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An Interdisciplinary Method of Traceology and Prospects of its Usage in Archeology

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In the early 1940s, A. Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986) and S. Semenov (1898-1978), known as a father of the prehistoric archeology in Russia and France, commenced the fundamental work on the issues of understanding and studying the ancient material culture. In the 40s of the 20th century, the researchers of the east and west were engaged in the development of traceology and „chaîne opératoire“ conception that provided basis for a complex study of the ancient peoples and remains – artifacts of material culture and restoration of the behavior model [Longo, 2007: 9-10]. The conception of “chaîne opératoire” is widespread in the Europe and is based on the theoretical researches by Leroi-Gourhan [Longo, 2007:13].

It should be noted that as early as in the 30s of the 20th century, the development of the traceological method in archaeology was attributed to S. A. Semenov. This method allowed the archeologists to study the stone tools in a typological context as well as to identify their actual functions. A typological-morphological study of the tools provides retrieving of a cultural genesis, while the method of traceology is based on the identification of the functions of tools that allows the reconstruction of the economic activities of the early men [Longo, 2007:10].

Semenov’s fundamental work “Первабытная Техника” (“Prehistoric Technology”) [Семенов, 1957] has provided basis for spreading an experimental-traceological method in various countries. R. Yerkes mentioned that in North America nothing had been known about this revolutionary method until the translation of S. A. Semionov’s work into English in 1964. Irrespective of an initial skepticism, with time, significance and substance of the method offered by Semenov became clear for the American researchers [Yerkes, 1999:6].

“Use-wear” method is based on the experimental researches performed by F. Bordes, J. Tixier, M. Newcomer, J. Coles, etc. They tried to explain the capacities of the tools and their proposed transformation as a result of their usage [Коробкова..., 1996: 8].

It should be mentioned that traceology is a neologism (“trace” (French) – trace and logos (Greek)), which means the study of traces. It has been applied in criminology since the end of the 19th century. In the middle of the 20th century, Sergei Semenov established the term “traceology” in archeology. As for the term “use-wear”, it corresponds to the Georgian “a trace of use” („გამოყენების კვალი“).

For the decades, in various centers all over the world, the traceological schools emerged and developed. Among the schools of traceology, we can admit the centers in Russia, France, Great Britain and America.

S. Semenov, a founder of the Russian archeological school, used fundamental approach to the research of the issue from the outset. He studied consistently almost all types of tools of various epochs. In his researches, S. Semionov relied on the archeological facts and anthropological interpretations [Скакун..., 2010:235].

F. Bordes, his student P.A. Gerfaud, L. Keeley, M. E. Mansur-Francomme and H. Plisson contributed greatly to the formation of the French traceological school [Keeley, 1980: 11]. Research of the remains of phytoliths and other organic matter and development of techniques of taking prints from the tools can be regarded as a particular achievement of this school. Polish is the key diagnostic sign of the tools. It should be noted that researches of French scientists are based on both traceological and ethnographic data [Plisson, 1983: 17-19].

R. Tringham, E. Moss, M. Newcomer are representatives of British Traceology School. Russian and British schools had long contacts with one another. British traceologists were primarily interested in diagnostics of the polish on the tools; they limited themselves to study of the specific or isolated Paleolithic and Neolithic materials [Keeley, 1980: 1-2].

Formation of the Traceological School in the USA commenced in the 70s-80s and its first leader was D. Roe. In addition, when L. Keeley was in Great Britain, D. Roe headed his works and hence, development of traceological method in the USA took place after his return. L. Keeley, J. Odell, N. Vaughan are the representatives of this school [Коробкова..., 1996: 8-9; Keeley, 1980: 1-9].

The researchers of the US traceology school were mostly interested in the identification of the functions of Paleolithic-Neolithic tools, relying again and again, on the classification of the polish. P. Vaughan's researches should be particularly admitted. He was the first US traceologist studying an intended use of the tools on the basis of microanalysis. To identify the tool functions, P. Vaughan studied polish and directions of linear traces on the tools [Vaughan, 1981: 90-91].

Therefore, we discussed the key traceological centers of the world, where the traceological method was formed and developed. As for the other countries, for example, in China, the traceological method was introduced in 1980s and it was basically applied for the study of the Paleolithic materials [Hou 1996: 16].

Traceological Laboratory of Georgia

In Georgia the development of traceology is associated with K. Esakia. On the basis of a traceological study of the stone and bone tools discovered at the settlements of tribes occupied with agriculture, she identified the branches of domestic production and generally, economic industries. During researching the stone industry of the early Agricultural period, K. Esakia relied on the method developed by G. Korobkova: the tools were classified in groups according to their functions and for each group the quantity of tools as percentage of their total quantity was calculated. Afterwards, a typological list was created for the identification of a group of tools and determination of a dominating sector of economy.

K. Esakia and G. Korobkova studied stone industries at the sites of Shulaveri-Shomutepe culture: Arukhlo I, Arukhlo II and Arukhlo III, Chikhori, Tsopi, etc. [Эсакия, 2003:14;136; Коробкова, 1984; Nebieridze, 2010; Esakia... 2000].

The Methodology of Traceological Studies

For decades, Semenov's pioneering studies in the sphere of functional interpretation of tools have maintained their significance and their role in studying of macro and micro traces on the prehistoric tools further increase. Years of work and study of vast materials revealed three main stages of methodology: 1. Research of various rocks based on experimental items and ethnographic materials; 2. Application of macro and microscopic research tools; 3. Development of terminology [Marreiros..., 2015: 2].

In the methodology of traceological researches, the application of various microscopes acquires a great significance: 1. Binocular microscope (over x100 magnification); 2. Metallographic microscope (over x400 magnification). Since 1950, Russian traceological school, has basically used the microscopes produced by "EMBISI" [Коробкова, 1996: 6-7], while representatives of the European traceological schools have used (and use now) the microscopes of "Olympus Vanox" and "Olympus BMHJ". Both Russian and western researchers usually use x100 magnification to detect the traces on the tool surfaces [Grace, 2012: 48-49].

A traceological research includes two stages: the first – a microscopic study of a surface of a tool. It is known that in the process of work, as a result of the contact between the tool and material, a work edge of the tool deforms and various, absolutely relevant types of traces are left (polishing, smoothing, abrasion, chipping, scrape) [Котов, 1999: 7; Коробкова..., 1996: 6-7].

The second stage of the research includes a functional analysis, where the tools are classified in groups and types. On the basis of such analysis one can identify the industry, its specific features, leading and secondary sectors, economic characteristics, etc.

Directions in Traceology

Years of research of archeological materials, numerous experiments and creation of the reference base resulted in the development of the new directions in the traceological-functional method – a macro-traceology, a micrometric method and a phyto-traceology.

A Macro-traceology

The study of traces on the tools via a microscope is a micro-traceology. Identification and analysis of the traces by an unaided eye is a macro-traceology. The intention of both directions is identification of the function of a tool and reconstruction of the ancient economic activities [Сиссоко, 1988:125-135; Коробкова..., 1996: 19-21].

A macro-traceology is the means of verification of the function of a tool for identification of similarities and origin. Such approach to the study of materials emerged in the 60s, but acquired a scientific significance only in the 80s of the 20th century. Micro and macro analyses

allowed the differentiation of haying blades – a tool was used to process cultivated and wild plants [Сиссоко, 1988:125-135; Коробкова..., 1996: 19-21].

A macro-traceology is an independent method, though it cannot be applied in each and every case to identify the function. Its capabilities are limited. Therefore, in such cases, a complex research – the study of the aggregate of micro and macro signs - is used [Сиссоко, 1988:125-135; Коробкова..., 1996: 19-21].

A Micrometric Method

A micrometric method was first developed by V. P. Linico for the study of metal articles. The method was not quite suitable for the study of archeological materials – it required a special treatment of an object. S. Semenov and V. Shelinski worked on these issues. The authors offered the methodology of a micrometric analysis and applied it to study the Mousterian and experimental samples [Сиссоко, 1988:125-135; Коробкова..., 1996:18-19].

A micrometric method emerged as a result of a micro-traceology development. According to G. F. Korobkova, this is the means for a quantitative study of the traces on the tools allowing the identification of duration of usage and the function of a tool (via a slight wearing of the surface). The purpose of a micrometric method is the examination of the surface of the material, its micro-relief via a binocular microscope, photography and topography. Application of a micrometric method on a tool with an uneven surface can result in errors. Therefore, it requires a great attention, care and several measurements for the achievement of a maximal precision [Семенов..., 1971: 20-22; Сиссоко, 1988:125-135; Коробкова, 1996: 18-19].

Phyto-traceology

Due to a rapid decay of the vegetable tissues, it often becomes hard to find out what our forefathers used to eat. However, the silica forms special structures, phytoliths, in green cells. Similarly to other minerals, they can stay in the soil for a long time. These remains adhered to everything (tools, inner surface of the pottery, mortars, etc.). Opal phytoliths, silica phytoliths, silica cells, plant opal or common silica are the parts of hydrated silica and exist in the plants that died and decayed [Piperno, 2006: 1]. Phytoliths are not organic compounds and they do not decay due to the bacteria. Hence, they have no such problems as preservation as the remains of plants do. Phytoliths can survive in dry and humid soils. The burnt plants will leave the phytoliths in the soil and naturally, decayed plants will remain in archeological sedimentation in a form of phytoliths. Phytoliths allow identification of the key cereals, like wheat, barley, rice, etc. [Harvey..., 2005: 739-740; 742].

Archeologists J. Witthoft and J. Cumming actively participated in the development of a phyto-traceology, but its formation as a method is associated with Patricia Anderson-Gerfaud [Verdin, 1999: 19]. The purpose of a phyto-traceology is the identification of the function of a tool according to the remains of an organic matter on it. P. Anderson-Gerfaud used an electronic microscope to study the phytoliths. She associated the phytolith remains discovered on the surface of a tool with the traces of work left on the same surface.

Verdin mentioned in his experiments that in archeological and experimental researches of phytoliths there were identified two different processes: threshing and ensilaging [Verdin, 1999: 19].

A fragmented nature of phytoliths cause difficulties for the identification of the function of the material. In addition, versatility of the plants is associated with additional difficulties as the trace is not always the same and hence, the dimensions of the traces are different as well. In many cases, the phytoliths is less informative, it should be within the context of a cultural layer. Its typological definition is also required, because traces will differ due to the versatility of flora [Коробкова..., 1996: 19].

A Functional Typology

A methodological study of the stone industry has significantly changed with time. Typological study of the stone artifacts, irrespective of numerous transformations, acquires a great significance. A typological method is based on the determination of the morphological characteristics of a tool. In the sphere of the study of a material culture, a typological method is applied for a comparative analysis of various complexes and for the determination of a cultural genesis [Массон, 1999: 9-10].

While typology was regarded as a key component of an analytical archeology, technological and functional researches occupied a significant position in the study of a stone industry. Typological and functional methods jointly offered reshaped goals and objectives of the archeology [Матюхин, 2003: 94].

The study of a great number of artifacts has led G. F. Korobkova to the development of a functional typology. A functional typology allows systematization of a subject of research. Traceologically identified tool is categorized by functional types, groups and classes. A functional type implies an article and signs of wear presented on it, which are marks of a certain working process or operation. Functional groups unify types with various signs for the expression of a specific production or economy. A functional class is a group of tools with different signs of wear.

A functional typology helps in the identification of general trends of economic activities as well as local specific features of a certain settlement. It is widely applied for the systematization of archeological materials and for the identification of the economy practiced on the monument [Коробкова..., 1996:21-23; Коробкова,1994: 13-14].

Therefore, a traceological method provides solutions to various problems in archeology. Traceological studies covers almost all periods (from Paleolithic to Medieval). Subjects of study include the materials from specific monuments as well as from the regions. It should be noted that functional analysis is based on the study of the surface of a tool and physical characteristics affected by the humans. Therefore, a functional analysis is based on methodological researches and the latter – on the experimental observations [Marrerios, 2015: 2]. Such study of prehistoric tools is the best method for the reconstruction of the ancient economic system [Массон, 2003: 66-73; Сиссоко, 1988: 28-62).

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French term is used in anthropology, especially, in archeology and socio-cultural anthropology and means “chain of the sequence of operations”.

Non-crystalline silica

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Georgian Translations of Ernest Hemingway's Story "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place": Some Examples of the Analysis of Translation Equivalency

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Hemingway elaborates his own aesthetic principle and points out that if a writer of the prose knows enough about what he/she writes, he/she can omit certain things. If a writer writes appropriately, a reader will feel those things as strongly as if an author stated them. *"The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water"* [Hemingway, 1932:98]. Hemingway creates a new style, which is completely different from a stereotypical and a grandiloquent language. Despite its subtlety and simplicity, the language structure is complex. Its restoration in the Georgian translation seems a complex philological procedure.

Arthur Schopenhauer remarks that during translation from one language into the other, every single word of one language has no exact equivalents in another. Accordingly, the concepts that are expressed through the words may differ in languages. Therefore, it is rarely possible to produce the same effect in the translation as it is in the original [Schopenhauer, 1992:32-33]. As a result, the main issue with translation is the choice of words and meanings for representing the original. This issue is the object of our research. It can be viewed from the perspective of understanding the simple language world of Hemingway's short story *"A Clean, Well, Lighted Place"* during the evaluation of its Georgian translations.

In the 16th century French humanist, translator and poet Étienne Dolet in his famous essay *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* (*"How to translate well from one language into another"*) created an approach to the translation, which responds to the fundamental principles of the modern translation studies: a translator should avoid the tendency of translating word-for-word, because it will destroy the meaning of the original and the beauty of the form; the translator should use the speech forms of common usage, choose the right word and create the same impression as the original elicits [Dolet, 1540:183]. Walter Benjamin urges that a translation has to be transparent; does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language shine upon the original [Benjamin, 1992:79-80]. Our criteria of evaluation of the translations of Hemingway's short story follow the given statement.

As a literary translation is a creative work built mainly upon a content equivalence, a content equivalence together with a stylistic equivalence (which will not exist without the maintenance of the content) is a subject matter of the paper. Galperin differentiates three types of a content information: a content-factual information, a content-conceptual information and a content-subtextual information. A content-factual information gives information on facts, events, processes that will take place in the world around us, in true or imaginary reality. A content-

factual information is explicit, i.e. it is always conveyed verbally. Language units are usually expressed directly, through thematic-logical dictionary meanings. A content-conceptual information conveys to a reader an author's individual viewpoint about the interrelation between certain events. This kind of information emerges from the whole literary work and it is an artistic reevaluation of facts, events and processes in the imagination of the author. A content-conceptual information is not always expressed clearly and requires the elucidation. The difference between a factual and a conceptual information lies in the fact that a factual information is ordinary, while a conceptual information is aesthetic and creative. A content-subtextual information represents a covered information that comes out of a factual information on the basis of the capacity of language units that can generate associative and connotative meanings. This type of information is optional but if it exists, it produces a textual counterpoint together with a factual information. A conceptual information is subjective and gives rise to different interpretations [Galperin, 2006:27-28]. It is evident that three types of information are interrelated and equally important for the perception and interpretation of a literary text. Deciphering of all the information necessarily depends on a translator's erudition, intellectual preparation, knowledge of both (source and target) languages, social and cultural contexts, intuition and subjective conceptualization. Generally, the main issue with Hemingway's writings is the conceptualization of a subtextual information, but the precision of a factual-conceptual information in the course of translation seems doubtful.

Apart from the study of a content information, the translations in the paper are examined on the syntactic and stylistic levels, which are related to the linguistic and stylistic categories promoted by Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short. These categories are considered to be efficient for revealing the possibilities of a good translation on the basis of juxtaposing the source and target texts and for establishing a content accuracy according to the content categories. Each analysis of the style is an attempt to find an artistic principle underlying a writer's choice of language and *"the relation between the significances of a text, and the linguistic characteristics in which they are manifest"* [Leech and Short, 2007:56]. The stylistic values associated with the linguistic data can be categorized. The linguistic and stylistic categories (including lexical and grammatical categories, figures of speech, cohesion and context) in the text create stylistically relevant information and ultimately serve to yield the content of the whole text [Leech and Short, 2007:60-61]. The paper covers only three categories: figures of speech, a lexical category and a grammatical category. The figures of speech consider traditional means - tropes and schemes. Lexical categories involve the complexity and simplicity of vocabulary, informal and formal discourse, the usage of idioms, dialects or different registers. As for a grammatical category, it denotes different types and structures of sentences (complexity, simplicity), their compositions and effects [Leech and Short, 2007:61-63].

"A clean, well-lighted place" was translated two times into Georgian. The first translation by Vakhtang Chelidze („სუფთა, ნათელი ადგილი“) was issued within Hemingway's four-volume prose publication in 1965. The second version „იქ, სადაც სინათლეა“ was published in 2011 without stating the translator of the story. A comparative linguistic analysis of two translations will be employed in terms of a conceptual equivalency, a stylistic analogue and an artistic-emotional equivalence.

“*A clean, well-lighted place*” is Hemingway’s one of the most popular stories significant with its rhythm and stylistic characteristics. Stephen Hoffman regards it as the writer’s stylistic masterpiece [Hoffman, 1990:172], while James Joyce states that the short story reduces the veil between literature and life. According to his viewpoint, “*A clean, well-lighted place*” is masterly. It is one of the best stories ever written. The story embodies Hemingway’s so-called *ars poetica* that contradicts to pathetics and eloquence and makes opposition between the latter and an empirical reality. Hemingway’s biographer Carlos Baker points out that Hemingway *strips language clean* and lays it bare down to the bone [Baker, 1967:75]. The writer himself believes that “*prose is the architecture, not an interior decoration... People... not skilfully constructed characters must be projected from the writer's assimilated experience, from his knowledge, from his head, from his heart and from all that there is of him*” [Gribanov, 1986:239].

“*A clean, well-lighted place*” touches upon the main existential problem - solitude and estrangement of a modern human being. The story has to be understood from the standpoint of Hemingway’s worldview. The equivalency of its translation needs to be investigated alongside the interpretation of the writer’s idea and aesthetics. The story is about a harsh feeling of the loss of place in the world of trauma, vanity of existence, homelessness and emptiness. According to the story, the life is short and the death is confronted only with a human dignity. A human being should retain humaneness and dignity in the world of nothingness, death of values and meaninglessness.

The manner of the verbal expression of the story can be described in the following way: the body of the story is built up by short dialogues. The style is simple and free of the decoration created by the lack of adjectives and emphatic verbs. Stylistic means are scanty. Syntactic constructions are simple. They basically contain compound and simple sentences with 16 lexical units as an average.

Vinogradov points out that the examination of a writer’s style, poetics and mindset is impossible without the analysis of the language [Vinogradov, 1959:61]. Therefore, the analysis of the translation will be started by a lingual analysis. Its inseparable part is the title of the story. „სუფთა, ნათელი ადგილი“ is almost a word-for-word translation of the original thoroughly implying the lexical meaning of the title, its sonority and contrast with the text of the story. As for the second translation („იქ, სადაც სინათლეა“), despite shortness, neatness and compactness, it fails to convey the idea of the title and does not fully correspond to the text. In contrast to the original, it is elevated and poetic that triggers irrelevance between the title and the idea of the story. Such kind of translation of the title can be linked with the Russian interpretation «*Там, где чисто, светло*» (translated by E. Romanova). The Georgian translation is just an incomplete version of the Russian one.

The syntax i.e. a structure of a sentence, determines a stylistic aspect of an utterance. In Hemingway’s works a compound sentence is often followed by a simple one and mainly this alternation ensures the melody of a text. The tone of the story as well as the rhythmic-intonational image of the source text are maintained in „სუფთა, ნათელი ადგილი“. The following passage representing an emotional monologue of an elderly waiter is interpreted in such a manner that the translation appears to be an aesthetic counterpart of the original:

“He disliked bars and bodegas. A clean, well-lighted café was a very different thing. Now, without thinking further, he would go home to his room. He would lie in the bed and finally, with daylight, he would go to sleep. After all, he said to himself, it is probably only insomnia. Many must have it” [Hemingway, 2003:291].

„ვერ იტანდა ბარებსა და ღვინის სარდაფებს. სუფთა, ნათელი კაფე სულ სხვა საქმე იყო. ახლა აღარაფერზე იფიქრებს, პირდაპირ შინისკენ გასწევს, თავის ოთახში შევა, ლოგინში ჩანვება, და გათენებისას როგორმე ჩაეძინება კიდევ. იქნებ სულაც უძილობა სჭირდეს და სხვა არაფერი. ეგ რამდენსა სჭირს“ [Hemingway, 1965:161].

The translator manages to transpose an original compound sentence into one sentence in such a way that the naturalness of the phrase is preserved. In the following passage, the presentation of a long phrase maintains the texture of the text:

“They sat at a table that was close against the wall near the door of the café and looked at the terrace where the tables were all empty except where the old man sat in the shadow of the leaves of the tree that moved slightly in the wind” [Hemingway, 2003:211].

*„ოფიციატებიკედელთანმისხდომოდნენმაგიდას,
ქუჩიდანშემოსასვლელიკარებისმახლობლად, დატერასასგასცქეროდნენ,
საცადაცარიელებულმაგიდებსშორისკენტადიჯდაბერიკაცი,
ქართოდნავმოქანავეფოთლებისჩრდილში“* [Hemingway, 1965:156].

In the second translation, the original compound sentences are not transformed into the long ones, but are subdivided into small simple sentences depriving the musicality of the phrase.

*„ისინიმაგიდასუსხდნენიქვე, კართან, კედლისგასწვრივდატერასასგადაჰყურებდნენ,
სადაცერთიმაგიდისგარდაყველადაცარიელებულიყო. ამმაგიდასთან,
ხისჩრდილშიმოხუციიჯდა. ფოთლებსოდნავარხევდანიავი“* [Hemingway, 2011:153].

The translator of „იქ, სადაც სინათლეა“ reveals his/her dependence on the Russian translation from the very first phrase of the text. The first sentence repeats the structure, meaning and punctuation of the Russian sentence with an absolute precision:

«Был поздный час, и никого не осталось в кафе, кроме одного старика, - он сидел в тени дерева, которую отбрасывала листва, освещенная электрическим светом» [Hemingway, 1987:302].

*„უკვეგვიანიყოდაკაფეშიარავინდარჩენილაერთიმოხუციკაცისგარდა, -
იგიიჯდახისჩრდილში,
რომელსაცელექტრონითგანათებულფოთლოვანიისროდა“*[Hemingway, 2011:153].

The Georgian sentence molded on the structure of the Russian sentence loses naturalness. The same can be said about the whole paragraph and other parts of the story.

The melancholy and elegiac tone of Hemingway’s story can be perceived from the very first sentence, which emphasizes the emptiness of the café. The intonation is descending and reaches its utmost point in the last passage, where the elderly waiter, fallen into deep despair,

utters his inner monologue. This is an inner monologue, which conveys the emotions of the waiter with the repetition of one word - *Nada* (nothing, nothingness) - forming his spiritual mood. The word is repeated several times in the passage and is configured as a refrain. The prayer to *nothingness* serves as one the most important parts of the story and its equivalent translation is crucial for the perception of the entire story and for understanding the writer's fictional world.

The word “nothingness” - the Spanish word “*nada*” - is inserted in almost every phrase of “Our Lord” and in the short prayer to Virgin Mary, both expressing despair. The word reaches its culmination at the end of the prayer, where every second word is already “*nada*”. The inner monologue and the parody of the prayer are shortened and lexico-semantically incorrect in the translation „იქ, სადაც სინათლეა“:

“Our nada who art in nada, nada be thy name thy kingdom nada thy will be nada in nada as it is in nada. Give us this nada our daily nada and nada us our nada as we nada our nadas and nada us not into nada but deliver us from nada; pues nada. Hail nothing full of nothing, nothing is with thee” [Hemingway, 2003: 291].

„მამათარაობავ, იკურთხოსარაობაშენი დამოვედინარაობაშენი და იყავნნებაშენი, ანდამარადისდაარაობითარაობამდე“ [Hemingway, 2011:158].

A comparative linguistic analysis of Georgian and Russian translations of the passage evidence the fact that the Georgian version is equivalent to the Russian translation, which is also incomplete.

«Отче ничто, да святится ничто твое, да придет ничто твое, да будет ничто твое, яко в ничто и в ничто» [Hemingway, 1987:305].

The early translation provides a fully rendered monologue of the old waiter.

„მამათ არაობავ, რომელი ხარ არაობასა შინა, არაობა იყავნ სახელი შენი, არაობა სუფევა შენი, არაობა ნება შენი, ვითარცა არაობასა შინა, ეგრეცა არაობასა ზედა. მომეცხუენარაობაარსობისა, დამომიტევენხუენარაობაჩუენი, დანუშემიყვანებხუენარაობასა, არამედ მიხსენხუენარაობისაგან. pues nada. დიდება შენ, არაობავ, არაობა იყავნ სუფევა შენი“ [ჭემინგუეი, 1965:160].

However, the original “*Hail nothing full of nothing, nothing is with thee*” is the parody of the Catholic authorized version “*Hail Mary, full of grace. The Lord is with thee*”, The given parody is altered and its content is inaccurate.

It is noteworthy that both Russian and the Georgian translations of the first words “*Our Nada*” are reproduced as «*Отче ничто*», „*მამათარაობავ*“. The translations can be considered as non-equivalent to the original, because they intensify the feeling of despair reflected in the original. It is implied in the story that the writer does not finally close the door of hope and faith to the waiter. This fact is elicited in the last words and contradicts to the guest's longing for suicide: “after all...it's probably only insomnia” [Hemingway, 2008:291]. Consequently, the prayer should have started with „არაობავ ჩვენო“, taking into account the fact that this

phrase repeats the semantics of the original word-by-word. The prayer cannot be understood as an antireligious appeal. Robert Penn Warren points out that this passage embodies the conception of the religious faith of the waiter and can also reflect Hemingway's piety. The despair and insomnia that the elderly waiter suffers from is a hanger for meaningfulness of the religious faith he is trying to attain [Warren, 1947:6].

As far as the relevance of content of two translations is concerned, it is necessary to single out other lexical units that cause the change of a content-factual and a conceptual information in the translation. The original *"The dew settled the dust"* [Hemingway, 2003:288] is rendered in the first translation as the following: „მტვერს ნაში დაანვებოდა“ [Hemingway, 1965:156]. The second translation of the story finds the following solution: „ცვარმა დალუქა მტვერი“ [Hemingway, 2011:153]. One of the meanings of the verb "to settle" is defined as „დადება“. Besides, the dew covers the dust, but does not press or precipitate it. Accordingly, the phrase could have been translated as „ნაში მტვერს დაედებოდა“.

"The waiter took the brandy bottle and another saucer from the counter inside the café" [Hemingway, 2003:289] is rendered in the early translation as „ოფიციანტი კაფეში შევიდა, მებუფეტეს კონიაკი და ლამბაქი გამოართვა“ [Hemingway, 1965:160], while the second interpretation is: „ოფიციანტმა დახლიდან აიღო კონიაკის ბოთლი, სუფთა თეფში...“ [Hemingway, 2011:154]. The word "counter" means „დახლი“, „ბუფეტი“ and not „მებუფეტე“. "Brandy" is a highly alcoholic drink made from wine materials, while "cognac" is the brandy with a protected designation of origin produced in France, namely, in the province of Cognac. Thus, a factual information is incorrect in both translations. Besides, it can be ascertained from the story that there is no one in the café except two waiters and one old man. In the first translation appears the fourth character, which disappears afterwards. In the second translation the collocation "another saucer" is translated as „სუფთა თეფში“ (a clean plate), when the first and the only meaning of the word "saucer" is „ლამბაქი“. In addition, another factual information is added to the meaning - „სუფთა“ (clean). The "saucer" taken out by the waiter with the drink for the old client could be clean, but nothing is said about this in the story. Consequently, it can be concluded that a factual information in both translations is not realized correctly leading to the loss of a conceptual information and creating only a superficial plot.

An irrelevant content-factual information can be observed in the second translation, particularly, when the young waiter says about the old man:

"He is lonely. I am not lonely. I have a wife waiting in bed for me" [Hemingway, 2003:289].

„გაბრაგებულა მარტოობით. მაგრამ მე ხომ არა ვარ მარტო - ცოლი მელოდება ლოკინში“ [Hemingway, 2011:155].

The incorrect lexical units used in the sentence lead to an inaccurate description of the old man's character: the old man is lonely, he is not angry. For this reason, the old man's calm and balanced behavior during expelling him out of the café contradicts to this evaluation. He leaves the café without saying a word and walks down the street with dignity – „ღირსებით სავსე ნაბიჯით“ [Hemingway, 2011:156]. The early translation renders this passage in the following manner:

„მარტოხელა კაცის ამბავი ხომ იცი. აბა მე რა - ცოლი ლოგინში მელოდება“ [Hemingway, 1965:158].

The loneliness of the old man is correctly emphasized in the first sentence, but the first part of the second sentence - „აბა მე რა“ - does not represent the content given in the original - *“I am not lonely”*. Therefore, the information embedded in the original is reproduced obscurely in the translation.

The translator of the early version tries to diversify the vocabulary, to make the narration more intensified. For this reason, the translator renders trite and neutral words with stylistically marked forms, for instance:

“You should have killed yourself last week” [Hemingway, 2011:289]

„ნეტამართლაჩაძალღებულებულიყავიიმკვირას“ [Hemingway, 1965:157].

The corresponding English word for „ჩაძალღება“ is “to drop dead/die like a dog”, but “to kill oneself” is an informal and a neutral word and denotes „თავის მოკვლა“, „თვითმკვლელობა“. A simple form is transformed into a metaphor expressing the connotation of derogation and anger, which gives more nihilistic trait to the utterance. There is a sentence similar to the above mentioned one (*“He should have killed himself last week”* [Hemingway, 2011:289] – „ნეტამართლამოეკლათავიიმკვირას“ [Hemingway, 1965:157]). Supposedly, the translator avoids the conveyance of a similar meaning with the same words and translates the phrase differently. Two similar phrases are rendered in the second translation in the following way: „ბარემ წინა კვირას მოეკლა თავი და გათავებულებიყო“, „პა და გათავებულებიყავ ბარემ წინა კვირას“ [Hemingway, 2011:154]. The word „გათავებულებიყო“ seems to be more natural as far as it is not a vulgarism and has less derogatory connotation than the previous examples.

It is known that in the Georgian literary language an emphatic vowel (ა - [a]) has specific positions: after nouns in dative, genitive and instrumental cases followed by the conjunctions და/თუ [and/or], after modified nouns when they are followed by postpositional attributes, etc. However, this element is also characteristic of the Georgian dialectal speech. Hemingway’s language and dialogue are informal and neutral, typical of ordinary people’s vocabulary relevant to their everyday verbal relations. This can be a consequence of the translator’s choice in the first translation to employ an emphatic vowel with a dialectal nuance in order to imitate the informal situation of the café in the original text, such as: „დარაბებსა კეტავდნენ“ (the narrator’s speech), „ეგ რამდენსა სჭირს“ (the character’s speech), „სად შინ ყოფნა და სად აქა“ (the character’s speech). The elements of the Georgian dialect intruded in the translated text, both in the character’s and the narrator’s speech, neutralizes the color of the original that has to be melancholic and solemn and has to conform to an existential mood of the entire story. In contrast, the dialectal element serves as a precondition for giving an absolutely different flavor to the phrase, creating an impression of the Georgian reality caused by the abundance of the Georgian national color and intonation. The word „დექანი“ serves the same purpose in the second translation: „დექანში კაცურად ვერ დაჯდები“ [Hemingway, 2011:157] - *“Nor can you stand before a bar”* [Hemingway, 2003:191], the corresponding phrase

in the first translation is: „დახლოთან აყუდებაც რა საკადრისია“ [Hemingway, 1965:160]. In addition to an inaccurate content, the word „ღუქანი“ creates the surplus of a local colour and therefore, the foreign environment is faded in the translation. From this perspective, the first translation is different, although lexically and semantically this translation is far from the precision. Besides, the dialectal form „საცა“ employed in several occasions instead of using „სადაც“ (where) in the narrator’s speech fulfills the same effect.

The translator of the second version tries to achieve expressiveness in the last passage, where the inner monologue of the elderly waiter is conveyed by employing a stylistic device – repetition - that makes the phrase more emphatic. The original does not lack this:

“He would lie in the bed and finally, with daylight, he would go to sleep. After all, he said to himself, it is probably insomnia” [Hemingway 2003: 291].

„დანვებადაგათენებისასბოლოსდაბოლოსჩაეძინება. ბოლოსდაბოლოს, თქვამანთავისთვის, შეიძლებაუბრალოდუძილობასჭირდეს“[Hemingway, 2011:158].

It is preferable to find a synonymic word or a word-combination or actualize other lexical items having the same meaning as it can be observed in the first translation: „ლოგინში ჩანვება, და გათენებისას როგორმე ჩაეძინება კიდევ. იქნებ სულაც უძილობა სჭირდეს და სხვა არაფერი“ [Hemingway, 1965:161].

An essential feature of Hemingway’s style is a shortage of the narrator’s remarks. The remarks are not accompanied with the narrator’s explanations. In the first translation the translator adds his own assessment: instead of rendering the writer’s typical remark neutrally - “*Said the old man*” [Hemingway, 2003:290] - „თქვა/უთხრა/მიუგო მოხუცმა“, the translator interprets it in the following way: „არმოეშვაბერიკაცი“ [Hemingway, 1965:158]. This kind of an explanation makes the sentence more intensified, but apparently, it is not the writer’s intension to depict this mood.

As far as the translator’s interpretation of the text is only one among others and the translator creates it from the perspective of his/her own literary taste, thesaurus and subjective viewpoint, criteria of the evaluation of the translation will be subjective. It is possible to replace an item with a target-language item or expression, which has a similar impact on the target-language reader, but does not have the same meaning [Baker, 2006:31]. In addition, a translator interpreting according to his/her own viewpoint and thinking “*opts for naturalness at the expense of accuracy*” [Baker, 2006:57]. It can happen conversely. Accordingly, any possible attempt of the analysis of the translation can be a partly objective issue. Besides, objectivity is not a measurable category and a critic of the translation cannot be exempt from subjectivity. Peter Newmark believes that any judgment about translation assumes uncertainty and subjectivity, but it eliminates neither the necessity nor the usefulness of a translation criticism, because first of all a translation criticism helps to raise standards of translation [Newmark, 1988:192].

In Hemingway’s minimalist prose, every single device serves for its specific purpose on the way to create an expressive style of a text, which at the same time remains uncluttered and informal. According to Venuti, the strategies of domestication and foreignization tackle “*the*

question of how much a translation assimilates a foreign text to the translating language and culture, and how much it rather signals the differences of that text” [Venuti in Munday, 2008:146]. After employing Venuti’s dichotomy, it can be presumed that both translators are target text and culture oriented. Hence, the text adjusted to the system of the Georgian language does not lose naturalness, but it takes superfluously Georgian outward appearance. On the one hand, the style of the translated language and content should correspond to the original. On the other hand, a translated text has to give an impression that it is not an original literary work, but it belongs to the foreign world. The language of translation should have its own style. Thus, a translated text should assume both “foreignization” (for instance, a reader lives in a foreign environment in the Georgian translation of the text) and “domestication” (even though a reader lives in a foreign environment, he/she is surrounded by his/her own language world).

The difficulty of translating Hemingway is that the language, the syntactic simplicity and the lyricism can lead to dryness in translation and fail to elicit the same aesthetic effect. In order to avoid a schematic style of the language in the translated text, the translators employ the following method: they translate stylistically neutral vocabulary with stylistically marked words. First of all, these are: marked lexis, vulgarism, dialectalism and stylistic devices. The result of this attempt is inaccuracy and in certain cases, the style of translation, in contrast to the original, shifts into a different register. Sometimes even a content information is conveyed irrelevantly. The translation cannot fully reflect artistic peculiarities of the original. However, there are passages in the translations, where the atmosphere and the characteristics of the original are kept lexically and stylistically untouched - the translators remain faithful to the original.

After analyzing the first translation „სუფთა, ნათელი ადგილი“, it can be placed within a historical context and perceived via considering a theoretical background of translation existing at that time in Georgia. The publication of the story was preceded by a period, when literary theorists and linguists discussed translation from one angle. Literary theorists viewed the process of translation and the practice of literary translation in terms of ideological, historical, extra-linguistic factors, literary traditions, etc., while linguistics focused on general linguistic problems, inter-lingual transformations and lexicological issues until the 1960s, when the research methods of linguistic and literary approaches to translation were synthesized. In 1953 Andrei Fedorov published his work “*An introduction to the theory of translation*” in which he discussed the issues of choice of language means in translation as well as characteristics of different functional styles. He classified the correspondence on lexical, grammatical and stylistic levels. The book was followed by the first Georgian theoretical study of translation called *Theoretical aspects of literary translation: a problem of realistic translation* (1959) written by Givi Gachechiladze. The research dwelt on the unity of form and content maintained in translation that was the result of a realistic method of interpretation. Word-for-word rendering of the original was devoid of its aesthetic value, while free rendering lost the unity of content and form. “*Realistic translation represents basic, typical and characteristic aspects of the original, its typical environment, national specific features, the unity of form and content*” (Gachechiladze, 1959:348]. In the course of translating the prose, meaning, intonation and rhythm are intertwined and expressed through a syntactic form. They combine with an artistic

and an emotional aesthetic impression adequate to the original when transforming the above through the realistic means [Gachehiladze, 1959:248]. It is natural that the first translation reflects a historical reality, a literary taste, a tradition, strategies of the interpretation of literary texts and approaches to translation relevant to the environment in which the interpretation was executed. The translator finds the right constructions for intonation and syntactic form and makes an effort to restore the style of the original. At the same time, the translator manages to enrich the Georgian literary tradition with new literary principles and forms. Supposedly, the second translation is performed through an intermediary text. Therefore, it only partly represents artistic values of the original and Hemingway's manner of writing.

The following el. resource is used: <http://www.lostgeneration.com/keywest.htm>.

The following el. resource is used: <http://www.catholicity.com/prayer/prayers.html>.

The following el. resource is used: <http://www.orthodoxy.ge/lotsvani/sazrdeli.htm>.

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Transnistrian Volunteers in the Conflict of Abkhazia

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In the first half of 1992, the military operations started in Transnistrian region of the Republic of Moldova. The separatists, backed by the Russian Federation, fought against Moldova. The political conflict rapidly grew into an armed fight. As a result of the assistance of Russia's 14th army, the separatists gained superiority and in summer 1992 Kishinev lost control over the Transnistrian region.

After the end of the armed hostilities, local separatists and Russian combatants did not stay idle for a long time. On 14 August 1992 Georgian government send the governmental army for ensuring the safety of a railway traffic on the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia. As a result of armed provocations initiated by the groups of Abkhazian separatists, the Georgian forces were plunged into the war. It lasted for 13 months and 13 days. Overall, more than 40 000 militants took part in it. It is noteworthy that this number as well as other questions related to the military activities remain unclear.

The ethnic composition of combatants from the Abkhazian sides varied. They were mostly from the post-Soviet republics, although some of them were from the Middle East and other countries. The volunteers from non-recognized Transnistrian region of Moldova were among them. Tiraspol supported the Abkhaz soldiers in Gudauta both technically and logistically. A loyal attitude of the Transnistrian combatants to the Abkhaz separatists, at the first glance, was caused by the similarities between Tbilisi-Sokhumi and Kishinev-Tiraspol conflicts. The latter turned into the full fledged armed hostilities in spring 1992.

The Transnistrian volunteers got involved into the ongoing military processes on Abkhazian territory on the initial stage of the conflict. In total, 65 residents of the non-recognized republic took part in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict of 1992-1993. As a result, two of them were killed, while six were wounded. It is noteworthy that most of the Transnistrian volunteers were former military service members of the 14th army dislocated in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova. They had a rich military expertise, gained during the wars of Afghanistan and Transnistrian region. Many of them were officers of the Soviet army and were well acquainted with necessary and specific skills of an artillerist, an anti-aircraft gunner, a scout, a sapper, etc.

The first group of the volunteers arrived in Abkhazia on 15 August. It was formed by Northern Caucasians – the Kabardinians [The Mission of Abkhazia in PMR, 2015]. This was a 27-member group headed by Vitali Shorov. Earlier, on 21 August, the "Confederation of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus" declared war against Georgia. Consequently, around 300 volunteers from Chechnya, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria and Adygea moved into Abkhazia in order to support the Abkhaz separatists. The 150-member unit of volunteers from South and

North Ossetia were led by Valerie Hubulov – an active participant of the armed hostilities of Shida Kartli [Hubulov, 2016]. As a result, the number of soldiers fighting on the Abkhaz side increased significantly.

The armed hostilities carried out in the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia had a deep resonance in the post-Soviet space. As it was expected, the Abkhazian separatists' difficulties were whole-heartedly shared by their "friends" - Transnistrian separatists.

Later, on 22 January 1993 the Abkhaz and Transnistrian separatists signed an agreement on "friendship and collaboration". Chapter 11 of this 14-point document obliged the mentioned sides to provide military assistance to each other in case of necessity [Treaty, 1993].

It is noteworthy that during an in-depth interview, the Transnistrian volunteer, who had fought in Abkhazia, stated that the reason for his involvement in the Abkhazian war was not a financial interest. He was inspired by "an ideological proximity and empathy to the Abkhaz people that fought as a small nation against the bigger, aggressive neighbor" [Belousov, 2016].

Gathering of the groups of volunteers started in Transnistria as well as in various towns of the Russian Federation. They had to fight against the Georgian troops in Abkhazia. Their first group, named "Dolphin", reached Abkhazia by the end of September 1992. The leader of the mentioned group was Dimitri Vladimirovich Katkov, nicknamed "Luzha". He was an experienced soldier, who had participated in the armed hostilities in Afghanistan. In 1992 he led the separatists (that fought against the forces sent from Kishinev to an insurgent region) for the restoration of a constitutional order. He left the Soviet army in September 1991 with the rank of Senior Lieutenant. His speciality was a sapper [Belousov, 2016].

The first 15-member group of Transnistrian volunteers arrived in Abkhazia in the middle of October 1992. The group walked a long way for reaching the zone of conflict. Firstly, they arrived in Odessa, took a ferry to Sevastopol and afterwards, sailed to Sochi. Upon their arrival, the Abkhazian separatists controlled the section of the Psou River of the state border between Georgia and Russian Federation. The Abkhazians received reinforcement without hindrance from that place.

In May 11-July 10 of 1993 the volunteers group "Dolphin" fought as a part of the so-called "Eastern Front" [Gamakharia, 2016:130]. The Transnistrians got involved into the military operations very soon. They often functioned as instructors and assisted the Abkhaz separatists in strengthening and preparing the combat positions. At the same time, they took part in intelligence-sabotage raids on the territory controlled by the Georgian forces. They were mining the fields with antitank and antipersonnel mines, etc. There are plenty of photos and videos depicting the presence of the Transnistrian volunteers in Georgian-Abkhazian conflict in the internet-space [Jakhaia, 2011]. You can see the transcripts of their reports, where they describe in details the implementation of their intelligence and sabotage operations. The recipient of these reports was the First Deputy Minister of the so-called Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Transnistrian self-proclaimed government, Major-General N. S. Matveev. Some of these reports of 1993 are provided unchanged:

“I would like to report that at 18:00 on 25 June 1993, a group consisting of captains K. M. Kamenev and A. S. Butko together with the intelligence-sabotage squad “Bat” launched a rocket from the man-portable anti-aircraft missile system “Igla” towards the military transport aircraft TU-134 (In fact, the mentioned type of an aircraft is a civilian plane. The attack on such plane is considered as a war crime. The similar cases causing the death of civilians were observed several times during this war. It is also noteworthy that all the civilian aircrafts destroyed during combat actions of this conflict belonged to the Georgian side – V. Sh.). The rocket was launched from the area controlled by the adversary. It struck a right engine. The plane was heavily damaged, but the crew was able to land the inflamed TU-134 in the airport (Later, on 23 September 1993 the above-mentioned plane was destroyed by the Abkhaz separatists during the shelling of the airport. Thousands of civilians, intending to flee from the encircled Sokhumi, were on the territory of the airport at that moment. This case also contains the elements of a war crime – V. Sh.). It cannot be repaired. The enemy experienced a considerable material loss.

After this, at 21:00, the group moved to the bridge over the Kodori River in order to destroy it. However, near Akhaldaba (The handwritten report [the image is available at <https://cyxymu.livejournal.com/1771981.html>] clearly shows that it is Akhaldaba village, although in the printed version the non-existing village of “Akhalorsta” is mentioned [Reports, 1995:63] – V. Sh.) the squad was ambushed by the enemy. There was a fire exchange at a range of 15-30 meters. As a result, one member of the squad was wounded. The Georgians received reinforcements. The fire was from the front and right flank. The decision regarding retreating was made. We went to the temporary accommodation point in the village Otara (Should be Atara – V. Sh.) Abkhazskaya together with the wounded warrior”

Captain of Police I. K. Pimenov [Reports, 1995:63].

The group “Dolphin” had other military contributions to the success of the Abkhazian side. The Sokhumi-Ochamchire portion of a road was the only a land route connecting Sokhumi to the territory controlled by the Georgians. Therefore, the separatists sought to block the mentioned road in order to attack encircled Sokhumi. They succeeded in this respect in September 1993. Before that, the guerilla groups of the Abkhaz separatists, fighting in Tkvarcheli (on the so-called “Eastern Front”), made frequent attacks on the Georgian forces. One of such episodes was described in Pimenov’s report:

“01.07.1993 - The group of soldiers - A. S. Terentiev, M. A. Tsurkan, A. S. Kudriavtsev -took part in the intelligence-sabotage operation near the village Akhaldaba on Ochamchire-Sokhumi road. They attacked enemy from the ambush. As a result, the truck “Ural” of the Ministry of Defense of Georgian was captured. Three soldiers were killed. We had no loss [Reports, 1995:63].

It is noteworthy that the Transnistrian volunteers sometimes played the role of the law-enforcement agencies, for instance, the report made on 24 May 1993 states:

“24.05.1993 - During a special police operation, the resident of village Chlou of Tkvarcheli district Guram Ilikoevich Jopua born in 1955 was arrested. He was searched for looting and murder. He guided six residents of the Georgian nationality to village Chlau (should be Chlou – V. Sh.) via promising a safe passage from a conflict zone. Afterwards, he killed them. The suspected person was arrested and handed to Tkvarcheli police” [Reports, 1995:34].

The group “Dolphin” acted in cooperation with the Russian army. For example, on 18 June 1993 it delivered the humanitarian convoy consisting of 30 Lorries of “Kamaz” type to Tkvarcheli and evacuated 2176 civilians. The Russian paratroopers assisted them [Reports, 1995:62].

It is worth mentioning that some reports of Transnistrian volunteers sent to their authorities included certain inaccuracies. This makes us think that the information about their activities was sometimes exaggerated. For example, in the letter of 20 June 1993, already mentioned Yuri Pimenov wrote that two combatants of the group “Dolphin” - S. K. Rizhkov and A. M. Kurdiakov - attempted to destroy T-80 tank of the Georgian army with the antitank guided missile “Konkurs” (This type of an antitank guided missile was not in possession of the Georgian army. However, the Russian military units dislocated in Georgia had them. Therefore, it is interesting, how the separatists received those missiles – V. Sh.) near village Pirveli Okhurei, resulted in killing two and injuring four Georgian soldiers [Jakhaia, 2016]. However, the Georgian army never had any T-80 tanks.

Here is some information about Captain Yuri Pimenov. He was born in Ufa (the Russian Federation) in 1961. Yuri Pimenov joined Soviet army in 1979. In 1980-1982 he served in Afghanistan, where actively participated in the military operations. In 1991 Pimenov left the armed forces. Before fighting in Abkhazia, he took part in Transnistrian conflict on the separatists’ side. He arrived in Abkhazia in April 1993. In 1994 he became a member of Quick Reaction Department within Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia. Pimenov fought in both wars in Chechnya. Nowadays, he lives in Novosibirsk and is an Officer in Reserve. Recently the documentary videos of the middle of July 1993 appeared in the internet-space. They depict the seeing-off of Transnistrian volunteers from the so-called “Eastern Front” of Tkvarcheli district. Yuri Pimenov leaves Abkhazia together with other members of the group “Dolphin”.

“I would like to say to the Georgians that the Transnistrians were here and they will stay here till it will be necessary. Until the Abkhazians are asking for help, we will fulfil our international debt. Georgians call us mercenaries, but none of us has taken even a ruble. We came here willfully on behalf of the government of our Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic. The assignment is over. We wish you success” - says Pimenov in the video-recording [Pimenov and Butko, 1993].

It must be noted that the Constitution of the Russian Federation forbids its citizens to act as members of illegal armed groups and fight on the territory of other states [Criminal Code of Russian Federation, 1996]. Therefore, Yuri Pimenov had to be arrested by the Russian police, but everything happened vice versa in his case: after arriving from Abkhazia, he served for the law enforcement structures of the Russian Federation [Pimenov, 2009]. It is difficult to believe that his commanders had no information about his “heroic past”.

Why did the Transnistrians arrive in Abkhazia and fought against the Georgians? What were their motivations and reasons? What was their role in this conflict? Asking these questions to foreign veterans of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict became possible in the framework of my research during visiting non-recognized entity of Transnistria. Here is his unchanged story:

“I went to Abkhazia from Transnistria with three other Transnistrians on 23 November 1992. We took a bus from Tiraspol to Odessa. Afterwards, we travelled to Sochi by ship and then reached Gudauta (Abkhazia – V. Sh.). Our guys were already there. They guided and provided us with everything needed. Our motivation was not money and expensive stuff. The Abkhazians did not have them. They were poor. Personally, I had nothing against the Georgians. I respected this nation and feel respect even today. The reason why I was there was the similar fate of Transnistria and Abkhazia – they experienced the same evil and unfairness. Kishinev and Tbilisi preferred talking with the language of tanks rather than with the human language. It was fascism and I felt obliged to oppose it. Besides, the media sources were spreading information that the Georgians, among them criminals and pardoned prisoners, were abusing the local Russian population. This was the reason why ethnically Russian volunteers from Transnistria as well as from the Russian Federation arrived in Abkhazia. At the same time, similarly to the Moldovans and Baltic peoples, the Georgians - initiators of the dissolution of the Soviet Union - were not popular among us. A lot of us considered the collapse of the Soviet Union as the reason of the tragedy that we had experienced.

Luckily for me, I had not taken part in the armed hostilities. I was an instructor, operating the antitank guided missile “Fagot”. At that time, the Abkhazians had several launchers of “Fagot” and several dozens of rockets. I cannot say where they received it. It might be a trophy or a purchase from one of the Russian military units. The life was hard and officers sold weapons for feeding their families. I had three-year experience of using this system and it can be said that I was able to use it proficiently. It is very effective weapon against tanks. The well-trained soldier can destroy them even from 1,5-2 km distance.

The Abkhazians entrusted me 20-member group and I was ordered to train them in two months. It was difficult, because I trained them only theoretically. There were no special simulators and enough rockets for training during shootings on a polygon. Moreover, only five of them had served in army. This also made my task more complicated. Nevertheless, by February 1993, 20 combatants had good skills of the exploitation of the “Fagot”.

We, Transnistrians, served mostly as instructors. It was very important for the Abkhazians as their absolute majority had not possessed basic military skills. The war cannot be won with boldness.

In April 1993 due to problems in my family I left Abkhazia. I can swear that while being there I did not sign any kind of a contract and did not receive any salary. Moreover, money for returning to Tiraspol was borrowed from my friends. We received only food and accommodation from the Abkhazians” [Belousov, 2016].

It is noteworthy that the first combat action with the participation of the Transnistrian volunteers was an unsuccessful attack on Sokhumi, organized by the Abkhazians in January 1993. As a result of the mentioned attack, more than 80 separatist soldiers were killed. One of Transnistrian volunteers from Bender, Anatoly Semionov, with nickname “Lovki” was badly injured (the lower left limb was lost as a result of an explosion of an antipersonnel mine). He lives in Bender. Till 2003 he had served for the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the self-proclaimed Transnistrian Republic. He holds a military rank of Major [Belousov, 2016]. The next serious military action, in which the Transnistrian volunteers were involved, was the landing operation in Tamishi on 2 July 1993. The goal of this operation was to encircle Georgian forces in Sokhumi. Despite an initial success, the Abkhazian separatists and their allies could not succeed further. After the coordinated actions of Georgian artillery and heavy armed vehicles, they suffered great losses. The survived paratroopers were split into small groups and moved towards Tkvarcheli controlled by the separatists. The remained paratroopers joined the so-called “Eastern Front”. Among them was the group consisting of 10 volunteers from Transnistria. They attacked Georgian military convoys, which moved on the road between Sokhumi and Ochamchire. On 8 July 1993, one of them, Konstantin Tsigankov with nickname “Moshchni,” who had served in the antiaircraft unit during his service in the Soviet army, shot down helicopter MI-8 of the Georgian air forces by the man-portable infrared antiaircraft missile “Igla” [Pachulia, 2005:16].

The soldiers, who had fought in Transnistria were also active during the attack on Sokhumi in 1993. Kazak from Don, nicknamed “Gena”, led the separatist group attacking city from Achadara. His group occupied the Achadara Bridge over river Gumista. This gave the separatists an opportunity to use armed vehicles in their operation and occupy Sokhumi more nimbly. It should be noted that Sergey Blokhin with nickname “Gena” was an active participant of military actions in Transnistrian region. He had served in the Soviet army and ended a military service with the rank of Junior Lieutenant in March 1990. In 1987-1988 he paid the so-called “international debt” in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In the army he was a sapper and put mines near enemy’s positions and strategic objects. According to the existed information, he died from cancer in 2000 in Taganrog in Russian [Belousov, 2016].

The volunteers of distant Transnistria arrived in Abkhazia according to a rotation principle. In total, 60-90 Transnistrians took part in the armed hostilities. Twelve of them were wounded and three were killed in action. Twenty of them were awarded orders of different levels (“for the participation in fight for independence of the Abkhaz nation”). One of them, 23-year old Roman Radkovsky, posthumously received “Leon’s medal” – he was killed at the so-called “Gumista Front” on 17 April 1993 during the Abkhazian separatists’ special operation on the territory controlled by the Georgian army [The Mission of Abkhazia in PMR, 2016].

On every 14 August and 30 September, Tiraspol celebrates the “day of independence and victory of fraternal Abkhaz nation” [First Pridnestrovian, 2013]. Despite the opposition from Tbilisi and Kishenev, these two self-proclaimed separatist “states” have close social and political relations with each other.

It should be concluded that there is a substantial evidence that the Transnistrian volunteers fought in Abkhazia during the armed hostilities. The in-depth interviews with the participants of the war show what was their goal and purpose for fighting along with the Abkhazians. It becomes clear that the Georgian army was defeated due to the fact that it had to fight not only against the Abkhaz separatists, but against the foreign combatants, who were well-trained and experienced in various wars and conflicts. The foreign combatants arrived in Abkhazia for the implementation of the imperial interests of the Russian Federation. They did not aim at assisting the Abkhazians. Their participation and the interference of the Russian military machine was a determining factor. Therefore, the claim of the Abkhazians – “Our independence is our accomplishment” – is not in accord with the reality.

The Georgian army had few antitank guided missile “Fagots”, but at the initial stage of the conflict did not use them due to the fact that the separatists had no heavy weaponry. It is a proved fact that in August 1992 the Russian units near Eshera destroyed two T-55 tanks of the Georgian army with the help of the “Fagot” systems [Aladashvili, 2005:38].

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Georgia in the French Sources of the Second Half of the 16th Century

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The paper makes an attempt to introduce to the Georgian historiography E. Charrière's three French communiques. They belong to French diplomat Juie, who was in Constantinople. The letters comprise quite interesting information. Their scientific value is determined by the fact that they belong to the person, who got notifications from a direct informer. The importance of the given documents grows, because there are no contemporaneous sources depicting a domestic as well as a foreign political situation of Georgia of the 16th century. It is undoubtful that the author of the letters was well acquainted with the political peripeteias of the Ottoman-Iranian War, which began in 1578. It had a great importance for the history of Georgia, because the Georgians actively participated in the war against Ottomans on the basis of the "political Iranophilia" [Avalishvili, 1936:6-12]. Therefore, a factual material delivered by the diplomat is very interesting for the consideration of a political orientation of the Georgian principalities of the last quarter of the 16th century. It indirectly indicates that political Iranophilia of the Kingdom of Kartli resulted from a real assessment of the international situation created in western Transcaucasia and Near East. Military, political and diplomatic relations with Iran enabled the King of Kartli (Simon I) to base his plans on the usage of Iran and to involve this country as well as the Kingdom of Kartli in anti-Ottoman coalition of the European states. Therefore, Christian Georgia was a connecting bridge for Iran, which looked for an ally in Catholic west (Spain, France, Italy, Germany). This fact enabled Simon I to carry out the policy in relation to the Europeans [Papashvili, 1997:45; 2009: 21-27; 1998: 60-69].

Therefore, the named French sources (together with the analogues Spanish and Italian sources) [Fernandes, Tabaghua, 1993:309-359] enable us to present a foreign policy of our country in the context of international relations and particularly, for the determination of the place occupied by Georgia in the Ottoman-Iranian diplomatic rivalry in western Europe. Accordingly, we believe it was not occasional that the advisor to King Anry III and the president of Paris' parliament, Jacques-Auguste de **Thou** (1553-1617) in their classic work "The history of its time" (*Historiae sui temporis*, t.I-4, Paris, 1604-1609) "depicted quite scrupulously Georgia's fight against Turkey during 1578-1588" [Papashvili, 1997:50]. According to M. Papashvili's viewpoint, Jacques-Auguste de **Thou discusses Simon I's battles "in the context of European policy against Turkey. It was natural, because the issue of Turkey was the main problem of a foreign policy of western countries"** [Papashvili, 1997:50]. The same author proves that the French historian mainly follows Tomzo Minado's composition, but "somehow uses other sources, which are not indicated". We cannot compare Jacques-Auguste de **Thou's notes with French sources, but we can suppose that de Thou was familiar with French diplomats' letter sent from Constantinople to Paris** [Papashvili, 1997:46-48].

The correspondences sent to Paris from the Embassy of France to Constantinople became prominent for the study of political-diplomatic aspects and proceeding of the Ottoman-Iranian War of 1578-1590. It is a well-known fact that in the 16th century French court continued fighting against the Hapsburgs on the basis of its allied relation with the Ottoman Empire [see: Braudel, 1980]. The given fact vividly revealed that religious motives dominated in the international relations [The world history, 2013:180]. However, their role started diminishing.

Europe of the 16th century faced complicated foreign political relations, because the forces had been newly divided on the continent. The Ottoman Empire remained the most serious challenge in the sphere of international relations of the European countries. Its aggressive and rough policy caused many problems to the European rulers. However, it is known that instead of forming strong anti-Ottoman coalition, the European sovereigns tried separately to initiate diplomatic and political relations with the empire. It was reasoned by the fact that central and western Europe was directly threatened by the Ottoman Empire located on Balkans and eastern Mediterranean Sea. The European states had to work out their foreign political position in relation to Porte [The Ottoman Empire, 1984:35-40;103-115;136-160;201-216]. The vivid example of this fact is the truce of 1536 and the negotiations of Francis I and Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent of the 20s-30s of the 16th century. Hence, the existence of this alliance was stipulated by a real reason – a common enemy – presented on the map as the Hapsburg Empire. During this period, “the interest of a state” became a leader in the European governors’ policy. However, each of them tried to prevent the strengthening of a concrete country. In case of the failure, a new alliance was created immediately.

Since the first half of the 16th century, France cooperated with the Ottoman Empire and used this cooperation for the broadening of the trade in Levant. This fact complicated the relation with the Hapsburgs. In 1526 the League of Cognac was created. It united France, the Pope of Rome and Venice. This league was against the Hapsburgs. In the 20s, the seizure of the Ottoman-Iranian War opened the door to the west and the Ottomans committed their aggression in this direction. However, the treaty, which was ratified in the 30s of the 16th century, stopped the Ottomans and its aggressive policy shifted to the east.

In the second half of the 16th century, the tension grew among the European states, which aspired to gain influence in the Ottoman Empire. During this period, the demand on the Levantine goods increased and occupation of leading positions in Levant became a prime issue. Therefore, economic and political interests interwove [Karchava, Tsitlanadze, 2011:397]. England tried to get an agreement for giving privileges to English merchants, who traded in Levant. A special importance acquired the right of the appointment of consuls, which enabled English merchants to escape the subordination of French consuls [Karchava, Tsitlanadze, 2011:403].

These factors grounded the fact that the relationship with the Ottoman Empire would not be restricted to the war and a great role would be played by the diplomacy. It is known that the 16th century is the period of the establishment of diplomatic services. Since this epoch, diplomatic services broadened their areas and served for the management of an external

policy. The French diplomatic service in Constantinople played a quite active role in this respect. The diplomats transferred a detailed information about the events, which took place in Constantinople and neighboring countries.

It is obvious that private interests made the European states to pay a special attention to the eastern policy of the Ottoman Empire. The issue of the Caucasus caused broad international responses in respect with relations with the Ottoman Empire and Iran. The west (Spain, Germany, Venice, Transylvania, Holy Throne) was greatly interested in the results of war operations, because a stable situation on the eastern borders of the Empire of Porte threatened the western states. For this reason, “the defeat of Iran and its possible conquest by the Ottoman Empire was the catastrophe of the world significance for the politicians of western Europe” [Gabashvili, 1954:77; Svanidze, 1990:188-190; Avalishvili, 1994:220-225].

Three letters of French diplomat Juie presented by us reveal the Ottomans’ preparation for a military expedition. These letters vividly depict how the Iranian government prevented the aggravation of the situation in the region. The position of the Georgian kings had a great significance in this respect.

Therefore, the Georgian leaders’ fight against the Ottoman Empire caused a great interest in the west. This is proved by the fact that in 1578 the situation aggravated in the Caucasus. After the death of Shah Tahmasp, the unrest started in Iran. The Ottomans’ seized the opportunity, violated the Peace of Amasya and started a wide-scale attack on the Caucasus front. We present the letter of the above-mentioned French diplomat, which depicts these events:

“Constantinople, 1 May 1578 [*Charrière* , 1850: 740-742]

Your Majesty, Mustapha, the third Pasha, who visited Skutar [Shkoders] on the 5th day of the previous month, left this place on the 18th together with his camp and as it is said, set off to Arzerum [Erzurum]. He is accompanied with five thousand janissaries and approximately three thousand sipahs of brilliant Porte. He intends to invade all the Asian fortresses. As a result, he will have 150 thousand persons” [Mamistvalashvili, 2009:154].

Obviously, the conditions of the Peace of Amasya of 1555 did not satisfy brilliant Porte. As a result of the treaty, the Caucasian zone of the Ottomans’ influence comprised the Kingdom of Imereti, the principalities of Megrelia and Guria and the west part of Samtskhe-Saatabago – Tao, Shavsheti, Clarjeti. A large part of Samtskhe (east-Kura pond) was under Iran’s protectorate. From the south lands adjacent to Samtskhe-Saatabago, Eastern Armenia remained in the possession of the Sefians, while a bordering zone – the district of Kars – was uninhabited. The population was resettled and exiled to Iran, while the fortress of Kars was destroyed. In addition, the Sefians gained a foothold in the Eastern Caucasus. Kartli-Kakheti and Azerbaijan (Shak-Shirvan) fell under their influence. This reality greatly hindered the Ottomans’ progress towards the coast of the Caspian Sea.

The given political situation is depicted in French diplomat’s letter reflecting the events, which had taken place before 1578.

The Caucasus (with its geographic location as well as military-strategic and economic importance) was one of the significant cornerstones of geopolitical interests of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans wished to gain a foothold on the Black Sea as well as on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Holding the Caucasian passages would enable them to fully control the ways stretching from the north to the south. The possession of important ports of the Black and Caspian Seas would gain “serious” profits to Sultan’s treasury.

Iran’s complicated inner-political situation created favorable conditions for starting a new war. After the death of Shah Tahmasp (1576) the throne was occupied by Shah Ismail II, whose bloody ruling lasted six months. After that the throne was occupied by weak ruler Khudabende (known to monk Egnatashvili as “Shakhudaband”) and the unrest started in the country. At this moment, an unstable political situation was in Kartli. In 1569 the Iranians imprisoned King Simon in Alamuti Fortress. After that, his Islamized brother Daut-Khan became the king of Kartli. He ruled only Tbilisi and Kvemo Kartli. The supporters of Simon did not stop fighting and strongly attacked the Iranian garrisons, which were locked in fortresses. A century-long ostentatious policy of obedience of the Kingdom of Kakheti created an unstable background for Iran’s influence. In favorable conditions, the kings of Kakheti would not ignore new sovereigns for the maintenance of a stable inner-political situation. A strategic location of the lands of Samtskhe-Saatabago had a special significance to the Ottoman Empire. The Iranians’ influence on an important part of Samtskhe threatened eastern provinces of the empire. Sultan’s court spared neither military forces nor finances for strengthening anti-Iran forces in this region.

In 1578 the Ottomans violated the Peace of Amasya and started attacks on the Caucasus front. Lala Mustapha Pasha was appointed as a commander of military forces. According to the Ottomans’ plan, the army had to invade Samtskhe. It had to expel the Iranians’ garrisons from the local fortresses and attack Shirvan after conquering Kartli and Kakheti. The issue of Shirvan occupied a special position in the Ottomans’ strategic plan. The occupation of Shirvan would give them the possibility of reigning on the Caspian Sea. This fact would threaten the northern-western lands of Iran and the Sephians’ capital city Tabriz.

The Ottomans severely defeated the Sephians’ army near Childirn on 9 August 1578. The army comprised the detachments of Kartli and Kakheti. The defeat was very painful for the Iranians, because on the way to the Caucasus the Ottomans were opposed only by local garrisons locked in the Georgian fortresses. During this decisive battle, the Georgians’ interests collided. Some of them were defeated together with the Iranians, while others watched the battle from the nearby mountain under the leadership of Manuchar Jakeli. They hoped that a winning party would forgive them. Lala Mustapha Pasha accepted Manuchar Jakeli with a great honor and gave him the occupied fortresses. As a result of this act, the Ottomans gained a foothold in Samtskhe and recruited local rulers and noblemen.

After the Battle of Childirin, the Ottomans occupied Akhaltsikh. After that, the way to Tbilisi was open. Daut-Khan left the city without a battle and the enemies located their garrisons there. The Ottomans moved so quickly into the depth of the Caucasus that they occupied Shak-Shirvan very soon. The Iranian government ceded the Caucasus to the enemy without a battle. The Ottomans’ army moved from Shirvan to Azerbaijan and threatened Tabriz. The

author of “The life of Kartli” shortly informed us about the Ottomans’ success during occupying the whole Caucasus region and Azerbaijan: “At this time the army of Khontka came out and conquered Tabriz, Erevan, Ganja, Karabachos and all the parts of Adarbadagani. After a while came Lala Pasha - an educator of Khontkar” [Egnatashvili, 1959:371-372, Mamistvalashvili, 2009:185-193, Shengelia, 1974:18-21, 32-42]. Finally, the Saphians’ government asked for a treaty. Its conditions were very heavy. Under the Agreement of Istanbul of 1590, the whole Caucasus fell under the Ottomans’ reign.

The Ottomans’ progress in the Caucasus is proved by the following letter of the French diplomat:

“Constantinople, 25 October 1578 [*Charrière* , 1850: 761-762]

Your Majesty, the carriers came from Persia two days ago. They informed us that Mustapha Pasha entered the country of Shirvan. He fought with Emir Khan – a nobleman of Persia. Khan joined the battle with a big army in order to prevent the progress of Mustapha-Pasha. According to the ambassadors’ words, there were many victims from both parties. Finally, under the pressure of the Turks’ artillery and arquebuses, the Persians retreated. Therefore, Mustapha became a winner of this march and an owner of a large territory of the country. He built a fortress to the condition enabling to spend winter. The ambassadors also mentioned that there were three Georgian noblemen with suites there. They visited Pasha and granted him a lot of victuals. Their camp was joined by the Tatars. According to the ambassadors’ words, no one is accepted there. There are only those persons, who had entered the country beforehand. The entrances are closed for carriers and other people, if there are a lot of them. Today Constantinople was left by new Pasha. He goes to Buda. No one speaks about Moldavia now, which argues that the Kazaks seen near its borders left the territory”.

Before starting the war, the Ottomans sent letters to the countries of Christian and Muslim rulers. They appealed to subordinate Sultan’s government. Mustapha Lala Pasha sent a letter to the King of Imereti and asked him to join the war, support the Ottomans and fulfill the obligations. The Ottomans’ commander wrote a letter to Alexander II (the king of the Kakhs) and informed him about his intention to conquer Gurjistan and Azerbaijan. He asked the king of Kakheti to serve him and promised a great mercy. The French diplomat’s letter depicts that period, when the Ottomans defeated the Qizilbashs in Kartli and Kakheti. The restoration of a fortress can imply the restoration of the Fortress of Kars by Lala Pasha. The issue of Shirak presented in the letter indicates to that stage of the war, when the Ottomans conquered Kartli, Kakheti and Shirvan and approached the coast of the Caspian Sea, particularly, the borders of Iran. However, it is worth mentioning that the Ottomans’ progressed into the depth of the Caucasus with certain delays. The letter reveals that no one was admitted there, because the armed hostilities were carried out. King of Kartli Daut-khan, King of Kakheti Alexander and the son of King of Imereti Giorgi (1564-1585) acted in accord and greatly damaged the rearguard of the Ottomans’ detachments. They prevented the Ottomans from a quick supply of the major forces with a military equipment and provisions. Therefore, the diplomat writes that all the ways were closed and no one was admitted. However, finally, the Ottomans fulfilled their plan and entrusted Kartli (up to Saltskhe – Manuchar’s estate) to commander Mehmet Bay and gave him

a big army for defending Tbilisi and its surroundings [Mamistvalashvili, 2009:191-193]. The letter mentioned three Georgian noblemen, who, according to the ambassadors' words, went to the Ottomans' camp. Those could be the ambassadors of Alexander – the King of Kakhs. After conquering Kartli, the Ottomans reached the borders of Kakheti. Alexander II changed his policy. He guessed that the Iranians would not oppose the Ottomans in the Caucasus and decided to achieve peace with a new sovereign. Therefore, Alexander II sent ambassadors with victuals to Lala Pasha. The letter mentions them as the Georgian noblemen. This fact is proved by a note of Tomazo Minadio [Minadoi, 1588:85] and Don Khuan de Persia [Persia, 1604:69]. They indicate that after coming from Tbilisi, Lala Pasha was met by the ambassadors of the King of Kakheti. They declared obedience on Alexander's behalf. The commander was very pleased. He sent an honored robe. In return, the Ottomans promised inviolability and the right of reigning the country as the Christian king. Ibrahim Pechev, Giovanni Mikeli and Petro Bidzaro also noted about this agreement in their letters" [Mamistvalashvili, 2009:206-207; Shengelia, 1974:18-21, 32-42].

Vakhushti Batonishvili noted about three Georgian noblemen mentioned in the letter. The chronicler mentioned that Lala Pasha had passed Samtskhe and Tbilisi, Daut-Khan had not been able to oppose him and had left the city: "Lala Pasha wished to direct the army to Shida Kartli and to the queen, but the nobleman of Mukhrani (Vakhtang) came together with princes. Everyone obeyed to him. Vakhtang leded Amilakhvari Bardzim and Grand Duke Elizbar to Lala Pasha and rescued Kartli and the community from annihilation. Lala Pasha granted his estates and released them with honors on the fourth day" [Vakhushti Batonishvili, 1973:410]. Vakhushti's note emphasized the reliability of the above-mentioned report. However, the Georgian historian implied Georgian princes under the noblemen.

The above-mentioned letter indicates that the Ottomans were greatly opposed in Samtskhe and Kartli. However, Iran's effort was not enough and they could not stop the Ottomans' expansion. Afterwards, the King of Kakheti preferred a treaty to a senseless bloodshed and opened the way to Shirvan and to the coast of the Caspian Sea. Under a mutual agreement with the Ottomans, Alexander participated in the conquest of Shak, which was ruled by his Muslimized brother Isa-Khan. The latter had been appointed by the Kizilbashes and opposed the King of the Kakhs. A united army of the Kakhetians and Ottomans occupied Shak and Lala Pasha granted its leadership to Alexander's son Erekle. However, after conquering Shirvan, this territory (Shak's Sanjak) was subordinated to Shirvan's province. Finally, four provinces (Sokhumi, Tbilisi, Gurjistan (Kakheti), Shirvan) were formed on the Caucasian territory, which was conquered by the Ottomans.

The third letter of Juie vividly depicts a historic reality of the events, which took place in the Caucasus. Despite controlling Kartli-Kakheti and Shirvan, the Ottomans' status was not strong. After releasing, Simon I returned to his native country and actively started fighting against the Ottomans. Simon's appearance complicated the situation in the region. The following letter presents indications about this fact.

"Constantinople, 2 November 1578 [*Charrière* , 1850: 762]

Your Majesty, we were informed that two carriers were sent to Beglarbei of Anatolia as well as to Pashas of Alepo and Damask. They must immediately travel to Mustapha-Pasha, who is locked in Shirvan entered by him long ago. Pasha intended to conquer the city and to spend winter there via relying on the hopes fuelled by several Georgian noblemen. The latter visited Pasha, granted victuals and promised all types of assistance. However, the Georgians could not stand the Turks' imprudence, their wish to rob and kill them. As soon as the Turks entered their country, they attacked and killed a lot. Those, who survived, were locked between the Ottomans and the Georgians. Therefore, it is a great misunderstanding regarding Mustapha. It is said that he is in a strong siege and lacks victuals. According to the note of the above-mentioned man, who was informed by a reliable source, Mustapha Pasha told to a loyal person that he treated himself and an entire camp as perished ones. It is also said that a carrier was sent to Pasha of Cairo with a certain purpose. Some believe that he must arrive in Anatolia and rule it during Beglarbeg's absence. Others believe that the purpose is sending to Shirvan. As the arrived ambassadors inform us, sending carriers means that the rulers' affairs are in a bad way in this region. It can be supposed that the rumor spread after a destructive fight with the Georgians is not groundless. It was not discussed, but some dare and state secretly that Mustapha was killed during this war".

The sources presented by the French diplomat give an interesting information for the clarification of the events of the above-mentioned period. This material is significant for the consideration of the inner and external political situation of Georgia of the last quarter of the 16th century. We are given the possibility to compare the notes presented in the Georgian historical sources with the contemporaneous data written in the European and Turkish languages. It seems that the French royal court was interested in the Caucasian processes, because the eastern issue was very interesting to the European countries.

Charrière E., *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant*, v. III, p. 746. The addressee of Juie's letters was France's King Anry III (1574-1589). His letters depict the major moments of the foreign policy of the Eastern Ottoman Empire. Juie's letters also present interesting notes about Georgia. We discuss the issue of the research of the given paper on the basis of the comparison with the sources of that period. We try to assess the importance of the above-mentioned sources for Georgia's history of that period.

Historian E. Mamistvalishvili believes that 110 thousand is more acceptable. See. *Iran-Ottoman War and Georgia, Georgia's foreign policy and diplomacy, (XV-XVI), Tb.*, 2009, p. 185.

The Peace of Amasya is meant.

Supposedly, it is Shah Tahmasp, because the letter also states that this Persian tries to spend his old age in calmness.

It is difficult to find out, which part of Georgia is meant here, because if the peace (The Peace of Amasya) was not broken, its rules would not allow the Ottomans to conquer Kartli and Kakheti. Therefore, Samtskhe or Imereti ought to be implied. More supposedly, it is Samtskhe, where Shah of Iran could not actively interfere in the matters of parties. The after-treaty satiation was very complicated in Georgia. The foreign sources depict this period quite vastly.

However, certain inaccuracies are observed. The Georgian kingdoms treated the Peace of Amasya differently. Some of them supported it, because they counted on Iran and the Ottoman Empire during the war against Kartli and Kakheti. The kings of Kartli and Kakheti were against this treaty. They would not use the opposition of Iran and the Ottoman Empire for the maintenance of independence. The Georgian politicians tried to maintain the confrontation of these two countries.

When the pre-war period is discussed, the note of Ottoman historian Ibrahim Pechev responds to the content of French diplomat's letter. According to his words: "Concluding peace was still discussed. However, it was said that some Georgian Begs (supposedly, those noblemen of Samtskhe are discussed, who obeyed the Kizilbashs) disobeyed. Therefore, we go to conquer them".

Supposedly, the Crimean Tatars.

It means that Constantinople did not receive notes for 2 months. The given explanation is very interesting. This moment needs verification even from the point of view of possibility.

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About One Iranism in the Classic Hebrew

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The research of Iranian-Semitic linguistic relations has a long-standing tradition in Georgian orientalism. It is enough to name Acad. G. Tsereteli's and Acad. K. Tsereteli's studies as well as Prof. H. Chkheidze's works, where due to the links between these two worlds and their importance for our history, the emphasis is put on Iranian-Aramaic linguistic contacts.

In ancient and middle Aramaic languages, we have a broad range of the borrowings from the Iranian languages that have extensive semantic range [Chkheidze, 2003:61-62].

A number of Iranisms from Aramaic, which since the 6th century had more and more intense influence on Hebrew, entered the post-Biblical, more precisely, the Rabbinic Hebrew. For example, qušpaqā "royal ring" (anguštapaña).

The oldest trace of Iranian is shown in the Bible. In the biblical works of the post-Babylonian captivity, we find not only the Persian proper names ("Ester's Book"), but also the titles of the officials and some other words ("ganz" treasure, gizbar "treasurer", dark'mōn "dariki", the Persian gold coin). Chronologically, in the same period i.e. in the era of the *Achaemenid Empire*, the classical Hebrew borrowed the word of our interest - pardēs ("a park, a garden"), which belongs to the smallest Indian, Egyptian and Persian realities of the Bible with the original foreign language names [Gézenius, 1874:7]. Hebrew pardēs (compare: Greek paradeisos, Armenian pardez, Syrian pardīsā = "garden, park") derived from Avest pairidaeza, the "confined, fenced place", which occurs twice in Zend-Avesta and consists of two components: the preposition pairi "around, round" and daēza (<masdari daez) "a wall erection" (also meaning of "collecting, gathering, piling up" [Borhān-e, 1455]. Compare: with Gamkrelidze-Ivanov Avest. daēzayeiti «строит вокруг стену» [Гамкрелидзе-Иванов, I, 1984:94]. Old Indian pari and old Greek peri are related to the first element pari / pairi, pairī (Sokolov, 203).

The second element (daeza) also has parallels in ancient European dialects: ancient Indian dehī "wall", ancient Persian didā "fortress", hom. Greek teichos "wall" [Гамкрелидзе-Иванов, II, 1984:707].

It is worth mentioning that Avest. pairidaeza and its reflexes – ancient Persian paridaidā, mid. parindaiza (according to Benedict, it is of the Midian origin (Borhānw Qāte, 1456.) The same semantic archetype occurs in the words denoting a "garden" and more widely in the words meaning a "protected place" in the history of Indo-European dialects, from which we can only name: Alb. "gardh place", Lit. gārdas "fence", "bounded place", Got. gards "house", "fenced area", Eng. geard "fence", "garden" (Eng. yard, old German garto "Garden"(Ger. Garten), [Гамкрелидзе-Иванов, II, 1984:744].

It is known that in the Persian Empire, whose province was Judea throughout the whole period of the reign of the *Achaemenid Empire*, cultivation of the gardens reached the highest peak of development. Specially cultivated, symmetrical gardens with decorative pools and pavilions were the mandatory attributes of the King's Palace.

The Greek *Parádeisos* (first observed in Xenophon's work (approximately 430-355 B.C.) and brought from Persian by him) was initially used in the sense of a "hunting park". This word was used by the Greek author for the description of the hunting park of King Cyrus and his retinue [Elizbarashvili, 2009:247].

Besides practical aspects and aesthetic or carnal pleasures associated with the garden, the royal gardens also represented the embodiment of the political, philosophical and religious symbolism. The King, who creates a rich garden from an infertile land, brings symmetry and order in the chaos and turmoil and builds the Divine Paradise on the earth, symbolizing authority, fertility and legitimacy.

The idea of the earthly paradise coming from the *Achaemenid Empire* is extended to the languages and literature of the peoples with other cultural traditions. *Parádeisos*, the word of the Iranian origin, acquires in Christianity the function of the Garden of Eden and Paradise, but at the same time, it denotes the Byzantine garden, which is perceived as an allegory of the earthly paradise [Elizbarashvili, , 2009:248]. In the Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament it has the definition of the highest, innocent people in the heaven - 'paradise'.

Like Greek *paradeisos*, which is regularly used in The Septuagint, Lat. *paradī* shows us both meanings: 1) A big garden, park (Augustine); 2) Paradise garden, paradise, Eden (Vulgate) [Дворецкий, 552]. From Latin it came into European languages, namely, Eng. *paradise*, Fr. *paardis*, Germ. *paradies*, etc. The English *paradise* also means a "decorative garden", in slang - a „henhouse“ (at the theatre). The latter is confirmed in the French language too (Compare Russ. *паёк*).

The garden, as an allegory of the earthly paradise and a gardener with its semiotic function moved from the Christian into the Muslim world. The Christian image of a gardener was one of the central figures in the medieval Iranian culture and in the eschatological impressions (Шукуров, in Koran, 225-6). *Firdaws* "garden, scarcity", which originated from Farsi, was twice observed. According to G. Tsereteli Arab. *Firdaws*, pl. *fārādīs* ("paradise") might originate from Greek (Tsereteli, 182). In *Girgas Dictionary* only the form with an article is given as the meaning of "paradise" (Compare Arab. *ǧanna* and 'al-*ganna* ('al-*fordaws*, (Гиргас, 609).

In Persian there is the Arabized form *ferdoûs* ("paradise", "vineyard, garden") from which the literary pseudonym of the famous author of „*Shahnameh*“ was derived - *ferdousī* (Nisbir) "from paradise", "of Paradise" (Vullers, 654; Kobidze, 142).

In Hebrew of the Bible *pardēs* is lacking a symbolic meaning and fully repeats the meaning of its Iranian prototype (word "garden", a "confined place"). In Old Testament the analyzed word is detected three times (The Song of Songs: 4,13; *Ekklesiastēs*: 2,5; *Neem.* 2,8) and in three cases it means a park, a garden. For the illustration we refer to one article (*Ekl.* 2,5), in which

pardēsīm (pl.) is used together with the Hebrew word meaning a “garden” (gan, pl. gannōt) עָשִׂיתִי לִי גַנּוֹת וּפְרָדִים וְנִטְעֵתִי בָהֶם עֵץ כָּל פְּרִי / I made myself gardens and orchards, and I planted in them all sorts of fruit trees”.

In general, the common Semitic word gan and its variety formgannā (compare: Aram. gīnna, ginn^ltāUg.gn, Arab. ḡanna, Acad. ganna, Ethiop. ganat) used in the above-mentioned citations denote a “garden”. It is noteworthy that the post-Biblical Hebrew borrowed from Farsi one more word denoting “garden” (bustān), which can be borrowed from Aramaic (compare: Aram. būstānā). It seems that the Iranisms detected in the Biblical Hebrew (firstly, in “Ester’s Book”) entered through Aramaic (Greenfield, 257).

The above mentioned gan (gan (ēden) was used to denote the garden of Eden i.e. the earthly Paradise, where "the Lord God made every tree sprout, to see and to eat, and in the midst of Eden the tree of life and kind and of comprehending of evil" (Gen. 2,9). The garden of paradise in the Old Testament also includes the following names: gan haššēm, gan ^lelōhīm (God's Garden).

Ben Sira (Sirach of Georgian culture) calls it gan (ēden b^l rāxā (“Eden of blessing”, “Blessed Eden”) [Lecixon Biblicum II, 1965: 688].

Gan (ēden can also be found in the Hebrew translation of the New Testament in the sense of "the kingdom of the heaven, the heavenly paradise". It is interesting that in F. Delich’s translation pardēs is confirmed with the meaning of the Spiritual Paradise, that seems stipulated by the influence of the Greek original: ’ašer ho(ālā ’el-happardēs wayyišma^l d^lvārīm nistārīm)ašer nimna’ mē’iš l^emal^elēm (2 Cor. 12,4). In the new translation (published in Israel in 1976), pardēs – meaning “fruit trees”, mainly, “a garden of citruses (an orange, a lemon, a grapefruit)” - is replaced by its equivalent gan (ēden, which is more comprehensible for the modern Jew. Nowadays, pardēs is considered as an organic element of the vocabulary of the Jewish language. Its derivatives are: pardesan “an owner of a citrus plantation” and pardesanut “citriculture”. Plural pardes produces pardesī and pardisōt (Mishnah). City pardes hana is also known.

It has already been mentioned that in the Hebrew Bible pardēs of Iranian origin does not carry a symbolic connotation, but in the post-Biblical period it gains a figurative (metaphorical) significance and denotes an esoteric (mythical) philosophy (Klein, 523) under the influence of Hellenistic religious-philosophical views (similarly to Mazdaism), which made a serious impact on the ideal content of Judaism, especially, on the eschatological conceptions of the future life (Токанев, 1976:371-3). The abbreviation prds (read as pardes) belongs to the same period. It combines the initial letters of four different interpretations of the Bible books: p^lšāt (= literary understanding), ramez (= symbolic), d^lrūš (homoletical), sōd (= esoteric) [Klein, 523; Even-Šošān, 1329-1330]. In Rabbi Hebrew pardēs is the allegory of the Center for Religious Studies or Theological Science (Even-Šošān. 1329-1330). It was already mentioned that the Byzantine monastic gardens, called Paradeisos, are often metaphorically identified with the Garden of the Paradise and there are well-known monastery books Paradeisos, which seem identical to Limonarium. Limonar ("The Paradise") is the title of the work of John Moses [Sophocles, 841].

It is noteworthy that in the last decade of the 19th century (in 1892-1896) in Odessa the literary collections entitled *Pardes* were printed, which introduced the artistic and publicist works filled with the Zionist spirit [Еврейская Энциклопедия, Vol. II].

This work of Iranian origin is included in almost all Semitic languages: Acad. *pardesu*, Syr. *pardīsā*, Arab. *firdaws*, Aram. *pard^lsa* (the latter must be taken from Hebrew) (Klein, 523, Sokoloff, 73).

In Farsi Avest. *paridaiza* (old Persian *paridayda*) is preserved through the form of *pālīz* (*palez*), which belongs to New Persian and means a "vegetable garden". Today it often denotes an "intersecting parcel" [Eilers, 392, Barthlomeae, 865] (its original meaning is the "bounded place").

Sometimes it is difficult to determine the origin of a word. For instance, the mid. Per. *gund* "army, army" can be linked to *gunda's* - "army" (comp. Syr. *qudda*, *gdd*). Therefore, the Semitic word was borrowed by the mid. Persian and from there it entered Armenian and Georgian. Th. Nöldeke and S. Shaked support its Semitic origin. It is treated as Iranian by S. Shaked, who considers the Semitic form as the Persian borrowing [Chkheidze, 2003: 62].

The French Semitologist (M. Masson) believes that during the discussion of the origin of the words of the controversial etymology, the famous Hellenists (Frisk, Chantrain, etc.) are not limited to the influence of the Semitic, but systematically distinguish non-Semitic, in particular, Iranian etymons [Masson, 1989-1992:127].

The Iranian primary source of *paradeisos* established in Greece (fixed in Avestus as *pairi-daeza*) makes no doubt. At the same time, there are late Biblical Hebrew *pardes*, Jude.-Aram. *pardes* and Acad. *paradisus*. The controversy could raise only the way of borrowing this Iranism in Greek. It is not excluded that it did not enter Greek directly from Iranian, but through Semitic. However, the initial Iranian origin of this word is absolutely reliable. According to M. Masson's view, *pardes* and *paradisus* are completely isolated in Semitic, while Avest. *pairidaeza* consists of Iranian elements *pairi* + *daeza*, which are related, accordingly Greek *peri* and *teikhos* [Masson, 1989-1992:141].

The reliability of the arguments that *pardes* and *paradisus* are completely isolated in Semitic, somehow weakens the existence of such roots as *prd* ("separation") and *prs* ("cutting off, breaking off") in Hebrew and in the related languages.

It is noteworthy that John. Simonis' Georgian Dictionary created in Latin of Hebrew and Aramaic reveals the Iranian origin of the word *pardes* and presents the assumption about its connection with the above mentioned synonymous roots. More precisely, the Hebrew word is interpreted as the combination of *prd* and *prs* (contamination) (Simonis, 1316).

In the last decade, a special attention is paid to the Persian period of Jewish history and the cultural and theological innovations associated with it. The solid collection entitled *Approaching Jehund* printed by Brill Publishers (New Approaches to the study of the Persian Period) demonstrates a significant interest in this topic.

Our paper reflects this problematics and presents a small feature to illustrate the impact of this period on the Biblical language and literature.

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The Plastunkian Georgians (History and Contemporaneousness)

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Georgian Studies](#)
- [Merab Nachkebia](#)

If we look through the history of the humankind, we will easily notice uninterrupted processes of peoples' migration caused by different reasons. Various ethnics, which settled in different countries, rarely maintained their originality and a link with their motherland.

The Georgians' native country is Georgia. The Georgians rarely left their motherland (unless they were forced to do so). However, wherever they settled, they always tried to create "small Georgias".

The given paper will remember the society the history of those Georgians, who migrated from Western Georgia to Sochi almost 150 years ago. Their contemporary life and conditions are not enviable as a result of a feeble policy of the leadership of Soviet Georgia.

Who are the Georgians from Sochi (Plastunka)? How long have they been living here and what was the reason of their migration to the coast of the Black Sea? The paper will give short answers to these questions.

At the end of the Crimean War (1854-1856), the king's government forcibly settled the Kubanian Kazakhs and Russian peasantry in boggy uninhabited parts of Sochi. However, the new-settlers could not endure an unfamiliar climate. They stirred up a rebellion. The government gathered the Plastuns and crushed the rebellion via their garrisons. The majority of the new-settlers died during the fights or escaped. Some of them were exiled to Siberia. The territory of Sochi became more uninhabited.

On 21 May 1864 the Caucasian War ended. It was followed by Muhajiroba – the exile of the Caucasian population to the Ottoman Empire. The number of Muhajirs, who exiled from North Caucasus and Georgia (Abkhazians and Muslim Georgians living in Southern Georgia) reached 700-750 thousand [Vereshchagin, 1878:10]. The given mass exilement resulted in the depopulation of a large territory (from Bzipi to Novorossiysk) on the coastline of the Black Sea.

The government of Tsarist Russia raised the question of the settlement of the given territory once again. The authorities decided to migrate Caucasian and Southern Georgia's population. The Georgian press - the newspaper "Droeba", the newspaper "Tsnobis Purtseli", the newspaper "Iveria", the newspaper "Shroma", the journal "Mogzauri", etc. - operatively responded to the processes, which took place on the coast of the Black Sea. The newspaper "Droeba" published the letters of G. Tsereteli (1873), S. Meskhi (1875), etc. The Georgians of the 1860s were especially active. While analyzing the existed situation, they appealed the

government to settle “Caucasian peoples” (among them were considered the inhabitants of Western Georgia – Megrelia, Imereti, Racha, Lechkhumi) on the lands of the coast of the Black Sea.

As the government of Tsarist Russia “bitterly” faced the issue of the settlement of the given territory and the first plan had failed, it was constrained to migrate Caucasian and Southern Georgia’s population to these territories.

Therefore, approximately 150 years ago Georgian village Plastunka appeared on the valley of the river Sotchi, 15 kilometers away from town Sotchi. Nowadays, it is a part of Adleri region – an administrative division of town Sotchi of Krasnodar region.

The first note about the Georgians’ exile to Sotchi was published in the newspaper “Droeba” (1875). The process of migration was in progress during the 80s. It is noteworthy that the exilement was encouraged by the government - the new-settlers were exempted from the state taxes for 10-15 years.

The Georgians inhabited the surroundings of Sotchi – Sotchi, Plastunka, Mamaika, Novaia Zaria ... In 1888 the newspaper “Iveria” wrote: The Georgians chose the neighborhood of Sochi as the place of their inhabitancy. This place is in 12 versts from small town Sochi. The place is entirely mountainous. It is divided by a large river. The valleys are hardly met. The Georgians like this place. They do not inhabit valleys, but choose the higher places. If you ask the reason, they will say that they exiled from Racha-Lechkhumi, which is a mountainous area they had accustomed to ...

The village inhabited by the Georgians is called Plastunka. The given name of the village came from Plastunkas’ regiment, which defended this territory during the unrest. Village Plastunka is inhabited only by the Georgians. Their number is more than 70 households. From time to time, the Georgians come to settle in this village. The place is mountainous, but quite fruitful” [Iveria, 1888].

From the Georgian press of that period one can infer that the inhabitants of Western Georgia migrated to Sotchi, because of a land-shortage of this region.

According to the incomplete data of 1905, the number of the Georgian inhabitants of Sotchi and its neighbouring villages (Plastunka, Mamaika, Novaia Zaria) reached 14 000. Balshaia and Malaia streets of today’s Sotchi were inhabited by the Georgians, while Gorki Street is still called “Mingrelskaia Ulitsa”.

Plastunka was mainly populated by the Lechkhumians. According to the data of the newspaper “Tsnobis Purtseli”, in 1897 ninety-seven Georgian families lived there [Tsnobis Purtseli, 1897]. They migrated from the following villages of Lechkhumi: “Alpani, Orkhvi, Derchi, Orbeli, Nasperi, Lajani, Atchara (a village in Lechkhumi), Zogishi. Surnames: Alavidze, Burjaliani, Tutisani, Kvantaliani, Lepsveri, Leshkasheli, Mamardashvili, Svanidze, Silagadze, Uchadze, Pruidze, Shkubuliani, Tskhvediani, Chakvetadze, Chkhetiani, Tchokhonelidze... [Mikiashvili, 1994:9].

Sotchi region was inhabited by the migrants from the villages (Ghebi, Znakvi, Kedisubani) of Racha having the following surnames: Archvadze, Gavashidze, Gotsiridze, Gurgenidze, Kentchadze, Kobakhidze, Lobjanidze, Maisuradze, Metreveli, Mikautadze, Rekhviashvili, Shtaadze, Tsutskiridze, Chelidze, Tchitchinadze... The migrants from the villages of Imereti (Okribi (today's Tkibuli Municipality) and Sairme) had the following surnames: Gvantseladze, Gogoladze, Zviadadze, Intskirveli, Ketiladze, Kublashvili, Kutaladze, Lortkipanidze, Mikadze, Kasrashvili, Chakvetadze, Tsirekidze, Dzidziguri, Tchipadze, Jibladze... from Zugdidi district and Senaki migrated: Barkalaia, Bakhia, Bjalava, Gabilaia, Gvatua, Gvasalia, Gugushvili, Darjania, Dikhaminjia, Dondua, Topuria, Kintraia, Korkia, Shangua, Shushania, Chitaia, Tskhakaia, Dzigua, Tchelia, Khapava, Janashia, Jelia... [Mikiashvili, 1994:10].

Prof. O. Mikiashvili's book "The Sotchian Georgians and their speech" describes the cultural initiatives carried out by the Sotchian Georgians from the end of the 19th century till the 90s of the 20th century. Namely, it becomes clear that the first primary school was founded in Plastunka by Kristofer Mikautadze during the king's government [Tchintcharauli, 1989]. However, a detailed information about the functioning of this school is not known.

During the teaching year of 1921-1922 under the leadership of the Sotchian Georgians the Georgian school was founded in town Sotchi. It was located in the Consulate of Georgia in Sotchi. The school was headed by famous figure Olga Tsitlidze. The school was registered by the state only in 1925. In 1927 it was moved to other place and was altered into the secondary school, which became the Georgian cultural hearth of the region. After the beginning of the war (1941), the secondary school was altered into the seven-year school. It was moved to village Plastunka, where it functioned till 1969. Afterwards, it was altered into the Russian school, where several subjects (the history of Georgia, the Georgian language and literature, geography...) were taught in Georgian for a particular period of time. However, very soon only one subject – the Georgian language – was taught in Georgian. Its study depended on the children's desire. In 2010 this subject was excluded from the teaching programs. The local Georgians' attempt of the establishment of the Georgian school failed several times and factually, Georgian remains the language for a domestic use.

O. Mikiashvili makes the following remark about the process of the disappearance of the Georgian school: "The Georgian population of Sotchi, its leading part, greatly worried about this and used all the possible means for saving the school. The alteration of the eight-year school into the secondary school was justly considered as a way of salvation. The given hope flashed in the second half of the 60s. However, it necessitated the guarantee that the graduates of the Georgian school would be educated in Georgia" [Mikiashvili, 1994:15].

The director of Plastunka's school wrote to the leaders of the Council of Ministers of Georgia: "We beg you to make for us concessions during the entrance examinations. We will have no problems with the maintenance of the Georgian school in Plastunka if every year even one pupil of our school enters any higher education institution of Georgia" [Kvekveskiri, Shanidze... 1989].

Unfortunately, the central government gave no promises. The Plastunkian Georgians could not get education in Georgia. As a result of such careless attitude and parents' demand, in 1969 the school was altered into the Russian school. One more Georgian cultural hearth was lost in the Russian Federation. The reason was the feebleness of the government.

How touching is the letter of engineer Al. Tsutskiridze - a supporter of Plastunka's school. The given letter was addressed to the Ministry of Education of Georgia: "there (in Plastunka – M. N.) does not exist the Georgian school and I will not bother you about this topic. I beg your pardon for what I have already written to you... It is a pity that Plastunka's Georgian school was closed. For this action you will be recalled together with the others by Georgia's new generations [Kvekveskiri, Shanidze... 1989].

Yes, today we, the Georgians, bitterly recall carelessness, callousness and inattentiveness of the authorities of Georgia's Ministry of Education and Soviet Georgia's party-elite, which existed four decades ago. As a result of such attitude towards the Puastunkian Georgians, the attempt of the maintenance of the native language (which does not exist in this extremely beautiful place) by enamoured patriots was suppressed forever.

At the end of the 80s of the previous century, during the period of the revival of the national movement, the Sotchian Georgians raised the question of the foundation of the Georgian school once again. They felt "the weakness of a vivifying connection with the native language and addressed their mother-country for the assistance" [Mikiashvili, 1994]. The newspaper "Sakhalkho Ganatleba" published the article entitled "The request of the Sotchian Georgians", where G. Enukidze, the minister of education of Georgia, was asked for the assistance in the acquisition of needful literature and methodical material. He was informed about a great number of pupils willing to study the Georgian language, etc. The letter, whose author is Sotchian lady Nelly Intskirveli ends with the following words: "I beg your pardon for bothering you, but supposedly you will agree that it is a glorious issue and a moral duty of the leading strata is the struggle for the revival of the nation" [Sakhalkho Ganatleba, 1990].

However, the developments of the 90s of the previous century made the Sotchian Georgians' dream unrealizable.

The only action carried out towards Plastunka's Russian school (where the Georgian pupils study) was the erection of its splendid building by "Mining Chemistry" in the beginning of the 90s of the previous century. This fact "was accepted by the authorities of the branch of Sotchi's education with an appropriate gratitude" [Mikiashvili, 1994:19].

The Sotchian Georgians' national spirit was not restricted to the school. They felt the crave towards the Georgian theatrical art. In 1997 the newspaper "Iveria" published the article of the Sotchian correspondent. It stated: "The Russian performances are held three times per week in the park founded and arranged by Mr Chitaia. It will be good if Mr Chitaia invites Georgian artists even once and gives us the possibility of attending a performance held in our native language" [Iveria, 1897].

The Georgians' activity gave a result in 1922. Under the initiative of famous figure Olga Tsitlidze, a circle of Georgian stage-lovers was formed in Sotchi. Later it turned into the public theatre and functioned as a state one as well, because at that period of time there were no theatres in Sotchi. The Georgian theatre was the first in this region. The rich Georgian library was created as well.

The Georgian performances were attended by the Georgians and by the representatives of other nationalities (the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Greeks, the Armenians...).The interest was so great that the circles of Armenian, Ukrainian and Greek stage-lovers were formed at the club of the Georgian public theatre. According to the decision of the local authorities, the building (repaired under the initiative and support of the Georgian population) of the Georgian public theatre turned into the club of national minorities and was called "Klub Natsmenov" [Kevlishvili, 1866:60].

It is noteworthy that since the 50s of the previous century several theatrical groups travelled from Tbilisi to Sotchi (afterwards, Plastunka). Their performances made the local Georgians especially glad. Unfortunately, since the 90s similar contacts with the Georgian theatres have not existed.

At the end of the 60s, 3476 Georgians lived in Sotchi region (the so-called "Didi Sotchi"). In the beginning of the 80s, the number of Georgian population reached 4200. According to unspecified data, approximately 6000 Georgians are living in Sotchi and its neighbourhood now.

On 3 November 2014, Mr Raul Rizhamadze (a chairman of Regional Georgian Cultural Centre "Iveria" in Krasnodar region) visited St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia, where he said that Russia's government intends to give the Plastunkian Georgians the possibility of studying Georgian at school as a facultative (non-program) subject. However, it is not satisfactory for the Plastunkians. They ask the Georgian party to implement Georgian as a subject of a school program simultaneously with "warming" relations with Russia.

Today 150 Georgian families live in Plastunka. The village has a library, a chemist's shop, a grocery and a commercial shop, a dispensary, the House of Culture and Adler eight-year school No 44, where pupils are taught in the Russian language.

The study of the Sotchian Georgians' speech is interesting from the point of view of : researching important issues of the history of the Georgian language and its dialects, development of the Georgian dialects in the non-Georgian environment, merging of the dialects, finding out regularities of the relation between non-cognate languages.

Georgian linguist Prof. Otar Mikiashvili was the first, who studied monographically phonetic, grammatical and lexical peculiarities (a local vocabulary, Sotchi's Georgian micro-toponymy, phraseology...) of the Sotchian Georgians' speech. He was the first, who found the place of this speech among the dialects of the Georgian language and "brought" into a scientific

circulation the samples of the Sothian Georgians' speech. On the basis of a direct observation of a "live speech" and detailed analysis of numerous dialectic materials, O. Mikiashvili specified:

1. The Georgians of this region maintain the Georgian language and no new dialects originated.
2. The local speech develops as a result of the interconnection of Lechkhumian, Imeretian and Rachian. Consequently, nowadays, the Sothian Georgians' speech is essentially a dialectic speech of the uniform west-Georgian type. It resembles Lechkhumian with its intonation nuance and certain lexico-grammatical peculiarities. The reason is the multitude of descendants of Lechkhumians, the "mixture" of families, etc.

According to the analysis of numerous factual materials, the author made a conclusion, whose essence can be formulated in the following way: **today's type of the Georgian speech is a result of the merging of the dialects.**

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Analysis of Katharine Vivian's English Translation of "A Book of Wisdom and Lies" by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Georgian Studies](#)
- [Natia Iashvili](#)

Many ideas and opinions have been expressed regarding the meaning and purpose of translation over the centuries. It is noteworthy that all scientists and researchers agree on one issue: the translation should reflect content and spirit of an original. The latter requires from a translator the overcoming of a number of difficulties. A letter of Wilhelm Humboldt written to August Schlegel can serve as an example: „*Any translation is an attempt to solve a problem. The translator necessarily clashes to one of two underwater rocks, he/she is either very weakly driven by the taste and language of his/her people, or, on the contrary, he/she is guided by the peculiarities of his people based on the original. Finding any intermediate facility is not only hard to find but also impossible*“. Cervantes is also skeptical in regards to the translation and states: „*Translation... this is the same as Flemish carpet seen from the back side. Although the figures can be seen, but there is no cleanliness and colors that we like so much from the right side*“ [Merabishvili A, 2005:13].

Despite such skeptical opinions, translation remains a necessary condition for cultural relations and translators constantly strive for the creation of a perfect interpretation. It is known that a creative translation used to be an important factor in all epochs and countries for a cultural approximation of people and development of relationships.

For this reason I. Merabishvili states: “*A creative translation is a dialogue of cultures, meaning not only cultural relations and exchange, but as Goethe stated creative contest between languages as well. This time a translator serves not only to his/her own nation but also the nation whose work he/she translates*” [Merabishvili B, 2005:7].

Therefore, translation of Georgian literature works into foreign languages is extremely important for its popularization and familiarization to a foreign reader. The contribution of Georgian as well as foreign translators and scientists is remarkable and invaluable in this respect. The paper deals with the English translation of “Wisdom and Lies” by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani - the great Georgian figure, writer, prosaic, fabler, lexicographer and state figure of Renaissance Era. The translation is made by Professor of London University, Kartvelologist Katharine Vivian.

„A book of wisdom and lies” is an interesting collection of fables. Fables presented in a fabulous narration, originally thought and characterized with deep ideas, are connected to one another through a certain idea. The composition is full of aphorisms, sententials, puzzles, etc.

The author used birds and animals as the main characters of the composition. Such allegorical narration underlines an emphatic and a cognitive-educative nature of the book. The vicious features, such as stinginess, hypocrisy, self-interest and others, characteristic of the political and social life of that period are revealed and condemned in „A book of wisdom and lies” [Menabde, 1953:100].

While creating this book, Sul Khan-Saba took into consideration the experience of great eastern fable writers and composed it on the basis of the law of a “framework composition”. The examples of such works are: “Decameron” and “One thousand and one nights” [Lang, 1957:144]. The frame in „A book of wisdom and lies” is presented by the debates of King Phinez, Vizir Sedrak, Enoch Ruka and Prince’s tutor Leon. By means of the debates, the characters of different opinions should express their viewpoints and support the ideas arising from the tales.

Sul Khan-Saba created a composition of tales for years. He used traditional Georgian and eastern fables, tales and his own fables as well. A principal part of the composition includes sharing of ideas between characters, which reveals different opinions regarding the life. All of these is illustrated through a moral-ethical advice.

„A book of wisdom and lies” is a teaching-educative composition. The ideal of the author becomes the recovery of an existed structure and curing of a morally sick society [Menabde, 1953:85]. If we observe the course of opinions, it will become clear that upbringing and a moral formation of Jumber is highly important for the author since Jumber shall become a king, govern the state and take care for the welfare of his citizens. In „A book of wisdom and lies” the author illustrated a portrait of the upbringing of ideal, kind, virtuous, philanthropic, fair and human king [Lortkipanidze, 1960:17].

A didactic epos was widely spread during the period of activity of Sul Khan-Saba. Compositions of this genre were not only written, but translated from other languages as well. Different moral provisions were illustrated through fables in these compositions. For proving the didactic-moral concepts of „A book of wisdom and lies”, Sul Khan-Saba uses the so-called dialectics, in other words, the art of debates. Each character of the book uses fables, tales, sententials and aphorisms for supporting their opinions and for making them more convincing. The worldview of the author is naturally revealed during those conversations and debates.

„A book of wisdom and lies” was translated into many languages of the world. In 1894 it was translated into English by Oliver Wardrop. Afterwards, publishing houses “Tsodna” (1959) and “Ganatileba” (1973) published the collections of the best fables entitled “The book of wisdom and fiction” (Selections). It was translated and prepared by J. Mchedlishvili and I. Petrova and was envisaged for the 9th-10th year pupils of secondary schools. The second complete translation belongs to Katharine Vivian. The book was published in 1982 in London by the publishing house “Octagon Press”. The cover painting of the book belongs to Georgian painter Mamia Malazonia.

The translation is performed on the highest level, with a great responsibility. This proves how deeply and thoroughly the translator studied the Georgian language and all its nuances. The book is preceded by a preface, where the translator introduces to English readers the life and work of Sulkhan-Saba as well as a social-political situation of Georgia. The translator also provides a biography of the author. In the preface, Katharine Vivian reviews the collection of fables. The review shows that the translator studied the composition deeply and thoroughly and she is aware of an invaluable style and wisdom of Saba. The translator indicates that some of the fables of “A book of wisdom and lies“ might originate from Indian “*Panchatantra*” or “*Tales of Bidpai*” and Georgian “*Kilila and Damana*”. There are also fables from “*One thousand and one nights*”, “*Mullah Nasredin*” and Georgian folklore remade by the author. The translator points that despite the similarity of Sulkhan-Saba’s tales to other literary works, the influence of these monuments on Saba’s tales cannot be observed. His tales come from the folklore, which originated from the folk art. Saba’s style is convincing, laconic and unvarnished. He applies rare poetic methods is the expressions used for the introduction of any character. Katharine Vivian believes that most of Sulkhan-Saba’s tales are based on Georgian traditions and customs. She brings the tale “A rich merchant and the innkeeper“ as an example. The translator states that Sulkhan-Saba described the overflowing generosity and hospitality of Georgian people as well as their sharp-wittedness and humor. There are several references of sworn brotherhood – a custom, which persists in many parts of Georgia to this day [Vivian, 1982: XII].

Katharine Vivian also draws attention to the main essence and purpose of the composition - moral and didactic upbringing of the prince. She admits that the method of teaching and upbringing proposed by Sulkhan-Saba, in particular, teaching by means of fables is quite foreign to the western world. However, this method was widespread in the eastern world and can be found in the European literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. According to the opinion of the translator, Sulkhan-Saba was quite well aware of Aristotle’s commandment: „*Reflect quite simply, but think like a wise man in order to write well*“ [Vivian, 1982: XI].

The translation of the composition is done in an exact and a consistent manner. Katharine Vivian interpreted all (152) fables of „A book of wisdom and lies“. A creative approach of a translator and an attempt to reflect an exact essence of the composition can be observed in the translation of each fable. She has taken into consideration an artistic-composite feature of the composition and different characters of the main heroes [Turnava, 1983].

There are several opinions regarding the comprehension of the title of the work. Iliia Chavchavadze believed that: „Saba Orbeliani’s lie is a fairy-tale, fable, tale“, but „*A fairy-tale, fable, tale is a wisdom and a lie simultaneously. Lie is a story itself and the wisdom is the essence existing in it. In other words, it is the wisdom in regard of soul and a lie in regard of a body. Here, the lie is the depiction, the reflection of the wisdom. According to Iliia’s viewpoint, Saba wanted to say: I am telling a fairy-tale, but present the wisdom*“ [Baramidze, 1957:143].

English Kartvelologist David Marshal Lang’s article “For the title of a book of wisdom and lies” is very interesting in this respect. The author tries to solve Saba’s secret idea conveyed through a strange title. There are two versions of its understanding: „A book of wisdom and lies“ and “Wisdom and lies“ without a word “book” that directly means “The wisdom of lies”.

The researcher tries to prove that: „*Wisdom and truth are neither originated nor based on truth for Sulkhan-Saba. Wisdom is more likely the medicine against the lie; the wisdom shines more brightly in contrary with the lie*“ [Lang,1957:142].

Therefore, the translation of the title of the book is very important. It is interpreted by Katharine Vivian in the following way „A book of wisdom and lies“ (like the translation made by Oliver Wardrop). The opinion of Robert Stevenson regarding the title of the book is also important. He thinks that *“the meaning of a word „lies“ is mostly related to the wisdom coming from the stories or fables. According to his opinion the natural English translation of the title would have been „Fables“ or “A book of fables”* [Sulkhan-Saba... 2009:175].

As we have already mentioned „A book of wisdom and lies“ is an allegorical composition. The author intentionally brings birds and animals as the main characters since the nature and character of humans can be easily observed in them. The language of the author is soft, light, easily understandable, flexible and delicate. Opinions are expressed smartly and clearly. „A book of wisdom and lies“ is rich with aphoristic expressions since the author tries to show moral and didactic principles and his opinion regarding moral, unity and obligations of the kings. As the composition mainly refers to the upbringing of the prince, Sulkhan-Saba ruthlessly reprimands wretched kings and declares on behalf of Leon:

„*მრავალნიმწყემსნიუმჯობესარიანუგვანთამეფეთა*“ (სოფლის მაშენებელი) [Orbeliani, 1970: 55].

Translation of this concept is given in full accuracy compared with the original.

„*There is many a shepherd more worthy than a bad king*“ (“Building a village”) [Vivian, 1982:28].

The following aphoristic expression is also successfully overcome in the translation:

„*მაძლარიკაციმომემარსპურსწვრილადუფშენეტდადაბედდაჰყვედრიდა:
რადლორულადსჭამო*“ (სოფლის მაშენებელი) [Orbeliani, 1970:56]

„*There is a saying that a man with full stomach gave a few crusts of bread to a starving man, and then upbraided him for gobbling like a pig*“ (“Building a village”) [Vivian,1982:28].

The translator tries to follow the peculiarity of Sulkhan-Saba’s style of narration characterized with laconicism of the expressed idea. The following aphoristic expressions are presented with an appropriate style and laconism:

„*რასაცმოდღვარსალსარებასამონმოდგაუხდია, უარესიმცდაემართებაო*“ (მოდღვარი მელი) [Orbeliani, 1970:48]

„*When a priest asks for witnesses to a confession, he merits even worse than this!*“ („The Fox in Holy Orders“) [Vivian,1982:24].

„*ავსკაცსყოველიკაცითავისიმსგავსიჰგონია*“ (დიდვაჭარი და მეფუნდუკე) [Orbeliani, 1970:249]

„An evil man thinks that all men are like himself“ (The Rich Merchant and the Innkeeper) [Vivian, 1982:136].

„ქორიქორსასჩეკსდაძერაძერუკასაო“ (მკალავი და ვირი) [Orbeliani, 1970:145]

„A hawk is hatched from a hawk's egg, a kite chick from a kite's“ (The Tinker and the Donkey) [Vivian, 1982:79];

„ცუდადჯდომასცუდადშრომაუმჯობეაო“ (ბულდანელი დიდებული) [Orbeliani, 1970:78];

„Work ill-done is better than none“ (The Bughdan Nobleman) [Vivian, 1982:42].

„ბედიმომეცდანეხვთადამფალო“ (მეფე და ავსიტყვა კაცი) [Orbeliani, 1970:62]

„Give me a happy fate, then bury me in a dung heap if you will!“ (News of a Dog, [Vivian, 1982:32].

The translator paid a special attention to such Georgian words as: *Araki* (according to the definition of Georgian dictionary - “teaching story”), *Tokhariki* (“pacer or ambler” - “fast-moving horse”). Their definitions are given in marginal notes for English readers.

The translator gives explanations of Georgian proverbs and expressions, for example, the translation of the words of Kadi in the fable “The Moon of Ramadan”:

„რადგან მოვარე უნახავნ, ნაღარას კარიოთ“ [Orbeliani, 1970:49].

“If you have seen the moon go end beat the drum!“ (The Moon of Ramadan) [Vivian, 1982:25].

The marginal note explains that the mentioned activity is used to declare the end of fasting.

The title of the fable “The Grand Duke's son“ has an explanation that it is an Italian title. The title of a fable “The story of a beardless man“ has an explanation that *Kosa* (*beardless man*) is a quite familiar character to Georgian stories.

The translator also provides the explanations of Georgian geographical names, for example, in order to explain “*the province of Klarjeti*” mentioned in the fable “The thieving corpse”, Katharine Vivian indicates that it was former Georgian province under Turkish ruling since the 16th century. She also provides the explanation of “*Samaia*” (a type of the Georgian dance).

It is noteworthy that Vivian uses different styles for the translation of the titles of the fables. In certain cases, the titles are given in a different form. Some of them are changed on the basis of the content of the fables, while some of them are expanded.

For example, in the original we have “*Otkhi Kru*” (Four deaf men), which is translated as „The Moon of Ramadan“. “*Keisris Spaspeti*” (commander-in-chief of the Cesar) is translated as „Defeated General“. “*Vlakhets Mepis Dze*” (The son of the King of Vlakheti) is translated as

„The Ill-Fated King’s Son“. *“Dzuntsi da Okro”* (Astingy man and gold) is presented as a „Buried Treasure“. *“Mefe da Avsitkva Katsi”* (The king and an evil-tongued man) is translated as „News of a Dog“. As it can be observed, the translator changed and selected the titles of the fables on the basis of analyzing the content and essence of each story. It should be noted that sometimes the translator expands the titles, for instance, *“Kvis Mtleli”* (A stone-cutter) becomes “The Grasping Stone-Cutter” via adding the word “grasping”.

It is undoubful that fables included in „A book of wisdom and lies” make the content of the composition more flexible and dynamic. All ideas of the composition are reinforced by means of debates of the characters. Sul Khan served at the royal court and therefore, *“the basis for his composition was the upbringing of an ideal prince with a multilateral education, who would be brought up by a new type of a teacher by means of a new upbringing method”* [Lortkipanidze, 1960:29]. Since „A book of wisdom and lies” mainly refers to the wisdom necessary for kings, the author gives the description of an ideal king: *„მეფეთაგანსამნიუყვარანღმერთსა: სიმშვიდე, სიმდაბლედასულგრძელობა. მეფეთაგანსამსდაიმაღლებსუფალი: სამართალსაუქრთამოსა, მონყალებასადა დიდსასიყვარულსაყოველთასა.....ესეარსნესიმეფეთა, ესეარსსაბოძვართემთა, ესეარსგოდოლისპათა, ესეარსბლუდექალაქთა!”* [Orbeliani,1970:80]. Delivering these opinions precisely to the English readers is rather important since they reflect Sul Khan-Saba’s viewpoint regarding the necessary features of an ideal king:

„God loves three things in kings: an even temper, self-restraint and magnanimity. Three things in a sovereign are pleasing to the Lord: impartial justice, clemency and a great love for mankind.....That is the law of kings, that is their gift to their subjects, the citadel of warriors, the ramparts of cities!” (The Bughdan Nobleman) [Vivian, 1982:43].

The translator has perfectly analyzed and understood the pathos and thoughts of Sul Khan-Saba that can be confirmed by using relevant word-combinations in the English language. The translator has found adequate and superb phrase for *“Samartalsa ukrtamosa”* (An unbiased justice) „an impartial justice“. The usage of “sovereign” instead of „king“ (monarch, governor) is also welcomed, because it grants more dynamism to the text.

While discussing the features of the king, the author uses comparison to distinguish and underline each feature and to make a reader feel and understand his honors. However, metaphor *“Utskaloba javrisani”* characterizing King Phinez (in the passage *მეფე ფინებს “სიფიცხლე და უწყალოება ჯავრისანი გულისაგან ღვთის შიშისა ნიავით გაექარვებინა”*) is lost in the translation (“The Fear of God, like a breeze, swept from his mind any impulse towards anger or harshness” [Vivian, 1982:1]), while the content is identical to the idea given in the original.

In parallel to moral and didactic topics, the issues of humanity, kindness, generosity, state unity and friendship are also reviewed in „A book of wisdom and lies“. In the fable “The Indian bird” vizier Sedrak establishes general concepts regarding a friend and friendship:

„კარგია მხანაგია დვილა დარიშოვების, გზაზე დცუდა დარიშოვების, იაფად ვერა ვინიყიდის; ამხანაგი ციხენწყლიანია, ზღუდე მაღალია, სიმაგრე დაურღვეველია; ამხანაგი ჭირში მომხმარია, სნეულებაში მიკურნალია, სიკვდილში თავისნამგებია“ [Orbeliani, 1970:260].

„A good friend is hard to find: he is not met by chance on the road, he cannot be cheaply bought; A good friend is a stronghold watered by a stream, a lofty rampart, towering and impregnable; A friend is an ally in time of trouble, a healer in sickness, and will lay down his life for his friend“ (The Indian bird) [Vivian, 1982:141].

A laconic and a smart narration of the author is maintained in this passage. However, „სიკვდილში თავისნამგებია/sikvdilshi tavis tsamgebia“ (will sacrifice himself/herself) is translated into English as an expanded from „will lay down his life for his friend“. It slows down the rhythm of the narration. However, presents precisely its content.

Sulkhan-Saba smartly moves from one story to another. His narration is distinguished by the rhythm created by the repetition of words or ideas. The rhythm of the narration is sometimes fastened or slowed down. It fastens when the characters debate with each other or try to support their ideas via fables. The narration slows down, when Leon tells the stories about different countries and kings. The narration is diversified by riddles. The diversity of narration is also created by the fact that characters of “A book of wisdom and lies” tell stories and tales and a sense of expectation is constantly arisen within the readers. Sulkhan-Saba is mainly interested in the expression of ideas. Therefore, „In contrast to an artistic impression, the issues of ideas and themes is put forward in “A book of wisdom and lies”. However, a great artistic talent, a delicate taste and excellent descriptive-expressive abilities of the author are easily revealed in a small amount of epithets and metaphors used in the composition” [Menabde, 1953:102]. Some metaphors and epithets are worth mentioning in this respect, for example, finding an exact analogue for the word “Ambavtkbili” (speaking sweetly) used for describing Sedrak was quite difficult for the translator and she proposed the explanative translation „whose words flowed smooth and sweet“. The metaphor “დღესა ერთსა კლიტე გაელმდა / Dgesa ertsa klite gaelmda” (the lock was damaged) is also lost in translation: „he happened to bend the key“.

The irony, which is revealed in fables, grants certain peculiarity to “A book of wisdom and lies”. The strength and the importance of laughter is conceptually distinguished in “Laughter and tears” in which a laughing man complains of the shortness of life, foolishness of men, vain and worthless preaching, but makes a decision different from a crying person: „ანსიცილს ძალი მივეც, მეც რომ მზრუნვი თთავი მოვიკლა, რას მარგია და ანმათირას არგებელიაო“. The translation of the mentioned passage (And now I have taken to laughing; what good will it do to them or to myself, If I give way to despair on their account?“ (Laughter and Tears) [Vivian, 1982:157]) reflects the idea of the original exactly and is presented in an understandable manner to the English reader.

In conclusion, we can be mentioned that the whole translation is done at a high level. Similarly to the language of the original, the language of translation is mostly laconic and flexible. It preserves Sulkhan-Saba’s style and manner of narration. However, there is a

problem of finding the analogues of some metaphors. It should also be noted that the content of the work is given in details. This fact underlines a high understanding and a thorough study of all aspects, including archaisms, aphorisms and sententials used by the author.

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The Seventh Century Conquest of Kartli by Habib ibn Maslamah within the Context of the Arabic Wars

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As is commonly known, from the 30s of the seventh century A.D. Arabic wars began. The Arabs did not conquer every city and village by means of the war and fire. Treaties of peace and security were used as a substitution for the military force to establish control over many cities, villages or towns. Peace was achieved on certain conditions. Peace treaty, the so-called *إمان*.e. "Security guarantee pacts", negotiated by the Arabs was not their innovation. The security guarantee pacts had been a part of the Middle East from the ancient times. We can find a detailed information about this in the works of Milka Levi-Rubin [Rubin, 2011:11]. We believe that we can find appropriate analogs for Arabic *إمان* "Aman" and *ذمة* "dhimmah" in Latin "deditio" and "Pactum". Moreover, Byzantine "metoikos" as well as Latin-Roman "peregrinus" can be considered as synonyms for Arabic "dhimmis."

Greco-Roman tradition clearly separated a peaceful (Latin – deditio; Greek – homologia) and a forced (Latin – vi; Greek – kratos) subjugation of people and territorial units. We can appropriate Arabic *صلح* "Sulhan" to the former and *عنوة* "Anvatan" to the latter. The security guarantee pacts were common in Sassanian Iran in the 5th-6th centuries. After the conquest of numerous cities in Mesopotamia (Edesa, Antioch, Beroa, Sura), Khosro Anushivan concluded peace treaties with them and Byzantine generals, making peace in exchange for money and natural products [Hoyland, 2015:29-30].

In Arabia trade-political agreements were concluded during the youth of Muhammad. These treaties were called a „concord” - *إيلاف*. This word is found in the 106th Surah. *إيلاف* established economic and political relations between Mecca and various tribes. According to the Arab-Islamic tradition, the Meccans have started to make concords from the beginning of the 6th century [Simonsen, 1988:20]. „Dhimmah” and „dhimmi” are also pre-Islamic notions. During Muhammad’s life it was possible to make dhimmah virtually with everybody, including those, who worshipped multiple gods. At the dawn of the history of Islam, Muhammad and Muhajirs were building, first and foremost, military and economic alliances (rather than religious) with the groups inside the city of Medina and tribes living in its vicinity. In the early-Islamic era, the adoption of Islam in exchange for a security guarantee was not necessary for tribes [Simonsen, 1988:52].

In Islam “dhimmah” as well as “aman” meant “security guarantee” and “protection”. In the era of early conquests, the concept of “dhimmah” adopted the meaning that defined specific (social-political) relations between non-Muslim and Muslim peoples [Muslims, 2004:31]. Arabs divided conquered lands into three categories: *دارالصلح* „the land of peace”, *دارالعهد* „the land of treaty” and *دارالحرب* „the land of war”. First two were lands obtained by peaceful means,

through negotiations. On this lands population was allowed to retain religious and administrative autonomy. They were granted dhimmah i.e. a security guarantee. The land of Kartli was also declared as أرض الصلح “the land of peace” [Lortkipanidze, 1963:77] [Rubin, 2011:13].

In the early Islamic society „dhimmah” became a mutually advantageous treaty signed with non-Muslims, it was a mechanism obligating signatories not to harm and in cases of necessity, assist each other [Lobjanidze, 2006:558-559]. The person with whom the treaty was signed was called „dhimmi.” Although Principality of Kartli swiftly overthrew the Arab rule and halt the payment of tribute, its population still can be categorized as dhimmis. In the article “dhimma” Prof. Gocha Japaridze provides an exceptional definition of „dhimmis” and „dhimmah” [Lobjanidze, 2006:558-559].

The attitude of the first Arab Muslim conquerors towards the people subjugated through peaceful negotiations was tolerance and acceptance of different religious beliefs [Muslims, 2004:84]. Arab Muslims’ primary concern was effective collection of taxes. They left local judicial norms untouched on the vast newly-conquered lands populated with the Christians. In the Muslim Empire, religious leaders of the Christians retained their traditional privileges of Byzantine and late Sasanian era [Muslims, 2004:84].

Albert Noth meticulously describes peculiarities of the early truce agreements concluded with the peacefully subordinated Christian cities. In one of the conditions we can read that in the districts occupied by Muslims[1], Christians were forbidden to expose publicly their crosses and other religious sacred objects, including holy books.

Majority of Syrian cities, including Bosra, surrendered to Muslim Arabs without a fight on the basis of the peace agreement [Hoyland, 2015:54]. Similarly, during the conquests of the mountainous regions of the Caspian Sea, numerous treaties of peace and security were signed between Arabs and locals. As for the inhabitants of Nahavand (Mah-Dinar), in exchange for paying Jizya (per capita yearly tax historically levied on non-Muslim subjects – dhimmis, who lived on Muslim lands) by every single adult male, they were promised by Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman to retain their faith, continue commercial activities, maintain property and land rights. In addition, people of Nahavand were obligated to assist lost Muslim soldier in finding a way, to maintain roads, to make available shelter and food for Muslim military units and in case of necessity, provide with an advise (useful information, intelligence, assistance) any time of a day [M. Adnan and I. Abbas, 1987:260-261]. In exchange for the removal of the land tax (Kharaja), Palestinian Samaritans accepted the Arabs’ request to serve as spies and guides [Christians, 2016:104], while the inhabitants of the mountainous region of Antioch - tribe of Jarajima – took the responsibility of guarding the boarder. They also agreed to fight along the Muslim army under the certain conditions - they were relieved from paying tribute and were entitled to request plundered goods of their desire [Christians, 2016:96] [Hoyland, 2015:97].

The city of Raqqa was under the siege for six days by ‘Iyad ibn Ghanm ibn Zubayr al-Fihri. Finally, the inhabitants of Raqqa requested armistice. The peace and security treaty handed to them informed that ‘Iyad ibn Ghanm would grant citizens the right of life, property and church in exchange for paying tribute (one dinar per year for every adult male), restraining from building

new churches and temples, maintaining low sound of the church bells, would not publicly celebrate the Easter and display crosses [Hoyland, 2015:172] [M.Adnan and I. Abbas, 1987:252]. 'Iyad kept the land in Raqqa to their owners in exchange for paying Kharaja [Hoyland, 2015:176]. In addition to one diner tribute, Raqqans had to pay natural tax – wheat, olive, cloth and honey [Hoyland, 2015:176-177].

It appears that early Islamic fiscal system was entirely based on Sassanian and Byzantine fiscal models. In Egypt the owners also retained their land in exchange for paying Kharaja. However, quite frequently, the amount of Kharaja was not strictly determined [Bell, 1925:177]. The Arab Muslims were not particularly interested in the conversion of the subordinated people to Islam. Their primary aim was subjugation of various people and collection of taxes [Bell, 1925:186].

Neither Jizya nor Kharaja was the Muslim innovation [Z. Ahmed, 1975:302]. They both were based on Iranian model. Through the era of early Caliphate, Jizya was either strictly determined amount of money (one dinar for every household) or similarly strictly defined agricultural good (natural tax per household) [Z. Ahmed, 1975:303]. B. Silagadze presented an excellent analysis while writing that the treaty of peace and security for the population of Tbilisi (and not for the whole Kartli) considered Jizya as a tax for a household, not for an individual person. Prior to the formation of the Islamic law, the Arabs had borrowed a combined and a mixed version of Jizya from Sassanian Iran. Accordingly, "Jizya was applied to an individual or immovable and movable property, which simultaneously manifested itself as both Jizya and Kharaja. A tax was annual and was paid once per year by means of money or natural products, or both. The quantity of a tax was adjusted to the wealth of individuals" [Silagadze, 1991:77]; [Petrushevsky, 1960:387]. Similar conditions might be applied to citizens of Tbilisi through the treaty of peace and security of Habib ibn Maslamah [Silagadze, 1991:77].

It was an accepted idea of the 20th century that the authenticity of the detailed early-conquest peace treaties was doubtful [Rubin, 2011:50] and ostensibly, the fighting Arabs had no sufficient time for drafting detailed and thorough peace treaties. However, Milka Levi-Rubin argued the opposite [Rubin, 2011:50].

Conditions formulated in the treaty with the northern Syrian tribes Duluk and Ra'ban underlined their obligation to collect and transfer information about Byzantines to the Muslims [Christians, 2016:104]. Likewise, Al-Ruha people was tasked to repair and maintain bridges [Christians, 2016:103].

Conditions for the peace agreements fell in two categories: "a surrender agreement" – an agreement with a city or an administrative unit (that showed some resistance but eventually surrendered), which would be governed by the Muslims, lose any form of a self-governance and suffer from a full subordination of its citizenry. According to this agreement, the Muslims took responsibility to protect local population from the external enemies. This pact was called كتاب امان – pact of security. In essence it meant that children, priests, bishops, their traditions and customs, churches and monasteries, crosses and properties of population were under Muslim protection, at the same time population was not forced to convert into Islam in exchange for paying Jizya [Rubin, 2011:42]. "A vassal agreement" implied the maintenance of

the local governance and its subordination to the Arabs. It was used in Kartli (Jurzan), Tbilisi, Mah-Dinar, Isfahan, Ray, Tabaristan and Gilgilan, Azerbaijan, several Armenian cities, Herat and others [Rubin, 2011:45].

Numerous historians have touched the subject of the first Arab invasion of Kartli (prior to the direct Arab invasion, it was under Byzantine political influence and not of Sassanian Iran as Milka Levi-Rubin asserts [Rubin, 2011:42], it follows that Arabs contested with Byzantine, not with Iran [Janashia, 1952:360]). The opinions diverge between 644 and 654 [Janashia, 1952:357-365] [Lortkipanidze, 1998:172] [Abashidze, 2012:92-104] [Dzimistarishvili, 1941:3-21] [Javakhishvili, 1983:73] [Muskhelishvili, 2012:125-126].

Sikharulidze studied famous book *تاريخ الرسل والملوك* „History of the Prophets and Kings” by Arab historian and theologian Al-Tabari, in which the author wrote that before subordinating Kartli, Habib ibn Maslamah (more precisely, Salman ibn Rabiah al-Bahili. Habib was a member of his army) attempted the conquer Armenia. However, he failed [Moambe, 1961:186]. Supposedly, the 40s of the 7th century are implied here. Ahmad ibn A'thsam al-kufis' note [Tskitishvili, 1984:91-104] completes Tabari's idea regarding the fact that the Arabs marched Kartli (probably around 644-645) prior to its subordination by Habib ibn Maslamah and the declaration of a treaty of peace and security. As Beniamin Silagadze wrote that first Arab campaigns to Kartli were futile [Silagadze, 1991:38]. The Arabs resumed their attempts 9-10 years later (654). This argument is partially supported by Otar Tskitishvili, who worked on Ahmad ibn A'tham al-Kufi's note and argued that Salman ibn Rabiah al-Bahili marched in Kartli prior to Habib ibn Maslamah. However, in contrast to Silagadze, Otar Tskitishvili wrote that Salman ibn Rabiah conquered Kartli in 644-646 and even charged the local population with the annual payment of Jizya [Tskitishvili 1984:100] [ثم انه وجه بخيل له الي جرزان فصالح اهلها علي شيء معلوم] . [يعطونه في كل سنة]. After subordinating Bardav “Salman ibn Rabiah, together with his cavalry, marched towards Jurzan and made peace treaty with its population on the condition of a certain payment, which they would pay annually” [Tskitishvili, 1984:102]. Afterwards, Salman ibn Rabiah proceeded to Shirvan [Tskitishvili, 1984:100]. Shortly after this, anti-Arab uprising took place in Kartli and the Georgians stopped paying a tribute. Tskitishvili wrote: “It seems that granting “a treaty of peace and security” to Kartli was not a uniform political decision and the Georgians did not surrender to the conquerors immediately.” It is obvious that the second Arab campaign had to be arranged to conquer Kartli [Tskitishvili, 1984:98]. After Salman's death in the battle with Khazars in 652, Habib ibn Maslamah successfully conquered the principality of Kartli in 654. Apparently, earlier Habib has distinguished himself as a skillful general in the battle against Mardaites in northern Syria and in the first conquest of Armenia in 642 [Japaridze, 1989]. Otar Tskitishvili's research vividly illustrates that the Arabs, under the leadership of Salman ibn Rabiah (probably with the participation of Habib ibn Maslamah), held their first campaign against Kartli in 644-645. However, they have only marched the principality (they did not stationed permanent armies. Under this military act, they have declared their serious intention to dominate in the region and crippled Byzantine standing in the south Caucasus). Only after the subjugation of Iran, the Arabs resumed military operations in the Caucasus and reconquered Kartli for the second time. The conquest was followed by the signature of the famous treaty [Lortkipanidze, 1990:93] [Silagadze, 1991:36-37]. B. Silagadze argued that: “The Arabs effortlessly and in a short timespan had subordinated eastern Georgia. Therefore,

they promptly left the principality. As soon as they imposed tax and subordinated Kartli, they left without changing management of any system of local governance and customs” [Silagadze, 1991:62].

In contrast to Eter Sikharulidze, Pavle Topuria (who relied on Yaqut al-Hamawi and al-Baladhuri and wrote that Georgian peasants fought against the Arabs at Lochini in the close vicinity of Tbilisi [Moambe: 198-191]) argues convincingly that no battle whatsoever took place between the Georgians and the Arabs and the place in Kartli identified by Yaqut al-Hamawi as “zat al-lujum” – ذات اللجوم is an unidentified location (it is not Lochini asserted by Sikharulidze) [Moambe, 1961:85], which was possibly located in Armenia (not in Kartli). Topuria believed that al-Tabari had the clearest description of events of that time. According to this author, before marching Kartli (Jurzan), Habib ibn Maslamah took detour through Armenian cities subordinating them one by one. Upon reaching the middle of Armenia, he was met by the representative of Patrician (and other noblemen) of Kartli, who requested a peace treaty [Topuria, 1984:146].

Apparently, the representative of Kartli’s Patrician Stephanoz II, either Theophile or Nikala (نقلى/تفلى), was accompanied by the group of noblemen. They granted the Arabs 100 Dinar and 80 000 Dirham respectively [History, 1984:98-99]. According to Abu-Ubaidah, the Arabs preferred systematic tribute (probably, a mixed Jizya, which obviously included Kharaja) to a single payment given by the population of Tbilisi [Sikharulidze, 2001:8-9].

There are several versions of the treaty of peace and security. The most interesting and controversial issues connected to these documents are the allocation of Tbilisi to different administrative units and the attribution of treaties to entire Kartli or Tbilisi.

All “treaties of peace and security” found in the works of various Arab historians have similar content. Accordingly, we will not present complete versions of the texts. They can be easily accessed through the works of different historians. They differ according to Tbilisi’s location in various regions and administrative units:

1. Al-Baladhuri wrote: هذا كتاب من حبيب بن مسلمة لاهل طفليس من منجليس من جرزان القرمز - “This is the book of Habib ibn Maslamah for the population of Tbilisi from Manglisi, Kirmizian Kartli” (This version was supported by G. Tsereteli).^[2]
2. In al-Tabari’s version we read: تفليس من جرزان ارض الهرمز هذا كتاب من حبيب بن مسلمة لاهل - “This is the book of Habib ibn Maslamah for the population of Tbilisi from Jurzan (Kartli), the land of (H)armaz.”
3. Yaqut al-Hamawi wrote: تفليس من رستاق منجليس من جرزان الهرمز لاهل - “For the population of Tbilisi, from Manglisi community and Armazian Kartli.”
4. Abu Ubaidah’s version: “The Book of Revenue”: وهذا كتاب حبيب بن مسلمة لاهل تفليس من بلاد ارمينيا - “and this is the book from Habib ibn Maslamah to the population of Tbilisi, from the country of Armenia.”

It continues in such a way: هذا كتاب من حبيب بن مسلمة لاهل طفليس من ارض الهرمن - “this is the treaty of Habib ibn Maslamah for the population of Tbilisi (which is) from the land of al-Harman (Armenia).”

population of Trialeti, Kakheti, Kukheti, Artaani, Dariali and made a peace treaty with Sanarians and Didoians in exchange of the payment” [Moambe, 1961:189]. We fully share Mariam Lortkipanidze’s idea regarding the fact that the Arabs subordinated Kartli part-by-part [Georgian, 1998:176]. However, the reason for that was not the Arabian tactic “separate and conquer” [Ocherki, 2009:91]. We believe that in this case, there was no centralized ruling of the Georgian territories listed by two Arab historians.

It can be concluded that apparently before signing the treaty of peace and security with Tbilisi, the Arabs conducted preliminary military campaigns on the territory of South Caucasus in 644-645 and considerably weakened Byzantine positions in this region. It seems that around 644-645 Salman ibn Rabiah subordinated Kartli and imposed tribute on its population. However, Kartli hosted anti-Arab uprising and after getting rid of the enslavement with the help of Byzantine, returned to the political orbit of Byzantine. Once the Arabs managed to consolidate primary military forces and conquered Iran, distinguished General Habib ibn Maslamah peacefully reestablished his ruling over Kartli and signed a treaty of peace and security with the subordinated citizens of Tbilisi in 654-655.

Feudal Lord of Kartli Stephanoz II wisely assessed a geopolitical situation and acted rationally via realizing the fact that Byzantine had no power of defending Kartli. Otherwise, Kartli, as the Byzantine ally, would not survive full scale Arab invasion. Moreover, without Byzantine’s help, it would be impossible to contradict the Arabs. However, initially (in 640s) Byzantine spared no efforts to maintain its political influence and defend allies (Georgia and Armenia). It seems that initially Byzantine succeeded and forced the Arabs to leave the South Caucasus (it is also possible that Arabs made a strategic retreat). However, after subordinating Iran, the Arabs continued their military policy of marching towards the north and in 654 they subjugated Kartli by signing a famous “treaty of peace and security” with the population of Tbilisi. We believe that separate treaties were presented to other parts of Kartli. This is verified by al-Baladhuri and Ibn al-Faqih in their list of other parts of Kartli. This is entirely in line with the spirit of the Arab conquests. They used to sign separate treaties with cities and regions (however, there are some exceptions, where the Arabs presented the common peace treaty for the entire country, for instance, Nubia and Egypt). As for the rest of the treaties signed between the Arabs and the Georgians, either they await other Arab historians’ discoveries or no one preserved notes about them.

It is known that the conquest of Kartli by Habib ibn Maslamah did not lead to its final subjugation. Many circumstances inhibited the Arabs to firmly establish their ruling and influence in Kartli (including internal wars in the Caliphate, Byzantine opposition, overcoming of the competition with the Khazars). Kartli was finally subordinated after the invasion of Marwan ibn Muhammad ibn Marwan in 735-737. It became Arab Emirate with the center in Tbilisi.

The paper illustrated essential similarity of the treaties signed between the Georgians and the Arabs with those, which were presented to other peacefully subordinated cities and administrative units, especially, Iran, cities of Syria-Palestine and Nubia. This fact indicates to the existence of the cohesive Arabic strategy of acting towards peacefully subordinated

Christian, Judean and Mazdean citizens. The conditions of the treaties were similar, because the Arabs used similar principles. This practice was adopted from Romans, Byzantines and Sassanian Iranians.

In Kartli, similarly to all peacefully surrendered cities and regions, the Arabs left untouched local administrative systems of governance, religion, customs and traditions as well as social order of exchange of the payment of Jizya (which also included Kharaja) and other conditions required by the treaty.

An administrative affiliation of Tbilisi to the Armenian land probably was not an accident. Perhaps, the Arab chroniclers considered Tbilisi as a part of Armenian land (and not Kartli) and the Arab historians of the Middle Ages perceived this type of an administrative mapping of the Caucasus. However, as we have observed, opinions diverge on this matter. Perhaps, the disputed part of the treaty of peace and security reads not as *ارض الحرمن* (land of Armenia), but rather *ارض الحرمز* (land of Armazi) and the misunderstanding is the consequence of the peculiarities of Arabic orthography and mistakes of scribes.

Two historians - ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani and al-Baladhuri - clearly conveyed geographical names of the territories of Kartli (except unidentified „Kustasji”) during Habibs’ conquests. Since the probability of the inaccuracy of historical facts expressed by two independent sources is low, we suppose that after the subjugation of Tbilisi, the Arabs separately signed multiple treaties of peace and security with Tsanars, Kakhetians, Kukhelians, Didoelians, Kaspians, etc. The Arabs had to subordinate these parts of Kartli one by one, because the power of Stephanoz II (feudal lord of Kartli) was either ineffective or did not extend on the above-mentioned territories. It is less surprising if we consider the history of Kartli of the 6th -7th centuries, when it was under a strong political influence of Byzantine and Iran.

[1] From the period of early conquests, in the subordinated Christian, Judean and Zoroastrian cities Arab Muslim soldiers settled separately from the local population. Those small settlements of Arab-Muslim soldiers were precisely the first military garrisons, which had been formed on the conquered territories (there was none in Kartli). From the 10s of the 8th century massive migration of ordinary Arabs from Arabic peninsula to Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Iran and other subordinated territories was observed. Emigrated Arabs had involved themselves in agriculture, adopted a wide variety of skills and jobs from locals and started to replace them on administrative positions. Consequently, they mixed up with the local population. These developments triggered the necessity for Arabs to develop comprehensive document, which would regulate interactions between Muslims and subordinated monotheists, Muslims would have advantageous position in this relationship. This rational culminated with the adoption of “Pact of Umar” during the period of Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (717-720). The pact diminished social standing and status of Christians. This pact, to an extent, reflected the substance of conditions of the peace treaties of early conquest period.

[2] For more information see Arabic-Georgian dictionary by G. Tsereteli, p.197

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The Perception of Ethnicity in the Georgian Hagiography

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The history of the research of ethnicity and nationalism is presented in the western historiography. However, it becomes more and more interesting for the Georgian researchers. The appearance of social theories has brought together history and sociology. "A new history" drew forward those questions, which were needed for a combined research. The issues of ethnicity and nationalism became a subject of a broad discussion. Social issues together with a political history filled a historical narrative and made the history more perceptive. There are national societies around us. From the first sight, their history originates from the European modernization. In reality, they have a "deep" ethnic past. This theory is developed by ethno-symbolists, whose works are used in my work. Some Georgian scholars view skeptically the research of ethnicity. However, everyone recognizes the influence of a "deep" ethnic past on the formation of the self-consciousness of the Georgian nation. Despite an empirical research, the Georgian historians (among them Iv. Javakhishvili) of the 30s-40s of the 20th century guessed that there was something in ethnicity that facilitated its continuation. The scholars often reject innovations of those, who work in this field. Obviously, it is natural that ethnicity is a perceptive phenomenon. However, its depiction in different historical sources as well as the type of a chain of development and demonstration of terms denoting ethnicity has created a complete picture of this phenomenon. What is the ethnicity?

There are a lot of definitions related to it. According to one of the widely-recognized definitions, an ethnic unity is a common self-named unity, which has a myth of a common ancestor, a shared historical memory and one or more differentiating elements of a common culture [Smith, 2008:27]. The study of ethnicity is impossible without a theoretical frame. I apply to it.

Another important issue is a selected source, which will assist me during the study of this phenomenon. I use hagiographic sources for the understanding of this question. It is worth mentioning that they have an outstanding value for the solution of those problems, which will better show "the history from beneath". The study of such sources has its tradition in the Georgian hagiography. However, hagiographic works have mainly been observed by philologists. The historians applied to these sources for the determination of a historical person or a date, for the comparison of redactions, etc. The interest towards hagiography rose after the appearance of new issues. Moreover, an informational capacity of hagiography facilitated the study of ethnicity and nationalism as well as a systemic observation of different social, cultural and mentality-related issues. The role of the Georgian hagiography must be underlined during the researching of these issues. The Georgian hagiography is outstanding with its historicism. Therefore, it becomes an exceptional historic source during the study of the issue of ethnicity.

The Georgian hagiography is charged with a national ideology. It is characterized with the abundance of terms expressing ethnicity. The authenticity of sources helps us to consider the issue of ethnicity well.

Conventionally, we can single out several stages from the viewpoint of the representation of the phenomenon of ethnicity: the first – characterized with the prominence of the issue of religion and its defense; the second – a transitional period, which is characterized with a particular steadiness (hence, the abundance of terms expressing ethnicity and the depiction of the contours of national ideals can be seen in the Georgian hagiography of this period); the third – characterized with the development of national ideals and their advance.

My aim is the observation of a transitional period of hagiography, particularly, the examination of the monuments of the 8th -10th centuries. Therefore, the focus of my research comprises “The martyrdom of Abo Tbileli” and “The life of St. Grigol from Khantsta”. A lot has been written and said about a literary value of these works. I will put an accent on the following terms expressing ethnicity in the above-mentioned sources: ნათესავი/natesavi (relative), ერი/eri (nation). They facilitate the prominence of “*we* – group” more than the hagiographic monuments of the previous period. Ethnicity is a permanent, but a changeable phenomenon. Therefore, the contents of the terms expressing ethnicity is also changeable. The alteration of the contents of these terms in the above-mentioned monuments obviously indicates to the alteration of the perception of inner social ties. It is interesting to make observations from this point of view.

The study of the terms expressing ethnicity was not started by me. Scholars tried to find out the meanings of ethnic terms (ნათესავი/natesavi, ერი/eri) during different periods via the observation of diverse works: the Sacred Writings or historical sources. It is impossible to discuss all the cases in a paper. Therefore, I will present several samples from the works of Georgian researchers. Damana Melikishvili concludes that “a relative is a circumscriber of a tribe, the *nation* is a general name of “people”, “a group of people”, while more concretely it denotes God’s elect nation (Israel)” [Melikishvili, 2009:587]. During different periods, the term *nation* has been considered as an army, people and an inhabitant. *Nation* of the Middle Ages is considered with its contemporary meaning too. L. Pataridze studied the Georgian scholars’ observations related to these terms and expressed the following viewpoint: “*nation* reflects the meaning of people’s general assembly according to a societal structure in which it functions” [Pataridze, 2002:14]. Factually, the term *nation* denotes an identity-group, which is met either with a broad meaning or with a narrow one. The term *relative* is more loaded with ethnicity. It puts an accent on a general origin. During the process of the observation of these terms, Z. Kiknadze makes the following conclusions: “In contrast to *relative* (which means ethnic belongingness), *nation*, especially, in the word-combination *every nation*, denotes a social-political unity in old Georgian historiography” [Kiknadze, 2002:17]. It is obvious that the Georgian reality comprises a large number of researchers of ethnic terms. Iv. Javakhishvili and S. Kakhchishvili were also interested in this issue. Despite a variety of results, the aim of these scholars was not the research of ethnicity. Their works, which must be taken into account and which left their footprint in the Georgian hagiography, do not have a systemic character

and the hagiography, as an entity, has not become an object of the research. Therefore, I think that the given research will particularly fill the discourse, which refers to the perception of ethnicity.

Generally, we can call ethnicity the **we**-group. However, its elements are constituted by religion and language. They create an inner dependence, which can be called the origin [Erikson, 2002]. The study of the Georgian ethnicity is original. The observation of this issue from the narrative sources of Georgia's history requires more carefulness and responsibility. The assessment of a transitional period is especially difficult, because the transformation is always painful and the expression of a national thinking of this period requires a careful observation.

An ethnies is similar to a living being. It is characterized by the continuation in time. The prominence of the **we**-group fixed in relation to *other* becomes interesting during the study of a collective cultural identity. The unity *we* is separated from *other*. The **we**-identity is unique. Its unity, land and memory are sacral. The saints' martyrdom creates a sacral space. A sacral space is the place, where people are given an opportunity to interrelate with the divine. It is confirmed with an idol or after the appearance of any mark [Pataridze, 1993:31]. The meaning of the term *ერე*/eri is observed by A. Bogveradze. The researcher cites historical sources as well as the passages from "The martyrdom of Abo Tbileli" and "The life of St. Grigol from Khantsta". According to A. Bogveradze's viewpoint, the meaning of the term *ერე*/eri varies in different contexts. This term may unite plebeians, slaves, peasants, serfs, etc. According to his viewpoint, "during the epoch of an absolute monarchy, "nation" is a term denoting different strata of a producer-society having different rights while sitting on a feudal's land or while being placed in his "domain" (Chorchaneli's expression)" [Bogveradze, 1973:319]. M. Chkhartishvili researches the phenomenon of ethnicity according to an ethno-symbolist paradigm. In accordance with historic and hagiographic monuments, she studies such markers of ethnicity as self-naming, religion, territory, collective memory, essence

The observation of ethnicity is possible before the researched period. The perception of ethnicity is created by the level of an inner-catenation of a unity. The Georgian nation is a continuous nation. This fact enables us to create a chain of processes reflecting the development of a unity, which ends with the transformation of this unity into the contemporary nation. An ethnic unity is the most developed form of an ethnies. It is a cultural unity, which is not characterized with the homogeneity. We can speak about four levels of an ethnies while observing the ethnicity: "an ethnic category, when there is a very low level of self-perception; an ethnic net, where the interrelation between the members of an ethnies is more intensive; an ethnic association (the third level) – the members of an ethnies develop common interests and political organizations in order to present a single collective; an ethnic unity (a final level) - a unity, which has a distinct physically boarded territory with a leading political force" [Tonkin, 1996:20]. The levels of an ethnies are determined after an inner intensity of characteristics of the ethnicity is manifested. It seems that the ethnicity is perceptible in the Georgian reality of the 8th century. Ioane Sabanisdze put a special accent on Abo's ethnicity: "Dear friends of saint and desired martyr Abo, Christ wants me to inform you how he came to us. He was a descendant of Abraham, from a tribe of Ismail. He was not a son of a mistress. He was Arab from paternal and maternal sides" [Abuladze, 1963:56]. The identity does not exist without

considering other. Our group is perceived towards other. In “The martyrdom of Abo Tbileli” we-group separates itself from the Arabs, Abo (S.K.): was afraid of the Arabs – the conquerors and governors of the village” [Abuladze, 1963:57].

In contrast to the Georgian hagiographic works of the previous period, the above-mentioned monuments present more vividly the following terms denoting ethnicity: *relative* and *nation*. The definition of these terms is the major aim of this paper. A *relative* means the multitude, which comes from a single root. Nowadays, a *relative* mainly has a narrow meaning with an accent on a blood unity. It is obvious that such examples are met in both hagiographic monuments. However, in the 8th-10th centuries the term *relative* expressed a broader meaning than during the following period. It is obvious that in this case, the term *relative* does not exclude a common origin, but it is more imaginary and indicates to the entity, which has the belief in a common ancestor. There are a lot of examples connected with this in the monuments selected by us. I will single out some of them:

St. Abo, who was standing before the judge, was addressed in such a way: “You are from the Arabian tribe. You have the Arabian relatives. Why did you leave your native confession and became sinful as the Christians?” [Abuladze, 1963:64]. It is clear that a *tribe* and a *relative* are synonyms and indicate to the origin.

The monk answered Bagrat Kurapalati’s question (regarding having no reaction on Saba Ishkhneli’s first letter) in the following way: “You are the king of relatives, while Christ is the king of everyone” [Abuladze, 1963:274].

The grief stipulated by the death of Ashot Kurapalati is emotionally described “in the life” of a holy father. After hearing this, Grigol Khantsteli said: “Where do I have to wait for you - in the east or in the west, in the north or in the south? You are the possessor of all the relatives” [Abuladze, 1963:264]. Besides having a narrow meaning, the term *relative* mainly conveys a broader meaning in the monuments of the 8th-10th centuries. The above-given examples indicate to this fact. The term *relative* puts an accent on a common ethnic origin, on the people with the same root.

Historical monuments preserve the memory of the Middle Ages and an epochal perception of different issues. During the study of the ethno-term *relative* we came across the term ნათესავით აზნაური/natesavit aznauri. I want to pay a reader’s attention to the following example: “At that period Father Arsen, ნათესავით აზნაური/natesavit aznauri, was the leader at Khantsta” [Abuladze, 1963:277]. ნათესავით აზნაური is met several times in “The life of St. Grigol from Khantsta”. It seems that the author purposely intends to indicate to Arsen’s hereditary (ნათესავით) nobility via putting an accent on the origin of his ancestors. This example demonstrates the considerations of the Middle Ages very well. Arsen is not a nobleman by mercy. His forefathers were noblemen.

The alteration of a cultural identity is possible. Abo perceived and shared the Georgian culture via the acceptance of Christianity. The world historiography remembers similar examples very well. Ethnicity creates a collective identity, which is principally closed, but practically can be open. The meaning of the term *relative* becomes clear from the above-

mentioned monuments. Kinship and nature are synonymous to a particular extent. Abo's nature is obvious – he is Arabian. The ethnicity of the Middle Ages is not determined only by nature or origin. A major marker of the identity is the religion, which is decisive for the ethnicity. The interesting examples of the perception of the ethnicity is met in “The martyrdom of Abo Tbileli”. The leader of Abkhazia addressed Abo: “Do not go out of the country, because the country of Kartli is occupied by the Arabs and you are Arabian by *nature*” [Abuladze, 1963:61]. Abo was not forgiven for changing his confession because of his nature, for being Arabian. Abkhazian leader's perception of Abo's nature is absolutely understandable. However, the perception is different according to the words of the denouncer: “There is a young man in this town. He was Arabian by *nature* and was reared according to the confession given by Prophet Muhammad. He rejected his confession and became Christian” [Abuladze, 1963:64]. Abo calls himself the Arabian by nature: “I am Arabian by *nature*, from paternal and maternal sides. I was taught the confession of Muhammad. I had been in ignorance before God chose me among brothers and relatives” [Abuladze, 1963:65]. The given examples reveal that despite sharing the Georgian culture, Abo maintains his identity. However, he seemingly loses his identity according to the second example. Different perceptions, which are presented in the text, can be connected to the author's unclear position towards the essence of an ethnic identity.

The term *nation* generally indicates to the collection. In the Middle Ages it had a narrower meaning. It denoted different identity groups. We have already given certain examples. The term *nation* is met eight times in St. Abo's “life”. *Nation* denotes a suit – Abkhazian leader “forgave Nerse and his suit” [Abuladze, 1963:58]. The same meaning has *nation* in the second example: “he was accompanied by 300 men from his *nation*” [Abuladze, 1963:58]. Besides having a narrow meaning, this term presents a broader sense in St. Abo's “life”: “and via his mercy (St. Abo – S. K.) he was loved by the whole *nation*...” [Abuladze, 1963:57].

The term *nation* conveys different meanings in “The life of St. Grigol from Khantsta”:

Nation denotes laymen – The laymen recognized Arsen as the Catholicos of Kartli: “and King Guaram and the whole nation said: “Amen!” [Abuladze, 1963:289].

Nation denotes a parish – “After this, blissful Father Grigol saw a revived nation in Shatberdi” [Abuladze, 1963:283].

Nation denotes a priesthood – “A group of God's angels surrounded him and the fragrance of incense surrounded a group of Fathers”.

Nation denotes people – Nerse “was severely fought by the nation of the Arabs” [Abuladze, 1963:58].

Nation denotes every people – “Christ made Blissful Grigol's dream come true and granted him the honor to build up deserts with sanctities to the consternation of kings and every nation” [Abuladze, 1963:283].

Besides different considerations of *nation*, hagiographic monuments, particularly, “The martyrdom of Abo Tbileli” and “The life of St. Grigol from Khantsta” present the examples, where the meaning of the term *nation* is not well-defined. Consideration of the content of a text

is very important for the understanding of ethno-terms. The study of the content of a text enables us to determine the load of terms. The above-given examples were chosen via the consideration of this fact. I did not give all the examples from two monuments. However, I tried to present the meanings of *relative* and *nation* exhaustively. It is worth mentioning that the terms denoting ethnicity were researched by different scholars. However, they were not studied in dynamics and hagiographic monuments were not systematically observed from the point of view of ethnicity.

The given paper is a part of a long work, which aims at researching ethnicity on the basis of the Georgian hagiographic monuments of the 10th -18th centuries. The above-given observation reveals an interesting situation from the point of view of the study of ethnicity. It highlights the Georgian cultural identity, which acquires a developed form in the hagiographic monuments of the following periods.

Generally, an ethnies can be defined as a unity of people, which has common cultural and social characteristics. This term has been widely used since the 60s of the 20th century. Some social theories discuss an ethnic essence of an ethnies. It is obvious that a precise choice of a theory has the greatest significance. It is a key issue for the determination of the phenomenon of the ethnicity. For this reason, I use an ethno-symbolist theory, which was suggested by E. D. Smith. According to it, the nation is a contemporary phenomenon, which has deep ethnic roots. This theory widely defines the essence, levels, types and categories of ethnicity. See Smith E. D., 2008.

The situation regarding the study of hagiography in Georgian as well as in western historiography can be seen in my paper: The study of hagiographic compositions from the point of view of historiography and source studies, in Georgian and western literature, GSEU, Faculty of Humanities, Center of History and Archaeology, collection of works, 2016, pp. 181-194.

See Giorgi Macharashvili's the meaning of ერი/eri and არაერო/araeri in old Georgian, Kartvelology, Ilia State University, N 6.

Mariam Chkhartishvili, *The Georgian ethnies in the epoch of religious conversion*, Tbilisi, Caucasian House and also St. Father Giorgi Mtatsmindeli and borders of Georgian identity in the 11th century, Georgian source studies, Tbilisi, Chronicle, 2006, Vol. 11, pp. 87-101, Mariam Chkhartishvili: *Saint George of Mtatsminda and the Forging of Georgian Identity in the 11th Century*. Histoire, mémoire et dévotion. Regards croisés sur la construction des identités dans le monde orthodoxe aux époques byzantine et post-byzantine Editor: Radu G. Păun, 2017, pp.73–89.

Theoretic works are not only translated in the Georgian scientific space. Ethnologists, culturologists and historians practically process the issues of ethnicity. This is vividly proved by conference materials as well as by recently held conferences, for instance, see "Ethnic and religious-confessional relations in Georgia: history and contemporaneity", the texts of the papers of the regional conference of 2013, TSU, Educational-scientific Institute of Ethnology.

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About the Masters of Painting of Matskhvarishi Taringzeli Church

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Georgian Studies](#)
- [Ketevan Gongadze](#)

Upper Svaneti is one of the most remarkable and exceptional areas in Georgia in terms of natural conditions and cultural heritage. The communities of this region are covered with a variety of castle-towers and churches. The unique fine arts school was formed here. During the epoch of its existence many paintings or hammered patterns were created, churches were decorated with monumental paintings. The art of Upper Svaneti was created self-sufficient, with its own form, which is completely distinguished in the general Georgian artistic thinking. A distinctive charm is endowed to this art by a close and an uninterrupted relationship with local customs or beliefs in which the Christian vision and the fusion of the artistic thinking and attributes have been combined during the centuries.

Latali community, beyond Baali, is the first among the communities of Svaneti. In Upper Svaneti it occupies the largest area. Supposedly, due to this fact this valley exceeds the rest of the communities with the monuments of cultural heritage. Latali community consists of ten villages, among them are Matskhvarishi, Ienashi, Ipkhi, Lahili, Lakhushti [Kenia... 2000: 82]. Most of the churches were constructed in the early medieval (the 10th -11th centuries) times, while the monumental painting was created in different periods. On the main road of Latali-Mestia, the church of St. Iona is erected. In its vicinity there are two churches - the raising of the Savior and Taringzeli. Matskhvarishi Archangels Church is located on a small mountain hill. It has a semi-edged apse and the outbuilding of the later period on the south. The doors are arranged on the southern and western sides, while the windows are made on three sides. The hall and the apse are independently covered. The altar wall is painted with a floral decor. The interior is fully covered with the painting.

We do not have an accurate historical information about the construction and painting of the church. Unfortunately, no ethnographic materials are known about this monument. Only few researchers review the architecture and wall painting of the church, including Ek. Takaishvili [Takaishvili, 1937: 361] and P. Uvarova [Уварова, 1904: 299]. V. Beridze considers the 11th -12th centuries as the date of the construction of the monument (Beridze, 2014: 304), while M. Kenia and G. Patashuri attribute the Taringzeli architecture to the 13th -14th centuries [Kenia... 2008]. The painting of the church is determined by the 16th century by M. Kenia [Kenia... 2008], R. Kenia and N. Aladashvili [Kenia... 2000:86] (pic. 1). Taringzeli painting is placed within the same period by N. Aladashvili, G. Alibegashvili, A. Volskaia [Аладашвили Н... 1966:125]. Latali community and the churches located here are reviewed by A. Stoianov in his work describing the traveling to the Caucasus [Стоянов, 1876: 383-391]. R. Bernoville mentions Latali Archangels Church in his book about Svaneti [Bernoville, 1875: 145]. In Upper Svaneti this is the only sample painting dating back to the 16th century. In the church there are inscriptions on

the southern pillar of the altar wall and on the entablature. V. Silogava worked on them. There is also the sample of two pilgrim texts as well as Giorgi Mgalobeli's (the 17th -18th centuries) and Ivane Katskhlia's (the 18th -19th centuries) inscriptions [Silagava, 1986: 301].

Some parts of Taringzeli frescos are quite damaged, but the overall decor is well-seen. In the conch of the altar, there is the scene "Christ in the Glory" with the Archangels, Seraph and Cherub. On the wall of the apse, the line of St. Fathers and St. Deacons is presented. On the sanctuary of the altar, there is the cross of Golgotha. The crosses of the victory are depicted in the niches of the apse. On the southern wall, there are scenes of "Nativity" and "Epiphany", compositions of "The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple" and "Dormition of the Mother of God". On the northern wall, there are "The Annunciation" and "Transfiguration". In the middle of the register the compositions of "Crucifixion" and "Pentecost" are presented and on the western wall three scales are depicted: on the arch "Raising of Lazarus", in the middle of the register - „Resurrection“ and "Enter into Jerusalem".

In the arch, there are the compositions of "Ascension", "holy Mandylion", "Christ of the Old Days". On the pilasters of the arch, contrary to each other are depicted the prophet kings - David and Solomon - with the raised hands. On the lower row there are St. Peter and St. Paul. On the last register of the southern pilaster St. Damiane's figure is remained. Straight forward there could be a figure of St. Cosmas, which is now destroyed. On the bottom register of the painting, there are four holy warriors depicted on the southern and northern walls: Artemius, Theodore Tyron, Demetrius and Theodore Straltelates. They bring military clothes and are equipped with combat weapons. On the low register of the western wall, there are the figures of St. Mothers: Marine, Irine, Ekaterine and Barbare. In the western part of the northern wall, on the lower register the fresco is vanished. Here could be the scene of St. George Diocletian or dragon piercing or the figures of the Church patrons - Archangels or the portrait images of donators of the church.



Pic. 1, Matskhvarishi Taringzeli Church

It is worth mentioning that the Ornamental Grace of the Matskhvarishi Taringzeli Church, window-frames and door-posts are filled with a plant decor. The western door lunette is adorned with Golgotha plant ornamental crosses. The entire surface of the altar wall is covered with the floral ornaments.

In the central arch of the eastern facade of Taringzeli, the hodegetria type of the Virgin with the child is presented on the top of the window. Now the painting is very damaged and only the contours and color fragments are readable. The researchers think that the painting was performed by the masters who had painted the interior [Аладашвили... 1987:118-119].

In general, Taringzeli frescoes clearly depict the artist's talent, which was revealed in the creation of a well-formed and a well-designed iconic scheme and program. Architectural forms and compositions are relevant to each other. The painting program is somewhat followed by the iconographic scheme of painting and the artistic vision, which developed in the Palaeologue era (Ubisi painting). Iconographic schemes of Taringzeli painting are based on art, which developed in the Palaeologue era, in the 13th-14th centuries: plurality of figures, architectural backgrounds united by the velum, a peculiar presentation of the elements of a landscape ("Christmas", "Epiphany", "Entering in Jerusalem", „Resurrection“). The vault expression of "Christ of Old Days" appears in Georgian art in the 14th century. Each plot is presented laconically ("The Presentation of Jesus at the Temple", "Raising of Lazarus", "Ascension"). Besides, there is an interest towards the altar composition (the 10th century) of Upper Svanetian Church. The iconographic program of Matskhvarishi Taringzeli Church is composed in such a way that it puts in the forefront a deep theological thought of a décor. Iconography of the scenes of Lord's cycle in this painting and the compositional structure are noticeably complicated. The master of general iconographic programs of painting does not avoid the use of different iconographic schemes and fully represents the general theological idea of painting - eternal salvation through the victim.

In the late Middle Ages (the 16th-17th centuries) several directions emerged in the Georgian monumental painting. In the second half of the 16th century the paintings of Mukhrovani, Gremi, Alvani, Nekresi, Akhali Shuamta, Khashmi, David Gareji Mravalmta complex and others were created in Kakheti. They clearly show the influence of Athos Artistic School. Among the western Georgian monuments of the same period, we can mention Gelati St. George and Holy Virgin Birth Churches, Bichvinta Church of Holy Virgin Birth and paintings of other churches. These samples belong to the circle of official paintings, where artists, trained in central schools, worked and reiterated the artistic approaches and principles that were appropriate at that time.

The article discusses the question of how many masters participated in the creation of the décor of Matskhvarishi Taringzeli Church. First of all, it can be thought that the painting program is drawn up by one of the creators, who is also the artistic leader. We assume that he worked together with two other masters, who performed certain parts of painting. The main painter reckoned the whole painting in unity and tried to create a united picture. This fact is detected in the colorful thinking of the whole painting, where the blue color of the background and garment dominates, purple revives the whole picture and golden is slightly put on the faces and nimbus.

It seems that the compositions "Christ in the Glory", „Annunciation“, „Nativity“, „Ascension“ and „Christ of Old Days“ belong to the main painter (pic. 2). He should also perform the figures of the holy warriors, holy mothers, St. Cosmas and Damiane. His handwriting is marked by a refined line in which the color is put locally and darker or whiter lines are placed above. Sometimes white lights are duplicated with more open or dark line of the main tone for marking

the wrinkles. These graphic lines do not create shadows, for instance, tunic of the angel in "Annunciation" (pic. 3), the maphorion of the Mother of God in „Nativity“, cloaks of saint warriors.



Pic. 2, „Glory of the Christ“



Pic. 3, „Annunciation“

The first painter reveals his trained hand. The compositions are distinguished by a balance as well as by the underlining of semantic accents and wholeness. Details of cloaks of the characters are processed with flowing graphic lines. They are colored with grocery, wine, dark blue, gold, brown and brownish tonal rankings. The figures are prolonged, but erected proportionally. Faces of the figures of the first painter are oval: by a brown smear on golden flooring basis there are marked figures, graphic white lights are put on faces orderly. The figures are calm, sprinkled with eyebrows, short and straight nose, little lips. "Shadows" are gently filled with a dark green paint. The glares are put with short barriers on the eyebrows, eyelids and nose. Especially expressive is an almond eye cut with a honey-eye walnut that seems to be sunk into the green color of "shading". For example: the face of Christ in the composition "Praise the Lord", faces of St. Irine (pic. 4) and St. Damiane, etc. The faces are calm.



Pic. 4, St. Irene.

The following compositions should belong to the second painter: "Presentation of Jesus at the Temple", "Entering in Jerusalem", "Crucifixion", Resurrection", "Pentecost" and "Dormition of the Holy Virgin". Moreover, the figures of saint fathers and deacons in the apse, the images of Saint Peter and Paul as well as the figures of David and Solomon presented on the pilasters (including the image of "Holy Mandillion") should have been painted by the same artist. The second master's writing is characterized by more dynamic, moving compositions: the narrative is enriched by the inclusion of additional characters and details. The attempt of the conveyance of the spatial depth is felt in the consideration of the architectural and landscape elements. The proportions of the figures are more or less protected, but in some scenes some parts of the body are exaggerated, for instance, the body of the Savior is prolonged in the "Crucifixion", the hands are "stretched" and the head is even smaller. The second master's figures are distinguished with movable gestures. Local colored spot of the cloak is uniformly treated with hard white lines or with the smears of contrasting colors, for example: „Crucifixion“ (pic. 5), "Dormition of the Holy Virgin".



Pic. 5, „Crucifixion“

A line is rarely duplicated via the same or other color. For example, in the "Crucifixion" on the background of Christ's khaki shroud, the wrinkles are put on with brown and yellow lines. The graphic lines of clothing are uniformly concluded on the surface without any form of reference. The faces of characters of the second master have the form of an egg. On the basis of golden, the lines of the faces are outlined by a dark greenish-brown shawl, the areas around eyes, nose and nipple are "shadowed". The spots of tetra are distributed along the nose and near a nostril, a couple of smears are placed under the eyelids, on the cheeks and under the chin. The tetra smear often takes the form of a beam on a cheek. A round black pupil is inserted into a rather narrow eye. In some compositions individual characters' cheeks are clarified, for instance, the face of Mother Goddess in the scene of "Dormition of the Virgin Mary" (pic. 6). Similarly to the first painter's style, the color of the garment is distinguished by its rich color and variety.



Pic. 6, The face of Saint Mary from "Dormition of the Mother of God"

The scenes of "Epiphany," "Transfiguration", "Raising of Lazarus" should belong to the third master. First of all, the third master is distinguished from the previous two painters with a relatively open color gamma created by an excessive use of white spots and lines. Along with a grocery color, there are sandy, dark green and different tones of brown. White graphic lines are put in a chaotic order. In the works of the third master there is a clearly visible destruction of the proportions, unnaturally prolonged Christ's hands (in the compositions of "Epiphany" (pic. 7) and "Raising of Lazarus" (pic. 8)) and John the Baptist's right hand in "Epiphany". A grotesque figure of the servant is in the scene of "Raising of Lazarus". Modeling of faces is especially noticeable - thick, wide and rough spots of white color are put plainly on the basis of the golden flooring of the face. Eyes, nose and chin areas are filled with greenish-shimmering shades. Unlike previous two painters' styles, an eye cut is narrower with deep-seated pupils, for example, the face of the Savior in the composition of the "Epiphany" (pic. 9).



Pic. 7, „Epiphany“



Pic. 8, "Raising of Lazarus"



Pic. 9, The face of the Savior from the scene of “Epiphany”

According to the issues discussed above, each master was not attached to one of the registers. The difference is not in composition, but in the form processing and stylization. The stories covered with different handwritings are located in certain sections of the interior of the

church. This fact makes us think that a particular master painted a part of the church painting. The first master performed the conch of the altar and its surrounding arch scenes as well as the depictions of individual saints of the lower register. The second master performed the compositions of middle registers of three walls, while the third master performed the painting of western part of arches and vaults of the western wall. In each master's handwriting is felt an individual perception of artistic principles or methods of reflection. Despite characteristic peculiarities and different levels of the work, it is obvious that three masters worked in one workshop, because the painting is perceived as common and the overall mood is created.

The next subject of our research is finding the place of Matskvarishi Taringzeli painting in the space of the post-Byzantium art (its belongingness to the artistic directions of that period).

Despite the eccentricity and a delicate arrangement of the iconographic program, the decor of Taringzeli painting is less related to an official line of painting, because it is quite different from classical monuments. There are no overloaded cycles, numerous expressions of saints, excessive coloration [Mamaiashvili, 2008:57]. In addition, a relatively steady hand and a simplified character of the picture are felt in Taringzeli. However, the principles of the post-Byzantium artistic vision are taken into account. On the other hand, in Taringzeli painting the signs characteristic for "national stream" are not crossed clearly, in particular, there is the ignorance of spatial laws and apparent disruptions of the proportions and naïve faces. Based on the summarization of the above-mentioned characteristics, Taringzeli painting can be placed between "professional" and "national" paintings, where centuries-long and powerful traditions of local art school are combined.

see Burchuladze N., Icons of Ubisi Monastery and painting of the church, the 14th century, Tb. 2006.

see Aladashvili N., Altar window composition in the churches of Svaneti. Materials of IV International Symposium of Georgian Art, Tb., 1983.

see Khuskivadze I., "National" painting of the Georgian churches of the late Middle Ages, Tb. 2003.

Mythologem of a Mill and a Miller in Oral Speech and Fiction

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Georgian Studies](#)
- [Khvtiso Mamisimedishvili](#)

A mill occupied a significant place in the economic life of a traditional society and not so long ago it represented one of the unchangeable elements of a cultural landscape. It was predictable that the process of “transformation” of cereals into the flour would be considered as a sacral act in the mythos of farming peoples. In contrast to this, besides a highly economic purpose, a mill and its environment were assumed as objects where at a certain time of a day demonic creatures demonstrated their severe nature. The whole system of stereotypic views on the topics of a mill and a miller were reflected in Georgian and European peoples’ oral speech. This system comprises very important elements for the study of socio-religious processes and folk mythological imaginations.

A mill – a threshold element of two spaces

A time-spatial configuration of a mill – the darkness of night, a mysterious noise of water and stones, a geographical environment and a folk tradition of the perception of the universe - created favourable conditions for the formation of a mythologem of a mill, an economic item associated with demonic forces. A mill was located on a borderline, near the water, in a suburb of a village or far away from a village, where “inner” (the arranged world) was replaced by “outer”, foreign, hostile and chaotic space, which became dangerous for a traveller or any passer-by. A mill as an outstanding object of a bordering space acquired a status of a dangerous place in the perception of a traditional society. Demons were activated, witches and demonic creatures acquired a severe appearance and hurt people. An old mill acquired a mystic image and created an appropriate environment for nightly adventures.

I think that the formation of the mythologem of a mill and demonic plots related to it was facilitated by its task – the transformation of one subject into another, the usage of natural forces (a wind and water) in its functioning and a strange noise continuously made by it. It is worth mentioning that the grains were ground not only throughout a day, but this process often lasted a whole night, until the dawn. This fact is wittily described by the following improvised verse:

“The sickeners built a mill,
Kdachali is tickling,
A pack is ground per night,
A cart is rattling”.

As a rule, peasants shared news to one another in a mill and according to some notes, they held secret gatherings there. Bernar Klevoreli (1090-1153) - one of the most selfless ecclesiastic and political figures of Western Europe - called a mill “a nest of lewdness”. He was so outraged by the abomination, which dominated in mills, that he demanded their wiping from the face of the earth for the sake of a soul [Iastrebitskaia, 1981:158]. The formation of the mythologem of a mill could be also effected by a religious ideology, which dominated in the Middle Ages. A mill acquired a doubtful reputation in the Western European tradition. St. Bernar called it a nest of lewdness and prostitutes’ shelter, while the legends considered an old and a deserted water-mill as the space of demonic creatures’ activities. A mill was closely related to the demonic world in Georgian, Caucasian and European peoples’ traditions.

According to some peoples’ conceptions, a miller could not build a mill without the consent of demonic forces. “He had to get a permission from a water-man, who settled under a wheel of a mill. Otherwise a demonic creature would flood a mill” [Vedernikova, 2014:15]. Building a house near a ruined mill was not permitted, because it was considered as a “jinxed” place. According to people’s belief, the inhabitants of the house would not be happy. They would not survive rage and danger of demonic creatures.

According to Chechen and Ghilgh versions of The Epos of Narts, the first mill was built by Seli Pira – a younger brother of Seskat Solsa. Although Seli Pira was not well-built and physically strong, he was very shrewd and clever. According to the legend: “Once Seli Pira went to the next world and came back with a water-mill. Before that, the Narts ground the grains only with a hand-mill. Seli Pira built a mill on the river and started grinding grains” [Dalgat, 1972:302]. According to the mythological legends, cultural heroes take from the next world the initials of civilization and subjects necessary for a religious-economic being. A mill was not an exception according to this viewpoint.

A mill as an extremely necessary and important economic object is often presented in the proverbs: “A mouse can spend all life in a mill, but understand nothing about milling”; “When the back of a donkey needed scratching, it approached a door of a mill”; “Everyone may say anything, a mill must grind”; “If the stones of a mill do not help each other, one’s rotation will grind nothing”; “A mill does not grind with a brought water” (Laz); “If you have money, you will make a devil to rotate a stone of a mill” (Chinese).

In demonic legends related to a mill (some of which are built on apparitions) the action takes place in the real world. The feeling of reality is strengthened by witnesses’ narration and a familiar geographic environment. Folkloric narrations of this type present toponyms and characters known to the tellers. As a rule, this style of folk works reinforces a realistic background and makes an oral text trustworthy and more convincing.

A mill – a place of a miraculous birth

Many mystic phenomena and retellings are connected to a mill in folk legends. According to the Tushian legend, a mythic space of a mill is a place of a miraculous fecundation of a child: “One woman was in a mill, where she fell asleep and became pregnant” [Kiknadze, 2009:326]. Inan, who was turned out of her house for her pregnancy, came back to a mill. Suddenly, “a

rock opened there. A man wearing a shepherd's cloak came out, took a woman's hand, took her into the rock and it closed". This legend is based on demonic motives. Once a poor regretful mother saw turned-off Inan near a mill. She rocked two golden cradles and sang for two babies with a pleasant voice. As soon as Inan saw her mother, she took the cradles. "The rock opened and Inan entered it. Afterwards, the rock restored itself" [Kiknadze, 2009:327]. As a rule, the plots similar to Inan's Tushian legend begin old eposes, which retell about the fecundation of a traditional hero and his birth. A mill is a place of the fecundation of twins lying in a golden cradle. At the same time, it can be a place of the birth of a traditional hero similarly to a deceased's burial vault, a crib and ruins of a fortress. In the fairy-tales of the peoples of the world we come across a plot, where a step-queen turned-off by a step-mother gives birth to a prince in a mill [Kurdovanidze, 2000:403].

Witches near a mill

Several elements have a universal function in a time-spatial structure of demonological legends related to a mill. They play an important role in Georgian and North Caucasian Peoples' legends as well as in demonological tales of Western Europe.

According to the legends, a mill and its environment are arenas for witches, because evil spirits acquire the appearance of a wolf or an unoffending old woman right there, in the space transient between the unfamiliar and home.

Some demonological legends are based on a plot of a night meeting of a witch and a miller in a mill. Although a witch acquires an image of an attractive woman, the hidden comes to the light during the meeting - a witch reveals a characteristic feature of a demonic creature (the so-called "ankle-perversity") and a man repulses a dangerous enemy with a charred log. According to the Tushian legend, the witches were turned out a mill by famous Kumulaurtian hero Shete Gulukhaidze. Once at night Shete was sitting near the fire in the mill located close to Khoshani grove. A young woman opened the door, entered the mill and invited other person too: "Come, come, Shete has a good fire. Let's warm a little bit". Shete looked at the woman and saw her wrongly set legs. "Disappear an offspring of the Devil!" – Shete took a charred log and flicked it. The devil-woman rushed away and jumped into a milling machine [Kiknadze, 2009:335].

The Ghighlian legend "How Batar paved Asi Ravine" tells about a story of giants, which used force against women near a mill [Dakhkilgov, 2012:183]. The tales connect unpleasant and fatal accidents to a mill and its surroundings – the so-called "jinxed space".

According to a narrator's retelling recoded in village Jria of Sachkhere Municipality, "a whole village avoided passing a mill at night. Everyone said that it was a jinxed place. Demons usually gather near a mill and walking there at night is dangerous, - we were told during childhood. My grandfather's brother was killed in a mill. A lot of bad events are connected to a mill" [TSUPA, N31142].

It is strange, but according to the German folk song, a beauty lives in a mill of a ravine of a black forest: ...*"Und in dieser Mühle im Shwarzwälder Tal, da wohnt ein Mädels so schön..."* [Weber, 2012: 103]. The song tells nothing about the destiny of the beauty.

Many versions of the heroic song “Torgvai’s maiden Nana” was spread in the mountains of Eastern Georgia. According to this ballade, the Lekians abducted Tushian girl from a mill: “Torgvai’s maiden Nana cried in Chigo’s mill”. According one of the spread versions, Abesalom and Eteri met each other in a mill, but the Devil separated them:

“God’s cornfield is in the heavens, bronze is shining,

A mill is working via a wind, ether is surrounding a customer...

... Curse the Devil, a separator of a good boy and a girl!” [Anthology, 2010:101-102].

According to the logic of this version of the text, it can be assumed that Abesalom and Eteri ended their lives tragically, because they had met in a mill - in a “jinxed” place.

It was assumed that a mill would be led by a man. Therefore, a man was usually considered as a miller. However, in some traditions a female was also connected to a mill. According to the Ossetian mythology, the daughters of the ruler of waters (Donbetir) were obliged to rotate the wheels of a mill regularly. The Epos of Narts retells how ruler of waters Donbetir awarded Soslan with a mill: “You built a mill on my waters – said Donbetir – I will caution my daughters to rotate the wheels of a mill regularly” [Narts, 1988:106].

Mythological legends and biblical texts present a mountain and its top as the place of herophany. The heavenly sanctity prefers high places. In case of a mill, we deal with an event, which is contrastive to herophany, because in folk texts it is considered as a space of gathering and activating of devil and witches. According to the Tushian legend, “a woman went to the mill. It was full of devils” [Kiknadze, 2009:332]. Another edition tells about a waterwheel of devils: “Late at night Aludaidze approached the mill and saw that devils had lit the fire, put the watermill in motion and went around dancing and playing. He was also invited: “Irodi, come, warm yourself, you must be cold” [Kiknadze, 2009:332]. It seems that devils wanted Irodi to join a round dance near a mill late at night in order to devilise and entice him to enter their perfidious circle.

The devils do not hold only ritual orgies. The strength of devil-confided witches increased near a mill. They mostly bewitched there, because one kind of an object was turned into another kind (grains turned into flour). The witches acquired a terrifying appearance of a wolf in order to steal sheep from a flock and separate a lamb and a shepherd.

According to J. Shanaev, Koba and Batir left a flock of sheep without attention for a short time. The shepherds were surprised after finding their unharmed sheep in a while. However, all the entrusted sheep was bitten. They doubted that biting had a private reason. The shepherds saw a wolf running to the village. Batir ran after it. Near the village footprints of a wolf changed into woman’s ones. Batir followed the footprints. They led to a mill, where women were sitting calmly. They were spinning a thread on a spindle. The shepherd was sure that entrusted sheep was bitten by a witch, which rushed into a flock with an image of a wolf. Afterwards, a witch turned into a harmless old woman and joined the women spinning a thread near a mill. According to the legend, the witches twin a thread on a spindle for concealing evil intents.

Twining a thread considers turning one subject (wool) into another (thread). According to J. Shanaev's note, "As it is told, these witched turned into wolves near a mill and hurt those, whom they angered for" [Shanaev, 1870:24-25].

A mill, a shepherd, a sheep, a witch and a wolf are the elements of demonological legends. It seems that surroundings of a mill create a convenient environment for bewitching. A witch strips itself there and rubs its back against the ground in order to take an image of a wolf. It seems that near a mill the ground acquires a magic force, which can turn a human being into another creature. According to the Tushian legend, a shepherd saw how a woman left village Parsma late in the evening. She approached a mill, "stripped herself", rolled on, stood up with an image of a wolf, rushed into the flock, stole a yearling sheep and disappeared in the ravine" [Kiknadze, 2009:333].

The major characters of the legends connected to a mill are the members of a teller's family. The tale recorded in village Savane, whose plot considers a depressed and a domesticated devil, begins in the following way: "Once at night the grandfather, who was accompanied by the oxen, came from Bakhioti mill. He brought a ground corn. A demon set on his cart"... [TSUPA, N31131]. "My grandfather said: once at night I came from the mill. The demons stood around the fire and clapped their hands" [TSUPA, N31141]. As all other demonic forces, demons became activated near a mill and revealed their demonic characteristic features there. The opposition of two different spaces, peculiarity of a landscape, twenty-four-hour rhythm of working, darkness, noise, transference of one type of production into another created a whole system of imaginations, which resulted in the formation of stereotypic viewpoints about a mill, facilitated demonization of a miller and his characterisation as a negative and a dangerous personality.

A mill is connected to demonic forces even in the legends spread in Western Europe. The Luzhian (the Luzhians live in Saxony) tale about Kramat is constructed on the mythologem of a mill. According to the legend, young Kramat saw an old mill on the bank of Black River, near Schwarzkollm and Koselbruch. A magic master and his pupils lived there. Kramat stayed in the mill. Later he heard that the mill was bewitched and the master was a follower of a black magic. The plot of the legend comprises the opposition between Kramat and the master. In 1971 German writer Otfried Preussler wrote the novel "Kramat" on the basis of the Luzhian tale, which became very popular. It has been translated into 31 languages of the world [Preussler, 1980].

A mill in "The life of Serapion of Zarzma"

The mythologem of a mill turned out to be attractive for the writers of different countries of the world. Some famous literary works were created on the topics of a mill and a miller. Among them are Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's fable "Kad known as a donkey" and Alfons Dode's story "The secret of miller Korneli". Frantz Schubert created the vocal cycle "A fair miller-maid" („Die schöne Müllerin“) on the basis of the poem of Romanticist poet Wilhelm Müller. An ancient confirmation of negative, demonic images of a mill and a miller are met in the Georgian hagiographic writing, particularly, in Basili Zarzmelis "The life of Serapion Zarzmelis", which was written in the beginning of the 10th century. The composition tells about the work of saint monks

and building of monasteries in Samtskhe. According to “The life of Serapion Zarzmeli”, great sovereign of Samtskhe Giorgi Chorchaneli promised Father Serapion to grant to the monastery those lands, which would be walked by Serapion and his companions from the dawn till the sunset. Serapion’s and his spiritual brothers’ travelling for the “marking” of monastic lands passed with obstacles. According to the composition, the mill built on the confluence of two rivers was a gathering-place of demonic forces. Wicked and wild people lived in a mill. They appeared as demonic creatures and blocked saint fathers’ way. Basili Zarzmeli characterises them with extremely negative features: “But there was a mill, a house on the confluence of rivers, which was called a brethren and there were wicked men, similar to beasts, as in a deserted and a foreign place [Basili Zarzmeli, 1987:652]. A mill and its surroundings were presented as a dangerous place. Saint Fathers tried to pass quickly “these rowdy men”. The people, who left the mill, “ran near the confluence of rivers like demonic creatures”. They were aggressive towards Saint Fathers and detested them” [Basili Zarzmeli, 1987:658-659]. According to the composition, the millers attacked the monks: “As they saw us near a mill, they began attacking and ran furiously in front of us” [Basili Zarzmeli, 1987:652]. Serapion predicted that the mill would soon wipe from the face of the earth. The author of the composition presented the epithets (“demonic”, “beast-like”, “wicked”, “rabid”) for characterising the men coming from the mill, which were similar to the features of demonic creatures gathered near a mill in a folk text. Finally, the evil was punished and God’s rage fell on the mill - a meeting place of evil forces and a part of a chaotic space. On the second day, the earthquake split the rock located in the west of the lake. The water of the lake flooded the mill. According to the composition, “the place of a mill-house disappeared after flooding” [Basili Zarzmeli, 1987:659].

G. Tabidze’s “An old mill”

G. Tabidze’s poem “An old mill” depicts a poetic apparition - a house-race of devils near a mill located close to the mouth of two rivers: Mtkvari and Aragvi. Z. Kiknadze researched thoroughly a chronotope, a structure and an essence of this poem [Kiknadze, 2015:211-222]. It occurred that the poem was initially published in 1919 and its title was “Saint George”. However, later, in the conditions of the soviet censorship the author renamed the poem and entitled it as “An old mill”. In the text Saint George was replaced by “the flame of the light”. G. Tabidze relied on the folk tradition and presented the mill as a meeting-place of demonic creatures, particularly, women-demons with beautiful faces. The author’s poetic mastery reached the highest top, when he depicted a twilight landscape on the background of an old mill:

“The moss covers a ruffled mill like a blue fairy-tale,

The water crakes as crystal circles

And in the light beautiful women-devils with

Ankle-long hair will mix in the fountain –

They are crying, worrying, dancing, laughing,

One hundred thousand and many thousands of women-devils”.

[Tabidze, 2005:57].

Z. Kiknadze, who dedicated a very interesting essay to this poetic work, assumes that “An old mill as well as Saint George is the main character of the poem... a mill and the saint oppose each other as the representatives of different, contradictory, irreconcilable cultures [Kiknadze 2015:212]. Similarly to folk legends, Galaktion’s poem does not determine the time and space of women-devils’ activation. They appear at twilight in the mill, which is built on the confluence of two rivers. According to people’s imaginations, the season of devils’ activation becomes known. It comprises October and November - a month of imps. Devils’ ravaging lasts until St. George’s feast. Afterwards, devils disappear, because they are afraid of St. George [TSUPA N31141]. In G. Tabidze’s poem a house-race of demonic creatures stops, when St. George appears near an old mill:

“The voice of admiration-madness will not stop –

Until St. George rides a horse!

Dryness slows down, the sky pales and the sun rises,

An old mill stands as a bent billow”.

[Tabidze, 2005:57].

G. Tabidze presented poetically the pictures of the opposition of sacral and demonic forces via relying of mythological universalities and traditional folklore images. A tropic speech, a rhythm and a key of the poem make the reader feel noise, passion and Dionysian violence of demonic creatures.

A miller

Two types of attitudes have been formed in relation to a mill in a folk tradition. On the one hand, a mill was considered as a necessary object of an economic life, which enabled a miller to produce a product (flour) of vital importance from grains. On the other hand, a mill and its surroundings gained the reputation of a geographical space dangerous for human beings.

In literature as well as in folklore demonological motives were not connected to an ordinary inhabitant of a village, who could use a mill as an industrial enterprise of a common possession. A person having a social status of a miller became a mythological figure with demonic features. Traditionally, a miller possessed a mill and his major professional activity was grinding grains.

Certain millers were accused in having relation with devils and evil forces in Western Europe of the Middle Ages. Some of them were faggoted. Worldly known contemporary Italian scientist Carlo Ginzburg dedicated a very significant work to this topic. In one of his works (“Cheese and worms - the world of a miller, who lived in the 16th century) he relies on the inquisitional protocols and tells about Friulian miller Domenico Scandali. Domenico Scandali, also called Menokio, spent all his life in small Italian village Montereal, where he lived an ordinary village life. He had a mill and worked on land. Menokio stood inquisition two times, in

1584 and in 1599. The second trial ended fatally. He was accused and was faggoted in 1600 [Ginzburg, 2000:224]. C. Ginzburg deals with another analogous history about miller Pigino, who lived in a small village on Apennine Ridge. In 1570 Pigino stood Ferrari inquisition. The inquisitional protocols revealed that these two millers, who lived far away from each other and had never seen each other, spoke “the same language” at the trial. After the torture, both millers confessed in having relation with the devil and evil forces [Ginzburg, 2000:224]. According to C. Ginzburg’s viewpoint, a miller was easily doomed to a hellish torture, because a traditional rivalry-contradiction between the peasantry and a miller endowed him a reputation of a robber, a swindler and a shrewd person. As a result of his social status, a miller was isolated from the society of a village of the Middle Ages.

The folklore has presented a miller as a character having an unordinary strange behaviour and moral principles. According to folk imaginations, only a man having a secret knowledge could supervise a mill (as well as a smithy) and resist water. A successful work of a mill depended on his professionalism. It was assumed that if a miller’s work was progressive and he successfully led affairs, he was assisted by demonic creatures, which lived in the water and rotated its paddles. Prohibitions spread in some peoples originate from these facts, for instance, it was prohibited to swim and catch fish in the water of a mill. Women and children avoided entering a mill, because in a traditional society it was assumed as a manly space. After the death of a miller, his heir would lead a mill.

According to the folk conception, the magic assisted a miller in the relationship with demonic creatures. It was acquired in the area, where two spaces bordered each other – humanly and hostile to it. Among a man’s traditional professions – smithery, sheep-farming, carpentry, farrier’s work – milling was the closest to the magic, because it required the knowledge different from usual daily activities. The transformation of grains into flour was regarded as a magic activity. This fact resulted in the spread of the viewpoint that a miller was a witch confided to demonic creatures.

The proverb “a good miller’s soul is in the hell and where can be a bad miller’s soul” echoes the stereotypic viewpoint formed about a miller. In some legends, meanness was added to a miller’s negative features. According to one Russian legend, a miller did not show a holy mercy, when Christ dressed in a poor man’s clothes entered a mill [Afanasiev, 1914:60-61]. During working a miller changed his appearance and turned into “other” creature, because the dust of the flour covered his face with white and only eyes were seen. A miller’s grotesque appearance made an impression of having a mask. According to Slavonic demonological legends, a devil could get a miller’s image [Vedernicova, 2014:17].

Despite the fact that a miller’s work resulted in a daily relationship with a lot of people, in folk legends we see him in isolation. He is always a lonely old uncommunicative person. He does not have a family. The same features characterize a hunter, who gave his soul to Ochopintre. In return to the success in hunting, he was destined to die childless. According to the folk legends, a person confided to demonic creatures would not be happy in a private life. It seems that this status of a miller was stipulated by the character of his work and the relation to a dangerous bordering space.

Sosia the miller is an episodic character in *Otaraant Kvrivi* (Otar's widow) by Iliia Chavchavadze. He is presented as a man with traditional characteristic features. Like any other folklore miller, Sosia was "an old, reticent, secretive and reserved man". No one knew where he had come from and when he had found his shelter at Archil's mill. According to the author's description, Sosia lived at Archil's mill "to his old years as a miller, without a wife, children or relatives". The worldview of this character differed from that of the society. Sosia the miller did not behave like other members of the society. He remained an ultimate stranger for the people around him and even for Otar's widow, who was sincerely loved by the ill-fated miller. Such a strange, asocial and reticent stance and solitude of the miller could be the reason for the broken relations and an invisible opposition between Sosia and the society. According to M. Jaliashvili's viewpoint, "Symbolically, Sosia the miller expresses a man's marginality, his alienation from the world, his loneliness and homelessness" [Jaliashvili, 2016]. He is "a schematic, an artificial image of the story". Iliia Chavchavadze presents Sosia the miller via using absolutely realistic elements. The tragedy of this character has deeper social roots. It is associated with the miller's business as well as with his status in the society.

According to the author's words, Sosia is a man "treated badly by everyone" and a reader clearly witnesses this at the end of the story: people mock at the old man toppled down at the dead body of Otar's widow "to make him fun of his friends", compare him with an ownerless dog and vigorously hit him lying on the land with their legs. As Akaki Bakradze mentions: "Sosia is as lonely and ownerless as dead Otar's widow. People's attitude towards Sosia is rude, heartless and sarcastic" [Bakradze, 2013:159]. Indeed, the oppressed miller, the only mourner of Otar's widow, arouses strong condolence among the readers. Unlike his folklore doubles, Sosia is a positive character. Iliia Chavchavadze enriches an artistic image of a miller with Christian morale values.

The demonic-mystic world of a mill became a source of inspiration of many writers. Different artistic images of a miller have been created in the Georgian literature. Among them are Tede the miller from Vazha-Pshavela's story "A mill" or Bonia the miller from Chabuka Amirejibi's novel "Data Tutashkhia". A miller as a literary character plays either positive or negative roles in the works. Literature depicts mainly those features of a miller, which were acquired from his folklore ancestor. A dramatic image of a miller as well as social collisions and demonic-mythological elements of this image are familiar to the modern writing enriched with modernistic interpretations, because the writers of different epochs and literary directions use this character for the revival of a traditional folk life.

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Identifying the Structural Symmetry of an Oral 'Ur-Iliad' through the Reconstruction of Agamemnon's Earlier Embassies to Achilles

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Study of Literature](#)
- [Zaza Khintibidze](#)

Some time ago, in the present journal I made an attempt [Khintibidze, 2016] to argue that all the oddities, revealed by the Analytical theory and caused by the duals of "Iliad" 9.182-99, might be explained and thus, they should not be considered as structural flaws. However, in the process of interpretation of Achilles' double 'greeting' of Agamemnon's embassy (9.198 and 9.204) a new inconsistency has been revealed; the essence of the words - τῶ δὲ βᾶτην ("so the twain went"), or the formula depicting at 9.182a the *whole* embassy sent by Agamemnon to Achilles, appears to be somewhat changed at 9.192a: the 'formula' 2+3 ("so the twain went") – depicting in the previous case (9.182a) the whole delegation, or all the five persons portrayed as the virtual pair consisting of two heralds and three ambassadors - appears to be altered into another 'formula' – 2+2 depicting the virtual pair of only four envoys, that is, Ajax-Phoenix and Odios-Eurybates ("so the twain went" – 192a) for the next half line - ἠγείτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς ("and goodly Odysseus led the way", 192b) constitutes already *the third* unit of the same delegation! As a result, at this point (192a), instead of the previous 'formula' (2+3 in 182a) a new one is observed: 2+2+1. In this new 'formula' (192a), unlike the previous (182a), the same words - τῶ δὲ βᾶτην ("so the twain went") comprise only the 2+2 part of the 2+2+1=2+3 'equation', that is, only four envoys and not all the five members of the delegation. While making an attempt to explain this new inconsistency, I made an assumption that, initially, in the earliest and, perhaps, an oral and the shortest version of the Homeric embassy-scene the members of the embassy should be *only three* in number: two heralds and Odysseus; the other two ambassadors, Ajax and Phoenix, not yet included in the delegation, unlike the present version of the "Iliad". (The possibility of such an assumption has never been taken into account by the researchers of the issue under consideration.)

And again, not so long ago, I made an attempt to argue that the end of Book 9, in particular the so-called misleading report of Odysseus to Agamemnon (9.676-692), might be regarded as evidence that in the previous (that is, immediately preceding the present Book 9), and already recorded, or fixed in writing, version of Book 9 (which, however, remained, still, comparatively short in reference to the present version), although Ajax and Phoenix were by then already members of the envoy group, they did not, yet, take part in the conversation between Odysseus and Achilles (details in [Khintibidze, 2012]). Therefore, now, when the evidence appears that initially Odysseus was, perhaps, the *only ambassador* (accompanied by two heralds) sent by Agamemnon to Achilles (see the previous paragraph, above), we may assume that before the present (or known to us and been enlarged in writing) version of Book 9 and again, earlier, still, another version, which existed prior to the present version and was already

recorded, or fixed in writing (but remained, all the same, small due to ‘silence’ of Phoenix and Ajax), there might have existed an even earlier and original version of the embassy (the oral and the shortest one; and again Homeric), in which the *sole negotiator* with Achilles was Odysseus, accompanied only by the silent heralds (cf. [Khintibidze, 2005: 317-8]).

Is there any evidence supporting this above assumption, in the *present* version of our “Iliad”? I submit the answer might be positive: in Book 19, in the scene of Agamemnon and Achilles being reconciled, the former assures the latter that all the gifts that were promised on his behalf by *Odysseus* will be handed over. But, Agamemnon does not mention that the embassy consisted of anyone else; here are his words: *as for the gifts, here I am to offer all that goodly Odysseus promised yesterday, when he came to your dwelling* (δῶρα δ’ ἐγὼν ὄδε πάντα παρασχέμεν ὅσα τοι ἐλθὼν / χθιζὸς ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, 19.140-1). Of course, skeptics may deny that it was Odysseus that was the one that really offered these gifts (although, cf.: Phoenix also offering the same gifts - 9.515-9, 9.602b-5; and Ajax, as well - 9.638-9a). But the words by Agamemnon state that it was Odysseus, and only Odysseus, that *came to Achilles’ dwelling* (τοι ἐλθὼν [...] ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν) and offered him the gifts. (Cf. also Agamemnon’s words to Odysseus, at 19.194-5a: δῶρα [...], ὅσσ’ Ἀχιλῆϊ / χθιζὸν ὑπέστημεν δῶσειν – *the gifts [...] that we [i.e., perhaps, Agamemnon and Odysseus - the two other ambassadors, or Ajax and Phoenix, being ‘forgotten’ again] promised yesterday to give Achilles.*)

Another moment on which we may focus our attention, is that, along with the two principals, neither heralds are mentioned by Agamemnon; however, this argument may not be convincing, because the heralds do not take part in the negotiation with Achilles, they are simply present, and, therefore, may be omitted by Agamemnon. Besides, another motive for such an omission might well be their close association with the first, or the herald’s, embassy, causing Achilles’ wrath in Book 1, which is why Agamemnon replaced his personal herald Talthibios with more ‘neutral’ Odios for the second embassy, depicted in Book 9 (cf. [Hainsworth, 1993: 83 n. 170]). The above still leaves unexplained the omission of the two ambassadors, Ajax and Phoenix, unmentioned at this point by Agamemnon, unless they were a late *Homeric* addition in the Embassy-scene of Book 9.

If my argument is convincing, then it may explain very well all the ‘structural flaws’ of Book 9 - noticed by Analytical theory – and the ‘neutralization’ of which has bothered Unitarians for such a long period. I mean the oddities, arising in the process of the mission being carried out: Phoenix is to be regarded as the head of the envoy group (9.168), however, instead, Odysseus is leading the way (9.192b); Nestor giving each envoy a knowing wink ‘anonymously’ (granted, in the previous version – if the passage was already existing - these might have been the heralds and Odysseus), but especially at Odysseus (9.180b); Ajax giving a sign to Phoenix to begin the negotiations with Achilles (perhaps, another late and, again, Homeric addition in the present version), although it is Odysseus who starts the conversation with Achilles (9.223-5a); at last, why only Odysseus is mentioned sitting at the table in front of Achilles (9.218) and besides, why Odysseus is the only person asked by Agamemnon to report to him the results of the mission (9.672-3)?! Nagy’s observation - “[t]his pattern of self-assertion on the part of Odysseus reflects in particular on one of his many traditional roles, that of the trickster” ([Nagy,

1979/1981: 51 §§14], and cf. also [Gordeziani, 1978: 77-9]) - is useful for our understanding of why Homer might have left unaltered the above oddities in the present version of the Embassy-scene after its final enlargement.

My answer, however, is simply that in the earliest and perhaps, oral version of the “Iliad” 9, the other principals were absent: the embassy consisted solely of Odysseus and ... the *silent* heralds; it was just a combined embassy of the two different missions from Book 1, both ordered by Agamemnon, as he does it here in Book 9, as well (cf. [Louden, 2002: 64]; the first mission, taking away Briseis from Achilles by two heralds, at 1.327-48a; and the second mission, returning Chryseis to her father by Odysseus, at 1.430b-87). So, in the initial, or an oral and the shortest, version of the Embassy-scene, the duals should depict the heralds and the sole ambassador, in other words the virtual pair, again: 2+1. These duals remained unchanged, although *before* the scene was recorded, or fixed in writing, two ‘silent’ ambassadors were added (that is, Ajax and Phoenix - the latter, obviously, had not yet been regarded as the head of the envoy group; even so, their inclusion in the delegation already indicated the beginning of the process of overshadowing Odysseus’ traditional image, that of unsurpassed negotiator, or the launch of the process of the transformation of Achilles into the *only* protagonist of the present “Iliad”): a poetic flair might have dictated to Homer, that from the artistic point of view, the changed reference of the formula (τῷ δὲ βᾶτην), at 9.192, could cause undoubtedly less damage to the whole composition of the Embassy-scene than the consequences of its neutralization (details in [Khintibidze, 2012: 3] b)).

All the same, Homer might have made some minor changes, in ‘endings’ of few words, when necessary (cf.: “[...] Goold’s ‘progressive fixation of the text’ [...] proceeded entirely without deletion or revision [made in a previously existing text] is highly improbable [...]” [Mueller, 1984/1986: 166]): in particular, the virtual plural στᾶν, at 9.193a – depicting in the present version all the five envoys divided already into the three units, that is, 2(heralds)+2(ambassadors)+1(Odysseus, “leading the way”) – initially, might have been in the form of dual number, i.e., στήτην (however, with the function of a virtual dual, unlike the real dual στήτην referring only to the two heralds in Book 1 at 332a) depicting all the three envoys divided into *only two* units, or 2(heralds)+1(Odysseus, “leading the way”). As for the Achilles’ present dual greeting, at 9.197 (χαίρετον / ἰκάνετον) - likewise in Book 1 at 334a and 335a with the *two* heralds (χαίρετε / ἴτ’) – initially, it might have been in the plural, as well, and not *necessarily* in the dual; while the verbs and the ‘famous’ “the most dear friends”, at 9.198, as well as at 9.204 (if by then there was already a need for Achilles’ dual ‘greeting’, or repeating of 9.198 at 9.204) - instead of the present dual (έστον) and plural (φίλιτατοί / φίλιτατοι ἄνδρες / ὑπέασι) - might well have been in the singular, depicting by that time the sole ambassador, or Odysseus, for the transition from the Achilles’ plural greeting (χαίρετε – “welcome”, in the plural) of the whole delegation to the singular “the most dear friend” (obviously impossible in the present version due to the enlarged number of ambassadors - from one to three) might have depicted clearly that only Odysseus is “the most dear friend” to Achilles and not the heralds (as well). In such case, however, after the insertion of the other two ambassadors into the Embassy-scene of a later version, the depiction of Achilles’ diverse attitude towards the ambassadors and heralds (details in [Khintibidze, 2016: 1]) would have appeared impossible: for the direct transition from the plural (the whole embassy, or all the five envoys, as a “truly

friends” to Achilles – 9.197) to the virtual dual - 2+1 (only three ambassadors – the two principals, or Ajax-Phoenix, and Odysseus, “leading the way”, as “the most dear friends” to Achilles – 9.198) might have made the above transition too sharp for listening. Besides, it would sound rather vague (who are “the most dear friends” to Achilles – heralds, ambassadors or both of them?) for the heralds were two in number and therefore, they were also appropriate to be portrayed by the dual number (this time, through real dual and not virtual, both forms, however, being identical). Presumably, this is the reason why Homer finally depicted the Achilles’ greeting at this point (9.196-8) only in dual (for transition from the virtual dual depicting the whole delegation – 3+2 to the same virtual dual now depicting only ambassadors – 2+1 might have sounded more smooth and unnoticed for a Homeric audience); and afterwards (9.204), when the context was clear, or indicating directly to only the three ambassadors, already separated from heralds, the poet repeated the same greeting from Achilles in the plural. And finally, the present dual “front pair” (πρωτέρω) of 9.199 might have been also in the singular (if the heralds were not invited to the table by Achilles, as it is in the present version, as well), with the meaning “front” portraying the only envoy invited to the table by Achilles, i.e., Odysseus, “leading the way”. Thus, Achilles’ greeting the embassy in the initial, or the earliest – oral and the shortest – version of “Iliad” 9 might have been more easily comprehensible to a Homeric audience.

The issue of the dual forms, at 182-99, in the Embassy-scene of Book 9 has repeatedly been used as evidence in support of the Analytical theory of multiple authorship of the “Iliad” ([Page, 1959/1976: 297-315, 324-35], and others), as well as in support of the concepts of both, ‘Written Homer’ ([Goold, 1977: 10-12], [West, 1978: 44 n. 1], and others) and ‘Oral Homer’ ([Nagler, 1974, 95-96 n. 35], for the discussion on the issue [Jensen, 1982: 43-44], [Nagy, 1979/1981: 53-4 §§17-9], and others; more recently [Louden, 2002]); which of the above approaches gives more convincing answer(s) to the question(s) which arise by the problem of duals in Book 9 of the “Iliad”?

All the above approaches, in my view, provide only “a partial solution of the problem” [cf. Louden, 2002: 62]: the analytical theory focused our attention on the problem, which obviously exists; the *traditional* Unitarian approach, as it seems to me, finally succeeded in an explanation of why Homer might had left unchanged the duals after enlargement of the Embassy-scene with its new members (I mean the possibility of novel comprehension by Homer himself - again through duals - of the already enlarged text, cf. [Khintibidze, 2012: 3) a)); due to the Oral Theory achievements, now we better understand both formulaic and thematic nature of Homeric composition, which plays, by any means, an important role in the composition of the Embassy-scene; finally, the newly established, let us say, the *neo-Unitarian* theory gives chance to demonstrate the oral and written stages of enlargement of the Embassy-scene. The attempt to ‘reconstruct’ these stages, in my view, provides possibility to “sketch the development” [cf. Mueller, 1984/1986: 172] of the process, in the end of which Embassy-scene obtained its present shape. (The following observation depends mostly on my present argument; the additional reasoning is subject for further discussion).

Although we know next to nothing about the initial, or an oral and the shortest, version of the Embassy-scene - the skeleton of which, in my view, was undoubtedly the integral part of the oral “Ur-Iliad” (but cf. [Mueller, 1984/1986: 173-4]) - we may, still, assume that the scene under

question was as 'concise' and 'fully' narrated (i.e., with minor number and size of dialogic parts) as it is depicted, at 327-48a and 430b-87, in Book 1 of the present "Iliad" (that is, in the case of two similar embassies). Neither can we say definitely whether the embassy ended with failure, as it is in the present version or, on the contrary, with success; if (taking into account the traditional image of Odysseus, that of unsurpassed negotiator) the latter (such possibility, however, requires even more detailed reasoning, which exceeds our present observation), then, the Embassy-scene, perhaps, *framed the end of the hypothetical oral 'Ur-Iliad', that is, the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon in the absence of Patroclus' death*, and this explains a lot in the present text of the poem, in particular, why it was so important and significant for the poet to achieve structural balance between present Books 1 and 9, or by then the beginning and the end of his orally created *small* "Iliad" (cf. the exact symmetry between the first and last songs even in the present *monumental* "Iliad", discovered by Bowra [Bowra, 1930: 15-6] and Whitman [Whitman, 1958: 157-83]). The successful embassy, perhaps, was *immediately* followed by the *respective* parts of the present Book 19, that is, the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon. (Cf. somehow vague "yesterday" – χθιζὸς, at 19.141a, and χθιζὸν, at 19.195a [see the details above], comprising, actually, the numerous events of Books 9-18.242 – instead of, perhaps, the initial and more precise "night-time", which might have become impossible due to the final enlargement of the poem: in the earliest version the *night* embassy, presumably, was *immediately* followed by the *morning* reconciliation, although at the time of the present reconciliation-scene, however, one more night has passed since the embassy-night necessitating, at this point, the change from the initial "night-time" to the present "yesterday".)

Thus, the *structural symmetry* (short version without commentary) of the initial, middle and final sections of a hypothetical oral 'Ur-Iliad' might have been as follows:

- A. Conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles due to Briseis
- B. On behalf of Agamemnon, taking away Briseis from Achilles by two heralds and returning Chryseis to her father by Odysseus, resulting in the wrath of Achilles
- C. Agamemnon announcing spuriously the termination of the Trojan War (Book 2 of the present "Iliad" without "The Catalog of Ships")
- D. The consequences of Achilles' withdrawal from the battle (the *respective* – mainly, narrated and not dialogic - parts of Book 8 of the present "Iliad" depicting the defeat of Greeks by Trojans, and not necessarily exclusively by Hector; perhaps, some similar parts of Books 4, 5 and 7, as well)
- C'. Agamemnon announcing truly the termination of the Trojan War (the beginning of Book 9 of the

present "Iliad")

B'. On behalf of Agamemnon, Odysseus - accompanied by two heralds - promising

Achilles the return of Briseis, resulting in the end of Achilles' wrath

A'. The returning back of Briseis to Achilles by Agamemnon and their reconciliation

Such might have been the Embassy-scene and consequently, the orally created small 'Ur-Iliad' before it was recorded, or fixed in writing, for the first time, by Homer himself. Since that crucial moment, the Embassy-scene – along with the whole poem – “grew over a period of many years and in a cumulative fashion” (cf. [Mueller, 1984/1986: 166], both orally (while poet was performing for audience) and in writing (“[...s]sometimes [Homer] must have thought of changes or additions he wanted to make [...] to what he [had] already written or dictated; [...]” [West, 2011: 391]); “[t]he resulting editorial problem [since the text was already recorded, or fixed in writing] was solved by addition rather than subtraction [...]” [Mueller, 1984/1986: 161-2]. As a result, the present embassy text of Book 9 contains:

- a) The two successive gatherings of Achaeans (however, cf. also similar scenes in Books 1, 2 and 19 [Lohmann, 1970: 214-27], [Hainsworth, 1993: 60 n. 11-2]), ‘general’, at 9.9-78 and ‘private’, at 9.89-181;
- b) The envoy group has two leaders (Phoenix and Odysseus);
- c) Achilles twice ‘greet’ the envoy group, in particular, the host repeats how close to him are the ambassadors (at 9.198 and again, at 9.204);
- d) When, at 9.222, Odysseus – together with others - had put from him the desire of food and drink, he immediately ... fills again a cup with wine, at 9.223b-4 (but cf. 9.92-5);
- e) Moreover, due to retardation (9.205-22, which is, perhaps, a late Homeric addition), although Achilles greets ambassadors already at 9.198, Odysseus replies to him in return with a reciprocal greeting only at 9.225, after 26 lines(!);
- f) At 9.202-4, Achilles orders Patroclus to mix wine, but immediately after this, at 9.206-17, both of them - instead of wine - start to prepare and serve the food;
- g) If Odysseus was the only ambassador in the initial version of the Embassy-scene, then, the present version's ἐκάστω (“for each”, at 9.203; if the passage 9.201-4 was already composed) in that presumably existed version, perhaps, was referring to the heralds, as well, whose presence during the negotiation process remains unclear in the present version;
- h) As it turns out (cf. 9.676-95), in the already recorded, or fixed in writing, but still short version of the Embassy-scene there was only one, or definitely negative, answer of Achilles, in response to Odysseus' address, and the two other ambassadors were already present, but they, still, did not participate in the conversation: however, in the immediately following, or the present, version - already been recorded and thus, naturally enough, been enlarged in writing -

Phoenix and Ajax, silent before, started to ‘speak’, that echoed in the *freshly added* encouraging speech by Diomedes, more specifically, in the particular part (9.701-3) of this speech (details in [Khintibidze, 2012]);

i) In the beginning of Book 9 we observe Agamemnon, Diomedes and Nestor; however, at the end of the book Nestor is not present any more (although this does not necessarily mean that in the beginning of the Book 9 Nestor was a late addition, since the end of Book 9 might have been changed, as well);

j) The dual forms (κήρυκε δῶν πεπνυμένω ἄμφω - two heralds, men of prudence both), at 9.689, with, obviously, “specific reference to the heralds” (cf. [Hainsworth, 1993: 86 (6)]) appear within the misleading report of Odysseus to Agamemnon (9.677-92). While commenting on these lines, that is, Odysseus’ speech, Hainsworth focuses on its obviously “diplomatic” nature, since “Odysseus is made diplomatically to report Akhilleus’ words indirectly [to Agamemnon]; he thus avoids offensive language [...]” ([Hainsworth, 1993: 147 n. 677-92]); in this connection, as it seems to me, by emphasizing the two heralds in the dual, Odysseus, perhaps, reminds Agamemnon and draws parallel with two heralds’ embassy (cf. in Book 1 Agamemnon, as well, giving the order (again, in the dual) to the two heralds to bring Briseis to him: ἔρχεσθον, at 1.322 and ἐλόντ’, at 1.323; at that point, however, use of the duals, especially, in the case of imperative mood - ἔρχεσθον is motivated by logical stress: “both of you”, or “just you two”, will take away Briseis from Achilles, and not me personally - unlike the initial intention of Agamemnon, at 1.137 and 1.161). Odysseus, thereby, explains diplomatically to Agamemnon why the mission failed. Meanwhile, another and more simple explanation of Odysseus using the dual forms (κήρυκε δῶν πεπνυμένω ἄμφω), at 9.689, might well be the desire of hero to stress, that not only one but both heralds are “men of prudence” and so, both of them – together with Ajax (9.689a) - will confirm the truth of his words. Hainsworth obviously, in my view, overestimates the so-called argument of the two heralds mentioned in the dual, at 9.689, regarding it, actually, as somehow clear evidence that, since “[...] the dual occurs at 9.689 and perhaps at [9.]170 (ἐπέσθων) with specific reference to the heralds [...]” [Hainsworth, 1993: 86 (6)], Homer “[...] improves an embassy of two heralds (Agamemnon’s first idea, it appears), [...]” [Hainsworth, 1993: 87 (6)]; and Segal, at the end of his remarkable article, quite surprisingly, makes an attempt to demonstrate that even in the present Embassy-scene “[t]he duals of 182-98, when understood in connection with the heralds and the “formal” side of the embassy, can give grammatical sense and harmonize with other details of what I believe to be a unified design[, t]hat design includes [...] the recurrence of the heralds in the dual in [9.]689, [...]” [Segal, 1968: 113-4]. This approach, followed more recently by other Homerists, as well [Stanley, 1993: 351-3 n. 9, with bibliography], “which leaves Achilles ignoring the great heroes and welcoming only the insignificant heralds”, in Griffin’s convincing view, “seems impossible” [Griffin, 1995: 52]). It should also be noted, however, that if in the initial Embassy-scene the mission was successful, then the line 9.689 might well be a late Homeric addition to the present version of the Embassy-scene;

k) Finally, I focus attention on two other passages of Book 9 (656-7 and 669-70a), depicting in the present version the return of the embassy back to Agamemnon through plural forms: according to the *traditional* Unitarian explanation, here Homer takes into consideration the heralds, as well [Gordeziani, 1978: 76]. Even though, I would like to focus attention on the

issue that these passages, as well as some of the passages discussed above, were obviously transferred by Homer from the earliest version unchanged. So, taking into consideration that in the initial version the envoy group consisted, perhaps, only of Odysseus and the two heralds, the question arises (cf. also [Hainsworth, 1993: 85 n. 182]): what was it about the delegation during its return back to Agamemnon, which made Homer not to use the (so-called virtual) dual number anymore, to depict the return of the embassy? My answer, again, is different from Hainsworth's approach: apart from Odysseus and two heralds, the *successful* embassy at its return could perhaps also consist of Achilles - who was either alone or accompanied by his fellow Myrmidons and Patroclus, certainly among them - following the delegation to Agamemnon's place for reconciliation with him; such an enlargement of the returning embassy should already establish the third unit of the delegation making impossible the use of dual number at this point.

All the above oddities, as it seems to me, are evidence for considering that the present Embassy-scene along with Book 9 of the "Iliad" has undergone the perennial process of gradual enlargement carried out by Homer himself; however, the revealing of each reason and exact details of those stages, or the phases of enlargement, conducted (through the oral, recorded, and written modes of the creation of "Iliad") by Homer himself, is the subject of still further discussion.

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For the Understanding of Aghaza's Literary Character in Vazha-Pshavela's poem "Host and Guest"

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Aghaza occupies an outstanding position among Vazha-Pshavela's literary heroes due to her internal complexity and dramaticism (the poem "Host and Guest"). In Georgian literary criticism the issue referring to the conscience in Vazha-Pshavela's epic poetry is usually discussed in relation to Aghaza. The scientific literature points that "...Vazha-Pshavela illustrated the tragedy of conscience on the example of Aghaza's personality" [Kiknadze, 2005:433-434]

Initially, Aghaza appears in the third chapter of the poem. Upon returning home together with Zviadauri, Jokola calls his wife to host the guest. Aghaza's entrance is preceded by a sort of an artistic pause as if the poet intentionally prepares a reader for meeting a new prominent character.

"A beautiful woman appeared

Dressed in black. Her body was

As slender as a silken thread.

She was a star torn down from heaven"

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:22].

A physical beauty and a spiritual loveliness are merged in a literary image of Aghaza. The revelation of her internal world starts at the point, when she encounters the scene of Zviadauri's "sacrifice". Aghaza, charmed by the courage of the guest, cannot stop the tears and shows an amazing compassion for him. Upon bemoaning Zviaduri, Aghaza is completely obsessed with a terrible anxiety. Although she blames the Kists for ignominiously killing a brave man, she casts the doubt on the fairness of her and her husband's conduct and fails in finding the serenity. Some of the researchers explain the grounds for Aghaza's pangs of remorse by her sexual sympathy for Zviadauri. According to Ilia Nakashidze's viewpoint, "Beautiful Aghaza fell in love with dead that made her commit a dangerous transgression" [Nakashidze, 1955:131]. According to Kita Abashidze, Aghaza "is obsessed with love and is subordinate to it. She disobeys the community and does not subordinate her passion and intention to anybody. She masters her heart and soul herself. As her husband sacrifices himself to the sense of friendship, she is enslaved by a fatal power of the feeling of love" [Abashidze, 1955:178].

Italian Kartvelologist Luigi Magarotto has the similar viewpoint regarding Aghaza's sympathy for Zviadauri. According to his words, similarly to the chivalric poems, in "Host and guest" "... the "forbidden" love between the hero of the poem and a virgin (or a married woman) plays a significant role. However, overcoming it becomes necessary due to the strict traditions existed in the community of the Kists. Aghaza, who met Zviadauri at the night of his visit, expresses her love during the sacrifice of Zviadauri at the cemetery" [Magarotto, 1999:43].

Despite the fact that some literary critics reject the possibility of the existence of the amorous elements in Aghaza's compassion for Zviadauri, it is interesting, how the text and subtexts of the poem present a real basis for the expression of the above-mentioned opinion.

Zviadauri spends only several hours in Jokola's family. Vazha-Pshavela makes no indications regarding the appearance of a slight sexual sympathy in Aghaza's inner self. Kita Abashidze's words seem surprising in this respect: "As soon as Jokola's wife sees Zviadauri, she becomes charmed" [Abashidze, 1955:178]. According to the poem, Aghaza treats Zviadauri as a guest and a friend of her husband. Vazha does not pay any attention to the flow of her thoughts and emotions as far as nothing unusual is happening to the woman. The author says nothing about Aghaza's spiritual state even when Zviadauri is captured by the Kists.

Aghaza reveals a special compassion for the guest as soon as she witnesses his amazing bravery. Zviadauri's personal power and steadfastness have a profound impact on a delicate soul of the woman and she gets completely mesmerized with this marvelous scene. Allegedly, in order to get rid of the misapprehension, the poet specially defines the cause of Aghaza's anxiety:

"The man's brave death

Was etched on her heart.

The spectacle had struck the woman

Like an arrow in the heart,

It obliged the lovely woman

To mourn the slain man as a duty"

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:38].

The motivation of Aghaza's action is clearly explained. The woman's unease is not caused by the death of the beloved person, but by observing "a man's heroic death". This exalted, astonishing picture captures Aghaza's heart. As a result, she becomes Zviadauri's mourner. Aghaza's compassion is reinforced by one more substantial psychological factor. The woman's tender heart takes pity on the man, who is bidding farewell to this world without his relatives' sympathy and consolation:

"I felt so sorry for the wretch,

Meeting his death in foreign parts
With neither relative nor comrade
Nor anyone to pity him.
But when they killed him with the knife
He wasn't flinching in the least"
[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:45].

Supposedly, the woman's words expressing her admiration for the fate of Zviadauri's wife are cited by the researchers, who claim the existence of the amorous elements in Aghaza's compassion (as the evidence of their viewpoint):

„I can't imagine that the woman
Who used to lie down by his side
I cannot believe it,
Her passion for her husband waning”

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:45].

Aghaza expresses her emotions with a womanly frankness and sincerity. “Her wife must have been happy” - she thinks and it does not mean at all that she yearns for being in her place. According to the poem, there exist no grounds for creating such desire in the inner self of Aghaza as far as Zviadauri does not possess any personal traits that the woman may miss in her husband. Aghaza is charmed with Zviadauri's steadfastness. This quality is an essential trait of Jokola's character. Aghaza knows her husband's indomitable, fighting spirit and manly firmness due to which he “has thrown the Kists into disorder many times before”.

According to the poem, Jokola and Aghaza have a delicate spiritual relationship. At first, the woman feels awkward to tell her husband the truth about mourning over Zviadauri, because she does not know how he will perceive this behavior, but at last, she manages to open her heart. Jokola's respond is appropriate to his personal dignity:

“You wept? You did a gracious thing.
How can I be the judge of this?
If always has been fitting that
A woman mourns a good brave man”

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:45].

This fact does not do any harm to the relationship between the wife and the husband. Aghaza's greatest fidelity and love are clearly revealed in the amazingly exciting poetic picture of mourning over Jokola.

“The wife cried over Jokola,
She often shed the tears.
The Alpine chamois
With an outstretched neck,
With a thick hair and a moony face
Embraced her husband as a pearly button”

[Vazha-Pshavela, 2009:303].

The most substantial is the fact that in the final scene of the poem the characters get together again in the mythological vision:

“They are drinking to courage,
To each other's respect
For the rites of host and guest,
To brotherhood and sisterhood”

[Vazha-Pshavela, 2009:305].

Vazha-Pshavela clearly and distinctly indicates that Aghaza's affection for Zviadauri should be considered only in terms of the relationship between a brother and a sister.

It is worth mentioning that the critics, being profoundly aware of the European literature, seek the amorous nuances in the relationship between Aghaza and Zviadauri. They review “Host and guest” in the context of the poetics of European romantic novels commonly enriched with amorous triangles. Considering a whole spirit of Vazha-Pshavela's literary writings, it can be immediately realized that the search for such details in the poem is not natural. Grigol Kiknadze, as one of the best researchers of Vazha's poetry, remarks: “the episodes pointing to amorous and erotic relationships occupy an insignificant place in Vazha-Pshavela's creative works. A vast majority of Vazha-Pshavela's poems are completely free from such motives... only after making great emphases upon the facts, some of the critics saw an amorous nuance in Aghaza's compassion for Zviaduri. This interpretation made an unpleasant impression due to its groundlessness” [Kiknadze, 2005:433-434]. As a matter of fact, Vazha-Pshavela's heroes are the individuals with a pure and an honest spirit, who charm a reader with their sincerity and fairness. Therefore, seeking the amorous motif in Aghaza's compassion is an obvious violation of the text. It replenishes neither its artistic nature nor the poem itself.

Let us see more concretely, why Aghaza feels a terrible pang of remorse at the end of the poem. The poet describes impressively opposite feelings, which arose in the woman's soul:

"Zviadauri's death was like

A ghostly vision in her eyes.

But this was no full-blooded weeping,

For though she wept she held it back.

She feared the opinion of the village

And also felt the fear of God

Whose anger would be wreaked on those

Who mourned the Chechen people's foes.

Such was her mind's thought, but her heart

Went its own way"

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:38].

According to the text, Aghaza feels the sense of guilt not because she was unfaithful to her husband and fell in love with a strange man, but because she has breached Islamic religious commandment – she mourned a pagan enemy. Aghaza is afraid of God, which, in her opinion, "will vent his wrath on" the mourner of the enemy of the Kists. Despite this fear, the "heart acts in accordance to its will". The woman feels an internal demand of mourning over Zviadauri and cannot stand the flood of emotions. According to E. Fromm's terminology, there is the struggle between authoritarian and humanistic consciences in Aghaza's soul: on the one hand, the consciousness of the guilt originated on the basis of the fear and reverence for the outer authority and on the other hand, the voice of the true ego stemming from the deepest entrails of the humanities. Aghaza's spiritual balance is disrupted due to this self-duality.

Despite the fact that Jokola tries to soothe the turbulent conscience of his wife and to persuade her that mourning over a worthy man is not a vituperative conduct at all, Aghaza does not feel internally confident about her own innocence. She still doubts the correctness of her and her husband's behaviors: "Both of us are sinful. The Kists cursed my husband... I am more sinful. I cried for a stranger". Vazha-Pshavela as a writer possessing a great psychological intuition, excellently reveals the woman's differently-arranged psyche. "Alongside with an internal strength, weakness is also typical of Aghaza. She, as a woman, depends on others' (public) opinion, which is the pillar of truth and individuality of her character. Bearing the consciousness and outlook of the community in herself, Aghaza perceives and evaluates her thoughts, emotions, activities precisely from this viewpoint" [Vasadze, 2010:81]. For this reason, the feeling of guilt does not abandon her and appears in the form of the torturous visions.

“What is this rumbling sound she hears?

A ringing swells up in her ears...

She catches, coming from the graves,

The angry protests of the dead.

A shriek of bitterness builds up

Like a burst of children’s crying.

“Have you no conscience, what have you done!”

They cry outraged. “May God almighty

Turn his anger on your head”

From their graves they shout at her”

[Vazha-Pshavela, 1981:39-40].

Aghaza dreams that she is confronted by the whole world. She is considered as a traitor. Aghaza is hexed by “grass, stones, sand”. Her desperation reaches the highest point, when the Kists do not even allow her to bury her husband in the cemetery: “Everyone turned back, everyone stood aside and I cannot bury the dead in the cemetery”. Aghaza sees the indifference. She “is burnt with a flameless fire”. Finally, rejected from everyone and tormented by the pang of remorse, she commits suicide.

Aghaza is a realistic character suffering a tragic fate and a split consciousness. She sacrifices herself for her own belief and the indifference and cruelty of the society due to which she wins a candid compassion of readers.

e. g. refer to [Kiknadze 2005:433-434], [Benashvili 1961:125-126], the analysis of Aghaza’s behavior is very interestingly presented in T. Chkhenkeli’s and I. Evgenidze’s works [Chkhenkeli 1989: 176-183], [Evgenidze 1989:367-373].

The characteristic of these concepts by Fromm. Refer to [Fromm, 1998: 3-16].

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For the Artistic-Historical context of the Idea of “Union” in the Works of C. Montis

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- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Study of Literature](#)
- [Nana Tokhvadze](#)

(“The pain is inspiration to the artists of a word”)

The literary work of Greek poet Costas Montis (1918-2004) coincides with the difficult epoch of historic-political breakthroughs on the island of Cyprus in the second half of the 20th century. On the one hand, the events that developed as a result of national-liberation battles of 1955-1959 have become a defining factor of modern Cypriot history. On the other hand, they played a crucial role in Montis' life and literary creativity. It should be emphasized that the discussions of historians, sociologists, diplomats or artists about this important stage of the history of the island leads to different positions. To the present day, the diversity of opinions is caused by the "reasonableness" of motives, aims and means as well as the expediency of the sacrifice. However, the aim of our research is to shed the light on the fact that Montis's entire work is the assertion of the opposite.

If we consider C. Montis' active involvement in the life of island, we will not be surprised by the domination of historical topics in his works. Moreover, perhaps the situation created in Cyprus gave no other choice. Within the framework of the article, it is important for us to outline the main aspects of the national-liberation struggle and the idea of "Enosis", which initiates a long and a continuous chain of C. Montis' poetic work. The main tools for the representation of an artistic-literary introspection are laconic, epigrammatic lines - "minutes". By using this method, C. Montis facilitates the restoration of the historical realities of the 20th century with a full intensity of poetic dramatism, which was "omitted" by the history, willfully or unwittingly. This fact distinguishes Montis from the modern Greek poets and represents the charm of his poetry.

One minor, poor district

The history passed twice, passed three times

And nothing was found to be noted [Μόντης, 1987: 215].

Cypriot rebellion

And suddenly, the freedom pushed us

As a classmate, who met us in the street [Μόντης, 1993: Γ ': 175].

1955-1959

That was when liberty followed our fist.

It was when the freedom united our fists [Μόντης, 1993: Γ ': 90].

Freedom

Freedom needs a lot of insomnia and vigilance, my friends,

Do not remove an eye even for a minute. Do not relax [Μόντης, 1987: 559].

"With hearts, boys and somewhere will lead us

With hearts, boys and God is merciful [Μόντης, 1987: 175].

Your past is my wrinkles, please,

One-by-one, your past orderly arranged! [Μόντης, 1987:178]

The "minutes" taken from different poetic collections reveal the importance of 1955-1959 for Montis' life and work. This is a quote from one of his interviews: "The struggle for liberation influenced my work, which was carelessly left. I did not publish books during this period and a temporary emptiness emerged in my literary career. Only at the end of the battle appeared "minutes". Perhaps, the lack of time (caused by my active involvement in the struggle for liberation) had given the stimulus to create them. I wrote and afterwards, published the works (poetic or prose) related to the "EOKA" battles, believing that they would contain an essential spiritual foundation and in combination with many other reasons strengthen, purify and justify the battle. I believed that via these writings I made a necessary contribution to the fight " [Κιτρομηλίδης, 1997: 28]. Because of the emotional and more expressive nature of the poetry, these sentiments are even more evident in the "minutes" dedicated to the heroes of EOKA, which were called "fighting songs" by Montis.

Evagoras Pallikarides

When I read your story

I was burning with the heat that night [Μόντης, 1987: 424].

Iakovos Patatsos

We? Who are we?

Maybe we will read with the sorrow (strong? Good, strong)

Maybe we will judge with the pain (and even this, for how long?)

Maybe the more soft-hearted ones – spend the night awake (but how many nights?)

Nothing more.

The rest is the best of a mother's grown son [Μόντης, 1987: 425].

Grigoris Afxentiou

That morning the man would change the name of the mountains [Μόντης, A '1987: 496].

Grigoris Afxentiou

That "no" could not repeat even the "echo",

It was very hard to move [Μόντης, 1987: 455].

In 1925 Cyprus was officially announced as the colony of Great Britain. It is noteworthy that the poet of a mutinous character even during his pupillary years took part in the famous rebellion of "October" of 1931. In the following year, he sold his family property in Amakhosto and entered the Faculty of Law at the University of Athens. However, Montis knew that due to the restrictions imposed on Cyprus, the youth educated in Athens was severely persecuted by the political governance of England. Advocacy was forbidden, especially, after "October" uprising [Παστελλάς, 1984: 190]. This was the smallest challenge for the poet, who had a tragic biography. He consecutively opposed any obstacle. "Generally, the pain dominates in my creative work - that's what I have born from childhood. Our family life was full of peripeteias: I lost my two elder brothers, I was 8 years old and my father said: "I've lost two central pillars, and I've stayed with nothing, but this column". I have lost my mother, two sisters and at the age of fifteen, my father. Here is the pain I have shared. Unfortunately, I had the trouble to be a good pupil in the gymnasium, to get all the prizes, which existed. I was an orphan and I had no advisors. Despite the prohibition, I entered the Faculty of Law. The government saw the threat in those young men, who were trained as lawyers in Athens, because Khadzipavlos and Theodotos were the lawyers. The British forces were waiting all the coups from this site. The employment of citizens educated in Athens was prohibited in Cyprus. I asked Archbishop Kyrillos II for advice. He gave a bad advice. He said: "Go, Montis, wherever you want and you do not know, maybe in four years a union will come" and I went to Athens, I came back and the union seemed to be nowhere. Afterwards, I was forced to do all types of works and these are the pains that occasionally occur in my poetry. On the one hand, the pain is the inspiration for the artists. Joy cannot inspire in the same way. You have to pay for the excitement of a reader. You must cry 10 times for making him/her cry once. You must be agitated 10 times for making him/her feel the same even once. For the sake of success you have to pay in such a way and afterwards, the time will come and all of these will cost a lot" [Μόντης, 1999: 406].

The national-liberation war of 1955-1959 against Britain ended with a partial success. The British epoch was ended under the leadership and efforts of National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (E.O.K.A.), which strived to reunite Greece. Costas Montis was a political adviser of this organization in Nicosia. The expel of British people from the island and gaining of the independence in 1960 did not mean the full victory of the Cypriots, because the union with Greece remained untenable. Monti's effort was not limited to the national-liberation battles. He reinforced the idea of liberty and "union" with the poetry of "minutes". His attempt is nothing more than airing those historical events that are actual as well as vital for his modernity.

"Which "state", gentlemen, which "state"

We step on a "continuous" pile of the states [Μόντης, 1987: 83].

Flags

How unanimously agreed,

How all agreed unanimously.

What a deep idea lies in one rectangular piece of cloth,

What is the idea of a quadrangular piece of cloth, which flutters? [Μόντης, 1987: 536]

Flags

Put all in the row and punish them with death!

This should be done! [Μόντης, Γ '1993: 90]

Minutes

These battles are absolutely in vain.

- I know. That's why I've intervened.

That's why I've intervened [Μόντης, 2003: 74].

"Do you know how many people were missed by the history up to the present day?"

Now, we already know where the history gets

Its sources" [Μόντης, 1987: 188].

Now

"How many multi-syllable, extended stories

can hold one-syllable now" [Μόντης, 2003: 123].

History

It does not take notes, became impudent,

Became impudent and intervenes [Μόντης, 1987: 584].

What does it mean "the history will write"?

It is excluded, not to write! [Μόντης, 1987: 188]

In the artistic context of a historical reality, Montis' work is the interpretation of past experiences with poetic devices. Therefore, it is necessary to revive an "alternative reality" for the maintenance of the national identity of the Cypriots and for changing the historic present. Our doubt is reinforced with the researchers' remark, that Montis focuses on deconstruction of the past and history (Loizidis, Athanasopulu) in the traditional sense. According to Montis's estimation, the importance of the modern history has been "undoubtedly" exaggerated. This fact initiates his personal protest. The history should not be allowed to "absorb" a person and his aspiration to change today's reality. Supposedly, for this reason Montis states, "history is not written by historians. The writers write history. From them you will learn the truth" [Κιτρομηλίδης, 1997: 29].

The impressions of the war and a long-term observation of historic processes led the poet to break a twenty-year long pause of his prosaic work. In 1964 the novella-chronicle "Closed doors" was published, which can be considered as a sample of modern Greek historical prose. The cycle of the struggle of liberation in Cyprus not only crafted his literal work, but also led to some kind of a "rebellion" and a "coup" in his work. Montis gave time to the history to tell the story about Cypriot heroes. However, after five years from the end of the fight, he preferred returning to a national topic, where still dominated the idea of the "union". In the prologue of the work, the author gives the explanation: "My last collection of stories "A humble life" was published in 1944. Since then, I have not been systematically occupied with stories. The life full of agony, thrill and frustration fragmented my orderliness and separated me from the center... The drawers were in the same condition as they had been left twenty years ago, full of half ended stories, plans, beginnings, titles of the stories. Hence, suddenly, appeared the struggle that conquered me and penetrated into the depth of my soul in order to unite the partition. It was inadmissible to be silent. Someone had to utter, someone, who experienced those unrepeatable four years" [Μόντης, 1964: 3].

The formation of the public memory with the "history" written by heroes (Koutalianos, "Digenis" Giorgios Grivas) is read in the novella "Closed doors", where the brutality of the war is presented on the example of the tragedy of one family. In this historical composition, the author tries to preserve and strengthen the national identity. In the first lines we read: "When (in 1955) the revolution started in Cyprus, when suddenly stepped out a small island to expel the British people, three of us were the pupils of the gymnasium. I was in the third form, Stallo in the fourth and Nikos in the fifth - three descendants of the family, a closely intertwined step... I was spending a careless life of fifteen years old teenager, with awakenings, with the first bass in the voice, with widened eyes, wishes, joys and excitement ... As for a political anxiety and a long controversy on the island, it aimed at turning the yoke of foreigners. Various, uncompromising, but peaceful struggles (can be said, otherwise how could it be with the Great Empire, which governed us?). All of these was fateful (fateful?) for us, for children (and truly, when starts the childhood and when does it end?). That January, something like a habit and a tradition, something that has been closely woven into our lives since the very beginning, something chronic that flowed quietly, obediently, without excitements and aggravations, almost

assimilated, unnoticed, which forced us to jump up from the beds early in the morning, at 4 pm, once or twice per year, to join the prayers at dawn in holy Church of Phaneromeni and to stage a triumphal procession with the Greek flags, beating drums and blowing trumpets (what an exciting feeling – everyone will look at us: a father, a mother, neighbors and all of them) (These trumpets were blowing our age - fifteenth - to come back) in front of the Consulate (there was only one Consulate for us), to agitate at the Church of Phaneromeni with the exclamations “union”, the reason for freedom, which occasionally responded to a national intention and the goal of all Greek territories, which were still out of the borders of a free homeland" [Μόντης, 1987: 1539].

Montis, like a historian, describes the Englishmen’s regime in Cyprus with an exemplary precision. 15-year-old young man, the narrator with a revolutionary attitude towards this injustice, revives the latest history of the island, a tragic picture granted to Cypriot by the history and the destiny. The author presents moods and ideological tendencies of the society via the memories of its minor members. An individual memory or the process of the formation of a national identity of a hero is generalized in the whole community and expresses an emotional attitude towards the existed reality in present. Therefore, the contemporaneousness (not the past) determines and chooses from the history a topical problematic and establishes a historical memory in the society in this way.

The smaller nations are more chained to the past. Probably, this is stipulated by their permanent defensive wars and dramatic historical peripetias. We agree that if the history is the remembrance of the past, it is also a choice of something that must be forgotten. A weakened relation between the past and the present often leads to the crisis of identity. It is restored in the form of the nostalgia for the past and becomes especially strong, when the society is in political, cultural and economic crisis. By the method of returning back to the past, novella "Closed doors" presents a public opinion more emotionally and interestingly. Despite the dramatic results, Montis does not betray the atmosphere of unity of the Cypriots against common enemy (British colonists) and the idea of "union".

Why it became necessary to revive an invisible side of history in an artistic work? For offering the so-called “alternative history” to the public? It is necessary to note the fact that Costas Montis’ inspiration and another encouraging source was the autobiographical, traveling book "Bitter lemons" of British poet and novelist Lawrence Durrell. It is interesting to get acquainted with the "second objective reality" and a radically different attitude revealed by Durrell in relation to the actions of “EOKA” against British governance. The book "Bitter lemons" was published in London in 1957. It describes the years (1953-1956) spent by Lawrence Durrell in Cyprus, where he initially worked as a teacher of English, an editor of Cyprus Review and a press-informational head of British Administrative Government, because he was fluent in Greek. Despite the author's instructions that the book is non-political, it is extensively related to the crisis and "troubled years" that were caused by "Enosis" entailed to the island by "EOKA" in 1955.

It is especially important for us to get acquainted with a historic reality and the British official’s assessment of this period, which reveals that the movement of “unity” with Greece and the desire to overthrow the British yoke entailed a full chaos and violence on a peace-loving

island. According to the British official's assessment, similar actions were not legitimated and a process supervised by nationalist forces was called an "irrational feast", while EOKA was treated as a group of terrorists. He could not understand the Cypriot's "idealism" and "unbridled" enthusiasm for "Enosis" as well as idealization of the Greek violators from Athens. They believed that Greek land was a paradise on the earth" [Durrell, 1957: 114]. It is true that "the pupils in the gymnasiums equally express their desire of unity with Greece and a true love for England" [Durrell, 1957: 131-132]. However, "the Enosis became a constant feature of the Cypriot life from the time when we first came on the island and it continued in such a way... The issue of "unity" "resembled the deeper emotions of the Greek heart and everything told about it (how hysterical it could be) expressed sincere wishes and aspirations" [Durrell, 1957: 177, 184].

It is interesting that Lawrence Durrell casts doubts on the Greek origin of the Cypriots and argues that their spoken language is not "authentically Greek" (correct). His solid argument relies on the theory of the British traveler of the 19th century, which argues about the non-Hellenic origin of the Christian population of Cyprus (they are not the Greeks - neither physiognomically, nor spiritually). Cyprus itself is more oriental than its landscape (a geographical location) [Mas, 2003:237]. Bearing all of these in mind, Durrell is more surprised with "the slogan that is written everywhere in the small villages - "Enosis and only Enosis" [Durrell, 1957: 177, 184]. Therefore, Lawrence as well as the entire administrative government of Britain considered the radio of Athens more hostile than EOKA and its "terrorist leader" "Digenis" (Georgios Grivas). The Greek press together with this "new god of the metal" (radio) caused hysteria in young people. This "poison" was constantly poured into the easily manipulated population [Mas, 2003: 236]. In contrast to this, the author depicts Andreas, "the progressively-thinking Greek inhabitant of Cyprus", who has learned nothing about this political-social disorder and obediently waits for the answer to the question: "Tell me, sir, will England solve this issue soon and will it be possible to live peacefully? I am already worrying about boys. Apparently, they spend all school-time on singing nationalist songs and participating in demonstrations. It will be soon over, won't it?" "He sighed and I sighed together with him" [Durrell, 1957:141].

Considering the English or the Greek literary variations, it can be resolutely said that the idea of "Enosis" was the main thought of the Cypriot society in the second half of the 20th century. It was the ideology, which pushed towards an active action. As we see on the example of life and work of Costas Montis, forgotten topics can be revived in artistic works and root deeply in public consciousness. These facts greatly enhances our interest in the literary works of this poet.

Therefore, the artistic-historical context of the idea of "Enosis" was developed by Montis in the novella "Closed doors". It is noteworthy that the story of the fate of punishment was presented in the metaphorical title of the novella. At the time of the creation of the work (1964), the main motive of the struggles of "EOKA" - unification with Greece - was left behind a closed door, while the Cyprus was recognized as an independent state. We believe that this stage of Montis' work creates a transitional stage of the development of the idea of "unity", which demands the tying of the knot in the following poetic works. In this novella the author "puts the key" of his creative work, which is tirelessly developed by him for the next 30 years in the

letters to his mother. The expectation of the mother to the missing people, the agony and the silence – it was the first sample, which was later expanded into poetic compositions comprising more than 2000 lines: "A letter to mother" (1965), "The second letter to mother" (1972) "The third letter to mother" (1980), whose study and profound analysis assures us that during a long poetic work, the concept of "Enosis" remains the main motive of Monti's work. However, decades later the poet's feelings changed as in the "Minutes" and in the final letter addressed to his mother, which was published in 1980. There is a clear nostalgia, the failure of the idea of "Enosis" and a radically altered historical picture.

If you knew how had locked this door,

Which had locked! [Μόντης, 1987: 183]

Cyprus

We lost the ruler,

Which showed straight lines [Μόντης, E '1999: 72].

Cyprus in 1974-1976

"And what will happen now?

Let's tear the old note-books to pieces,

Which are filled with colorful "Enosis".

Let's tear the old note-books to pieces,

Which are filled with adorned "Enosis",

Jasmine, lemon flowers and daisies.

Let's tear the old textbooks to pieces

with Greek flags,

Throw away the favorite hat commemorating gymnasium

With a stripe "Enosis",

Throw away their ruler,

Bag, ball and bicycle,

With the written word "Enosis"?

Really, tell me what will happen now? "[Μόντης, 1987: 605]

To Enosis

Even if you have an idea, how you agitated me

Today, when I saw you suddenly,

After so many years, written on the wall of old,

Poor house of Nicosia.

Even if you knew, what memories you've arisen,

What memories you've imprinted [Μόντης, 1987: 735].

Greek flag on Cyprus

"After all, go and uproot it! [Μόντης, 1987: 605]

The third letter to the mother

If you have seen at least, mother, when we were in trouble,

If you have seen at least, how we expected Greece!

The land never expected the first rain in August,

The drowned never clutched a moss,

The dying baby never looked for the mother's hand. [...]

As we waited diving up to the neck

In the Sea of Kyrenia,

Holding the breath, to be in time.

Leafing through his history,

Leafing through his history as the Gospel,

-“Here and again here” -

And we were waiting for it,

No, "It's not possible not to come," we were saying,

No, "It's not possible not to come," we were saying,

Right now will appear with its Spartans [...]

And indeed, one night the rumors were spread, that it came.

And what night was that, mother,

What a response,
What an echo all over the island!
We were hugging each other with tears, were jumping,
Kissing and feeling,
Until the next day, until falling deep into the chasm,
And the breast was supposed to break,
The heart was thumping, wanted to slip out.
They have forgotten their children,
Brothers and fathers
And already, they were crying for Greece,
And they were laughing and crying.
And the teachers were saying "you see"?
And all of us saying "you see"?
Until the next day, until falling deep into the chasm, [...]
Because Greece did not come,
Because the message was the lie,
The lie was the reapportion of Greeks on Paphos,
Because we were told the lie by the heavens and the sea,
The lie by swallows and heart,
The lie by our histories,
The lie and only lie.
They said, Greece has another thing to do,
Some holidays,
And yet, we are far and was not able,
It worried, did not wait for,
Sincerely worried,

It was genuinely very sorry.

And our teachers have bowed their heads with a shame,

And the “text-books” bowed their heads with a shame,

And our teachers are already trembling,

And our “text-books” are already trembling,

When they approach the histories of Thermopylae and Salamina ...

I do not create poetry, mother,

I have copies [Μόντης, 1987: 917-918].

Supposedly, it is difficult to find another Cypriot poet, who will bring the matter of the national issues so close to the heart and bear the mission to announce all important political or socio-historical facts, that were related to his homeland. Perhaps, for this reason “a poet of short things” (Costas Asiotis) was differently assessed (“the first great poet of a new, independent state” [Kategori: 1984: 11]) during the period of a poetical maturity. The idea that Montis is the best poet in Cyprus does not demean the dignity of his contemporaneous poets: Kyriakos Charalambides, Pantelis Michanikos, Michael Pashiardis, Fivos Stavrides or others (mostly the Cypriot poets of an “independent generation”). However, “it should be mentioned that none of these poets presented so lively and completely our island, as Montis did” [Χριστοφίδης, 1984: 104], declares poet and philologist Andreas Christofides - one of the most-respected scholars, who knew Montis very well and studied his poetry for many years.

We believe that the subject of our research - Montis’ literary creations, his self-reliance and active struggle, closely intertwined with agitated, modern historical reality of the Cyprus - is extremely interesting and important. Moreover, “the prosody and the creativity style of this poet have no analogues” [Αγγελάτος, 1999: 409]. Despite this fact, only a little has been said about him in the Georgian language.

The quotation is given from the audio recording of the meeting of Costas Montis with the students of the Pedagogical Academy of Cyprus, which was held in spring of 1988 via the invitation of Philologist Lefkos Zafiriou. See the article Μόντης 1999, 405-407

The poem in the collection is dated 1962

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Ezra Pound – Translator of Chinese Poetry

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/12/116

- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Study of Literature](#)
- [Khatuna Basilashvili](#)

According to his poetic achievements, Ezra Pound is one of the most prominent figures of the 20th century. He is a creator of Imagism and the founder of Vorticism. His ideas in culture, politics and economics were interesting and innovative; however, his interest towards politics was not limited only to theory; being an ardent supporter of Mussolini's Fascist regime, Ezra Pound was actively involved in it. Pound was a prolific poet, essayist, translator, composer and publicist. His ideas are collected in „Literary Essays“, „Selected Prose“ and „Selected Letters“.

Due to complexity of his writings, Pound has been studied by scholars in nearly all those fields in which he took interest. Each aspect of his work and life has been thoroughly studied; however, we might find it strange that Pound's thoughts on poetic translation have been somehow ignored.

Being called the “inventor of Chinese poetry for our time” [Eliot, 1928:IV], Ezra Pound was a pioneer of modern poetry and its innovative translation. His theory of translation was original and innovative; he claimed:

1. A true translation must reject "Wardour-Street¹ English," the pseudo-archaic language of Victorian translators.
2. Each translation is a kind of criticism of the original on one hand stressing the strengths of the original and on the other showing its limits.
3. No translation has to reproduce all aspects of the original. It can concentrate on only some aspects and leave part of the original out. It may even add to it or rearrange it in order to accomplish the translator's purpose.
4. Modern topical allusions may be used to lead to the emotions associated with the original's allusions.
5. Translations should be new poems in their own right. They should be artistically well-done.
6. History is a product of the present. All knowledge of the past is experienced in our current reception and reading of it. In this sense, all translation is both continuity and a re-reading of past texts and authors.

Many a scholar and critic are inclined to consider Pound's translations as independent works of literature rather than mere translations. As a matter of fact, with his specific style of translation Pound laid foundation for modernist translation.

As early as in his youth, Pound was seriously fascinated with translation and thought he should not write what he could translate from other languages [Yao, 2010: 36].

. He started translating from Occitan ballads and finished with Egyptian poetry. According to Yao, translations by modernist poets especially by Pound are “*significant modernist achievements in English.*” [Yao, 2010: 34-35].

Of all Ezra Pound’s translations, his translations of classic Chinese poetry deserve a special mention. Impressed by idiographic and pictographic nature of Chinese alphabet and images created in Chinese poetry, Pound was one of the first to introduce traditional Chinese poetry to Western culture in which way he significantly contributed to the development of English verse. These translations play a significant role in Pound’s works. However, his translations have as many admirers as critics. The latter blamed Pound for misinterpretation and mis-transfer of the original text but mis-transfer is sometimes inevitable when translation is done between heterogenous cultures; however, we should also emphasize that sometimes Pound deliberately deviated from the original text and more often than not his so called mistakes are examples of creative translation.

Perhaps, one of the reasons of Pound’s interest in Chinese poetry is the Imagist theory advocated by him at the outset of his career. This theory of his echoes “images” created in Chinese poetry hundreds of years before him. Pound developed his own poetic principles of Imagism: (1. direct treatment of the “thing” whether subjective or objective; 2. using absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation; 3. composing in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome [Pound, 1928:3]) and reached his poetic intention by following them.

According to some scholars, Pound created “interpretive translations”; however, many disagree and consider his translations original works of poetry or poetry in its own right. Pound strove to transport emotional intensity of poetry and the poet’s “emotional state” rather than make exact translations. For him important was “organic form” and music of words, its significance deriving from its meaning or in other words what he himself called Melopoeia; Phanopoeia and Logopoeia [Pound, 1968:25].

Pound’s Translations

According to Michael Alexander [Alexander, 1997:23-30]. He introduced English readers to Provençal (before 1500) and ancient Chinese poetry and revived interest to the works of Confucian era; he introduced classic Japanese poetry and drama to the western world. Pound translated Greek, Latin and Anglo-Saxon poets of classical epoch and their works when other poets paid little attention to translation of any kind.

It is true, Pound’s interest in China was not unusual at the turn of the 20th century; however, only few scholars saw elements of the “future” or “modernism” already inherent in China.

In the works of Ezra Pound significant place is taken by translations of Chinese poetry based on Ernest Fenollosa’s notes, which are free verses unlike preceding American translations following a strict metric pattern. The value of these translations is a cause of heated debates

between scholars and the object of criticism of some, especially of Chinese scholars. The translations are referred differently, as “translations”, “interpretation”, “periphrasis” or adapted works.

In 1913, when [Ernest Fenollosa](#)'s (the orientalist of American origin) widow handed her husband's notes to Pound, he hardly knew any Chinese but used the notes to translate Chinese poetry into English. The translations were published as a separate volume and named “*Cathay*”. The verses in the *Cathay* are not considered as translation in the literal meaning of the word but poems in their own right. Even after 14 years of their publication, when the verses were published as a separate volume and called “*Cathey*”, Pound wrote in a letter addressed to his father that despite many Chinese dictionaries and Fenollosa's notes, he would have been unable to translate from Chinese if not a very specific (idiographic) nature of Chinese.

Having read Fenollosa's notes, Pound became interested in Chinese idiograms and realized that the Chinese poets had been long before familiar with what he had been starting working on. They knew the image, which Pound believed was a fundamental principle of poetry. Pound claimed the poetic image loses nothing in translation and is not bound in time; when correctly transferred from one language into another, the image acquires a fully new meaning and significance.

Thomas Stearns Eliot says: “*Chinese poetry, as we know it today, is something invented by Ezra Pound*” [Eliot, 1928: XI]. He believes Pound's translations are strictly modernist and even though his translations do not correspond to the original, his image is a perfect means of “transporting contents.”

It is true, scholars of Chinese poetry often criticize Pound for his wrong translations but Hugh Kenner, the outstanding poetry researcher and scholar, does not share their opinion and calls his translations “*Pound's interpretive paraphrases*” [Kenner, 1973:199]. According to Michael Alexander these verses are “*underestimated*” when they are referred to as translations rather than independent, free verses. William Pratt says: “*the relatively pure images of Cathay ... seem less and less like translations and more and more like original poems*” [quoted in A Study Guide for Ezra Pound's “The River Merchant's Wife”, the Gale Group 2000: 145]. Some scholars believe Pound created Chinese verse in the English language and he should be given credit for introducing such features of Asian, especially of Chinese poetry into English, as: exact description, peaceful and serene tones, exact use of the noun and using simple, action verbs.

However, there are poets who challenge the value of these translations; e.g. Eric Hayot notes: “*Pound's translations are successful; they have been taken by any number of critics as a literary miracle, by others as literary fraud.*” [Hayot, 2013:23].

Stephen Yao believes by *Cathay* Pound proved that “*one can translate without adequate knowledge of the source language*” [Yao, 2010: 38]. Yao does not consider Pound was hindered by his lack of knowledge of the Chinese language and believes that studying Chinese wisdom allowed him to fully comprehend the original. Hugh Kenner thinks *Cathay* should be

read as the poetry created on the background of the World War I and not as mere translation of Chinese poetry. He believes we should give *Cathay* credit for its being an attempt of re-thinking an English verse. [Kenner, 1971: 199].

The period of Pound's working on *Cathay* corresponds to his shift from Imagism to Vorticism, which is why a scholar of Pound Zhaoming Qian calls his verses: "The River Merchant's Wife" "The Jewell Stairs' Grievance and "The Exile's Letter" "*imagist and vorticist masterpieces*" [Qian, 2008:337] but many others believe the verses are strictly Imagist.

The main topics of the translations are separation and loneliness, especially soldier's loneliness, which is evident in the very first verse of the volume "Song of the Bowmen of Shu". Pound conveys inarticulate emotions through imagery; he never states anything directly but reveals emotions by creating images. Pound used Fenollosa's work as a starting point for creating what he called the "[*ideogrammic method*](#)".

Now let us turn to considering Pound's translation at the example of his two Chinese verses.

In one of the shortest verses in *Cathay* "The Jewel Stairs' Grievance" the speaker uses beautiful, yet transitory, images (dew on jade stairs, an autumn moon) to evoke a melancholic, elegiac mood; laconic images follow one another; however, the main topic of the verse - the grievance - is never directly mentioned.

The Jewel Stair's Grievance

The jeweled steps are already quite white with dew,

It is so late that the dew soaks my gauze stockings,

And I let down the crystal curtain

And Watch the moon through the clear autumn.

The verse consists of four lines and six distinct images. The verse is full of sorrow; however, the narrator directly says nothing about it. The narrative depicts a few brief moments; late at night (or rather early in the morning) the speaker stands on the jewel stairs and is probably waiting for her sweetheart, she draws the curtain and her gauze stockings are covered with dew. Each image creates a certain association in the reader and stirs memories and feeling associated with such a scene. For example, by mentioning the gauze stockings Pound hints that the hero is a woman and perhaps a noble one.

Pound does not use typical English syntactical structures; the technique allows him to imitate Chinese, at least the one he imagined it should be. Pound was fascinated with the "malleable grammar" of the Chinese language; in "The Chinese Written Character" he mentions: "*The eye sees noun and verb as one: things and motion, motion in things, and so the Chinese conception tends to represent them.*" [Pound, 2011:46].

Another verse - "The River Merchant's Wife" in the *Cathay* is also a vers libre, which means there are no consistent patterns or rhyme; this feature gives the verse a peculiar sound, very different from traditional European one. When translating the poem Pound depended solely on Ernest Fenollosa's notes. According to Hugh Kenner, this is the first English translation of a Chinese verse where no rhythm and a fixed number of syllables are used, which means Pound does not imitate the Chinese metric pattern which would make sense for only Chinese readers. According to Kenner, if Pound had used a rhythm, the verse would be absurd, artificial and strange for English readers unfamiliar with Chinese patterns. Moreover, Pound does not use a single metric structure characteristic for English poetry. If this were the case, the verse would have lost its Chinese sound [Kenner, 1971:199]. Pound set his own rules and created a Chinese sounding rhythm, music and beauty and a new verse according to them.

How did Pound manage to bring to life the 8th century Chinese reality in the 20th century Europe? He described things in details and created images of the 8th century China; avoided ambiguous generalizations and created an image in each line adhering to the principle – a new line - a new image, a new stanza a new period of life.

"The River Merchant's Wife" is a letter from a lonely wife to her husband who has been missing for five months.

Pound wrote his translation in free verse, structured around the chronological life events of the river-merchant and his wife. The free verse makes the letter feel more authentic, as if it was a real one. The lack of strict meter allows Pound to bring out the wife's motions.

The objects mentioned "my hair was still cut straight across my forehead", „bamboo stilts" indicate the story takes place in Asia, not in Europe. The way the character (the wife) behaves also clearly hints the story develops in Asia. Pound manages to give the verse Chinese sound by mentioning items of Chinese life and customs.

Each stanza describes a particular period of the woman's life; e.g. the second stanza tells the reader about obedience of a Chinese wife who married her "Lord" when she was only 14 and was shy, "never laughed, being bashful/Lowering my head, I looked at the wall". Such obedience before husband is characteristic for Asian wives only. Two years later after marrying him, he left and never returned.

In an essay written in 1918 „Chinese Poetry", Pound speaks about the principle qualities of Chinese verse naming the image of nature among them, which is used to express human feelings and emotions. In "The River Merchant's Wife" Pound skillfully uses the images of nature; e.g. "*the paired butterflies are already yellow with August*"; the woman is astonished and jealous at seeing the couple of butterflies who have grown old together while she suffers and "*grows older*" in loneliness.

By using particular details and vivid images Pound gives the verse a foreign and strange coloring.

Hugh Kenner, the author of a number of books on Ezra Pound, believes that the verses in the volume published in 1915 echo the feelings and emotions of women of the World War I. The verses directly do not mention a war of any kind but there is apprehension of loss with which European women of that time were so familiar.

Chinese critic Wai-Lim Yip believes that Pound "*has crossed the border of textual translation into cultural translation*" [Yip, 1969:39]. According to him Pound fully comprehends the original author's message and "*is able to get into the central concerns of the original author by what we may perhaps call a kind of clairvoyance*" [Yip, 1969, cit. Alexander 1979: 99].

Steven Yao, the critic of American literature, believes that the fact that Pound knew little Chinese gave him more liberty and enabled him to see things and characters in a new and a very different light, which is why his verses are more like originals than mere translations [Yao, 1999:39].

All points considered, Ezra Pound is a very significant figure as a translator who managed to revive the 8th century China in modern Europe. He achieved this task by putting forward the themes and issues familiar to all humankind especially at that desperate period of history. We consider Ezra Pound to be a co-author and inventor of these poems rather than their mere translator.

A street in London with a lot of antique shops; in this case Pound means the English language full of archaisms.

a [Romance language](#), spoken in [southern France](#), Italy and Monaco.

melopeia is when words are "charged" beyond their normal meaning with some musical property which further directs its meaning, inducing emotional correlations by sound and rhythm of the speech. Melopoeia can be "appreciated by a foreigner with a sensitive ear" but does not [translate](#) well, according to Pound

Phanopoeia is defined as "a casting of images upon the visual [imagination](#)," throwing the object (fixed or moving) on to the visual imagination. In the first publication of these three types, Pound refers to phanopoeia as "imagism." Phanopoeia can be translated without much difficulty, according to Pound.

Logopoeia or **logopeia** (is defined by Pound as poetry that uses words for more than just their direct meaning,^[1] stimulating the visual imagination with phanopoeia and inducing emotional correlations with melopoeia).

[British](#) translator, academic and broadcaster. He held the Berry Chair of English Literature at the [University of St Andrews](#) until his retirement in 2003. He translated [Beowulf](#) into modern English verse.

an [Italian](#) poet and [troubadour](#), as well as an intellectual influence on his best friend, [Dante Alighieri](#).

712 – 770 -a prominent [Chinese poet](#) of the [Tang dynasty](#).

an [American](#) art historian of [Japanese art](#), professor of [philosophy](#) and [political economy](#) at [Tokyo Imperial University](#).

the name of a nomadic people who founded the [Liao dynasty](#) which ruled much of Northern China from 907 to 1125.

a character symbolizing the idea of a thing without indicating the sounds used to say it.

British essayist, publisher, playwright, literary and social critic, and "one of the twentieth century's major poets".

a Canadian literary scholar, critic and professor; the author of the book "The Pound Era".

Distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature and Asian Studies, Pennsylvania State University.

technique expounded by [Ezra Pound](#) which allowed [poetry](#) to deal with abstract content through concrete images.

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For a Semantic Classification of Svan Onomatopoeic Vocabulary

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/12/124

- ["Spekali" #12](#)
- [Linguistics](#)
- [medea sagliani](#)

The study of the meaning of phonosemantic lexical units occupies an outstanding place in linguistic researches, because its results are valuable for linguistics and other scientific disciplines. It is also worth mentioning that lexical meanings are considered as major objects of semantic studies.

The main aim of our work is a semantic analysis of Svan onomatopoeic vocabulary on the basis of the data of dialects and sub-dialects of the Svan language.

The analyzed material is based on the data of publications dedicated to the Svan language as well as on the appropriate illustrative material gathered by us during field works carried out in both gorges (*Enguri* and *Tskhenistskali*) of Svaneti. The discussion of the given issue was not restricted to the material of traditionally known Svan dialects (*Balszemouri*, *Balskvemouri*, *Lashkhuri* and *Lentekhuri*). The data of *Choluruli* speech and *Lakhamuluri* sub-dialect were also used.

The urgency of the issue obliges us to consider appropriate illustrative materials presented in the linguistic works by V. Topuria, L. Sanikidze, M. Sagliani, L. Gigmiani, A. Davitiani, R. Chkadua, etc.

Like other Kartvelian languages, in Svan, the onomatopoeic (**vocalic** and **consonantal**) vocabulary is arbitrarily divided into four main semantic groups :

1. **Specifically onomatopoeic vocabulary** (expression of diverse sounds), which, in its turn, can be divided into several subgroups:

a) **Words that denote the sounds accompanying certain actions:** ბ რბ ნ (Bz., Chol.) „banging/cracking...”; თხურბ ნ (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), თხურბუნ (Bk., Lnt.) „sniffing”; ტურმ ნ (Bz.), ტურმუნ (Bk.) „crashing”; ტყურსგ ნ (Bz.), ტყურსგუნ (Bk.) „cracking”; ლ რბ ნ (Lkhm.) „the sound of crushing”; ლ რწკ ნ (Bz., Lshkh.), ლ რწკ ნ (Bk., Lnt.) „gnashing”; ლ რჯ ნ (Bk.) „the sound of crumbling”; ყ რფ ნ (Zs., Chol.), ყურფუნ (Bk.) „cracking (of a bone)”; შყურბუნ (Bk.) „tramping”; შ რგ ნ (Chol.) „rushing”; ჩხურმ ნ (Bz.), ჩხურმუნ (Bk.) „crashing”; ც რცხ ნ (Bk.) „fizzing”; ძ რწკ ნ (Bk.) „creaking”; წ რწკ ნ (Bk.) „ringing (of a clock)”; ხ რბ ნ (Bz.) „crunching”; ჰ ლდ ნ (Bk.) „shaking”, etc.

b) **Lexical units denoting the manner of speech:** ბურდღუნ (Zs.) „muttering”; ბ ბ რბ ნ (Bk., Chol.) „stuttering”; თ რტ ნ (Zs., Ks.) „neighing”; თ რყ ნ (Lshkh.), თ რყ ნ (Bk., Chol.) „peels of laughter”; ტ რტ ნ (Bz., Lshkh.), ტ რტ ნ (Bk., Lnt.) „staggering”; ფ რფ ნ (Bk.) „meaningless

staggering"; ყ რყ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ყ რყ ნ(Bk., Lnt.), „croaking"; ცურც ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ცურცუნ(Bk., Lnt.), „whispering"; წ რპ ნ(Zs.) „peeping"; წ რწ ნ(Bk.), წ რწ ნ(Lshkh., Chol.) „peeping of a chick"; ჭკ რპ ნ(Bk.) „gnashing"; ხურხ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ხურხუნ(Bk.) „purring (of a cat)"; ხ რტ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „rattling"; ჯურჯუნ(Bk.) „grumbling", etc.

c) **Lexical units denoting the sounds of water and other liquids:** დგურბუნ(Bk., Chol.) „bubbling (of water)"; თქურფუნ(Bk., Chol.) „splashing (of water, blood...)"; კურკუნ(Bk., Chol.) „dribble (of water)"; ჟურთქუნ(Bk.) „noise of waters coming from rocks"; ლურღუნ(Bk., Chol.) „bubbling (of water)"; წურქ ნ(Bz.) „წანწკარი"; ჯურჯუნ(Bk., Chol.) „burble (of water)"; ჯიღ-ჯიღ(Bk., Chol.) „bubbling (of water)"; ლი-შხრ ნ-ე(Bk.) „an intensive shedding of blood", etc.

According to the scientific literature, a principal classifying feature is the opposition between sounds made by animate creatures (sounds made by *humans, animals* and *birds*) and those made by inanimate objects.

The sounds made by animate creatures:

A human being: ს რტ ნ(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ს რტ ნ(Bk., Lnt.) „a woman's thundering voice"; შ რგ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „rushing"; ბურღუნ(Zs.) „muttering"; თ რყ ნ(Lshkh.), თ რყ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „roars of laughter"; ფურსღ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ფურსღუნ(Bk., Lnt.) „whispering"; ფ რფ ნ(Bk.) „meaningless staggering"; ყ რყ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ყ რყ ნ(Bk., Lnt.) „croaking"; ხ რტ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „rattling"; ხ რხ ნ(Bk.) „wheezing"; ჩ რჩ ნ(Bk.) „a child's burbling; muttering"...

An animal: შ რგ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „rushing "; თ რტ ნ(Zs., Ks.) „neighing"; ყ რყ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ყ რყ ნ(Bk., Lnt.) „croaking"; ჭ რქ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ჭ რქ ნ(Bk., Lnt., Chol.) „neighing "; ხურხ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ხურხუნ(Bk.) „purring (of a cat)"; ლიბ ლი(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ლიბული(Bk., Lnt.) „lowing (of a cow)"; ლიპყ ლი(Lshkh., Chol.) „cackling, lowing (of a goat)"; ლიყ თი/ე(Bk., Chol.) „cackling (of a hen)"; ლიგ ლი(Bz., Lshkh.), ლიგული(Bk., Lnt.) „baying (of a wolf)", წ რწ ნ(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), წ რწ ნ(Bk., Lnt.) „screeching of a mouse"...

A bird: ბზ რზ ნ(Bk.), ბურზუნ(Lkhm.) „buzzing"; წინწინ(Bz.) „cheeping, peeping (of a bird)"; რპ ნ(Zs.) „cheeping, peeping (of a bird)"; რწ ნ(Bk.), წ რწ ნ(Lshkh., Chol.) „peeping (of a chick)"; ჭყურტუნ(Bk., Chol.), ჭყურტ ნ(Bk., Chol.) „cheeping (of a quail)"; ლიყ ლალ(Bk.) „crowing (of a cock)"; ლიყობე(Bk.) cackling (of a broody hen)"; ლიჩხ რ ეშტი(Bk.) „the sound of a thrush"; ლიკარკცე(Lshkh., Chol.) „cackling (of birds)", ლი-წირ -ელ-ი/ლი-წ რ -ელ-ი(Zs.) „chanting; peeping (of a bird)"; ლიჭრი ხე(Lshkh.) „cackling (of birds)"...

An insect: ლინ ლი(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ლინული(Bk., Lnt.) „whining"; ლიბზ ლი(Bz.) „buzzing"; ბჟ ლმაბჟ ლ(Bz.), ბჟ ლმაბჟ ლ(Bk., Lnt.) „buzzing"; ლიბზ რზ ნი(Bk.) „buzzing, whining"; ბურზუნ(Lkhm.) „buzzing"...

A reptile: ლის ლი(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ლის ლი(Bk., Lnt.), ს ლ(Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ს ლ(Bk., Lnt.) „hissing of a snake"...

The analysis of the material revealed that animate creatures can be classified according to biological types i.e. according to the sounds of a human being, an animal, a bird, an insect and a reptile.

The sounds made by inanimate objects: ლიყურჭლავი (Lshkh., Chol.) „rumbling (of a stomach)“; ლიხხუნე (Bk. Chol.) „tinkling...“; ტკრუნ (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ტკრუნ (Bk.) „crackling“; ყრუნ (მს., ჩოლ.), ყურფუნ (Bk.) „crackling (of a bone)“; შრუნ (Bz., Lshkh.), შრუნ (Bk., Lnt.) „bubbling (of meat, fat...)“; ცრუნ (Bk.) „boiling“; ძრუნ (Bk.) „screeching“; ხრუნ (Bz., Lshkh.), ხრუნ (Bk.), ხურუნ (Lnt.) „rattling (of the furniture)“...

The presented vocabulary can be characterized according to classifying semantic features, for instance, a pitch of voice, intensity, repetition, duration, length, etc.

2) **The vocabulary denoting the movement of light and fire:** ლიღღ -ე (Bk.) „luster“; ლიკრე (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ლიკრე (Bk., Lnt.) „glow, radiance“; ლირსნე (Bk.) „luster, glare“; ლიტლტნე (Bk.) „glow, radiance“; ლიფარფლი (Chol.) „flaming (of fire)“; ლიღღნე (Bk.) „shining (of grass...)“; ჭკლუნ (Bk.) „flickering (of stars)“; ლიჭღ -ე (Bz.) „sparkling“, etc.

3) **The vocabulary denoting the dynamics – movement and action:** ლიბრუნ-ლ (ბბ., ჩოლ.), ლიბრუნალ (Bk.) „staggering“; ბრუნ (ბქ., ჩოლ.) ლიბრუნალ (Bk.) „staggering“; ლიბრძუნე (Lshkh.), ლიბრძუნე (Chol.) „shivering“; ლირსნე (Lshkh., Chol.) „shivering“; ლიტრნტე (Lshkh., Chol.) „staggering“; ლიჰამბუნალ (Bk.) „swinging on the spot“; ჰინდრიკ (Chol.) „jogging“; ჰულჰუნ (Bk.) „jogging“; ჰლუნ (Bk.) „waddling“, etc.

The field of movement includes all kinds of movements denoting various forms of displacement in space (walking, going, flying, swimming, also the words denoting movement on the spot).

1. Lexical units denoting going, walking: [5](#)

ლიბელ (Bz.), ლიბელ (Bk., Lnt.), ლიბელ (Lshkh., Chol.) „walking“; ლიბიტყანალ (Bk.) „walking in an ungraceful manner (of a woman, a child)“; ლისრბთე (Bz.) „waking to and from“; ლიდრ მანლ (Bz.), ლიდრ მანალ (Bk.) „walking (of a big man)“; ლიჟრეი (Chol.) „თავგზაბნეული სიარული“; ლიჰიმბორალ (Bk.), ლიჰიმბორლ (Lshkh.) „staggering“; ჰრდლნ (Lshkh.) „moving, walking of a gawky, clumsy man“; ლიქურქანალ (Bk.) „moving of a short, fat woman“; ლიბიჰიჰი (Lshkh.) „clumsy walking of a fat man“; ლიტრკანალ (Bk.) „rushing“, etc. The above-mentioned verbs chiefly denote movements in a vertical position – walking, running, jumping/leaping – with diverse semantic components: a pace of movement, a degree of energy, an untargeted movement - *walking* (ლიქლიბლ, ლიცინგლალ, ლიდრ მანლ...), *running* (ლიქინალ, ძღრუნ, ლიტრკანალ...), *jumping* (ლიკჩხეალ, ლისკნალ, ლიკფხალ...), different semantic components:

- A tempo of movement: (fast: ლიქლიბლ/ლიქურბნლ, კურბუნ, ტრუნ, ძღრუნ...; slow: ლიჰიმბორლ, ლიბანდუნალ, ლიბიჰიჰი...);
- A degree of energy (ლიდრ მანლ, ლიბანდუნალ, ლიჰიმბორლ, ლიქურბანალ ლიქირმობალ...);
- An aimless movement (ლისირგლალ, ლიდნლ, ლისრგანლ...), which is divided into several groups according to the emotional coloring [Tchkadua, 2015:34-235]: 1. Characterization according to the external features of a moving thing (subject); 2. Indication to the clothes of a subject; 3. Lexemes expressing a negative attitude towards a subject; 4. Expressing sympathy and compassion towards a subject.

- *Movement on a smooth surface* (ლიჩ რხ ლ/ლიჩრახალ, ლისოლ ლ/-ლისიოლალ, ლიქიმფოლალ...)
- *A disorder of a balance* (ლიბ რც ნღ ლ/ლიბ რცანელ, ლიტრონტალ, ლიგინწალ...)
- *A manner of walking* (ლიკ კან ლ/ლიკიკანალ/ლიკ კან ლ, ლისრ გან ლ, ლიშ ნგუნ ლ, ლიბ ჯღანა ლ...), etc.

Note: Similarly to other Kartvelian languages [Loladze, 2015], one and the same verb is often presented in different groups (For example: იბანღუნალ “slowly walks, moves” abdicates to the tempo and degree of the movement). Therefore, the meanings of some verbs comprises several components.

2. The vocabulary denoting stationary movement: ლიბ რც ნღ ლ (Bz.), ლიბ რცანელ (Bk.) „staggering”; ლიტ რ ნტ{ინ} ლ (Bz.), ლიტრონტალ (Bk.), ლიტრ ნტე (Lshkh., Chol.) „tottering”; ლიჰამბუნალ (Bk.) „swaying on the spot”; ლიბ ჭ/ტყან ლ (Lshkh.) „staggering”; ლიგინწალ (Bk.) „waggle, weave of a tall drunk man”; ლიზანკუნალ (Bk.) „swaying”...

3. Phonosemantic stems denoting flying and swimming: ლიბ რიელ (Bz.), ლიპრელ (Bk.), ლიბ რღელ (Lshkh.), ლიპერიელ (Lnt.) „flying”; ლიცრო□□ლ (Bz.), ლიცრო□□ლ (Bk.), ლიც რა□□ლ/ლიც რა {ე} (Lshkh.), ლიცურა□□ლ (Lnt.) „swimming”; ლილცზ ლ (Bz.), ლილცუბალ (Lshkh.) „swimming”; ლიქნალ (Bk.) „swimming”; ლიბ რტყანალ/ლიტყ რპანალ (Bk.) „flying or swimming of a bird (in the water) with the clapping of wings”; ლიტყუპნა□□ლ/ლიღუტნა□□ლ (Chol.) „swimming of a bird (in the water) with the clapping of wings”; ლიპიოლ ლ (Chol.) „swimming lightly on the surface”...

Phonosemantic stems denoting flying and swimming as well as the lexical units denoting going and walking are less presented in Svan.

4. The vocabulary simultaneously denoting a type of the action and the sound made during the action: ბიჩხ-ბაჩხ(Bk.) „the sound of hitting”; ბ რთქ ნ(Zs., Ks.) „banging”; დგურბუნ(Bk. Chol.) „chugging”; ჟიტყ-ჟატყ (Bk.) „the sound of cracking of a wave”; რისტ-რასტ (Bk., Lshkh., Chol.) „the sound of hitting”; ტყ ისგ-ტყ ასგ(Bk.) „the sound of shooting”; ფხ რკ ნ(Bz., Lshkh.), ფხ რკ ნ (Bk., Lnt.) „the sound of scratching”; ყ ისგ-ყ ასგ(Zs.) „the sound of shooting”; ჩიკ-ჩხაკ (Zs., Chol.) „jangling and jingling”, etc.

From the semantic viewpoint, the above-mentioned group is the most diverse. It embraces all types of movements accompanied by the sound/noise. Like other Kartvelian languages, this category embraces:

- a vocabulary related to the processing of the food (*eating, chewing, gnawing, nibbling*);
- a vocabulary denoting drinking;
- a vocabulary denoting speaking;
- a vocabulary expressing emotions (*laughing, crying*);
- a vocabulary denoting beating/hitting;
- a vocabulary denoting movements and sounds of natural phenomena (*air, water, fire/light*).

1. A vocabulary related to the processing of food (eating, chewing, gnawing, nibbling): ლიგ რბინე (Bk.) „clumsy chewing of a hard food“; ლიკანკლანი (Lshkh.) „eating with a fast movement of a mouth“; ლიკუკე (Bk.) „a slow eating, picking“; ლიმანტყლანი (Lshkh.) „eating loudly“; ლიყანყელი (Bz.) „swallowing clumsily“; ლილურქინე (Bk.) „eating/chewing“; ლიქანქლანი (Chol.) „swallowing promptly“; ლიფთი (Zs.) „swallowing with big lumps“...

2. A vocabulary denoting drinking: ლიგ ლიბი (Bk.) „drinking with big gulps (of water, alcohol...)“; ლიყ ლნე/ლიყლ ნე/ლიყრიაწინე (Lshkh.) „downing“; ლითხ ლიპი (Bz.) „sipping“; ლიხრიასინე (Lshkh.) „drinking with big gulps (noisily)“; ლიხ ლი (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ლიხული (Bk., Lnt.) „sipping“; ლითხ ლიპი (Bz.) „sipping“; ლინ ხ ე (Bz., Lshkh.) „sipping“...

3. A vocabulary denoting speaking: გ რგლა (Bz.), გარგლა (Lshkh.), გარგალა (Lnt.) „speaking“; რაგ დ (Bk.) „speaking“; ლიბ რბ ნი (Bk. Chol.) „a man’s stammering speech“; ლიდარდ ლი (Chol.) „loud speaking of a big woman“; ლიშყ რბლ ი (Bz.) „speaking thoughtlessly“; ლიყარყ ლი (Chol.) „talking a lot by a lazy, party-going man“...

4. A vocabulary expressing emotions (laughing, crying)

ა) A vocabulary expressing laughing: ლ ც ნ ლ (Bz.), ლიც ნა/ ლ (Bk.), ლ ც ნ ლ (Lshkh., Chol.), ლინც ნ ლ (Lnt.) „laughing“; ლიქ ბან ლ (Bz.) „laughing“; ლილ ტ ი (Lshkh.) „laughing“; ცქ რტ ნ (Bk.) „reserved laughter of women“; კ რკ ნ (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), კ რკ ნ (Bk., Lnt.), ქ რკ ნ (Lnt., Chol.) „peels of laughter“; გ რხ ნ (Bk.) „laughing loudly, booming“...

ბ) A vocabulary expressing crying: ლიგ ნი (Zs., Lshkh., Chol.), ლიგ □□ ნი (Lnt.) „crying“; ჭურჭყუნ (Bk.) „grumbling“; ლიჟლ ლი (Zs.) „a child’s loud crying“; ლილჭ ლ (Bz.), ლილჭა ლ (Bk.), ლირჭ ლ (Lshkh.), ლირეჭ ლ (Lnt.) „mourning“; ლიჟ ნტე (Bz.), ლიჟ ნტე (Bk.) „a child’s bothering/non-stop crying“; ლირულყუნ ლი (Bz.) „crying on the verge of tears“; ლიყთ ნე (Bk.) „crying of a mourner“...

5. A vocabulary denoting beating/hitting: ბინხ-ბაინხ (Bk.) „the sound of hitting“; ბიტყ ბატყ (Chol.) „the sound of hitting“; ტკინ-ტკან (Zs.) „the sound of hitting“; ტკ რჩ ნ (Bz., Lshkh., Chol.), ტკ რჩ ნ (Bk.) „the sound of hitting“; ლიტყ მბე (Bz.) „beating“; ლიტყ ფი (Zs.) „hitting a palm“; ლიშხპი (Bk.) „whipping“...

6. A vocabulary denoting movements and sounds of natural phenomena (air, water, fire/light).

ა) A vocabulary denoting sounds of the thunderstorm: გურკპ ნ (Bz., Lshkh.), გურხ ნ (Bz.), გურპ ხუნ (Bk.), გურხუნ (Lnt.) „thundering“; ლიგურხუნ (Zs. Lnt.) „thundering“; ლირხუნ ლ (Bz.), ლირხუნალ (Bk.) „thundering, thunderstorm“; ჭ რხ ნ (Bz.), ჭ რხ ნ (Bk.) „thundering“; ლიპლ ლ (Bz.), ლიპლალ (Bk.), ლი ლ ე (Lshkh.) „lightning“...

ბ) A vocabulary denoting sounds of water: დგურბუნ (Bk. Chol.) „strong roaring“; ჟურთქუნ (Bk.) „noise of waters coming from rocks“; ჩხ რფ ნ (მს., ჩოლ.), ლი-ჩხფუნ-ე (Bz.), ლი-ჩხფ ნ-ე (Bk.) „strong roaring“; ნურქ ნ (Bz.) „roaring“; წყ რგ ნ (Bk. Chol.) „roaring“; ჳ იფ-ჳ იფ (Chol.) „roaring“...

გ) A vocabulary denoting sounds of *fire/light*: ლი-რფ ნ-ე (Zs., Ks.) „flickering (play of light)“; ლი-ფარფ ლ-ი (Chol.) „blazing (of fire)“; ლი-ლა -ლ□□-ი (Chol.) „flickering with the color of embers“; ლი-ლ მ-ე (Bz., Lshkh.), ლი-ლუმ-ე (Bk., Lnt.) „blazing (of fire)“; ლი-ლ რეკ-ი (Bz.) „shimmering“; ლიდაღჩე (Bk.) „twinkling (of light)“; ლიდღმე (Bz.) „twinkling (of light)“; ლი-ღ -ე (Bz.), ლი-ღ -ე (Bk.) „shining“...

4. The vocabulary denoting static situations – appearance, looking, watching, mental states.

As in other Kartvelian languages, in the Svan language, dynamic verbs i.e. those denoting actions, as processes happening in a certain period of time, are opposed by static verbs i.e. those, which denote an permanent, unchanged state. As the research of the Svan material has proved, static verbs denote a standard location or a state - ლიყ ნ ლ (Bz.), ლიყ ნ ლ (Bk., Lnt.), ლიყ ნალ (Bk.), ლიყ ნ ლ (Lshkh.) „lie (down)“, ლიყ რე (Bk.) „lie“, ლიგნეცენა „stand“, ლისგ რე (Zs., Lshkh.), ლისკ რე (Lnt., Chol.) „sit“, ლიდღ/ლიდ სგი (Bz.), ლიდისგ (Bk.) „lie (inanimate)“, ლიგემ (Zs., Ks.) „being put, laid“, etc. Alongside with these standard verbs, there are numerous onomatopoeic lexical units describing a subject’s appearance, character, mental state.

1. Appearance:

A human being: ლ ლ რიშანა (Bk.) „(mainly a woman) with an ugly broad face“; ში ლ (Bk.) „a man with an ugly face“; ნკ ირ (Bk.) „small-eyed“; კ დბეზილ (Bk.) „a low pot-bellied man“; ჩ ჩ ნილ (Bk.) „very low“; გიქს (Bk.) „a tall, slim woman“; ლ ტყ რბელე (Bk.) „freckled“; დ რ წღ (Bk.) „lanky“; ყ იბლ (Bk.) „“; ჩხ ინდ (Bk.) „a man/woman with an ugly nose“ მარლიაღ/მარლაღ (Lshkh., Chol.) „white-faced“, etc.

External characteristics of a human being can be divided into two groups:

1. Words having negative connotation (for example: თილ ლ , ყ იბლ , სხ□□პღ , ჩხ ინდ , დ რ წღ ...), whose number is greater and
2. Words having negative connotation (for example: ბ დღ დ , ბრანჯალ , ბოდლორ , მარლიაღ/მარლაღ...).

It is obvious that these lexical units will be characterized from the point of view of the gender.

Non-human: ჩხორკ (Bk.) „a skinny cattle“; ლუპორყე (Bk.) „a straight-bellied animal“; ლ პტყ ნე (Bk.) „a skinny hen“; ლუხონკე (Bk.) „a skinny bent cattle“; წიოტია (Bk.) „a thin hen“; ლ ხგუნე (Bz.), ლ ხგ ნე (Bk.) „a skinny cattle“; ლ გ რგილა ე (Bz.) „a skinny cattle“; გ რგ ჭ (Lkhm.) „a skinny (horse)“; გორგ ნ (Lkhm.) „a skinny (horse)“...

Feature: კ/ხერყღ ნ (Bk.) „insatiable“; უჩფანთ ირ (Bk.) „slob“; უჩქმირ (Bk.) „slob“; კასბ /კაპ /ყარსბ (Bk.) „garrulous“; ჭ რჭყნ (Bk.) „whiner“; ს რტნ (Bk.) „quarrelling with a thunder-like voice“; წოლკ (Bk.) „someone, who nibbles“; ტ რხნ დ (Bz.), ტ ხნ (Bk.) „denouncer“; ტურხ ლ□□ (Bz.) „denouncer“; ტურღულ (Chol.) „denouncer“; ურაკაკა (Bk.) „chatterbox, denouncer (woman)“...

2. A mental concept

ყირყონჯ (Bk.) „fool”; ფორგ (Bk.) „slob”; ბალაყანტირ (Bk.) „fool, careless”; ლუბჟურე (Bk.) „embarrassed”; ლსყე (Bz.), ლუსოყე (Bk.) „mad”; ტენტერ, ტენტეშ (Ushg., Lshkh.) “stupid” მითრულ (Lshkh.) „mad”; კრკ (Bk.) „mentally defective”; დბჟ (Zs.), დბჟი (Lkhm.) „a stupid clumsy man/woman”; ჩამირ (Lkhm.) „a clumsy man/woman”; ჩიტ (Bz.) “brainless”; ჭარჭალიკ (Chol.)...

The given class comprises the gerund and adjectives. They denote the character of a thing (an object or a subject).

Phonosemantic lexical units can be grouped according to other semantic features - *size-weight, height, thinness-plumpness* - via the indication to a particular organ.

ა) *Size-weight*: ითმათრ (Bk.) „a big man/woman”; დოდლობ (Bz.), დოდლობ (Bk.) „a big well-built man/woman”; ბათქია (Lshkh.) „a big well-built man/woman”; ბრანჯალ (Bk.) „broad-shouldered”; ხორგია (Lshkh.) „big”; ხოშა სახ იშ (Bk.) „huge”; ძძგი (Bz.) „huge”; ყრ მი (Bz.) „huge”...

ბ) *Height*: ფანგალ (Bz.), ფანგალ (Bk.) „a strong, tall, slim man/woman”; დრწე (Bk.) „extra tall”; გიქს (Bk.) „tall, slim, with extremely straightened shoulders”; ყრანგალ (Bk.) „a tall ugly man/woman”; განპალ (Bk.) „tall, plump”; ცხიპლა (Chol.) „a tall well-built man/woman”...

გ) *Shortness*: ჩჩნილ (Bk.) „short”; ჩბტილ (Bk.), ჩბტ (ლნტ.) „a short man”; ჩოჩბირა (Bz.) „short”; ქქქი {გ} (Bz.), ქქქი {ღ} (Bk.) „short and plump”; ჩბნილ „short”; ჩათარა (Lshkh.) „a short plump man”; ფირხილ/ფირხილ (Bk.) „a short man”...

დ) *Thinness*: ლჩხკნე (Zs., Ks.) „skinny”; ლჩხრკე (Bz.) „skinny”; ლუპორყე (Bk.) „skinny”; ჩხორკ (Bk.) „skinny”; დცმლ (Bz.), დაცმულ (Lshkh., Chol.) „weak, slim”; წიოტია (Bk.) „skinny”; ლხგუნე (Bz.), ლხგნე (Bk.) „skinny”...

ე) *Plumpness*: ბტყრ (Bk.) „a plump and an ugly man/woman”; ფფი (Lshkh., Chol.) „plump”; გამპალ (Bk.) „a plump and an ugly man/woman”; ტკიცა (Chol.) „plump (girl, bird, hen...)”; ჳიჳა (Chol.) „a plump, short man”; მანტყალ (Bk.) „an uglily plump woman”...

ვ) *Particular organs of a body*: ჩხინდ (Bk.) „big-nosed”; მონკ (Bk.) „hunchbacked”; პილოჩ (Bz.), პილოჩ (Bk.) „with big lips”; ჭყირ (Bk.) “many-colored eye”; კოკრ (Bz.) „squint-eyed”; შხილ (Bk.) „with black eyes and eyebrows”; ყიბლ (Bk.) „big-headed”; შშგი (Chol.) „squint-eyed”; სილ (Zs.), სილრა (Lkhm.) „squint-eyed”; ბიბრანდ (Bz.) „squint-eyed”; აშორბლიან (უმგ.) „big-headed”...

The research of the phonosemantic material proved that there are four major semantic groups in the Svan language. They can be divided into sub-groups. This classification is based on Charles Osgood’s method of semantic differentiation. Naturally, like Georgian, in Svan, the above-mentioned groups are extremely diverse. Hence, the classification provided in the given paper cannot fully describe the abundant possibilities of the onomatopoeic vocabulary of the

Svan language. We believe that our work is a valuable acquisition for Svan (one of the endangered Kartvelian languages), because the study of the given issue has never been done on the basis of a rich empirical material.

It is known that in Georgian four major semantic groups are singled out (see. Melikishvili 1999).

It is obvious that in each group sub-groups will be presented for more illustration.

The presented vocabulary can be characterized from the point of view of gender (for example, **ს რტ ნ, ს რტ ნ** are used only for denoting a woman's thundery voice, **ჩ რჩ ნ** - for a child's burbling; muttering", **ლიბ რბ ნი** - for a man's stammering speech, etc.).

Comp. Geo. (Imer., Gur.) **ჭ რიახ-ი**.

The lexical units denoting crawling, creeping and skipping appear here.

The given lexeme mainly denotes walking of a female hen. Its secondary meaning indicates to the manner of woman's walking.

These two forms oppose each other as a masdar and an abstract name. It is obvious that **ლიგნე** is a more extended form, while **გენა** is used in a particular context and is directed to a human being (for example, **გენადემუხარ** (Bk.) "works all the time and has no possibility to relax (exactly – has not got დგმა)").

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A Paradigmatic Tropology of the “Pillar of Light” in Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s “The Reading” and “The Chant”

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The paradigm of “the pillar of light” (the same as “Sveti-Tskhoveli”/“living pillar”) is an essence of the Georgians’ spiritual life and an accompanying phenomenon of the Georgian writing (more generally, of Georgian Christian culture).

The scientific literature states that “the pillar of light” is met in neoplatonism (“the pillar of light” – a corporeal, an inseparable and an immovable place in the universum consisting everything), manikeism (“the pillar of light” or “the pillar of glory” – purified souls or light creatures accompany it to the moon and afterwards, to the sun. According to the other version, after going up to the moon and the sun the light or purified souls gather on “the pillar of glory”) and in Indian religion (“the pillar of light” is connected to the souls of the dead, which firstly go up to the moon and afterwards, to the sun. This is the treasure of India’s belief).

V. Nozadze does not connect any of the above-mentioned sources with “the pillar of light”, which is presented in the Georgian writing. The scientist believes that it “is related to the Assyrian-Egyptian-Greek pillar, which was dedicated to the heavenly bodies. I suppose that the Georgian pillar is not connected with a fire-pillar of the Bible” [Nozadze, 1957:87].

V. Nozadze quotes J. Karst, who believes that the “living pillar” (the same as “the pillar of light”), “which comes from the heavens is the Christianized old cult of a tree, a holy tree, the cult, which is known not only in Georgia, but in the traces of a pagan belief of mountain peoples” [Nozadze, 1957:88].

We believe that an archetype of a symbol and an idea of “the pillar of light”, which is presented in the Georgian writing is Biblical (however, the relation to the mythological world of a pillar and a pagan cult of a tree is indisputable - see I. Javakhishvili, M. Chikovani, Z. Kiknadze, I. Surguladze, R. Siradze). According to “Exodus”, “the pillar of a cloud”, “the pillar of fire” (the same as “the pillar of light”) pushes sons of Israel to the promised country – “By day the Lord went ahead of them in a pillar of cloud to guide them on their way and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light...Neither the pillar of cloud by day nor the pillar of fire by night left its place in front of the people” [Exodus, 13:21-22].

The given text indicates that the phenomena of “the pillar of a cloud” and “the pillar of fire” (the same as “the pillar of light”) have the same content. The mark-pillars of “theophany” are visible images, which change each other during days and nights and lead God’s elect nation on a difficult way.

“The pillar of a cloud” does not leave the Jews, who left Egypt. When the Egyptians approach the Jews it backs and defends the latter, but darkens the way to the former - “The pillar of cloud also moved from in front and stood behind them, coming between the armies of Egypt and Israel. Throughout the night the cloud brought darkness to the one side and light to the other side; so neither went near the other all night long” [Exodus, 13:21-22].

The narration continues – “During the last watch of the night the Lord looked down from the pillar of fire and cloud at the Egyptian army and threw it into confusion” [Exodus 14:24]. It seems that “the pillar of fire” and “the pillar of a cloud” are saviors and protectors of God’s elect. However, they represent ire and wail for fierce Pharaoh and his army. The Egyptians feel this and perceive an approaching danger as God’s struggle for “Israel”.

N. Sulava writes in this respect: “the back-standing of “the pillar of a cloud” indicates that they were forbidden to turn back... looking directly at “the pillar of a cloud” was impossible. However, at dawn God appeared before them with the “pillars of fire and cloud”. Looking at God annihilated them” [Sulava, 2008:134].

“The pillar of a cloud” is presented several times in the “Book of Exodus”. After three months from leaving Egypt, Jacob’s house approached Mount Sinai. Moses climbed the mountain and God instructed him to inform the Israelis about his will - if they believed in his word and promise, he would make them his elects. Jacob’s house consented. Afterwards, “...the Lord said to Moses, “I am going to come to you in a dense cloud, so that the people will hear me speaking with you and will always put their trust in you.” Then Moses told the Lord what the people had said” [Exodus, 19:9].

The given passage reveals that “the pillar of a cloud” is the evidence of God’s appearance, which is disclosed by God’s word. God’s word came true - “...Mount Sinai was covered with smoke, because the Lord descended on it in fire. The smoke billowed up from it like smoke from a furnace, and the whole mountain trembled violently” [Exodus, 19:18]. It is obvious that God appears with the image of the fire. The given passage reveals once again that “the pillar of fire” and “the pillar of a cloud” are the image-symbols, which have the same content.

The “Book of Exodus” presents “the pillar of a cloud” once again: “As Moses went into the tent, the pillar of cloud would come down and stay at the entrance, while the Lord spoke with Moses. Whenever the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the entrance to the tent, they all stood and worshiped, each at the entrance to their tent” [Exodus, 33:9-10]. It has been mentioned for several times that “the pillar of a cloud” is a mark-pillar of God’s appearance, God’s existence. This is the way of God’s revelation before Moses. God reveals him his wish and Israel recognizes God via this miracle.

The pillar is presented in prophet Ezekiel’s apparition „I looked, and I saw a figure like that of a man. From what appeared to be his waist down he was like fire, and from there up his appearance was as bright as glowing metal. He stretched out what looked like a hand and took me by the hair of my head. The Spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven and in visions of God he took me to Jerusalem, to the entrance of the north gate of the inner court, where the idol that provokes to jealousy stood” [Ezekiel, 8:3]. The given passage reveals that in prophet’s vision, the pillar of God’s image provokes jealousy and is the revelation of Israel’s glory.

The attention must be paid to the word denoting the image of “the pillar of fire” in John’s revelation: “Then I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven. He was robed in a cloud, with a rainbow above his head; his face was like the sun, and his legs were like fiery pillars [Revelation, 10:1]. It is defined by Andrea Cappadocian in the following way: “...The feet of fire are the marks of abomination and suffering of the sinners, who are on the land... because the irreligious must suffer [Andrea Kesaria-Cappadocian http://martlmadidebloba.ge/ganmarteba_11.html]. According to this definition, “the pillar of fire” is considered as “the type of suffering of the sinners”. It must also be mentioned that the given consideration of “the pillar of fire” is not met in the redactions of “St. Nino’s life”.

“A sacral function of a pillar is important for the Biblical tropology, while the “fieriness” of a pillar is perceived as a representation of God’s will. The major lies... in a universal task of a pillar: it must arise, introduce to the “heavenly look” sacral and respected, but leave a profane ... on the land...” [Abzianidze, Elashvili, 2012:49].

The above mentioned enables us to state that in the books of Bible (“Exodus”, “Prophet Ezekiel”, “Revelation”) “the pillar of a cloud” and “the pillar of fire” (i.e. “the pillar of light”) are image-icons of theophany and mark-pillars proving Gods presence, which is a leader, a savior, a benefactor and a protector of Jacob’s house. It seems that the pillars of cloud and fire - the benefactors of the Israelites – may become the pillars of revenge, when an elect nation abrogates God’s Testament. These interpretations of the above given Biblical paradigms will become the foundations of new images in the considerations of the creators of the following epochs.

The study of the Georgian hagiographic works reveals that “the pillar of light” is God’s appearance, God’s shiny word of truth, publicly verifying the merit and spiritual perfection of characters of “tortures” and “lives”. Symbolically, it is “Jacob’s ladder”, taking the martyr to the sky. “The pillar of light” is a leader and a determiner of a working field of hermits similarly to

“the pillar of a cloud”, which led the Israelites coming from Egypt to a promised land. According to Giorgi Merchule, St. Fathers are “steadfast pillars as the strengthened pillars of the heavens” [Merchule, 1963:264].

The hagiographers will single out the essence of a pillar, particularly, the basis of the nomination as a “pillar” – “the pillar of a cloud”, “the pillar of fire”, “the pillar of light”, “the life-giving pillar”, “the pillar of truth” “the pillar of patience”, etc. Former four are the mark-symbols of God’s appearance, while “the pillar of truth” and “the pillar of patience” indicate that a perfected person approaches “the pillar of light”.

Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s works are important for the study of the paradigm of “the pillar of light”. In the work – “The reading of a living pillar, Christ’s tunic and Catholic church” – the Catholicos defines the reason of the praising of “three hypostases”: “we have to decorate more brightly holy Catholic church and a living pillar erected by God, which is burning forever as a bright lamp and a lightning on our Savior Christ’s tunic – the lightest among all lights...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:5].

In contrast to the redactions of “St. Nino’s life”, Nikoloz Gulaberidze narrates in “The reading” that fir trees were cut for building the church and “seven pillars were created. Six of them were erected according to the necessity, but the largest pillar was located in the middle of the church and was prepared for the erection [Gulaberidze, 2008:28]. The note about the preparation of seven pillars comes from Leonti Mroveli’s redaction of “St. Nino’s life” [Leonti Mroveli, 1955:112]. According to R. Siradze’s viewpoint “the building of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral started in accordance with the opinion presented in Solomon’s “fables”: “Wisdom built a house for itself and put underneath seven pillars” (fables, 9,1...) [Siradze, 1992:116].

We believe that the above-mentioned must be considered together with the symbolism of numbers, particularly, the symbolism of seven, which is sacral for the pagan thinking and the Cristian world. First of all, the Biblical symbolism of seven relates to the cosmogony. According to “Genesis”, the seventh day completes God’s acts carried out during preceding six days. The seventh day is God’s day. According to the Biblical viewpoint, thousand days are one day for God. The belief, which arose among Christians, considers the eighth day (after passing 7000 years) as an eschatological time. Therefore, number seven is the ending of a group of numbers preceding it. At the same time, it is a forerunner of the renovation. N. Sulava writes about this: “The seventh day is different, confronted, because on the seventh day a qualitatively different act takes place. However, the completeness cannot be achieved by ignoring one of them. Completeness necessitates the unity” [Sulava, 2000:224].

The given symbolism of seven is vividly revealed in the Georgian hagiographic works. Let’s recall “The martyrdom of Shushanik” - six years of queen’s martyrdom were followed by the seventh year facing “the death of Christ’s daughter-in-law”. It is noteworthy that Ioane Sabanisdze considered the lifetime “likewise seventh” as remembering-cautioning the approach of the eschatological eighth year to the Georgians frightened with the Arabs’ violence (see K. Kekelidze, R. Siradze). It is important that the conversion of Kartli took place seven years after St. Ninos’ activities.

The above mentioned enables us to consider the preparation of seven pillars (for building the cathedral) in accordance with the symbolism of numbers. The seventh – “the largest” “astonishing” pillar of light erected via a divine force - is a central pillar joining and crowning the latter six. Its erection is the guarantee of the building of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral and Georgians’ ecclesiastic life.

Nikoloz Gulaberidze in “The reading” and “The chant” “decorates” an erected pillar with different epithets – “the alive pillar”, “the pillar of light”, “this pillar – pure, enlightening and lighting”, “outstanding, beautified with a lot of various miracles”, “the tower comprising a vast light”, “the pillar of light shining brightly”, “the pillar shined by God”, “the pillar, the decoration of the church and our hope”, “the shiniest than the sun and exalted than ether, the guardian of lights of matins and lightning, unfelt and untouchable by a human’s hand”, “our watchman and guard”, “the Georgians’ hope and fence”, “an unuttered brilliance”, “paling the sun’s light and disappearing its rays”, “holy”, “desired”, “divine”, “Moses’ accomplice and attorney”, “an unconquerable fighter-leader”, etc.

R. Siradze indicates in respect to the naming of “Sveti-Tskhoveli” – “Tskhovelis mkopeli” is a divine name... “Sveti Tskhoveli” will become a divine name too. “Tskhoveloba” / “living” of this pillar is expressed by the fact that it is filled with a divine light. “Tskhoveli” means “living” and implies a divine life. Saba defines: “the Lord lives and as you live” (IV kings. 4. 30). A divine life is eternal. Christ “is not God of the dead, but of the living” (Mark. 12, 27). Christianity is an eternal life (Mt. 19, 20). Christ is a word of life (I i. 1,1), a soul of life (I cor.15, 45), “the light of life” (i. 8,12), oppressing the death with the life (com. II cor. 5, 4). Everything can be summarized with the words from the Gospel of John: “that life was the light of all mankind” (i. 1, 4)... Svetitskhoveli Cathedral is a symbol of Sveti-Tskhoveli” [Siradze, 1992:115-116].

“The reading” presents desacralization and modification of old layers and image-symbols, especially, the transformation of a pagan cult of a tree into the Biblical “pillar of fire” – the pillar erected by an adolescent adorned with light “turned into light...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:29] and “the pillar, which turned into the fire and a shining pillar”, “...the pillar of light arisen to the sky as the fire” [Gulaberidze, 2008:52]. The given depiction of the transformation of a pillar (according to “The life of St. Nino” that “pillar is seen as fire”) reveals that the pre-image of Sveti-Tskhoveli is the Biblical “pillar of fire” - “considered by prophets and fathers as the holy pure fire-pillar”, “foretoken by prophets and fathers as the holy pure fire-light pillar” [Gulaberidze, 2008:68]. Similarly to the pillars of fire and cloud accompanying the Jews, “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is a guardian of the Georgian believers, the leader and the determiner of a new way, because God is in it and is seen via a mark-pillar of light – “...Let’s aspire to see that surprising light, because this light is the appearance of that light, which was considered as the son on God by the prophets...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:34].

Here is the passage from “The reading” related to Sveti-Tskhoveli. It is a particular attempt of desacralization of pagan images and their Christian interpretation. Gulaberidze praises the “pillar of light” in the following way: “Be joyful, a pillar of light, similarly to the sun’s eye you peer over light, a tunic of light, lightning-like light of the rays of the fire...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:59].

Therefore, the author considers “the pillar of light” as an “eye of the sun”, which similarly to the sun “peers over”, lights down at Christ’s tunic and lightens as a lightning with the rays of the

fire. In this passage the “eye of the sun” is the ownership of the mythological sun, which exists even nowadays in some expressions - “the nine-eyed sun”, “the sun – an eye of the sky”, “an eye (of the sun – N. G.) went into a bunch of grapes” – told during ripening of grapes, “an eye of the sun” (V. Nozadze, M. Chikovani, V. Bardavelidze, I. Surguladze, R. Siradze, etc.). Therefore, Nikoloz Gulaberidze unloaded “an eye of the sun” from pagan and used it for the embodiment of Christian sanctities.

Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s “The reading” and “The chant” reveal that “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is the same as “the pillar of fire” accompanying the Israelites: “Be joyful, the pillar living and pure, initially acknowledged and beautified with many different miracles! You led the Israelites infallibly, because every source of light wanted you, via your miraculous acting and Moses leadership God was glorified in that desert during forty years, your dedication was directed to help the Israelites and to annihilate foreigners!” [Gulaberidze, 2008:59; see also pp. 50, 54, 67-78, etc.].

Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s idea is very interesting in this respect. It is presented in one of the miracles of Sveti-Tskhoveli, which describes fording the furious river Aragvi by Queen Soji (via the assistance of Sveti-Tskhoveli). The author mentions: “and similarly to the first miracle, the same God wanted Sveti-Tskhoveli to travel under the leadership of a pillar, which earlier made miracles for the Israelites. When they went on the dark Red Sea and waters became fences from right and left, a light pillar led them. This queen started fording a furious river... fences were from right and left, but the main nation crossed the river drily and the whole nation, which heard and saw everything praised and glorified God and Sveti-Tskhoveli” [Gulaberidze, 2008:50-51].

N. Gulaberidze reveals the similarity of “Sveti-Tskhoveli” and “the pillar of fire”. He compares the miracles of the Red Sea and Aragvi and makes an unexpected conclusion: “My dears, these miracles are no less than the miracles, which happened to the Israelites. I suppose, they are even more, because there was a calm river, while here is a furious one, furious like a wolf. Both were from God” [Gulaberidze, 2008:31].

It seems that according to the author’s viewpoint, the miracle of Kartli is more significant. He states the reason – a miracle belongs to God, it is performed by the heavenly power. We believe that the comparison of the split of the calm Red Sea and furious Aragvi is not correct. The text reveals that the author realizes this fact. Therefore, in one case, he adds: “I think”. Nikoloz Gulaberidze tries to emphasize a divine glory and power of “Sveti-Tskhoveli” via presenting the superiority of its miracle. Moreover, the “change” of a pillar into “the pillar of light” indicates to the fact that a hidden life-giving force of a pillar made from “the Cedar of Lebanon” was brightened and beautified with a heavenly mercy. The newly-converted Georgian nation could see one more divine miracle and convince itself in the almightiness of Christian God. Symbolically, it is the “Transfiguration of Jesus” consecrated by God: for a pillar - “the pillar of fire, (“the pillar of light”), the guarantee of the building of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, its central pillar, arisen on the earthing-place of Christ’s tunic, fed with belief and “beautified”. A harmonic coexistence of three lights (Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, the pillar of light, Christ’s tunic) enables the author to consider the figurativeness of the trinity. “Three lights representing the holy trinity...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:63]. “And these three – representing the holy trinity – Catholic

church, Christ's tunic and Sveti-Tskhoveli give us the fruits of an immortalizing treasure..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:5]. Nikoloz Gulaberidze addresses the Georgians' three most precious treasures in such a way.

In "The reading" the pillar of light is considered as the aspiration of earthly to heavenly and as their visible connection – the king "saw the light, which trembled as a lightning stretching up from a low edge of the garden to the heavens..." "...saw the light, which trembled as a lightning stretching up from the lower paradise to the heavens ..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:30]. Let us recall the similar phenomenon, which was described in "The martyrdom of St. Abo": on the place of Abo's buried bones "... came out a pillar-like light as the lightning. It "stood" for a long time and the rock on the benches of the river, the environment and the bridge were lit up. All the citizens saw this..." [Sabanisdze, 1963:75] - "...stretched up from the land to the heavens, arisen from the land and topped the heavens, stretched up forever by God, which lives in it and God settles among us via it" [Gulaberidze, 2008:62].

It has already been mentioned that the given consideration of Sveti-Tskhoveli is related to the revelation of Jacob and to the pagan cult of a tree – the Biblical narration about the tree of life planted in Paradise.

In "The reading" the paradigm of "the pillar of light" is related to other miracles of New Testament, particularly, to Transfiguration of Jesus and baptizing in Jordan: "Be joyful, the pillar of light. You witnessed the glorification of the son of God. When you shimmered on Mount Tabor, you notified about the second coming of man-god Jesus. The observers of your glory - main apostles, witnesses of God's son... were astonished by the light of your glory... and similarly on Jordan (shined a pillar of light – N. G.), while the human beings' sins were drowned by him..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:61]. The similar passage is presented in "The chant": "This pillar served the son of God on Tabor and Jordan" [Gulaberidze, 2008:68, see also – 74, 76].

The given passages reveal that Nikoloz Gulaberidze relates the appearance of "the pillar of light" to the miracle, which took place during Christ's baptism in Jordan by John the Baptist (At that moment heaven was opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him - Mat. 3:16). It is supposable that in this case the author considers "the pillar of light" as a mark-pillar of God's appearance and therefore, he assumes it as the witness of the divulgation of God's son by God [see Mat. 3:17].

We believe that Nikoloz Gulaberidze identified "the pillar of light" with "the pillar of a cloud" in case of denoting the appearance of the former during Transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor (which does not appear in the texts of the Gospels).

"The pillar of light" is considered as the symbol of Christ in "The chant", in the trope dedicated to the Virgin: "Oh! Mother and Virgin, light, presenting the pillar of light..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:70]. In the compositions, Nikoloz Gulaberidze expresses the idea that the pillar was erected by "light-possessing" Christ: "Be joyful, a holy pillar, living and life-giving, which was erected as the light of lightning and a living-pillar by a light-possessing son of God..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:52]. The author also presents the importance and the task of the erection of

the pillar of light: "... for the enlightenment of the heart of the Georgian nation darkened via idols' temptation, for burning unbelievers in the fire unmercifully, requiting for parting from your holy light, oh, holy and living pillar!" [Gulaberidze, 2008:58].

It seems that the pillar of light gives a new life to the Georgians, who live in the darkness of idolatry. Therefore, it is life-giving. Here is one more nuance. According to the author's statement, "Sveti-Tskhoveli" is unmerciful to the unbelievers: "eating as the fire" and requite-giving. The similar idea is presented in "The chant": "The pillar of light, an image of fire, a burner of an irreligious nation. When unbelievers entered your cathedral and tried to touch it, you burnt them with your fire. When an irreligious nation captured it conceitedly, the fire flashed and burnt them unmercifully..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:70]. We believe that the given passages are the echo of one of the miracles of "Sveti-Tskhoveli" presented in "The reading", which narrates about the barbarians, who "ferociously" rushed into Svetitskhoveli during the Turks' invasion. We infer from the text that the Sultan "investigated" the essence of the sanctity, which was placed in the vault. When he heard about a divine essence and power of "Sveti-Tskhoveli", he believed in "God's grandeurs" and left that place. After the Sultan's departure, his wife, Shahri-Khatun, went into Svetitskhoveli. She did not pay attention to advice. She thought there was a lot of treasure there and placed the ladder for "observation". At that moment "a pillar of fire flashed immediately and unmercifully burnt and rotted all Barbarians, who were at the bottom of the ladder..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:52]. The survivors got frightened and rushed away. The Sultan's wife got more furious and ordered to burn the cathedral. God's revenging nature appears in this passage: "See here the revenge of powerful God. How the punishment appeared without delay. God's divine revenge was taken immediately and burnt the intestines and entrails of the extinguisher of the light. She hurried to Persia and died on her way..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:52].

In the given passages our attention was captured by "the pillar of fire", which is a precursor of destruction for the Egyptians (according to the Bible). Therefore, it becomes clear, why Nikoloz Gulaberidze mentions a revenging nature of "the pillar of light". The above mentioned viewpoint (a dual nature of "Sveti-Tskhoveli") is proved by Catholicos' praise of "Sveti-Tskhoveli": "Be joyful, a living pillar... cheering the souls with a fire-coloured wing stretched up in the sky like the lightning, which burns evil souls and protestors..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:65].

It has already been mentioned that in "The chant" "the pillar of light" is the symbol of Christ. The Savior says: "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword" [Mat. 10:34]. Christianity is an absolving religion... but not to Satan. Satanic must be crushed with a sword, with a spiritual sword and a fighting one. Christ's sword is of this type.

In his compositions, Nikoloz Gulaberidze relates "Sveti-Tskhoveli" to God, which often appears as an "old man" and is mainly seen as an image of "old days": "and let's say why everyone calls him a pillar of light and a living pillar. He has been seen in such a way by many from the very beginning (when he led in old times the people of Israel), but here he is often seen as an old man..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:54]. Nikoloz Gulaberidze says that he tries to define a deep content of such "appearance". First of all, he remembers a listener and a reader the essence of the dogma of consubstantial Trinity. He says: "This pillar of holy light united as a

single light depicting Holy Trinity will join as one expressive light..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:55]. Catholicos cites Prophet Daniel's telling about the second coming of "old days" and a "single light". According to his viewpoint, a "single light" and "old days" of Trinity will come during the second coming. Similarly to this, a "single light" and "old days" of Trinity will be viewed as "old days" by those, who are worthy to see it. He cites genuine sayings related to the miracle of Sveti-Tskhoveli: "...seeing many times as old days, while sitting on the top of the pillar and sometimes while being in church, the other time - sitting in front of the pillar, mainly - on the top of the pillar [Gulaberidze, 2008:55].

R. Siradze writes in this respect: "an old man" in the image of Sveti-Tskhoveli is a mystic apparition. Imagining it means spiritual communion with it i.e. a liturgical consciousness waiting for a miracle. This miracle is "subjectified" i.e. iconized among the sanctities of Svetitskhoveli" [Siradze, 1992:94].

L. Grigolashvili makes an attempt to define the meaning of seeing "the pillar of light" as an image of an "old man" by N. Gulaberidze. He singles out the relation of an image of an "old man" and "old days". The scientist cites Daniel's prophecy, where the deity "old days" is presented as an "old man". "According to Nikoloz Gulaberidze's viewpoint, "old days" and an "old man" indicate to one and the same aspect. Therefore, "a light pillar as old days" is seen" [Grigolashvili, 2005:94].

L. Tsereteli discusses Davit Aghmashenebi's contemplation of "old days" in Gulaberidze's "The reading". He mentions that "... the Holy Trinity appears as an old man (representing Svetitskhoveli)" [Tsereteli, 2005:144] to the king. This is the prerequisite of Davit's spiritual transfiguration and "rebirth".

The above mentioned reveals that Nikoloz Gulaberidze considers "the pillar of light", Christ's tunic and Svetitskhoveli Cathedral as the consubstantial of Trinity and relates "Sveti-tskhoveli" to hypostases of Trinity.

R. Siradze mentions in this respect: "...Sveti-Tskhoveli or a light pillar represents the consubstantiality of Trinity - the [Father](#), the [Son](#) and the [Holy Spirit](#). Moreover, Sveti-Tskhoveli represents the [Father](#). Its symbol must be imagined as an "old man". The "old man" appears and embodies himself in Sveti-Tskhoveli. "Old days", which "can be felt only by the soul", embodies itself at once. An old day will be renewed in a "new day" i.e. in Christ (in the "sunny night")" [Siradze, 1992:113].

The Virgin is also called "Sveti-Tskhoveli" in "The reading" and "The chant". According to the author, prophets and Holy Fathers name her as "the light of fire", which rooted in the earth and "topped" in the heavens, which is seen with God. "God exists among us via her" [Siradze, 1992:62].

On the basis of this, Nikoloz Gulaberidze considers that Virgin Mariam incarnates a pillar: "Oh! Mother and Virgin, light, presenting the pillar of light, named as a pillar ..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:70; see 74, 78]. The author singles out one more feature similarizing "Sveti-Tskhoveli" and the Virgin: "Our light pillar, mother of God's son, who nursed Jesus Christ, you familiarised

us with the chrism” [Gulaberidze, 2008:77; see 65, 68, 70, 74]. Therefore, chrism-issuing “Sveti-Tskhoveli” (via the mercy of “the spring of sweetness”) is manifested via a deep content of the Saviour of the Georgians’ soul, the Saviour’s mother.

“The chant” presents one more significant interpretation of “Sveti-Tskhoveli” – Nikoloz Gulaberidze interprets the separation of fire-tongues (during Holy Spirit’s appearance over twelve apostles) as the appearance of “the pillar of fire”: “Be joyful, appearing as twelve parts of fire- tongues over the apostles!” [Gulaberidze, 2008:76].

If we consider Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s words from this point of view, the lighting of the pillar and its turning into the image of fire will symbolically indicate to Holy Spirit’s appearance over St. Nino (similarly to 12 apostles), who decrees the Georgian speech and “conversion”.

According to R. Siradze’s viewpoint, “Sveti-Tskhoveli and Svetitskhoveli Cathedral symbolically relate to: the Father, Holy Trinity, Christ’s tunic and the idea of resurrection, the Virgin, 12 apostles and St. Nino, ...who was our “new apostle” [Siradze, 1992:119].

The study of “The reading” and “The chant” reveals that Nikoloz Gulaberidze’s theological-philosophical discussions as well as the attempts of the representation of national-religious ideals and singling out the determining factors present the multi-stage symbolically loaded paradigm of “Sveti-Tskhoveli”, particularly:

1. An image-symbol is a face-image of light Trinity of “Sveti-Tskhoveli”: “This holy pillar united as a single light of the image of Holy Trinity...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:55];
2. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is the image of the Father (“As old days” [Gulaberidze, 2008:55]), “an old man”. This is mentioned in “The reading” many times: “... Here it is mainly seen as an old man by everyone” [Gulaberidze, 2008:55]; “...This light pillar is seen as old days...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:55], “...On the top of this pillar was sitting an old man as an image of old days...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:55]; “...Sveti tskhoveli appeared as an image of an old man surrounded with an inexpressible brilliancy...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:56];
3. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is Christ’s light pillar: “The pillar of light went down,... he was sitting on the top of the pillar, he, who was crucified by our fathers” [Gulaberidze, 2008:35]; “Oh, Mother and Virgin, light, presenting the pillar of light...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:70]. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is too high, the light superior to the sun, stronger than the universe and the sun – “You are the unuttered light and brilliance, a conqueror of the universe and the sun, a pillar, which gives life...” [Gulaberidze, 2008:70; see also 65,72];
4. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is the embodiment of the Virgin: “Oh! Mother and Virgin, light, presenting the pillar of light, named as a pillar, frightfully glorified by angels, tirelessly chanted and praised by us” [Gulaberidze, 2008:70]; “Be more joyful, you, representing the Virgin” [Gulaberidze, 2008:76; see also 62, 74, 78];
5. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” is the symbol of the communion with the Georgians’ highest light: “This holy pillar, which enlightens and lightens our souls and minds” [Gulaberidze, 2008:39]. An “enlightener” is directed to the mind, a “lightener” – to the soul. A believer, who approaches “Sveti-Tskhoveli” sharing its holy chrism, is heightened to the divinity. “Sveti-Tskhoveli” converts those, which rush to it: “Be joyful, a living pillar, ... you convert everyone who rushes to you” [Gulaberidze, 2008:65];

6. "Sveti-Tskhoveli" is the symbol of the eradication of irreligiousness and evilness of idols, repression of enemies, renewal of the belief and presentation of a new religion: "...Be joyful, a destructor of the evilness of idols!" [Gulaberidze, 2008:77]; "Be joyful, a renewal of a deprived religion!" [Gulaberidze, 2008:77];
7. "Sveti-Tskhoveli" is a connector of the earth and the heavens. It represents "Jacob's ladder": "...The pillar of light, which topped to the sky, came down to us..." [Gulaberidze, 2008:35; see also 30, 62];
8. "Sveti-Tskhoveli" is the Georgians' hope and defending fence, which stands among us invisibly: "Oh, a miraculous pillar, the hope and the fence of the Georgian nation, which stands among us invisibly [Gulaberidze, 2008:66]; It is the hope of hermit-fathers and believers" [Gulaberidze, 2008:76].
9. "Sveti-Tskhoveli" is the symbol of disclosing the Georgians as the "heavenly nation"³: "Be joyful, you became God's elect nation for the holiness and reigning of your descendants!" [Gulaberidze, 2008:76].

On the basis of the above discussed we can conclude that Nikoloz Gulaberidze defines the essence and the purport of "the pillar of light" (the same as "Sveti-Tskhoveli") from a national-religious viewpoint and presents its deep theological content in "The reading" and "The chant". He singles out a multi-stage symbolism of "the pillar of light" ("the pillar of fire") in accordance with the Biblical paradigm and enriches this paradigm with new transformations. Therefore, it can be mentioned that according to the given consideration, "the pillar of light" is the purport of the Georgians' life and consciousness, a determiner and a "director" of the national introspection, a divine stretched-down mother-pillar, a leader of the Georgian nation ("God's elect nation"), which rises to the heavens.

See our letter – Paradigmatic tropology of "the pillar of light" in "The knight in the panther's skin" (In the context of the discussion of the Georgian writing), *Rustvelology*, 3013-2015, VII, pp. 7-28.

See E. Chkheidze's letter – Symbolism of numbers of the Georgian folklore, *Researches*, XII, 2001.

For the comprehension of the "heavenly nation" see N. Sulava's research Nikoloz Gulaberidze in the book Nikoloz Gulaberidze, "Sakitkhavi and chants of Svetitskhoveli", Mtskheta, 2008.

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