Proverbs”), Mashhad,1372 (1993)
13. Āzarli Q-R., *Zarb-ol-mathalhā-ye mashhoor-e Irān* (“Popular Proverbs of Iran”), Tehrān, 1375 (1996)
14. Salahshur M., *Behtarin zerb-ol-mathalhā-ye Irāni* (“Best Iranian Proverbs”), 1377 (1998)
15. Rajabzādeh H., *Barkhi az mathalhā va ta'bīrat-e Fārsi, (adabi va 'amiāne)* (“Some Persian Proverbs and Expressions (literary and slang)”), 1376 (1997)
16. Khorāmi H., *Zarb-ol-mathalhā-ye manzum* (“Poetic Proverbs”), Qom, 1376 (1997)
17. Mo'ayyed A., *Ersāl-ol-mathal dar mathnavi* (“Aphorisms and Proverbs from the Mathnavi”), 1376 (1997)
18. Abrishami A., *Farhang-e gozide-ye mathalhā-ye Fārsi* (“A Modern Dictionary of Selected Persian Proverbs”), 1376 (1997)
19. 'Ārefirād M., *Āshurā dar farhang-e mardom – zerb-ol-mathalhā* (“Ashura in Folklore – Proverbs”), 1379 (2000)
20. Haim S., *Persian-English Proverbs*, Tehran, 1956
21. Abrishami A., *A Dictionary of 800 Persian Proverbs with English and French Equivalents*, Tehran, 1995; (1st ed.: 1994)
22. Abrishami A., *A Comparative Dictionary of Persian Proverbs and Dictums*, Tehran, 1996
23. Abrishami A., *A Dictionary of Persian-English Proverbs*, Tehran, 1997
24. K.Habibiān S., *1001 Persian-English Proverbs*, Bathesda, Maryland, 1999 (1st ed.: 1996)
25. Pazargadi A., *A Selection of Persian Proverbs, Sayings and Idioms with Their English Translation*, Tehran, 1380 (2001)

ON THE SPECIFICATION OF BASIC COLOUR TERMS IN GEORGIAN *

Abstract

The main goal of the paper is to define the type of Georgian colour term system. Firstly, in accordance with Berlin & Kay's theory, the basic colour terms in Georgian have to be established. There are a lot of colour terms in Georgian denoting different hues. The criterion of basicness makes it possible to choose basic terms from this diversity.

It has been found that among Georgian color terms the following ones meet the four main points of the criterion of basicness: tetri – WHITE, šavi – BLACK, c'iteli – RED, q"viteli – YELLOW, mc'vane – GREEN, lurži – BLUE, ruxi – GREY. The fourth, the last point of basicness says that basic colour terms have to be salient. The best way to check this point is the list test, which was carried out on Georgian data with 38 participants taking part in it.

According to the results of the list test it was shown that the first six terms are salient enough and so they are basic, but as for the term ruxi 'grey', it is not salient, and therefore it is excluded from being basic. However, it appears that q'avisperi 'brown' meets the same point of the main criterion of basicness, and despite its morphological structure, which is not simple, we came to the conclusion that q'avisperi 'brown' has to be regarded as a basic colour term. The basicness of q'avisperi is supported by the universal model of colour categorization, which implies that the seventh basic colour term in the colour term system is the one denoting category BROWN.

Since 1969, when Berlin and Kay's theory on colour term systems was published, linguists have more actively paid attention to colour term systems in the world's languages. According to Berlin and Kay's theory (Berlin & Kay 1969), the type of colour term system is defined by the number of basic colour terms in a given language. Why are basic colour terms so important? – They are the main structural units in the organization of a colour term system, basic colour terms reflect how color space is categorized in a particular language.

Berlin and Kay's theory is based on the basic colour terms and the authors establish the criteria consisting of four main and four additional points to identify basic color terms (see also: Mervis & Roth 1981; Kay & McDaniel 1978). The main points are: 1) basic colour terms are monolexemic, i.e. the meaning of any basic colour term cannot be derived from the meanings of its parts; 2) there is not semantic subordination between basic colour terms, i.e. the meaning of any basic colour term is not contained by the meaning of any other colour term.; 3) basic colour terms have an unrestricted set of referents; 4) basic colour terms are psychologically salient. The additional points are: 1) the distributional power of a basic term is the same as that of the already established basic colour terms; 2) the basicness of a term is questionable if it is the name of a thing, or hints at a thing whose colour is encoded by it; 3) loan words are probably not basic; 4) morphological complexity is probably characteristic of nonbasic terms.

Berlin and Kay's theory is called *Universal Model of Colour Categorization* and the main idea here is that basic color categories are regarded as universal ones. Their universality means the universality of their foci, and each of them represents the best sample of the corresponding basic colour term.

After the considerable quantity of linguistic data had been analysed the authors established 11 universal basic colour categories, i.e. 11 universal foci were defined, and they are the places in the colour spectrum, where the best samples of corresponding basic colour categories of English are found: BLACK, WHITE, RED, YELLOW, GREEN, BLUE, BROWN, ORANGE, PURPLE, PINK, and GREY. The foci were defined as primary designates of universal semantic categories. In order to tell apart colour categories and corresponding

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terms, the categories are written in capital letters, e.g. WHITE is a category, while *white* is a term.

Besides the universality of basic color terms Berlin and Kay established the universal regularity of colour categorization, which at first had been felt intuitively, but after various linguistic data had been studied the following universals were established:

1. In every language there are basic colour terms for BLACK and WHITE.
2. If there are three basic colour terms, then there is a basic colour term for RED in this language.
3. If there are four basic colour terms, then there is a basic colour term for either YELLOW or GREEN.
4. If there are five basic colour terms, then there are basic colour terms for both YELLOW and GREEN in this language.
5. If there are six basic colour terms, then there is a basic colour term for BLUE in this language.
6. If there are seven basic colour terms, then there is a basic colour term for BROWN in this language.
7. If there are eight or more basic colour terms, then there are basic colour terms for PURPLE, PINK, ORANGE, GREY, or for some other combinations of them in this language.

In order to define the type of the Georgian colour term system we had to establish basic colour terms. There are a lot of colour terms in Georgian, denoting different hues. Georgian data was gathered from the Georgian Explanatory Dictionary in 8 volumes (*Kartuli Enis Ganmartebiti Leksikoni* 1950-64). The criterion of basicness makes it possible to choose basic ones from this range.

As was mentioned above, the criterion of basicness contains four main points. According to the first point (basic colour terms are monolexemic), the greater part of colour terms are excluded from the above-mentioned range as being non-basic. They are composites with so-called equal parts:

šav-tetri ('black and white')¹

tetr-c'iteli ('reddish-whitish') and some others like them.

Some other composites are excluded as well, in which the components are colour terms, but one of them (or both) is like English terms with ending *-ish*:

moluržo-šavi ('bluish-black')

moc'italo-q'viteli ('reddish-yellow')

movardispro-moq'vitalo ('pinkish-yellowish')

motero-monacrispro ('light grey') and some others like them.

The same first point of the criteria excludes terms, which are composites as well, but the second component in them is the word *peri* ('colour'), and the first one is a genitive case form of a noun denoting a plant, fruit, flower, animal, some mineral, etc. Terms like these are widely presented in the Georgian Explanatory Dictionary:

agurisperi ('colour of brick – yellowish red'),

alisperi ('colour of flame – bright light red'),

gišrisperi ('as black as gagate – very black'), etc.

According to the second point (there is not semantic subordination between basic colour terms), all colour terms with derived stems are excluded as being non-basic. This kind of colour term is very common in Georgian. It contains: terms with the suffixes *-ovan*, *-ian*, denoting 'having sth' (*zurmuxt'ovani* – 'having the colour of emerald', *kup'riani* – 'having the colour of tar', ...); terms derived by circumfix *mo-* *-o* (*moc'italo* – 'reddish', *moq'vitalo* – 'yellowish', *mošavo* – 'blackish', ...); terms derived by circumfix *c'a-* *-o* (*c'atetro* – 'whitish', *c'amc'vano* – 'greenish', ...).

After from the first criterion a great number of colour terms have been excluded as being non-basic, the second criterion excludes terms like *bordo* ('colour of comel, dark red'). It is defined by the term *c'iteli* – 'red', but not vice versa, *c'iteli* is never defined by the term *bordo*.

According to the third criterion (basic colour terms have an unrestricted set of referents), the following terms and ones like them are excluded as being non-basic:

1 Translations here and below are given according to the Georgian Dictionary.

talxi – ‘black, dark colour of clothes’

kera – ‘light yellow, colour of honey, colour of straw (for hair)’, etc.

As for the fourth criterion (basic colour terms are psychologically salient.), a survey has been conducted and based on the results and on our own linguistic intuition, some terms like the following ones are excluded as being non-basic:

lega – ‘dark grey’

mreši – ‘(old) colour of chestnut’, etc.

Finally, it was found that among Georgian color terms the following ones meet the four main criteria of basicness:

tetri – ‘colour of snow, milk (oppos. *šavi* – ‘black’);

šavi – ‘the darkest colour, colour of coal, gagate (oppos. – *tetri* ‘white’);

c’iteli – ‘colour of blood, garnet’;

q’viteli – ‘one of the main seven colours, between orange and yellow in the spectrum; golden or amber-coloured’;

mc’vane – ‘color of fresh grass, a leaf and so on; it occupies fourth place in an ordered range of seven simple colours of the spectrum (red, orange, yellow, green, sky-blue, blue, violet)’;

lurži – ‘one of the main colours of the spectrum, – dark sky-blue’;

ruxi – ‘black mixed with white, dark grey’.

At a glance the first six terms from the above-mentioned ones seem certainly basic, and therefore they need not to be checked by the additional criteria. Basicness only of the seventh term (*ruxi*) appears doubtful. It could be regarded as an exception because according to Berlin and Kay’s universal theory, the categorization of GREY takes place only after the categorization of BROWN. However, the term denoting BROWN is non-basic in Georgian as its morphological structure is not simple; moreover, it contains a root denoting a thing whose colour is encoded by the whole word. This term is *q’avisperi*, the word for word translation of which is ‘colour of coffee’:

q’av-is-per-i

coffee-GEN-colour-NOM

Thus, we need to check the basicness of *ruxi* with regard to the fourth point of the main criteria, i.e. we have to check how salient the given term is. The best way to do this is to carry out a list test, but for a start we would like to emphasize that the term *ruxi* meets all four points of the additional criteria.

So it seems necessary to carry out a list test (Frumkina 1984; Hardin, Muffi (eds) 1997) in order to define clearly the basicness of the term *ruxi*. Moreover, the results of the list test will give more evidence on the basicness of the other six terms.

What is a list test? The participants in the test have to write down all the colour terms (words denoting colour) of a language, and they are given from 3 to 5 minutes to do it. As a rule, salient terms are placed among the first ten ones in the list. All participants in our test were Georgian, there were 38 participants of different age, sex and profession. Usually, people whose professional knowledge is somehow connected with colour do not participate in this kind of test, although two painters, a man and a woman, were included among the participants. In my opinion their attitude to the question seems interesting and they could not affect greatly the results of the test. Before the test started we asked the participants: do you know what a colour term is? – And we named some terms, basic and non-basic ones. After that we spoke to them (about their profession, job, etc.) as we wanted them to forget the terms we had cited.

The goal of the test was to find out whether a term was equally salient for the informants, to define the place of a term in the list, and then based on those characteristics to draw conclusions about the basicness of a term.

There were 38 participants and in total 894 terms were named (including repeated terms). The number of different terms is 112. The average number of terms per informant is 23-24 (to be precise – 23.53). The maximum number of terms named by an informant is 37, the minimum number is 11. It is interesting to note that those data come from the painters: 37 from the woman, 11 from the man. And it is even more interest-

ing that the man added terms for BLACK and WHITE at the very last moment, after much thinking with the following words: OK, I will put them, however, I think that they are not colour terms. We can understand the painter's comment: BLACK and WHITE present achromatic hues and only chromatic ones are considered as real colours. The results of the test are presented in the tables below. Table 1 contains 15 terms (it is an extract from the whole table, which contains 43 different terms, but these 15 are quite enough to discuss the results).

Table 1

No	Colour terms		Frequency
1	<i>c'iteli</i>	'red'	38
2	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	38
3	<i>lurži</i>	'blue'	38
4	<i>q'avisperi</i>	'brown'	38
5	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	37
6	<i>tetri</i>	'white'	37
7	<i>šavi</i>	'black'	36
8	<i>cisperi</i>	'light blue, sky-blue'	36
9	<i>nacrisperi</i>	'grey'	36
10	<i>vardisperi</i>	'pink'	31
11	<i>narinžisperi</i>	'orange'	31
12	<i>st'apilosperi</i>	'colour of carrot'	24
13	<i>iasamnisperi</i>	'lilac'	21
14	<i>okrosperi</i>	'golden'	21
15	<i>vercxlisperi</i>	'silver'	19

The tables contain almost all the terms named by the informants (only the terms named by less than five informants are not included). The terms in table 1 are ordered according to the number of their occurrences (frequency) in the lists. According to the data of Table 1 the following data are drawn:

- (i) Frequency reduces evenly from 38 to 36 in the first part of the table: the first four terms (*c'iteli* 'red', *mc'vane* 'green', *lurži* 'blue', *q'avisperi* – 'brown') occur 38 times; two terms (*q'viteli* 'yellow', *tetri* 'white') occur 37 times; three terms (*šavi* 'black', *cisperi* 'sky-blue', *nacrisperi* 'grey') occur 36 times.
- (ii) After the first nine terms there is a jump in the frequency: from 36 to 31 (two terms: *vardisperi* 'pink', *narinžisperi* 'orange' occur 31 times, and then one more jump again – from 31 to 24: (*st'apilosperi* – 'colour of carrot' occurs 24 times.

According to the jumps in frequency terms in the table are divided into four groups: group I presumably consists of basic colour terms, group II – of non-basic colour terms, but close to basic ones, groups III-IV – of evidently non-basic colour terms.

We are mostly interested in group I. The above-mentioned six terms defined as being basic are in this group, and in addition it contains the terms: *q'avisperi* 'brown', *cisperi* 'sky-blue', *nacrisperi* 'grey'. We would like to mention that *q'avisperi* 'brown' is the very non-basic term among those three that occurs in the lists of all 38 informants; *cisperi* 'sky-blue' and *nacrisperi* 'grey' are the last terms in the group.

We can define basicness of colour terms more accurately according to the second characteristic of the test – an average place number in the list, which is reflected in Table 2. And again, only a part (the first 15 terms) of the table is presented here:

Table 2

Nº	Colour terms		Average place number
1	<i>c'iteli</i>	'red'	3.32
2	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	3.89
3	<i>šavi</i>	'black'	4.22
4	<i>tetri</i>	'white'	4.84
5	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	5.03
6	<i>lurži</i>	'blue'	5.05
7	<i>cisperi</i>	'sky-blue'	8.22
8	<i>q'avisperi</i>	'brown'	9.58
9	<i>vardisperi</i>	'pink'	10.87
10	<i>narinžisperi</i>	'orange'	11.42
11	<i>iasamnisperi</i>	'lilac'	11.87
12	<i>nacrisperi</i>	'grey'	12.39
13	<i>iisperi</i>	'violet coloured'	12.73
14	<i>mec'amuli</i>	'dark red, purple'	12.80
15	<i>ruxi</i>	'grey'	13.28

An average place number is calculated in the following way: n stands for the place number of a certain term in a corresponding list. As the maximum number of terms in a list is 37, $n = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 37$; k_n stands for the occurrence number of a corresponding term at the n th place in the lists; m stands for an average place number, and $m = \sum nk_n : \sum k_n$. For example, if a certain term occurs once at the first place in the lists, 3 times at the second place, and 5 times at the third place, then

$$m = (1 \cdot 1 + 2 \cdot 3 + 3 \cdot 5) : (1+2+3) = 22:9 = 2.4.$$

There are two groups of colour terms in Table 2. The first group consists of the first six terms (*c'iteli* 'red', *q'viteli* 'yellow', *šavi* 'black', *tetri* 'white', *mc'vane* 'green', *lurži* 'blue'), where m increases evenly from 3.32 to 5.05.

After the first six terms there is a jump between the values of m , and then m increases more or less evenly. All the remaining terms belong to the second group. The first two terms in the second group (*cisperi* 'sky-blue', *q'avisperi* 'brown') are specific: they have average place numbers 8.22 and 9.58 correspondingly, and the difference between the values is equal to 1.36, while in the other part of the table the difference is less than 1.

What about *ruxi* 'grey', according to the two tables? In Table 1 *ruxi* 'grey' occupies 32nd place, it was named by 7 informants, and in Table 2 its average place number is 13.28. Thus, we can conclude that *ruxi* 'grey' is not a basic colour term.

The basicness of certain colour terms is attested and some interesting information is given in Table 3, which actually reflects to what extent the informants were unanimous in placing certain terms in the first part of the list. The first column of the table shows the place number of a term in the list, in the second column there are terms occurring at the corresponding places, and the third column shows a percentage value, more exactly, what percent of informants named a certain term at a corresponding place:

Table 3

Place number	Colour terms		Percentage
I	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	39.45%
	<i>tetri</i>	'white'	36.82%
	<i>šavi</i>	'black'	18.41%
II	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	31.56%

	<i>šavi</i>	'black'	21.04%
	<i>tetri</i>	'white'	15.98%
III	<i>c'iteli</i>	'red'	21.04%
	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	21.04%
	<i>šavi</i>	'black'	18.41%
	<i>lurži</i>	'blue'	15.98%
	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	13.35%
	<i>tetri</i>	'white'	10.72%
IV	<i>q'viteli</i>	'yellow'	26.30%
	<i>lurži</i>	'blue'	23.67%
	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	15.98%
	<i>narinžisperi</i>	'orange'	7.89%
	<i>c'iteli</i>	'red'	7.89%
V	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	28.93%
	<i>cisperi</i>	'sky-blue'	15.98%
	<i>lurži</i>	'blue'	13.35%
VI	<i>lurāi</i>	'blue'	26.30%
	<i>mc'vane</i>	'green'	26.30%
	<i>q'avisperi</i>	'brown'	10.72%
VII	<i>q'avisperi</i>	'brown'	21.04%
	<i>narinžisperi</i>	'orange'	13.35%

The data of Table 3 confirm the basicness of the terms *c'iteli* 'red', *q'viteli* 'yellow', *šavi* 'black', *tetri* 'white', *mc'vane* 'green', *lurži* 'blue'. The informants are almost unanimous in putting the terms in places I-III. It is interesting that *narinžisperi* 'orange' appears in VI or VII place, *cisperi* 'sky-blue' is presented in V place, and *q'avisperi* 'brown' appears in VI or VII place. The informants are relatively more unanimous in naming *q'avisperi* 'brown' in VII place (21.04%). According to the percentage values the following terms are: *cisperi* 'sky-blue' in V place (15.98%), and *narinžisperi* 'orange' in VII place (13.35%). Thus, according to Table 3, *q'avisperi* 'brown' is closer to the basic colour terms than any other one is.

According to the results of the list test it was shown that the basic colour terms in Georgian are: *tetri* WHITE, *šavi* BLACK, *c'iteli* RED, *q'viteli* YELLOW, *mc'vane* GREEN, *lurži* BLUE; term *ruxi* 'grey' does not meet point 4 of the main criteria of basicness and so is excluded from being basic. However, it appears that *q'avisperi* 'brown' meets the same point of the main criteria of basicness, and we have to clarify whether the term is basic or not.

At a glance, the main obstacle for *q'avisperi* being considered basic is its morphological structure: the term is not monolexemic; furthermore, the term contains the name of a thing whose colour is encoded by the whole word. So the term seems to be non-basic. But if we look at basic colour terms in English (according to Berlin and Kay they are: *black*, *white*, *red*, *yellow*, *green*, *blue*, *brown*, *grey*, *purple*, *pink*, *orange*), and pay attention to the last two of terms, we can see that they are the names of things whose colours are encoded, but as they are monolexemic and they meet the remaining three points of the main criteria of basicness, an additional criterion does not need to be applied. However, the monolexemic structure of English terms is due to the general morphological structure of English, where even non-basic terms are monolexemic, as e.g. term *silver* is. The corresponding term in Georgian is *vercxlisperi*, the word-for-word translation of which is 'colour of silver', and the term has the same structure as *q'avisperi* does. So the complex morphological structure of

the Georgian term is only due to the general morphological structure of Georgian, and it must be regarded as a basic colour term just like the English terms *pink* and *orange*. The basicness of *q'avisperi* is supported by the universal model of colour categorization, which implies that the seventh basic colour term in the colour term system is the term denoting the category BROWN.

Thus, a lexical exception found in the Georgian colour term system led us to check the basicness of the terms more carefully, and the conclusion of our research is that the Georgian colour term system is that of the VI stage having following basic colour terms: *tetri* WHITE, *šavi* BLACK, *c'iteli* RED, *q'viteli* YELLOW, *mc'vene* GREEN, *lurži* BLUE, *q'avisperi* BROWN.

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PECULIARITIES OF GENDER FORMATION IN SYRIAC GRAMMAR *

Arsenius Fakhuri's literary, grammatical and ecclesiastical heritage is diverse. Especially noteworthy is his Grammar of the Syriac Language. No information is available concerning the original, Fakhuri's biographer L. Cheikho says nothing about it. Any other manuscript of the above-mentioned Grammar is not known either, except the Leningrad manuscript. The latter is preserved in the collection of the Leningrad Division of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which found its way there in the 1930s, together with other manuscripts of the collection of Academician Likhachov, well-known historian and paleographer. The grammatical treatise represents the Syriac-Arabic manuscript Garshuni and is entered in the Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts of Leningrad by well-known researcher in Syriac Studies N.V.Pigulevskaya, who offers a general description of the manuscript.

In the Classical Syriac language, there is no strict distinction between adjectives and nouns. Both of them, nouns as well as adjectives are characterized by the categories of number and status. Hence, these parts of speech are as a rule considered together. In the works of Syrian grammarians the object of separate study is the opposition of gender forms, which is specific for adjectives, whereas it is found in nouns only occasionally. In this regard, the grammar treatise by Arsenius (Faris) Fakhuri, 19th-century Syrian (Maronite) scholar and public figure is interesting. Fakhuri's grammar of the Syriac language mainly covers questions of morphology: nouns, adjectives, numerals and pronouns, noun categories, statuses are discussed, special attention is devoted to explanation of peculiarities of formation of gender and number.

In Syriac grammars the word *šmā* "name" unites nouns as well as adjectives. Fakhuri implies under the term *šmā* only nouns. He singles out adjectives separately when discussing secondary forms of gender and the genitive construction, and to denote it uses the term *šūmāhā* – "attribute". This term occurs with other Syriac grammarians too.

The treatise under present analysis distinguishes three genders of nouns: masculine, feminine and common. Numbers are two: singular and plural. The statuses characteristic of Syriac nouns are not considered separately, except *status constructus*. In a status, forms of different genders and numbers are regarded as independent units. Fakhuri differentiates gender according to the feminine ending and considers as the main formant the common Semitic suffix *taw*. He does not share the views of old Syrian grammarians concerning the gender formant. Elias of Tirhan identifies in the language forms of the masculine and the feminine genders, but not as a grammatical category and distinguishes them in a sentence only according to function. As regards Bar Hebraeus, he identifies several formants of gender: "To differentiate masculine and feminine genders, a consonant, a vowel, *rūqqāqā* and *quššāyā* are used", he notes.¹

Under consonants expressing gender BarHebraeus implies: a) "Taw" consonant: *rabā-* "large"; "many" >*rabtā*; *btūltā* "girl", "daughter" b) "yud", as a marker of gender in pronouns of the second and third persons and pronominal suffixes: *'anānānt* *anā'ant*, *'anty*, *'aty*; *hū*, *hy*; At the same time, in verbs of perfective, second person, singular number; c) "Nun" and "Dalet", which differentiate gender in demonstrative pronouns – *hānā* (masc.), *hāde* (fem.). In consonant elements the grammarian considers formants expressed by vowels, implying the rendering of noun gender according to statuses.²

Along with nouns of the feminine gender with the formant ä, the feminine without a marker is also attested in Syriac. Fakhuri offers a quite exhaustive list of such nouns in the first part of his grammar. Cases where the morphological marker of gender is present are considered among feminine nouns without a marker:

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, 2018, XI, pp. 62-65.

1 In Syriac, six simple occlusive consonants after a vowel are pronounced as fricatives. These two different pronunciations are denoted by different terms: *quššāyā* for occlusive consonants and *rūqqāqā* – for fricatives.

2 *Le Livre des splendeurs, La grande grammaire de Gregoire bar Hebraeus*. Lund, 1922, p. 9.

qalbā “dog”, *qalbtā* “bitch”; *hmā* “father-in-law”; *hmātā* “mother-in-law”. Other nouns without a gender formant belong to the masculine gender (not taking into account some masculine nouns with the feminine gender ending). As regards BarHebraeus, in his treatise he identifies two varieties of gender: real feminine (with a parallel form of masculine) and unreal, i.e. without a marker. In the unreal variety he does not unite names of birds and animals, which in Syriac usually belong to the feminine without a marker (except – *nešrā* “eagle”).

The common gender unites nouns which do not differentiate gender. It includes *singular iatantum* and *plural iatantum*. Fakhuri dwells separately on the feminine noun *meltā* “word”, which forms plural similar to words of the masculine gender: *melē* (without the formant “ā”) and notes that it is of the masculine gender only when occurs in the dogmatic expression: *meltā besrāwā* – “And the Word was made flesh”.

When considering feminine forms proper and secondary feminine forms, Fakhuri singles out several types of nouns, according to which gender must be formed. These are: 1) nouns with the vowel *a* on the first basic (in the feminine gender the vowel is mobile); 2) with the vowel *ā* on the first consonant (in the feminine at the second basic the vowel *e* occurs); 3) nouns ending in *yā* with the vowel *ā* on the first basic.

In the same place, when discussing nisba, two varieties of nisba are mentioned: nisba proper and “figurative nisba”. In the first variety the formant is the suffix *nā*: *šmayā* “sky” >*šmayānā*. *Tūbānā* “blessed” – feminine *tūbtānā* is singled out separately, and its second, different form is highlighted: *tūbānitā* – feminine *tūbtānitā* (when it refers to the Holy Trinity). Diminutive nouns two formants are attested: *ūsā* and *ūnā*, the latter occurs only in compounds: *barnāša* “is a man – a human” >*barnāšaūnā*. In nouns of the feminine gender the formant *ūnitā* is found: *bartā* > *bartūnitā*.

On the basis of the discussed material it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that when discussing the gender Fakhuri confines himself to *status emphaticus*, regarding this status is the initial state of a noun. As for two other statuses – *status absolutes* and *status constructus*, Fakhuri considers them as secondary forms resulting from elision of *status emphaticus*, i.e. dropping of the final vowel. Hence, for this grammarian elision is one of the most significant phenomena in the language, which accounts for existence of different forms. It should be noted that Elias of Tirhan also regards elision of nouns as one of the main grammatical peculiarities of the Syriac language. His grammatical treatise is the first Syriac grammar written to the Arabic pattern.³ In the work rules of noun elision are formulated: all Syriac nouns undergo elision; elision necessarily leads to the change of vocalization in elided nouns; noun elision is not determined by a sentence type.

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³ R. G. Rylova, *Grammar of the Syriac Language by Elias of Tirhan*, M.-L., pp. 37; 39.

TWO IRANIAN AUTHORS, MAJD OS SALTĀNEH AND YAHYĀ DOWLATĀBĀDI ON TBILISI *

Abstract

During centuries Tiflis/Tbilisi played a significant role in the Georgian-Iranian relations, as well as an important political, commercial and cultural centre in Transcaucasia. Progress achieved by Tbilisi, and Georgia as a whole, towards Europeanization attracted the attention of the Iranian Authors. The writings of two well-known Iranian authors, Majd os Saltāneh and Yahyā Dowlatābādi, attest to the growing role of Tbilisi in the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: *Tbilisi/Tiflis, Georgia, Qājār Iran, Transcaucasia, Safi Khalkhal, Aqā Mohammad Khān Qājār, Erekle II, M.V.Vorontsov, Abunasr Fathollah Khan Sheibani, Arfa od Dowleh, Majd os Saltāneh, Yahyā Dowlatābādi.*

From ancient times Tbilisi, due to its advantageous geographic location and major trade and transit routs, lying through the capital of Georgia, always attracted the attention of its powerful southern neighbors. For centuries Tbilisi and Georgia, in particular, along with entire Transcaucasia formed an apple of discord and an arena of fierce struggle between ancient and new empires.

If until the 18th century this struggle for predominance in Trancaucasia was carried on basically between the West and the East (Ancient Greece, Rome, Byzantium, the Ottoman Turkey, on the one hand, and Iranian empires, on the other), since this time the Russian state also joined the struggle, firmly claiming its interests in Trancaucasia and Georgia, in particular.

Possession of Tbilisi and Christian Georgia as a whole presented an opportunity to control one of the most important routs of international transit trade.

As early as the middle of the 18th century, according to the evidence of Peysonnel, who made a thorough study of Tbilisi and Georgia, "Caravans from Ganja, Shemakha, Yerevan, Tabriz and Erzurum come to Tbilisi every day... All know, – he continues, – that this city represents a warehouse of commodities, delivered by caravans coming from Persia to Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo and from these cities to Persia. Consequently, Tbilisi represents one of the most convenient places for establishing trade with Persia...Location of Tbilisi makes it a key to all cities of Persia" (Gvritishvili, Meskhia 1952: 165).

Therefore it is not accidental that rulers of Iran always aspired to conquer or keep under influence *Dar os Sorur* (the Palace of Joy), i.e. Tbilisi, as Iranians called it at that time. Characteristically and not without ground, in the imagination of many Iranian poets Tbilisi was a promised paradise on earth. One of the Iranian poets of the 18th century Safi Khalkhal in his *qasidah* "Praise of Tbilisi" wrote:

چتسا تشهب کش نیا تسا سیلفت ه
بپش شی گتسا تشر سودرف نشد.

Is it Tbilisi? It is a rival of paradise,
Compared to it the Garden of Eden is nothing
(Todua Vol. II. 1975: 201).

Preservation of at least formal acknowledgment of superiority of the Shah's authority in Eastern Georgia became one of the cardinal questions of Iran's foreign policy towards the end of the 18th century. As a result of the signing the treaty of Georgievsk in 1783 and the devastating campaign of Āqā Mohammad Khān Qājār against Tbilisi in 1795 Georgian-Iranian, as well as, Russian-Iranian relations sharply deteriorated.

* First published in: *Typological Researches*, IV, 2000, pp. 399-413. The French version of the paper is published in: *La Géorgie entre Perse et Europe*. Sous la dir. de F. Hellot-Bellier et Irène Natchkebia. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009, pp. 261-272.

Iran's position with regard to Tbilisi is seen well from the letter sent in 1799 by the first minister Hāji Ibrāhim to P. Kovalensky, the representative of the Russian authorities at the court of the Georgian King Erekle II: "Since olden days Georgia, Kakheti and Tbilisi belonged to Iran, only King Erekle has wrested them from Iran and you are well aware how he suffered for this – what a misfortune befell Georgia as a result of Aqa Mohammad Khan's anger. The treaty concluded by Erekle with Russia is null and void...Now the Iranian throne is consolidated and has its master, who does not intend to transfer the countries in his possession to others" (Dubrovin Vol. III. 1886:305-306).

Thus, Iran had claims on Tbilisi and Georgia as a whole. At the same time Russia not only refused to renounce its protectorate over Georgia, but also took a step, which strained Russian-Iranian antagonism in Transcaucasia to the utmost – in 1801 it incorporated Georgia.

Tbilisi and Georgia turned in fact into that bridgehead for Russia with which during the first (1804-1813) and the second wars (1826-1828) with Iran it took possession of all Transcaucasian Khanates. And the defeat of Turkey in a war with Russia further strengthened the position of the latter in the given region.

The former capital of Georgia even after becoming an administrative-political, as well as economic center of the whole Caucasian region retained its traditional commercial, economic and cultural links with Iran. Even at the height of the first Russian-Iranian war, as it is turns out from the report of N. S. Ivanov, the Director of Astrakhan's custom-house, addressed to General Tormasov, the Chief Administrator in Georgia, "Persian and other Asian merchants deliver their various commodities to Tbilisi, which have a good price there" (AKTI Vol. IV. 1870: 79).

It should be noted that with a view of speeding up the economic development of Transcaucasia the tsarist officials, governing this region, facilitated a further expansion of trade links of Transcaucasia with Iran, in which the decree "On preferential transit and trade", passed on October 8, 1821, played a decisive role.

Thanks to it Tbilisi soon turned into specific transit point of European and Asian commodities (Kakuria 1979: 49). A duty-free transit was opened from Redut-Kale to Iran through Tbilisi along the route Odessa-Redut-Kale-Tbilisi-Julfa-Tabriz (Orjonikidze 1992: 126). It is not accidental that Gamba, the French consul in Tbilisi, wrote on this occasion: "This city may become the major point between Europe and Asia" (Gamba T.II. 1826: 177).

During the whole 19th century the tsarist government time and again attempted to direct Iranian trade with European countries through Tbilisi.¹ "With the expansion of commercial turnover, – M. S. Vorontsov, the Viceroy in the Caucasus, wrote, – because of the rapid development of the conditions of the society and all vital requirements it (i.e. Tbilisi – the author) attracted here merchants and all manner of traders from everywhere, for whom now Tiflis has become an initial point in commercial and other respects" (CSHA of USSR, Fond 1268. Inv. 8. File 322. P.1-2).

As early as the 1820s Iranians lived in one of the two old caravanserais of Tbilisi (Gvritishvili, Meskhia 1952: 132). It should be noted that among the foreigners, arriving in Tbilisi from various countries, there always were many Iranians. Thus, e.g. according to the censuses of 1864-1865, of the 11,004 people arriving in the city over the period of 5 to 6 months 6,624 were Iranians (Kakuria 1979: 25). Though the number of population, as well as its structure, changed constantly, statistical materials prove however, that quite a number of Iranians resided permanently in Tbilisi. According to the materials of the census of March 25, 1876, 1,692 Iranians lived in Tbilisi (Kakuria 1979: 29). By the end of the 19th century, according to the data of the first general census of the Russian Empire, carried out in 1897, Iranian subjects constituted 52,8% of the total number of the foreigners living in the Tiflis Gubernia, i.e. of 15,427 foreigners 8,142 were Iranians (The First General Census Vol. LXIX. 1905: XII).

Europeanization of Tbilisi's urban life, as well as its results, began to attract Iranians. For instance, it is a highly interesting fact that an Iranian painter, Allahverdi by name, judging by the available evidence, on the instructions of Abbās Mirzā, the Heir to the throne, and at the request of the Russian Chargé d'affaires in Iran in 1821 studied lithography in Tbilisi. After completing the course of studies he was supplied with a

1 In particular, M. S. Vorontsov, the Viceroy in the Caucasus, after an unsuccessful abrogation of a law, passed in 1821, issued in December 14, 1845, a decree, according to which duty-free transit of European commodities through Redut-Kaleh-Sukhum-Tiflis-Nakhichevan to Iran and vice versa was permitted (Orjonikidze 1992: 206-207).

hand press with its instruments and all the materials, necessary for printing books, and was sent to Tabriz (Scheglova 1979: 8,30).

Tbilisi became one of the printing centers of Persian language literature. In the printing press of the chief administration of the Caucasian Viceroy Persian historical documents, published later in the Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission under the chairmanship of Adolf Berge, were printed for many years. As far back as the turn of the 20th c. Persian printing presses such as "Gheirat" and "Sharq" functioned in Tbilisi.

Tbilisi printing presses issued Persian textbooks, phrasebooks, works of classics of the Persian literature, as well as, historical works, children's literature, financial accounts of Iran's charitable society and medrese "Ettefaq" and even instructions for the sewing machines produced by "Singer" firm.

Of course, taking into consideration the traditional economic, political and cultural links with Iran, it is not surprising that having turned in the last quarter of the 19th century into one of the major political, administrative, commercial and industrial centers of the Russian Empire, Tbilisi continued to play a significant role in Russian-Iranian relations. The consulate-general of Iran functioned in Tbilisi. At the end of the 19th century Iranians still viewed Tbilisi as a paradise on earth. A *qasidah* by Abunashr Fathollah Khan Sheibani, an Iranian poet of that period, extemporized on the occasion of the departure of Mirza Reza Khan Danish Arfa od – Dowleh to Tbilisi to assume the post of consul general in 1889, reads:

ن ادب مه ار ن یا تساخنا تشهب دشاد اجک ره
پتسین س یلقت ز جب ملاعرد زورما تشهب س
ن اکم شناد و ن کمم دراد ن سه اجنا ردنک
ن اتسجرگب یز زارگا حبص میسند یا وری
ن اسر تنجه اربی نابیش دند ماین یا

Wherever the paradise is, know that it is there,
So that today's paradise on the earth is only Tbilisi,
It is a great blessing that it is a haven of knowledge,
Hey, morning breeze, if you are on way from Rei to Georgia,
Convey this message of an obedient slave Sheibāni to that paradise
(Montakhab 1308: 3).

In the second half of the 19th c. Tbilisi became a major telegraph and postal junction, linking the Caucasus and Russia with Iran (CSHA of Georgia f.11. c.2602. II. 97-99; f 11.c.7343. I.53), and after the construction of the Tbilisi-Poti railway in 1872, and Tbilisi-Baku in 1883, Tbilisi turned into a major railway transit artery of the Caucasus. Rapid development of the city, expansion of the communication network, enabled Iran to use it in its economic, political and cultural relations both with Russia and Europe. The shortest and safest way to Europe increasingly attracted the attention not only of merchants but also of statesmen of Iran. The fact that during his journeys to Europe and from Europe to Iran Nāser ed Din Shāh passed through Tbilisi speaks of itself. The evidence of Iranian authors (the last quarter of the 19th c. – beginning of the 20th c.) attests to the growing role of Tbilisi.

One of the first Iranians who described Tbilisi was well known scholar, historian and statesman Mohammad Hasan Khān Sani od Dowleh, honored later with the title of E'ttemād os Saltāneh. In August, 1873, he accompanied Nāser ed Din Shāh, who was on his way back from Europe. He was charged with sending the Shah's string of carts to Iran, for which he had to stay in Tbilisi for a few days.

In his diaries "*Ruznama*" the author describes the journey from Tbilisi to Tehran, in particular, his routine cares connected with execution of the mission he was entrusted with. The author describes in a business-like but a very colorful manner his meetings with various high-ranking Russian Officials, and so on. It is interesting that during his travel from Poti to Tbilisi the Shah was accompanied by Mikhail Nikolayevich, the Viceroy of the Caucasus – the younger brother of the Russian Emperor. We learn from the "diaries" that its author happened to be in Tbilisi twice before the Shah's journey to Europe.²

² Apparently, this happened when he fulfilled the duties of a military attaché and the second secretary of the Iranian embassy in Paris (Storey Vol.I. 1972: 489; also "Diaries": 259).

“Description of Tbilisi” by Majd os Saltāneh contains very interesting and at times rare information.³ The author visited Tbilisi in 1894. According to his “Description”, he stayed in Tbilisi for 50 days because he suffered from an ailment and had to get treatment. He describes in detail various aspects of the economic, public and cultural life of Tbilisi. The author’s modesty and respect for Georgia and the Georgian people are left in his description. In assessing one or another fact the author uses the comparative method, and his native country serves as his criterion. Much in the Caucasus and, in particular, Georgia surprises the visitor from Iran. Often he conceals his admiration, caused by the contemporary achievements of Georgia.⁴

Evidently, Tbilisi made such a positive impression on the author of “Description” that after 9 years, in 1903, he moved with all his family from Urumia to Tbilisi for permanent residence, though he was in the public service in Iran. According to Majd os Saltāneh, the chief reason of his moving to Tbilisi was that “As is known to everybody, there are no conditions to receive education in our country at present” (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 7).

According to the author, the Caucasus is divided into several Gubernias of which Georgia is the main one. The residence of the governor is in Tbilisi, the population of which reaches 250 thousand. This city represents the center of the whole Caucasian Gubernia. This railway, linking Batumi and Baku, lies through Tbilisi (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 15-16).

The author is interested almost in everything – the geographic location of Tbilisi, its national composition, cultural institutions of the city, hotels, museums and their exhibits.

Majd os Saltāneh provides valuable evidence that can undoubtedly shed light on many questions of the city’s life and will prove helpful to researchers into the history of Tbilisi. Here is a description of the military museum – the so-called museum of glory and the Caucasian museum. The author devotes his attention to everything – telephone and telegraph, facilitating the daily life of the citizens, the city transport, the Russian military unit, quartered in Tbilisi, the city arsenal. Narrating about the production of agricultural machines in Tbilisi Majd os Saltāneh does not hide his astonishment: “These machines and modern agricultural implements (used) in Iran are as different as a Mauser rifle and flint-lock and fuse guns”...and remarks ironically: “After all, we are not in need of such machines in Iran, we can do with horses” (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 27).

The author gives as detailed characterization of Tbilisi baths, dwelling particularly on the description of the so-called Orbeliani bath. According to the author, Tbilisi baths cannot be compared with any other baths – water in them is natural and hot. Among entertainments the author enjoyed greatly the circus performances. He gives a detailed description of the structure of the circus.

Majd os Saltāneh gives highly interesting information about the so-called “Mushtaid” garden, serving over many decades as a favorite place of rest of Tbilisi residents. In author’s words, the founder of the garden Mojtahehd Aqa Mir Fath was a son of Aqa Mior Usuf Tabrizi. During the Russian-Iranian war, when Iran capitulated, he went to Tabriz. After concluding the peace treaty, due to this shameful fact he fled to Russia, settling in Tbilisi. He laid out a garden here, which bears his name to the present day. Mojtahehd (Mushtaidi) garden became one of the most beloved places for Tbilisians (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 88-89).

The author doesn’t hide his admiration, caused by the condition of health service in Tbilisi. His evidence about hotels in Tbilisi is highly interesting.

Undoubtedly, “Discription” contains very valuable material about Iran’s Consulate-General in Tbilisi, about the appointment of Mirzā Rezā Khān on the post of Consul-General. According to Majd os Saltāneh, “The Iranian state has no Consulate like this in any other foreign country, the Consulate surpasses them in all respects, both by the building housing it and its furniture, and also by the degree of meeting the needs of Iranian subjects. The Consul himself enjoys great respect among the citizens, since he is an educated and well-informed person. Therefore the Consulate is an object of pride and calm of Iranian subjects. In Majd os

3 Majd os Saltāneh left behind a considerable collection of Persian manuscript books, preserved at present at the Georgian National Center of Manuscripts. The collection of Majd os Saltāneh contains the works of the owner of the collection himself, which characterizes him as a progressive thinking Iranian. Among the works of Majd os Saltāneh a manuscript, giving a description of Tbilisi, is worth of special attention. The date of writing of the manuscript – December 3, 1894, is given on the first page, and at the end of the manuscript the identity of the copyist and its date (1895) are indicated (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 5-1) (in Georgian).

4 It should be noted that another Iranian author Yahyā Dowlatābādi had similar feelings and admiration, which will be dealt with below.

Saltāneh's words, among the subjects of Iran merchants come first, followed by artisans, unskilled workers and hired workers. Beside these there are also criminal elements, adventurers, earning their living by thieving and pick pocketing, in the city. They spoil the other's life" (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 80-81).

His statement to the effect, that the chief reason of their considerable numbers is the mildness of Russian laws, for the greatest punishment for a committed crime is imprisonment for life and exile to Siberia, is interesting. In the author's opinion, the given category of the people is not in the least afraid of either. Majd os Saltāneh is a supporter of traditional strict measures of corporal punishment. "Until they are subjected to caning, *falakah* and other cruel punishments, they will not desist. For this reason many criminals, fearing strict punishment, fled their country and found refuge here, and engaged in their vile deeds with no fear, putting shame on their nation" (Majd os Saltāneh 1971:80).

Touching upon various aspects of the historical past of Tbilisi the author characterizes the Georgian people very favorable. "The Georgian people, – he writes, – are generally famous for their courage and fighting spirit, which they showed more than once on the battle-fields, against Tatars and Persians" (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 62).

The author's attention is drawn by the respect and freedom women enjoy in society, "In Tbilisi, – Majd os Saltāneh remarks, – you will not find an uneducated and illiterate woman" (Majd os Saltāneh 1971: 55). To the author's surprise and pleasure, upbringing and education of children in Tbilisi are also organized well.

Unlike Majd os Saltāneh, Yahyā Dowlatābādi, a well-known Iranian enlightener, public figure and publicist of the turn of the 20th century, devoted to Tbilisi a whole chapter in his memoirs "The Life of Yahyā (Hayyāt-e Yahyā)" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 17-23), in which he gives valuable information about the political activity of Iranians in Tbilisi. According to his convictions, Yahyā Dowlatābādi⁵ is a constitutionalist and therefore he sympathizes greatly with the *Mojahedins* in Tbilisi. "In Tbilisi, – he writes, – there are many local and foreign Muslims. The chief location of Iranian *Mojahedins* is here" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 17).

The author emphasizes of solidarity of Georgians and Armenians with the Iranians, fighting for their freedom. "Not long ago, – Yahyā Dowlatābādi writes, – their armed group arrived in Azerbaijan [Iranian Azerbaijan is meant – the author], where it helps the *Mojahedins*" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 17).

We learn from "Memoirs" that in spite of considerable activity of the *Mojahedins*, the rest of the Iranians, like their fellow-citizens, living in their country, are entirely unconcerned and totally inactive. However, with the assistance of the Iranian ambassador to Russia Mirzā Hasan Khān Moshīr od Dowleh Iranian officials in Tbilisi organized a charitable society "*Ettefāq*" and a medrese of the same name (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 17).

As is seen from "Memoirs", Tbilisi had turned into a haven for many Iranian political immigrants. "They, like me, – Yahyā Dowlatābādi writes, – failed to live in their country" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 17-18). In the author's words, Tbilisi plays a significant role of a peculiar socio-political center for Iranian freethinkers "On the issue of improving the state of the country and the people the hearts of the Iranians are with the Caucasian Muslims, and in the Caucasus – with Tbilisi" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 19).

The author sets great hopes on the activity of Iran's charitable society and *medrese*, at the same time addressing critical remarks to their leaders because of their reluctance to improve their work.

Yahyā Dowlatābādi's "Memoirs" show vividly the changes which took place in the life of Tbilisi and the Tbilisians as early as period of the constitutional movement in Iran – the jails are full of political prisoners, the Georgians causing much trouble to Russian authorities (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 20).

Apparently, the author belonged to those Iranian public figures, which did not take into consideration either the historical past or the present of Georgia, declaring that Georgia belonged to Iran. "The attitude of Tbilisians to Iranians is good-natured. Those, who had no chance to see for themselves this center of the Caucasian region and other big cities, numerous settlements, fertile lands and rivers, green and rich fields, are unaware of the fact that owing to the inaptitude and stupidity of the leaders of the state and the people what a large and precious part fell away from our beloved country...Let us hope to be able to retain what has come down to us" (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 21). Though the author laments the loss of the Caucasus, on the one hand, he seems glad, as it were, in his heart that this region does not share the bitter fate of backward Iran, on the other (Dowlatābādi 3. 1330: 21).

5 Yahyā Dowlatābādi was born in 1862, in the village of Dowlatābād located to the north of Isfahan. His father Hāj Mirzā Hadi Dowlatābādi was an adherent of the religious sect of *Babis* and one of its activists (Bamdad 2. 1351: 290-291).

It may be said in conclusion that though description of Tbilisi in these authors, their approaches to the treatment of one or another question are at times contradictory, on the whole, however, they complement each other perfectly well and help form an integral idea of the role and place of Tbilisi in the economic, socio-political and cultural life of Iran.

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APOCATASTASIS: EASTERN FATHERS REGARDING THE RETURN TO GOD OF ALL WHO HAVE FALLEN*

The Church has never condemned *apocatastasis*, which was free of pagan concepts. This teaching was neither condemned nor officially adopted as a universally obligatory teaching or dogma by the Church consciousness for a rational reason. But there were some holy fathers in Eastern and Western Christendom who had quite a candid discourse regarding the *possibility* of the final reunion of every rational creation with God.

Not every member of the Christian Church considers the teaching and hope regarding a *universal apocatastasis* to be a legitimate part of Christian theology.¹ Critics of this doctrine frequently mention the Fifth Ecumenical Council (the second Constantinople council, 553), where *apocatastasis* was allegedly condemned. This council is well known for the 15 anti-Origenist anathemas. The first one of these informs us: "If anyone asserts the fabulous pre-existence of souls, and assert the monstrous restoration which follows from it: let him be anathema."²

It must be noted that this *apocatastasis* was condemned for its close connection to Origenist ideas which are essentially pagan. These ideas are: a) the so-called pre-existence of souls; b) only the resurrection of souls without their bodies during the universal resurrection, for the material world is deemed to be a result of the fall into sin, from which a purified soul must be freed; c) the existence of many universes implying an extensive cycle of falling and once again restoring.

Thus, the 15-point condemnation was directed precisely towards this Origenist version of *apocatastasis* and this fact is clearly seen in the cited canon ("...pre-existence of souls, and assert the monstrous restoration which follows from it...").

It is necessary to differentiate between Origen's ideas and Origenism. The Church has never condemned Origen's own views. These anathemas had in fact been written in 543 by Emperor Justinian, who envisioned a fight against the Origenism actively spread throughout Palestine. Not having a theological education, the Emperor had considered the ideas developed within Origenism as belonging to Origen.³

It is considered established that the 5th Ecumenical Council had not worked up these fifteen anathemas. They had already been prepared for the year 543 at a small synodal council, or before the commencement of the 5th Ecumenical Council (553). Then, however, Emperor Justinian presented the "Personal Doctrine"⁴ before Patriarch Menas in 543, which had been used in preparation for the anathemas against Origenism. Thus, without the mobilization of the Church's collective council, Justinian takes upon himself the initiative of a dogmatic discourse and the issue of a final decree with a Caesarean-papal self-confidence. These anathemas "were mistakenly attributed to the 5th Ecumenical Council."⁵

It is interesting that these anathemas themselves are not shown in the acts of the 5th Ecumenical Council.⁶ Later on, when they were added to the decrees of the 5th Ecumenical Council, Origen's name does not figure

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, 11, 2018, pp. 125-190 (in Georgian and English).

1 Louth, Andrew. "Eastern Orthodox Eschatology", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. Edited by Jerry Walls. Oxford: OUP 2007, 246.

2 Second Council of Constantinople, Session I – Extracts from the Acts, *The Anathemas Against Origen*. Translated by Henry Percival. From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 14. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1900. Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3812.htm>

3 Ramelli, Ilaria. *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis. A critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*. Leiden: Brill 2013, 726.

4 Evdokimov, Paul. *Orthodoxy*. Translated by Jeremy Hummerstone. New York: New City Press 2011, 338.

5 Evdokimov, *Orthodoxy*, 338.

6 Price, Richard. *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: with related texts on the Three Chapters Controversy*. 1st edition. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2012, 270-286.

in the text of these anathemas.⁷ Accordingly, these 15 anathemas are not included, for example, in Norman Tanner's collection *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, because as he indicates, "it has been shown by the most recent research that these anathemas do not belong to this [5th Ecumenical] Council."⁸

When speaking of Origen's heretical views, the fact that the great Alexandrian theologian quite reticently expressed his own thoughts only in the form of hypotheses is no less important. Later on, Origen's ideas were radically developed by the Origenists, who disseminated them and gave them dogmatic status.

When Origenism was condemned by the 5th Ecumenical Council, not one word was uttered about the of Gregory of Nyssa's teaching of *apocatastasis*,⁹ because he had not been tainted by the aforementioned Origenistic, pagan ideas. For example, Gregory explicitly denied the Origenist idea according to which being in a physical body was punishment for sins committed in the spiritual world.¹⁰ The bishop of Nyssa also denied the Origenist idea that *apocatastasis* is an event that occurs more than once, but is the next phase of an unending cycle of rational beings being separated from God and then returning to Him.¹¹ This is why when the council fathers remarkably knew the *apocatastasis* of Gregory of Nyssa, they had not equated it to Origenism. Even more so, not only was St. Gregory of Nyssa not condemned by the Church, being the most prominent defender of *apocatastasis*, he was commemorated among the "holy and blessed fathers" by the 6th Ecumenical Council. Besides, he was called "the father of fathers" by the 7th Ecumenical Council.

When speaking of *apocatastasis*, naturally the corresponding citations are referenced from the Holy Scriptures as well as from the works of the Church Fathers. In a discussion on the possibility of the purification of the souls of the departed, first of all, the three following places are cited from the Bible: "Each man's work will become evident; for the day will show it because it is to be revealed with fire, and the fire itself will test the quality of each man's work. If any man's work which he has built on it remains, he will receive a reward. If any man's work is burned up, he will suffer loss; but he himself will be saved, yet so as through fire" (1 Cor. 3:13-15).

The next place is cited from the Gospel of Matthew: "Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, either in this age or in the age to come" (Matt. 12:32).

A third citation is from the Old Testament, particularly from the Book of 2 Maccabees: "It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins" (2 Maccab. 12:46).

Basically, the teaching regarding spiritual purification in the afterlife was expressed on the basis of these three Biblical passages.

There are some other places in the New Testament (Matt. 17:11, Mk. 9:12, Acts 3:21) where the word ἀποκατάστασις is mentioned in the original Greek, which contains not only the concept of physical resurrection (ἀνάστασις), put also that of emancipation from evil (ἀποκατάστασις). Like Origen, Gregory of Nyssa perceived a physical resurrection (ἀνάστασις) as the first stage of *apocatastasis*.¹²

The Scriptures also point to the possibility of a change of the spirit in the spiritual world, its transfiguration. In other words, the act of free will has its result beyond physical death. For example, the Apostle Peter clearly writes that Christ had descended into Hell after His resurrection, where He preached to the sinful, disobedient souls that had lived before Noah (1 Pet. 3:19-20). St. Maximus the Confessor noted that the people punished for this disobedience had favorably received the sermon about knowing God from Christ - who had descended into Hell - and believed in Him who had come to deliver the dead from there. St. John of Damascus also expounds upon this in the same way and adds that Christ not only delivered the souls of the righteous of the Old Testament from Hell, but everyone there (PG 95, 257 AC). The outcome of Jesus Christ's

7 Meyendorff, *Christ*, 51.

8 Tanner, Norman (ed.). *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Volume I: Nicea I – Lateran V. Volume II: Trent – Vatican II. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press 1990, 106.

9 Alfeyev, Hilarion. "Eschatology", in: The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology. Edited by Cunningham, Mary and Theokritoff, Elizabeth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, 116.

10 Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*. Vol. III: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature. Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers 1963, 289.

11 Quasten, *Patrology*, 290.

12 Ramelli, *Apokatastasis*, 21.

descent into Hell is presented exactly this way by the absolute majority of the holy fathers.¹³ The state of a soul in the afterlife can be changed through the prayers and philanthropy of loved ones remaining in this world. This is common Church practice.

When discussing this topic, the correct definition of the crucial word αἰώνιος has decisive importance. “Eternal fire” (πῦρ αἰώνιον) and “eternal punishment” (κόλασις αἰώνιος) are mentioned in the Gospel (Matt. 18:8-9; 25:41,46) seemingly in opposition to the apocatastastic teaching, but “such expressions, rather than signifying an infinite duration, indicate that the fire, punishment, and worm at stake are not those of human everyday experience in this world, in which fire can be extinguished and worms die, but others, of the other world or αἰών. The adjective αἰώνιος in the Bible never means ‘eternal’ unless it refers to God.”¹⁴

When discussing the patristic heritage regarding universal salvation, Gregory of Nyssa is of course mentioned first of all. The holy father’s apocatastastic citations are scattered all throughout his various treatises. The issue of universal salvation is examined most intently by Gregory in the following two works *De anima et resurrectione* and *In illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*. In the latter work, for example, the saint quite clearly writes, that “no being will remain outside the number of the saved.”¹⁵ St. Gregory bases another place on the words of the Apostle, according to which the time will come and God will be “all in all”. In a way the holy father responds in advance to those who might find themselves before a temptation in the future and the Apostle’s words were defined two centuries later on the basis of the famous thought expressed by Isaac the Nineveh (Syrian) that God is everywhere, even in hell, except here God’s love becomes torment for sinners. But Gregory leaves no kind of chance for such an interpretation as this when he writes: “...God is ‘in all’ only when it will be impossible to detect any trace of evil in the beings.”¹⁶

Gregory’s work *On the Soul and the Resurrection* is a dialogue with Macrina imbued with the theme of universal salvation as a leitmotif. It is possible to read such thoughts in the 7th paragraph of this work: “Then it seems, I said, that it is not punishment chiefly and principally that the Deity, as Judge, afflicts sinners with; but He operates, as your argument has shown, only to get the good separated from the evil and to attract it into the communion of blessedness. That, said the Teacher, is my meaning; and also that the agony will be measured by the amount of evil there is in each individual.”¹⁷

The difference of Gregory of Nyssa’s kind of apocatastasis from that of Origen is not only centered on free will. As noted by scholars, Gregory did not concur with the thought regarding the pre-existence of souls. Origen’s ideas about the limitation of God’s power, and accordingly, comprehending Him through an “intellectual way” were also foreign to Gregory. He also did not share in the idea related to being in a physical body as the result of a spiritual fall.¹⁸

Another fundamental work by Gregory of Nyssa containing apocatastastic segments is *The Great Catechism*¹⁹, in which, for example, the following words are given: “...If, however, the soul remains unhealed, the remedy is dispensed in the life that follows this” (Chapter VIII).

In another spot we read: “When death, and corruption, and darkness, and every other offshoot of evil had grown into the nature of the author of evil, the approach of the Divine power, acting like fire, and making that unnatural accretion to disappear, thus by purgation of the evil becomes a blessing to that nature, though the separation is agonizing” (Chapter XXVI). In the same chapter he writes a little further down: “...when, after long periods of time, the evil of our nature, which now is mixed up with it and has grown with its growth,

13 Regarding this issue, see a remarkable article: Desnitsky, Andrei. “What Did Christ Tell to Those in Hell?”, Alpha and Omega Journal #3 (50), 2007, 72-78. (In Russian)

14 Ramelli, *Apokatastasis*, p.26, see also, p.731.

15 Gregory of Nyssa. *In illud*, 21 Downing, as cited in: Ramelli, 376.

16 Gregory of Nyssa. *In illud*, 17 Downing, as cited in: Ramelli, 377.

17 Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne 46.100; Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, vol. 5, p. 451, as cited in: Trumbower, Jeffrey. *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, USA 2001, 122.

18 Ludlow, Morwenna. *Universal Salvation: Eschatology in the Thought of Gregory of Nyssa and Karl Rahner*. Oxford, N. Y.: Oxford University Press 2000, 37.

19 Gregory of Nyssa. “The Great Catechism”, In: The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Vol. V. Translated by W. Moore and H. A. Wilson. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing 1972.

has been expelled, and when there has been a restoration of those who are now lying in Sin to their primal state, a harmony of thanksgiving will arise from all creation, as well from those who in the process of the purgation have suffered chastisement, as from those who needed not any purgation at all" (Chapter XXVI).

A no less clear discourse is offered by the saint in another place:

"For those in whose life-time here the purification by the laver has preceded, there is a restoration to a kindred state. Now, to the pure, freedom from passion is that kindred state, and that in this freedom from passion blessedness consists, admits of no dispute. But as for those whose weaknesses have become inveterate, and to whom no purgation of their defilement has been applied, no mystic water, no invocation of the Divine power, no amendment by repentance, it is absolutely necessary that they should come to be in something proper to their case, – just as the furnace is the proper thing for gold alloyed with dross, – in order that, the vice which has been mixed up in them being melted away after long succeeding ages, their nature may be restored pure again to God. Since, then, there is a cleansing virtue in fire and water, they who by the mystic water have washed away the defilement of their sin have no further need of the other form of purification, while they who have not been admitted to that form of purgation must needs be purified by fire" (Chapter XXXV).

St. Maximus the Confessor is also considered a proponent of ideas concerning a universal resurrection. Yet, Maximus was not such an energetic preacher of *apocatastasis* like Gregory of Nyssa, yet as Brian Daley notes, Maximus the Confessor deemed Gregory of Nyssa's view of *apocatastasis* as a legitimate Christian hope.²⁰ Andrew Louth indicates that Maximus also concurred with the idea of the salvation of all.²¹

Despite Maximus' vague style, it is still possible to reference a number of thoughts from his work in which the *apocatastatic* position is unambiguously reflected. For example, when interpreting the words of Apostle Paul concerning the purifying fire (1 Cor. 3:13-15), Maximus noted that the deeds of sinners will be burned up within them and all knowledge in their conscience will be incinerated through this fire, thus redeeming their identity. At the same time due to their punishment that they were unfruitful in goodness until then.²² In the work *Ambigua*, Maximus wrote that the time will come when God will be "all in all" (1 Cor. 15:28), after which "beings will no longer possess independent motion or fail to share in God's presence, and it is with respect to this sharing that we are, and are called *children of God*, the *body*, and *members of God*."²³

The great mystic of the 7th century, St. Isaac the Syrian (of Nineveh), must certainly be cited within the context of the cessation of the torment of hell. In his opinion, the torment of hell is the one of the conscience:

"I also maintain that those who are punished in Gehenna are scourged by the scourge of love. For what is so bitter and vehement as the punishment of love? I mean that those who have become conscious that they have sinned against love suffer greater torment from this than from any fear of punishment. For the sorrow caused in the heart by sin against love is sharper than any torment that can be. It would be improper for a man to think that sinners in Gehenna are deprived of the love of God. Love is the offspring of knowledge of the truth which, as is commonly confessed, is given to all. The power of love works in two ways: it torments those who have played the fool, even as happens here when a friend suffers from a friend; but it becomes a source of joy for those who have observed its duties. Thus I say that this is the torment of Gehenna: bitter regret. But love inebriates the souls of the sons of Heaven by its delectability."²⁴

The so-called "Second Part"²⁵ of Isaac the Syrian's homilies discovered by Sebastian Brock published in 1995 contains three passages about the state after death and the final fate of mankind (chapters 39, 40, and 41).

20 Quaestiones et Dubia 19 [I,13], Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (CCG) 10.17f, as cited in: Daley, Brian. *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* Cambridge University Press 1991, 202.

21 Louth, Andrew. "Eastern Orthodox Eschatology", in: The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology. Edited by Jerry Walls. Oxford: OUP 2007, 245.

22 Quaestiones et Dubia 73, PG 90, 815 C7-818 A3; as cited in: Brian Daley. "Apokatastasis and 'Honorable Silence' in the Eschatology of Maximus the Confessor", in: Maximus Confessor. Editeb by F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn. Fribourg 1982, 309-339.

23 Maximos the Confessor. *Ambiguum* 7.1092C, in: On Difficulties in the Church Fathers. The Ambigua. Vol. 1. Edited and translated by Nicholas Constas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2014, 121. (the Greek text with an English translation is presented in this publication).

24 St Isaac the Syrian. *Ascetical Homilies*. 2nd edition. Holy Transfiguration Monastery 2011, 266.

25 St Isaac the Syrian. *The Second Part*, Chapters 4-41. Ed. and trans. by Sebastian Brock. Lovanii: Peeters 1995, xliv+207p.

The saint informs us in homily 39 that, “It is not the way of the compassionate Maker to create rational beings in order to deliver them over mercilessly to unending affliction in punishment.”²⁶

St. Isaac did not think he was expressing some new and theretofore strange thoughts which “our former orthodox Fathers never spoke.”²⁷ He asserts, that such a view as this is a part of Church tradition shared by others as well. He named “the blessed interpreter” Theodore of Mopsuestia as an example. Isaac also frequently mentions and relies upon Diodore, bishop of Tarsus.

St. Isaac shared Theodore of Mopsuestia’s thought that the torment has an end:

“...For Christ would never have said ‘Until you pay the last farthing’ (Matt. 5:26, Luke 12:59) unless it had been possible for us to be freed from our sins once we had recompensed for them through punishments. Nor would He have said ‘He will be beaten with many stripes’ and ‘He will be beaten with few stripes’ (Luke 12:47-48) if it were not the case that the punishments, measured out in correspondence to the sins, were finally going to have an end.”²⁸

Regarding the salvation of the demons, Isaac converses in an affirmative form:

“And it is clear that He does not abandon them the moment they fall, and that demons will not remain in their demonic state, and sinners will not remain in their sins; rather, He is going to bring them to a single equal state of perfection in relationship to His own Being—in a state in which the holy angels are now.”²⁹

In the next paragraph of this 40th homily the saint expresses a more daring idea, except it is already in the form of a hypothesis: “Maybe (they will be raised) to a perfection even greater than that in which the angels now exist.”³⁰

Despite the torment of hell having an end, it is still severe and terrible. In his words, “Gehenna is grievous, even if it is thus limited in its extent: who can possibly bear it?”³¹ He reiterates the same thing at the start of his 41st homily.

Isaac the Syrian is certain that “the majority of humankind will enter the Kingdom of heaven without the experience of Gehenna.”³²

Here is another passage from Isaac the Syrian’s homilies:

“O the astonishment at the goodness of our God and Creator! O power for which all is possible! O immeasurable kindness toward our nature, that He will even bring sinners back into existence! ... Where is Gehenna, that can afflict us? Where is the torment that terrifies us in many ways and quenches the joy of His love? And what is Gehenna as compared with the grace of His resurrection, when he will raise us from Sheol and cause our corruptible nature to be clad in incorruption, and raise up in glory what has fallen into Sheol? Come, men of discernment, and be filled with wonder! Whose mind is sufficiently wise to wonder worthily at the bounty of our Creator? His recompense of sinners is that instead of a just recompense, he rewards them with resurrection, and instead of those bodies with which they trampled upon His law, He robes them with the glory of perfection. That grace whereby we are resurrected after we have sinned is greater than the grace which brought us into being when we were not.”³³

St. Basil of Caesaria’s eschatological teaching is not given in a developed form. Accordingly, he would be unable to be a prominent preacher of apocatastasis like Gregory of Nyssa or Isaac the Syrian. But despite this, some similar thoughts can be found with him, which in the end, probably won’t be convincing for Christians opposing eschatological universalism. In this aspect, his most significant words are the following, which the holy father writes when interpreting Isaiah 9:7:

“The peace given by the Lord extends to all eternity, since it knows neither limitations nor boundaries. For *all beings will submit to him* [πάντα γάρ ύποταγήσεται αὐτῷ], and all will recognize his power. And

26 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 39.6), 165.

27 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 39.7), 165.

28 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 39.8), 167.

29 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 40.4), 175.

30 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 40.5), 175.

31 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 40.7), 176.

32 Isaac, *II Part*, (Chap. 40.12), 177.

33 St Isaac the Syrian. *Ascecal Homilies*. 2nd edition. Holy Transfiguration Monastery 2011, 388.

when God has come to be „all in all“, after those who created disorders with apostasies have been pacified [καθησυχασθέντων τών θορυβούντων ταῖς αποστασίαις], *all will hymn to God in a symphony of peace.*”³⁴

When expounding upon Isaiah 8:22, Basil writes:

“This ignorance will keep prisoner the race of human beings. But whoever now looks for the truth to emerge from ignorance, and struggles with pains to find it, will finally see it face to face, and will attain the perfection of knowledge, when there will come the time of universal apokatastasis [καιρός τής των óλον ἀποκαταστάσεως].”³⁵

The kernel of Basil's citation is the last phrase: “when there will come the time of universal apocatastasis”, from whence it becomes evident that Basil recognizes this teaching. With this last phrase it seems like St. Basil is making a paraphrase of the following words from the book of Acts: “until the time of the universal resurrection”, in Greek: “χρόνον ἀποκαταστάσεος πάντων” (Acts 3:21). Thus, the word used is not “anastasis”, but “apokatastasis”. It points to the first bodily resurrection, the second moral, spiritual renewal.

Another citation of Basil the Great when interpreting Isaiah 9:19, which is also cited, is like so: “...He shows that earthly things are handed to the punishing fire for the advantage/benefit of the soul (τά γῆνα τώ πυρί τώ κολαστικώ παραδίδωται, ἐπί εὐεργεσίᾳ τής φυχής) [...] He does not threaten destruction, but he indicates purification (κάθαρσιν).”³⁶

St. Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzus), unlike to Gregory of Nyssa, did not express the idea of universal salvation in an affirmative form, yet such a perspective as this is a real possibility for him. He perceives the Last Judgment quite optimistically, which he considered a precursor to deification.

In his 39th homily, Gregory of Nazianzus reveals the following: “Thus, if they wish, let them follow our path and that of Christ; if they do not wish it, let them go their own way; it's possible they might be baptized by fire there - with this final baptism which is the most painful and extensive, which devours material matter like withered grass and destroys the lightness of every kind of sin.”³⁷

It is true, the same father noted elsewhere that he also knows of such a fire of hell that “has been made eternal” (διαιωνιζων) for sinners, accordingly it is not a purifying fire, but a punishing one.³⁸ But in the very same place, the theologian pointed to the necessity of a more “compassionate for mankind” understanding of this process. Clearly, he had in mind the teaching of another Cappadocian father, his closest friend Gregory of Nyssa, regarding *apocatastasis*.

St. John Climacus recognized the real possibility of universal salvation, yet among the saved he distinguished those advanced in the spiritual life (having attained a passionless state) from those favorable to God: “That all should attain to complete detachment is impossible. But it is not impossible that all should be saved and reconciled to God.”³⁹ This same saint's discourse regarding the fallen angels is also interesting: “if pride turned some of the angels into demons, then humility can doubtless make angels out of demons. So take heart, all you sinners.”⁴⁰

Naturally, there are also some opposing views that have been expressed by others and also by the same holy fathers who clearly supported the teaching of *apocatastasis*. We can freely read such views in the writings of the Fathers through which the change of a person's soul after physical death, purification, and a return to God are denied. Of course, some categorical declarations stating that the torment of hell is eternal if a person

34 Enarrationes in Isaiam 9.226, PG 30:513b., as cited in: Ramelli, Ilaria. “Basil and Apokatastasis: New Findings”, Journal of Early Christian History, 4:2, 2014, 124.

35 Enarrationes in Isaiam, 8.222, PG 30:505a, as cited in: Ramelli, *Apokatastasis*, 371.

36 Enarrationes in Isaiam 9.231, PG 30:521c., as cited in: Ramelli, *Apokatastasis*, 364. See also: St. Basil the Great. *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*. Translated into English by Nikolai Lipatov. Mandelbachtal: Edition cicero 2001, 282).

37 Gregory the Theologian. *39th Homily*, Collected Works in 2 volumes. Vol. I. Moscow: The Holy Trinity - St. Sergius Lavra 1994, 543. (In Russian). These extremely interesting words by St. Gregory are not ignored by Hilarion Alfeyev and he cites them precisely within an apocatastastic context: Alfeyev, Hilarion. *Life and Teaching of St. Gregory the Theologian*. 2nd edition. Saint-Petersburg, 2001, 393. (In Russian).

38 Gregory the Theologian. *40th Homily*, as cited in: Alfeyev, *Gregory the Theologian*, 394. (In Russian).

39 John Climacus. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 26th step, 54(65), in: Clément, Olivier. *The Roots of Christian Mysticism*. Translated by Theodore Berkeley. London: New City Press 1995, 304.

40 John Climacus. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. 25th Step. Translation by C. Luibheid and N. Russell. London: SPCK 1982, 227.

is unable to achieve repentance in their earthly life can be found, where there is no chance in the afterlife of correcting, developing, and transfiguring their soul. Yet along with this, it is intriguing that the holy fathers do not deny the effectiveness of prayers and philanthropy carried out for the sake of the departed soul, or positive influences on a soul in the afterlife. This unequivocally means a change in the soul's state and this change might not only be insignificant (a lightening of the torment), it might even be radical as well (crossing over from Hell to the Kingdom of God).

The existence of conflicting thoughts in writings of the Church fathers should not be considered an anti-apocatastatic argument because they have frequently expressed differing and conflicting thoughts about other issues as well. As a rule, these issues are of a non-dogmatic nature. Yet there were some exceptions. The teaching regarding *apocatastasis* has never been denied by the Church nor has it been taken up as dogma. Thus, the differing and conflicting ideas are easily explained, if the circumstances forcing Church figures to express this or that view and brought about by various factors are taken into account. The purpose, context, and audience of the letter or sermon made at that particular moment had great importance. Frequently, the thoughts or actions of the Church fathers are of a pedagogical or economic nature. A different kind of exegesis of the position of the some of the fathers regarding the issue of eternal torment is impossible, because as Isaac the Syrian wrote, the teaching taking into account the eternal torment of the order created by God "is infantile thinking", in Syriac: *sabrut tar ita*.⁴¹

In conclusion, it must be noted that despite such a clear and unequivocal position of the Church fathers regarding the *possibility* of universal salvation, it still considered to be a hypothesis, a guess, and belief; it is not a certainty, affirmation, or universally obligatory teaching or dogma in which not concurring with it would be a heresy. Christian theology that is based on God's revelation or only on that which God has willed to reveal, does not provide the final and categorical answers to such mystical issues, yet there may be some clear indicators. Even the complete silence however, regarding this or that issue in the Holy Scriptures or writings of the Church fathers might imply a specific answer. According to Biblical teaching, God has not completely revealed His wisdom to human beings and Jesus Christ, God having come as a man, bore witness to this himself when He addressed the disciples with these words: "I still have many things to tell you, but you will no longer be able to contain them" (Jn. 16:12). Paul's words bear witness to the same thing regarding "partial knowledge" and "partial prophecy" (1 Cor. 13:9).

The only thing in which a Christian can be sure of in this world is the existence of inevitable responsibility. All wrongdoers will have to pay a corresponding price for offenses committed, including through purifying torment in the next world. This might be temporary, but "it is difficult and long-lasting" as St. Gregory of Nazianzus noted (see citation). Isaac the Syrian wrote the same thing: "Gehenna is grievous, even if it is thus limited in its extent: who can possibly bear it?"

Kallistos Ware rightly indicates that if we still desire to really frighten someone, why is not sufficient to point out a torment that has an end, but one that is prolonged, unbearably prolonged? In comparison to earlier centuries, fear is clearly less effective as a deterrent in our times. As a rule, a person can be radically transformed only through the love for God.⁴² But at the same time, it would not be surprise if this rule might have its own exceptions even today.

According to the Fathers cited above, torment in the afterlife is healing and not punishing. This is why it cannot be eternal, because there is no such thing as an eternal healing process. After undergoing therapeutic punishment, the transformed soul naturally demands to be in another state, in another "place".

The unending nature of a sinful state implies a bestowment of eternity and in this case, an essence of the divine is given to something that is not divine. Christian theology clearly declares that nothing is eternal apart from God. Things and beings without God can only be just long-lasting and temporary. Even the souls of the righteous will be eternal in God and not apart from Him or without Him. If a sinful soul were to not change its desire towards the good, it obviously, automatically will be unable to preserve an essence of eternity. As St. Isaac the Syrian writes, there was a time when there was no sin and a time will come when sin will cease to

41 Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian). *The Second Part*, Chapters 4-41. Chapter 39.2. Translated by Sebastian Brock. Lovanii: Peeters 1995, 163.

42 Ware, Kallistos. "Dare We Hope for the Salvation of All? Origen, St Gregory of Nyssa and St Isaac the Syrian", Collected Works, Vol. I, The Inner Kingdom. Crestwood, New York: SVS Press 2001, 211.

exist (see above for full citation). If God is unable to “overcome” a sinner, then the latter must either disappear for good or correct themselves by preserving their own free will. Otherwise God creates dualism Himself. Such a therapeutic stance shows the glorious nature of the providence of the omniscient God, Whom a human being will never be able to comprehend fully through the power of their own weak mind and logic.

In formal logic, if apocatastatic law does not leave room for a person to eternally and stubbornly refuse goodness, then his freedom is fictitious and not real. Such formal logic cannot be compatible with the theology of apocatastasis, according to which an eternal stay in evil is not a natural, organic, logic outcome of the freedom given by God. Only genuine freedom will be able to exist without conflict in eternity. Such a freedom only as this can have an eternal essence, substance. Evil is not the soul's inner, inherited feature.

Thus, a Christian can concur with the idea of a final return of all rational beings to God along with the holy fathers who expressed this idea precisely in hopeful, suggestive terms and as a possibility. It is also possible that a Christian, like Gregory of Nyssa and Isaac the Syrian, may be assured in the final salvation of all creation, because neither St. Gregory, nor St. Isaac have ever been deemed as heretics by the Church for such a persuasion. Only the condemnation or acceptance of a person (Church Father) is not important here. The main thing is that the Church has never declared this teaching to be a heresy. This is in regard to *apocatastasis*, which is free from all pagan ideas.

According to this formal logic, it is possible for only two incompatible versions to exist when summarizing this topic: 1. the supposition for the possible salvation of all, which simultaneously means the acceptance of the real possibility of eternal damnation; 2. the assertion of universal salvation unequivocally ruling out the demise of some souls and is thus in contradiction with the first version.

At a glance, it turns out to be impossible for the Church to have accepted the positions of the holy fathers concurring with both versions. This is because either Gregory of Nyssa and Isaac the Syrian should have been declared heretics, who expressed the ideas about the universal restoration in an affirmative form, or the remaining fathers who discussed the same thing only in assumptions and as a hope. It is logically impossible to accept both simultaneously. But as it seems, the Church stood higher than human reason and logic when she accepted both sides. Clearly, acceptance in this case means not condemning this position and bestowing a certain legitimacy to it, which in no way implies the inclusion of this teaching as dogma.

PREPOSITIONS IN OLD ETHIOPIC *

Old Ethiopic is distinguished from other Semitic Languages by numerous prepositions. From this multiplicity have been chosen mainly used prepositions. They can be divided into simple and complicated (or composed) prepositions.

Complicated prepositions are the single-placed prepositions.

Simple prepositions are monosyleabic prepositions: ba “in”; la “to”; ’əm “from”: These prepositions are always attached to the following word: e.g. bamədər “in the land”; yagab’ə: s’ahay: las’əbāh “The sun returns to the east”; ’əm: lebböt “of the heart”.

Ba and la are reduplicated, but they are not attached to the following word. They have become the single-placed prepositions: baba: mədromu “according to their several countries”; lala: ba’äl “at every feast”.

Preposition ’əm is an abbreviated form of ’əmmena: e.g. ka’la: ’əmənna “to from us”. ’əmənna also indicates comparison: ’ekuy:wə’ətu ’əmənna neguš “he is more evil than the king”.

The other more frequently used prepositions are: ḥaba—the single-placed preposition expresses “to”; “toward”; “with”: e.g. nas’ara: ḥaba: samāy “he looked toward heaven”; qāl: halawa: ḥaba: ’əgzi’abḥer “the word was with the God”. It is often used with simple monosyllabic prepositions: ba, la, ’əm.

The single-placed preposition ’əska “till”; “up to”, “as far as”: e.g. ’as’nāfa:mədər “as far as the ends of the earth”.

This preposition always precedes following monosyllabic prepositions and the single-placed prepositions: e.g. ’əska:lamot “until death”; ’əska:ḥaba:beta:mikā “up to the house of micah”.

The single-placed preposition westa “in”, “with”, “among” e.g. wadqa:wəsta:gəb: e.g. “he falls into the ditch”. Bawəstetomu “among them” ’əmwəsta:e.g. mannu:’əmwəstetkəmu “what man is there among you”.

With simple monosyllabic prepositions ba, ’əm it forms compounds and theare written together: e.g. bawəsta:ahgur “in the cities”.

The single-placed preposition lā’la with the meaning “on”, “upon”, “over” is existed in all Semitic languages with the form of alā and indentical meaning. la’la: dabr “on the mountain”. Nonosyllabic prepositions ba and ’əm are attached to it directly: e.g. balā’lu “over it”; ’əmlā’la “away from”.

Synonymous with lā’la is single placed preposition diba: e.g. wadqa: diba: kʷakʷəḥ “it fall upon stony ground”. This preposition is often used in a hostile sense “against”: e.g. s’arafa:diba “to blaspheme against”.

Məsla “with”, the single-placed preposition: e.g. ḥora:’iyasus:məsla:ardā’ihu “Jesus went with his disciples”. It is used with words wich express reciprocal action: e.g. tanāgara:məsla “speak to one another”.

Opposed prepositions are qədma “before” and dəḥra “after”: e.g. ’əmqədma:’ayḥ “before the flood”. ’əmdəḥra: ’ayḥ “after the flood”.

The single-placed preposition ’ənta “towards” “in the direction of”; “through”: e.g. ’ənta:ḥoḥt “through the gate”. It is used with other single-placed prepositions, but always stands in front of them: e.g. ’ənta:diba:māy “on the water (motion)”.

Baənta is considered as independent preposition with the meaning “for”; “about”; e.g. ba’ənta: rāḥel “for Rachel”; yəbelomu: baənta: yoḥanəs: “he spoke to them about John”.

Həyanta “instead of”: e.g. yəmut: ’aḥadu: bə’əsi: həyantahəzb: ’əmyəthāgʷal: kʷəlluhəzb “he dies for the people instead of having the whole nation destroyed”.

The preposition mangala expresses direction towards anything. It is the single-placed preposition and chiefly used in the sense of “to”; “away to”; “opposite to”; “along”: e.g. mangala: ’əspānyā “towards Spain”; “to Spain”; mangala: bāḥer “to the sea”. This preposition is also compounded with other monosyllabic prepositions as ’əm and la: e.g. ’əmmangala: wangel “considered from the side of Gospel”. Lamangala means “towards” in the sense of direction in space.

* First published in: *The Near East and Georgia*, XI, 2018, pp. 48-50.

Mangala is used with other single-placed preposition of peace and always placed before them: e.g. mangala: qədma “to the front of”; mangala:dəħra “to the back of”.

mā’əkala is the single-placed preposition and means “in the midst of”, “between”, “among”: e.g. mā’əkaleya: wamā’əkaleka “between me and you” māəkala: baħr “in the midst of the sea”.

The single-placed preposition ’ənbala or more often za’nbala means “without”, “except”: e.g. ’ənbala kʷənane: “without judgment”; la’ənbala:məsāle “without a parable”; zaənbala: fere “without fruit”.

In Dillmann’s opinion this preposition is “one of the subtle prepositions in meaning, to be found in Ethiopic” (Dillmann, 1907:401). Thus, in old Ethiopic from numerous prepositions are separated simple monosyllabic prepositions and complicated single-placed prepositions.

Simple monosyllabic prepositions after reduplication are changed into the single-placed prepositions. If simple monosyllabic prepositions are attached to the single-placed prepositions, they have become complicated, composed prepositions.

Two single-placed prepositions are written separately, but after adding any other single-placed preposition, the latter is always placed before the former. As for their origin, the greater number of prepositions are derived from nouns, some of them from conjunctions and adverbs which are derived from pronominal roots.

Prepositions may be combined together or be made dependent on one another in manyfold ways: ba, la, ’əm, ’ənta are those which combine most frequently with other prepositions (Dillmann, 1907:388, 389).

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(1898-1993)



Academician Simon Qaukhchishvili
(1895-1981)



Academician Konstantin Tsereteli (1921-2004)



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Academician Valerian Gabashvili
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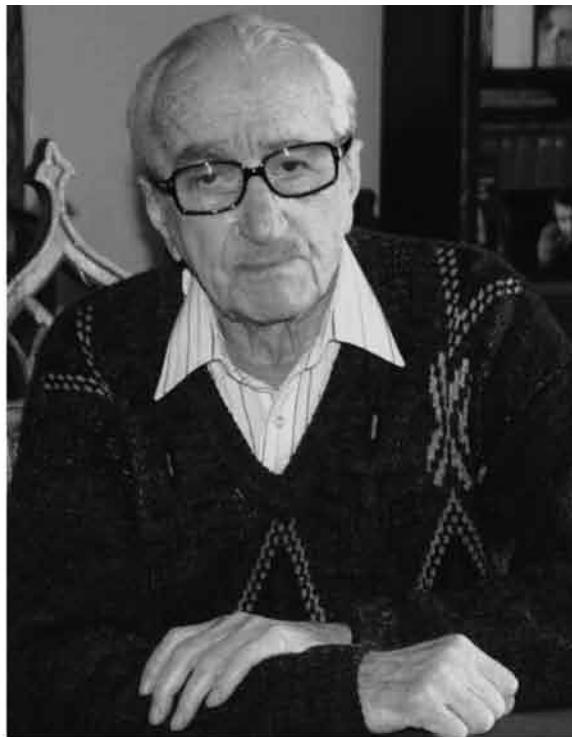
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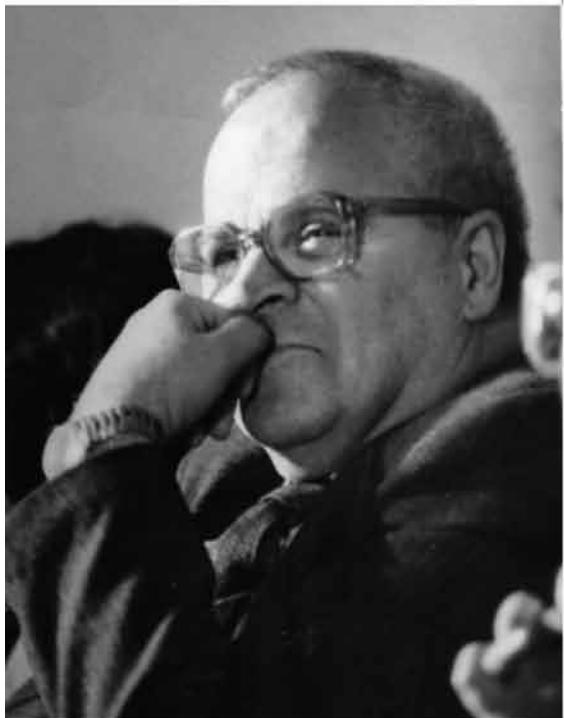
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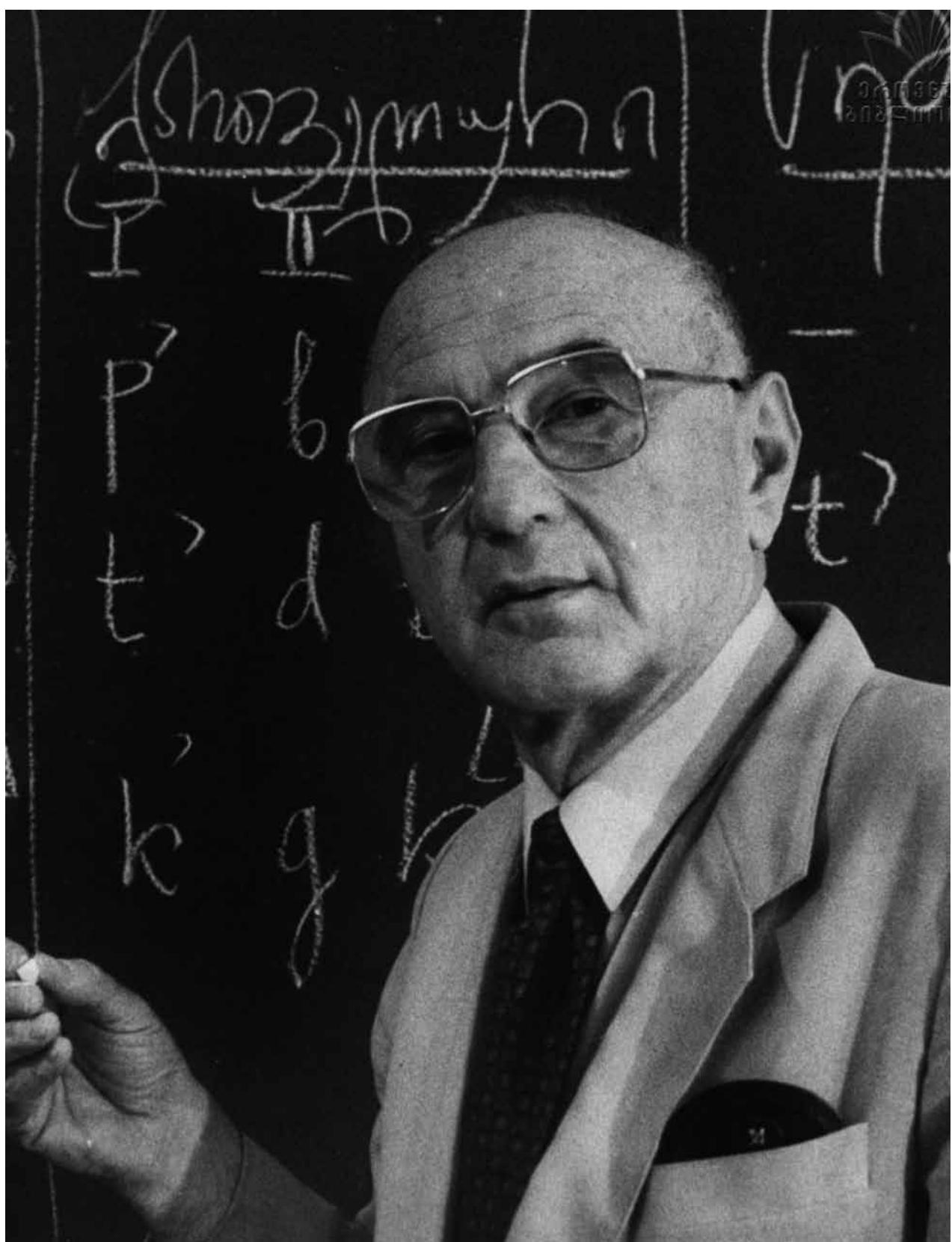
Prof. Teo Chkheidze
(1928-2013)



Prof. Giorgi Shakulashvili
(1931-2018)



Prof. Karlo Kutsia
(1933-2010)



Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze



First generation of the Institute members at the entrance of the first building of the Institute



Academicians George Tsereteli, Akaki Shanidze, Irakli Abashidze
(Jerusalem, Monastery of the Cross, 1960)



Academicians George V. Tsereteli and Mstislav V. Keldysh



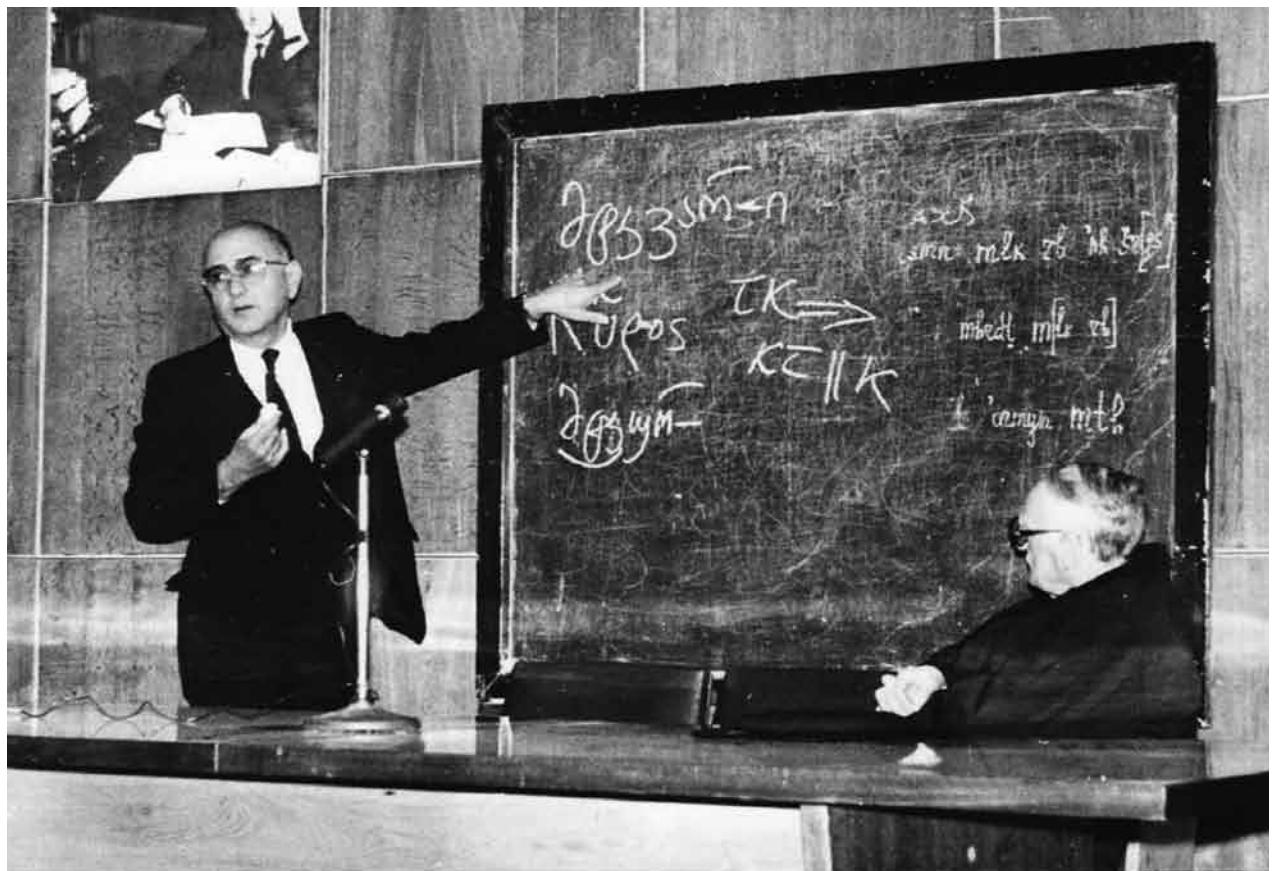
Academicians George V. George Tsereteli, Roman Jakobson, Thomas V. Gamkrelidze (1970)



Academician Irakli Abashidze, Academician George Tsereteli,
Prof. Zurab Sharashenidze, Prof. Vladimer Akhvlediani



Academician Sergi Jikia, Prof. Vladimer Akhvlediani,
Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, Academician Konstantin Tsereteli (1970s)



Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, Academician Konstantin Tsereteli (1970s)



Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze (1970s)



Prof. Nodar Lomouri, Prof. Vladimer Akhvlediani



Conference in the Institute (early 1980s)



Academician Mzekala Shanidze, Academician Konstantin Tsereteli



Prof. Gia Jorjoliani, Dr. Lali Tsotskhadze, Prof. Shalva Gabeskiria,
Prof. Gianroberto Srarcia, Prof. Giampiero Bellingeri, Prof. Maurizio Pistoso,
Prof. Giorgi Shakulashvili, Dr. Grigol Beradze in the hall of the Institute (1989)



Institute members at the entrance of the Institute (1980s)



Works in the adjoining street of the Institute (late 1970s)



'Civil defense' training (early 1980s)



Institute members in the library of the Institute (1980s)



Meeting in the Institute (early 1990s)



Prof. Vladimer Akhvlediani, Dr. Dito Gocholeishvili, Dr. Grigol Beradze,
Dr. Tamaz Abashidze, Dr. Nugzar Ter-Oganov



Conference of the students of the Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa (mid 1990s)



The building of the Institute (Ilia State University, building S)



The Institute conference (early 2000s)



First row: Academician Valerian Gabashvii, Prof. Mikheil Svanidze, Dr. Roland Burchuladze
Second row: Dr. Pavle Topuria, Prof. Karlo Kutsia, Dr. Grigol Beradze,
Dr. Dito Gocholeishvili, Prof. Giorgi Shakulashvili (early 1980s)



Dr. Grigol Beradze, Prof. Anna Kharanauli, Nino Gogitidze, Dr. Olga Beridze,
Dr. Juliette Shoshiashvili, Naira Gobejishvili, Dr. Liana Kvirkashvili,
Dr. Nana Mirashvili, Dr. Tamar Baakashvili (late 1980s)



Meeting with Iranian Delegation (1994)



Dr. Tamaz Abashidze, Dr. Grigol Beradze, Prof. Muhammad-Ebrahim Bastani-Parizi,
Academician Alexander Gvakharia (International conference 'Georgia and Iran:
Historical and Cultural Interactions, Tehran, 1997)



Institute members in the Memorial cabinet of Academician George Tsereteli (early 2000s)



... Dr. Manana Gotsiridze, Dr. Mariam Nedospasova, Leila Tsereteli,
Acad. Konstantin Tsereteli, Dr. Grigol Beradze, Prof. Guram Chikovani



Meeting in the Institute (early 2000s)



Meeting with Iranian delegation (2000s)



Georgian-Iranian joint conference (2000s)



Dr. Grigol Beradze, Dr. Irine Natchkebia, Prof. Giorgio Rota, Prof. George Sanikidze,
Dr. Tamaz Abashidze (late 1990s)



Institute members with Arab guests (1996)



New Year celebration in the Institute (Prof. Rusudan Asatiani, Prof. Marina Ivanishvili, Tamar Napetvaridze, Dr. Grigol Beradze, Prof. Eter Soselia, Acad. Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, Prof. Zurab Kiknadze, Prof. Lali Guledani, Dr. Zaza Kiknadze, Acad. Alexander Gvakharia)



Prof. G. Chikovani,... Acad. T. Gamkrelidze, Dr. T. Abashidze, Dr. E. Gamkrelidze, Prof. G. Rota, Dr. G. Beradze, Prof. H. Maeda



International Conference 'Georgia between Persia and Europe' (Tbilisi, 2001)
Prof. Charles Urzewicz, Prof. Bernard Hourcade, Dr. Irene Natchkebia, Prof. George Sanikidze



International Conference 'Tbilisi in the 19th Century: History and Culture' (Venice, 2003)
Dr. Tamaz Abashidze, Dr. Grigol Beradze



3rd Biennial Convention of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies (ASPS) (2007)



Inauguration of the Regional branch of the ASPS in the Institute (2007)



International Conference
“The Middle East and Caucasus: History, Culture, Politics” (2014)



6th Conference of the European Association of Iranian Linguistics (2014)



International Conference '*Great Game* and Georgia: East-West Political, Cultural and Economic Interactions during the first half of the 19th C.'
(organized with Pembroke college of the Cambridge University, 2014)



International Conference “Looking back and ahead: an Insight of Iranian Influence in the Caucasus” (organized with the French Institute of Anatolian Studies, 2015)



Annual Conferences of the Institute



8th International Conference on Popular Cultures of the Middle East and North Africa
'Popular Cultures between Site and Flow' (2017)



Conference participants in Mtskheta



8th Biennial Convention of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies (2018)



International conference “East and West: Linguistic, Cultural, Historical Interactions”
(dedicated to the 90th anniversary of Academician Thomas V. Gamkrelidze) (2019).



Round-table in the frame of the Project 'Documents about Georgia in the Archives and Libraries of Iran' (2019)



Meeting with the Ambassador of Turkey in Georgia, Her Excellency Fatma Ceren Yazgan
(inauguration of the Memorial cabinet of Academician Sergi Jikia) (2018)



Exhibition in the hall of the Institute



Presentation of the results of the Project and of the book ‘The Language, Everyday Life and Culture of the population of the Georgian Origin of Mazandarani Province’ (2018)



Presentation of the results of the Project ‘Georgian Sector of the Christian Cemeteries Complex in Tehran’ and of the book ‘Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Tehran’ (2019)



Presentation of the results of the Project 'Between East and West. Iranian and French Authors about Georgia' (2017)



Books published in the frame of the Project



Institute members with Prof. Hitorake Maeda and his family



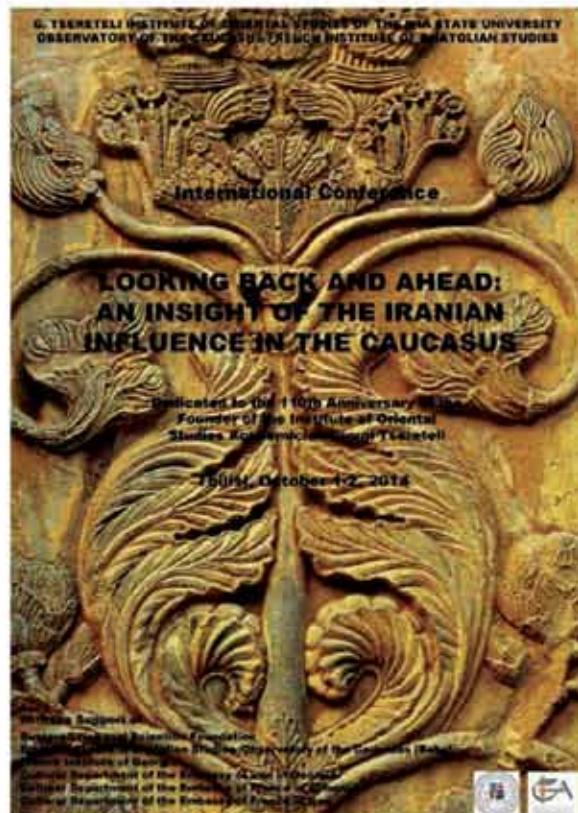
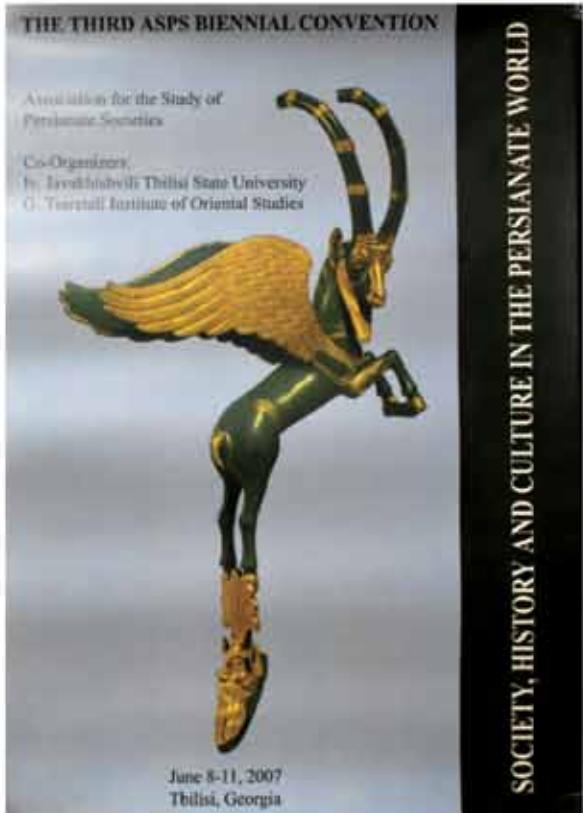
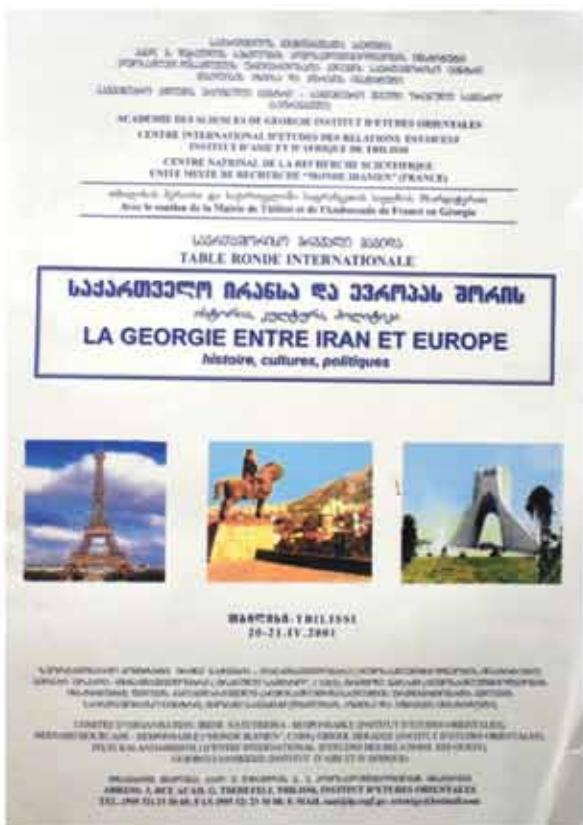
Lecture of Prof. Francis Richard in the Institute



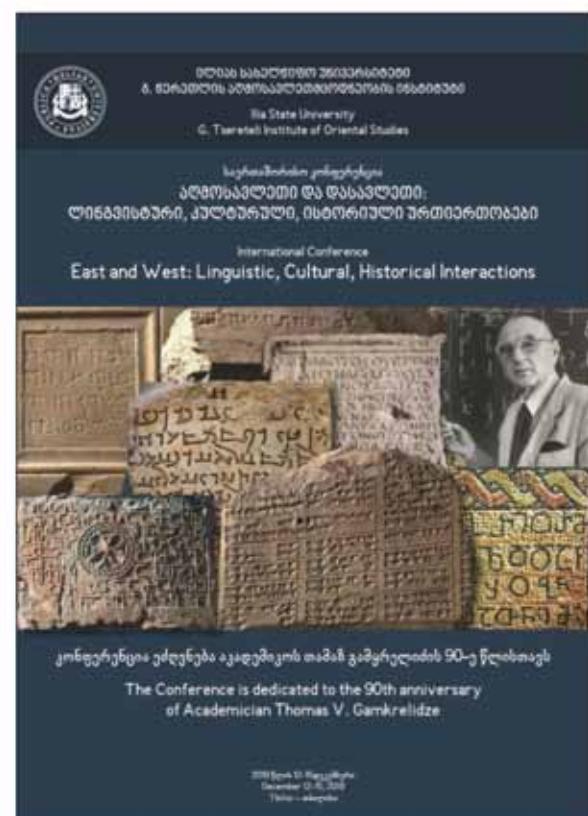
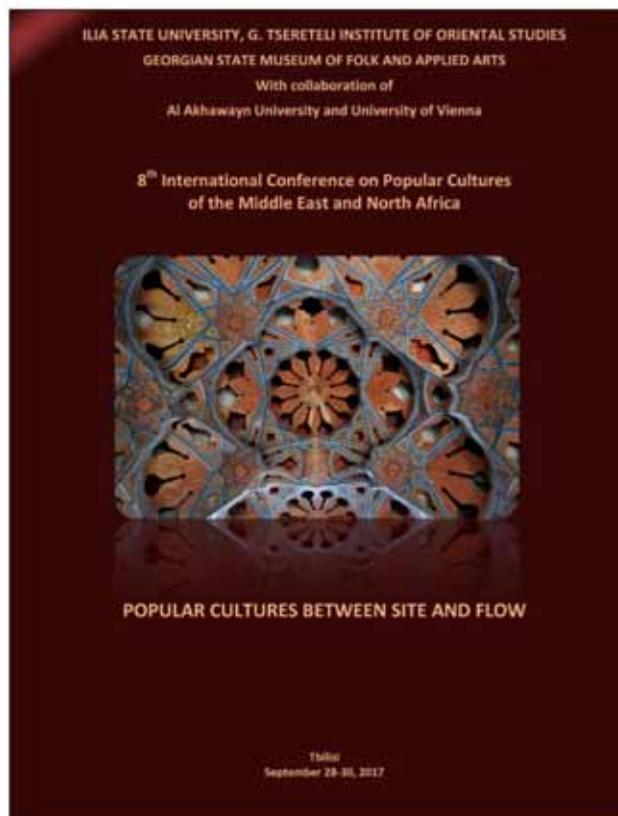
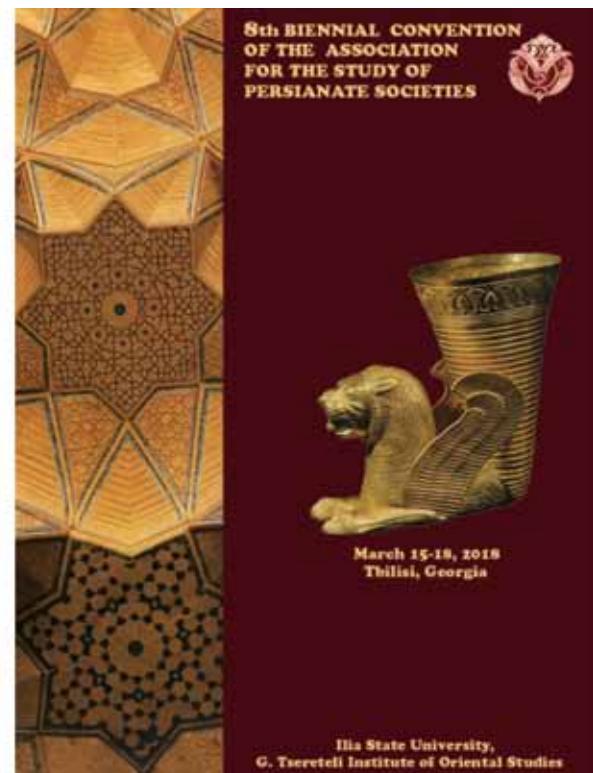
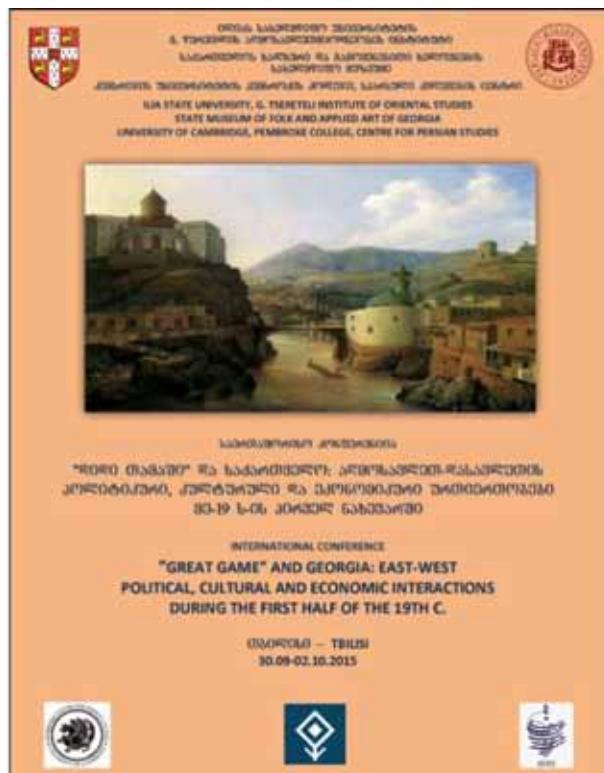
Celebration of the 75th anniversary and academic achievements of Dr. Grigol Beradze
in the University of Tehran. Prof. Mansour Sefatgol, Prof. Rudolph Matthee,
Dr. Grigol Beradze, Ambassador of Georgia in Iran, H.E. Dr. Joseph Chakhvashvili,
Prof. George Sanikidze, Prof. Giorgio Rota (2019)



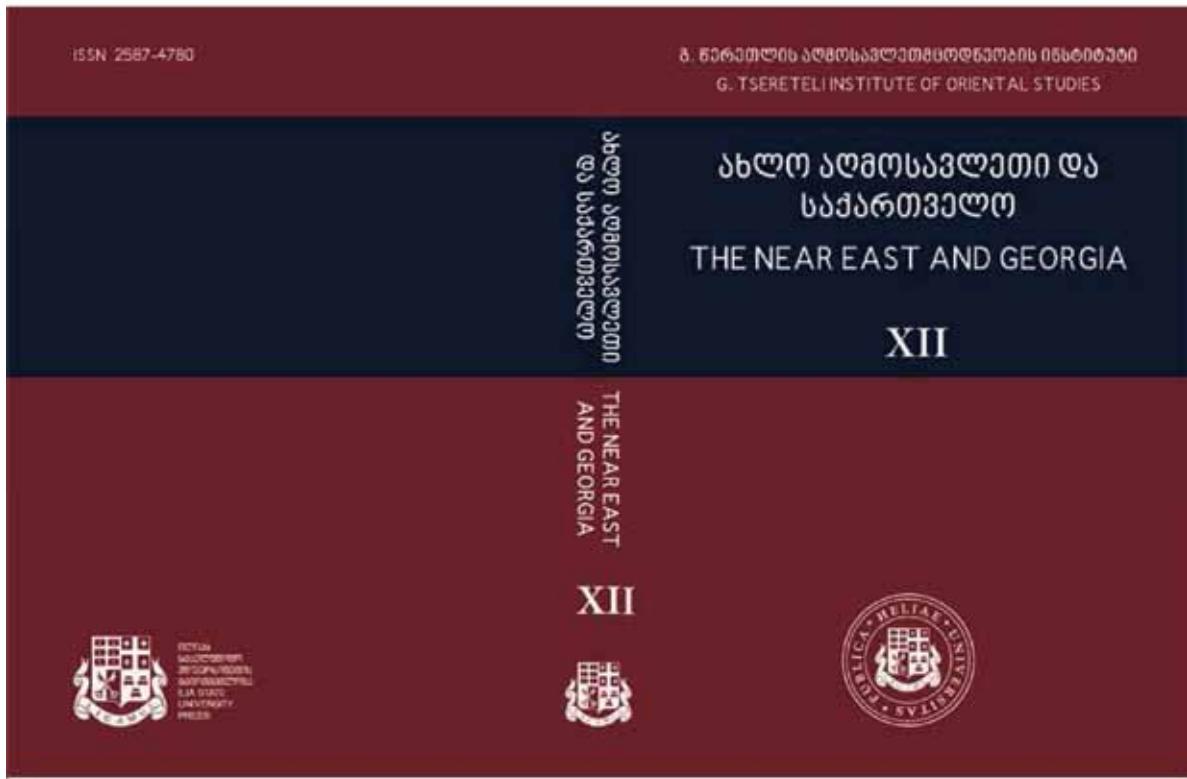
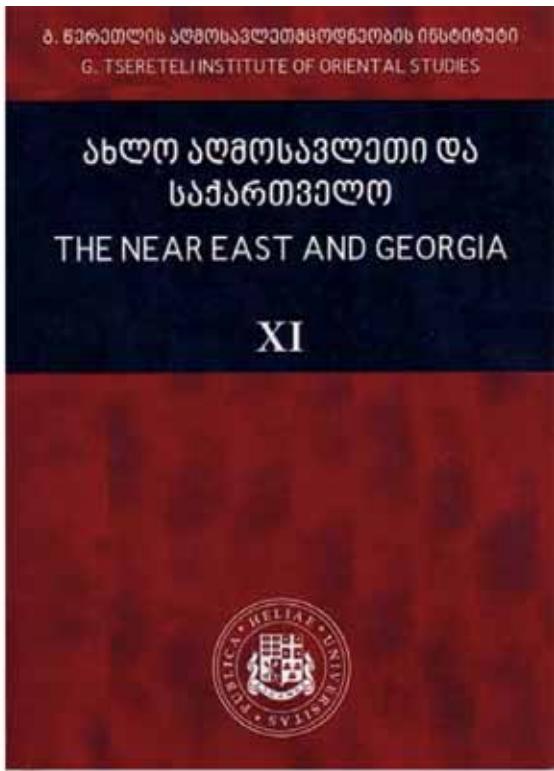
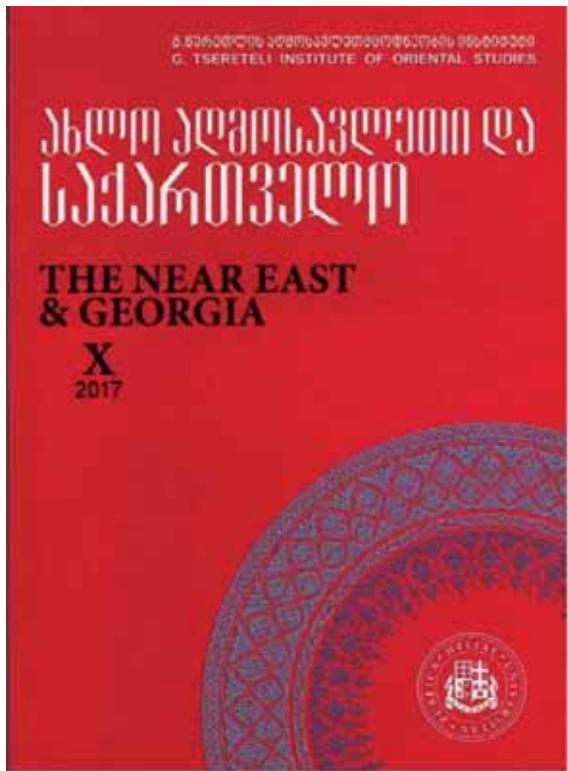
Presentation of the book 'Georgians on the Doulab Christian Cemetery of Tehran'
in Tehran (2019)



Posters of International conferences organized by the Institute



Posters of International conferences organized by the Institute



Last issues of the Institute's annual journal 'The Near East and Georgia'

