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State Education Policy as a Mechanism for Constructing National Identity in Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921)

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The research related to the construction of nationalism and national identity is still an important topic of interest in contemporary humanities and social sciences. Lowell Barrington excludes the availability of agreed definition in discussion on the concept of nationalism due to the varying interpretations of this concept. Nationalism as an ideology is a process that consolidates national features of a nation the outcome of which, faith of the group members, embraces the idea of establishing a national state (Barrington, 2006). The theory that serves as a basis for examining the issue in question refers to the political transformation of nationalism, nationalism as a political form. According to the Modernist theory, the political transformation of nationalism is considered to be the reason for the construction of a modern state. A lengthy discussion has been dedicated to this idea in "Nationalism and the State" (Breuilly, 1993) by A. John Breuilly who suggests that nationalism is a political form. He criticizes widely spread opinions about the origin of nationalism and believes that often the theorists decentralize the political nature of nationalism within the context of the emergence of modern nations. Focusing only on certain elements, such as culture, ideology, past, myths and history, would disregard the fundamental concept of nationalism, states A. John Breuilly (Breuilly, 1993). He defines nationalism as a political movement striving towards power and justifying the legitimacy of power by national arguments. In order to better understand the political goals of nationalism, A. John Breuilly suggests to carefully observe the space beyond the main scene of nationalism and examine what kinds of nonpolitical impulses create the environment for the development of political nature of nationalism. First of all, it is a national ideology that serves as a political tool in the process of nation-building. Reconstruction of the historical past, myths, and popularization of national identity through cultural patterns is a phenomenon that has a tremendous impact on national ideology and symbolism. The way through the political integrity towards political unity explicitly means that the ideal of the national unity is homogeneous and its division into separate economic, cultural and political unities is unacceptable. All three of them should be examined as interrelated. *"Thus, according to Breuilly, nationalism is a distinctive "juggling" ideology that consolidates two beginnings: the nation as a unity of citizens and the nation as a cultural unity"* [Davitashvili, 2003: 109].

We are aiming to examine the issue under consideration, i.e. "State Education Policy as a Mechanism for Constructing National Identities in Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921)" within the framework of the theory of political transformation of nationalism and determine that the vision of the 1918-1921 Democratic Republic of Georgia, in terms of planning and implementation of the education policy, represented the unity of the nation's

political and cultural nature. Education policy is a state policy that creates an intended mechanism for the formation of such unity. It incorporates legitimation of the development of civic consciousness, and cultural aspects for defining the distinctive character and identity of the people / nation. With regard to the issue under consideration, we are dealing with the address delivered by Noe Tsintsadze, Deputy Minister of Education “on reorganization of schools”. In addition, within the context of the issue in question, the discussion on the part of the constitutional committee on entitling national minorities to pursue education is considered as significant.

The representatives of the Modernist theory of nationalism regularly emphasize the most important and defining role of education in the process of formation of national identity. According to Benedict Anderson, a wider cultural system – print media, literacy, and education – provides the basis for political objectives and movement (Anderson, 2003). Eric Hobsbawm states that the development of schools and universities is directly related to self-determination processes of the nation (Hobsbawm, 1962). Theorists of nationalism agree that the ruling elites themselves include the issues of cultural, educational and linguistic standards in their agenda. Through consistent policy, they outline the contours of the formation of citizens’ national identity.

Before proceeding to a discussion on the main issue, we consider it essential to say a few words about some important aspects of the construction of the Georgian nationalism.

From the second half of the 19th century, the Georgian intellectual elite learned to employ those mechanisms of modernization that ultimately was completed by the establishment of the Georgian cultural nationalism. The intellectuals of 1860s established the Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians, restored the Georgian theatre, founded the Bank of the Nobility, and issued Georgian newspapers and magazines. Taking charge of the revival of nationality and Georgian culture was the utmost aim of Ilia and the tergdaleulis. Their practical efforts towards education, culture and economics provided the basis for political and economic unity of the Georgians (Jones, 2007). Therefore, their efforts represented consistent preparations for country’s future declaration of independence. The identification of the nation’s cultural patterns remains to be a central idea of nationalism until the idea of establishing a national state becomes part of the nation’s agenda. In other words, moving from the cultural to the political is also the typical trajectory for the development of the national idea that for different nations occurs at different points in time (Nodia, 2009). In case of Georgia, the occurrence of such type of trajectory in 1918 is verified by the declaration of Georgia’s independence. However, due to its short-lived existence, we are unable to consider it as an established and complete national state. We can only hypothetically assume and look for the signs which indicate that the Democratic Republic of Georgia of 1918-1921 indeed was a step (though uncompleted) from cultural nationalism towards the formation of the national state – because of the Soviet Russian intervention of 1921 in the territory of the independent country.

The representatives of legislature of the first Republic and the intellectuals regularly discussed the ways of organizing the system of education and the need for proper planning and implementation of reforms. Through the study and analysis of the Georgian print media, publicistic works and the archival materials of the Ministry of public education of the period

reveal that the ultimate goal of the Georgian reformers intended the elimination of the Russification policy in education, and nationalization and democratization of education as well as the development of the national concept of education which intended the nationalization of schools. In addition, the adjustment of the Georgian reality to the European education system was a key matter of concern for them. Through consistent efforts, they developed the concept of national policy which manifested itself in the nationalization of schools, elaboration of curricula, programs and text-books prepared from national perspective. Nationalization of education and adoption of the Georgian language policy led to the inclusion of the issue of national minorities in educational and cultural institutions into the agenda. On a legislative level, several statutes were developed that were distinct due to the democratic approaches towards national minorities. The right to education for national minorities, in an established form, was defined in Chapter 14 of the 1921 Constitution of Georgia, in which six articles out of nine dealt with the cultural, educational and linguistic choice of minorities and their rights to create the local communal, national and urban unions. The Constitution entitled them to access education and enjoy cultural self-determination ensuring non-interference on the part of the state, though expecting them to be loyal to the Georgian national project. Raising and regulating the issue of education in Abkhazian and South Ossetian regions represented an important challenge for the education policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia.^[1] In these regions, the government policy should not have caused an intense, conflicting response and should not have implemented a balancing policy. It is also important to emphasize that, apart from the school issue, extensive cultural and educational efforts were made in the army and the guard of the Democratic Republic of Georgia.

In the book entitled “Georgian Democracy” published in Paris in 1921, Wladimir Woytinsky states that the intellectual legacy of the 19th century served as a foundation for democratic educational activities in Georgia. The principles of the *tergdaleulis* for future development of the country were manifested in efforts to ensure education for the society and, specifically, for the younger generation. Most importantly, Europe should have been their main point of reference. A comprehensive reorganization of education was the most important concern for Georgian democracy: the democratic state should have reinforced social freedom and facilitated the development of national culture (Woytinsky, 2018). As Stephen Jones also indicates, the intellectual legacy of the *tergdaleulis* was immensely important for Social Democrats. It was the *tergdaleulis* who helped them become acquainted with the ideas of equality, personal rights as well as national freedom in Georgia (Jones, 2007). Georgian Social-Democrats, similar to the Austrian and German counterparts, provided the society with the model of socialism that was based on self-help, education and cultural development: *“such efforts laid the foundation of initial elements of civil society in Georgia”* [Jones, 46: 2007].

The most important event for Georgian history, the declaration of independence on May 26, 1918 was preceded by the restoration of autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church in 1917, and the establishment of the University in 1918. Against the background of the international, political and social situation of the time, these two events were a step forward to the consolidation of the Georgian society and to the proper benchmarks. The higher education concept developed by Ivane Javakhishvili and his associates created the proper system of educational reforms that corresponded to the development of the Georgian Democratic

Republic in a European manner (Gaiparashvili, 2017). When delivering his address at the celebration dedicated to the establishment of the University, Akaki Chkhenkeli, on behalf of the National Council of Georgia actually defined the key patterns and objectives of the education policy of the future democratic government of Georgia. He considered the establishment of the University as a vital fact for the life of the Georgian nation and urged the future generation, to encourage the Georgian university and the educational system of the country, together with the development of the national culture, to be committed to democratic principles and serve the nation: *“the most sacred duty of the Georgian University is to serve the legitimate demands of democracy, and come close to the people. If the national culture was only accessible to a small group of people in the past, today the national culture is national only when it becomes available to everyone. No one should be discriminated. Everyone should have the opportunity to learn science. Science should protect democracy. The connection between democracy and science should be maintained in the Georgian University”* [Newspaper “Ertoba”, 1918 :2]. The above speech delivered by Akaki Chkhenkeli could be considered as manifesto concerning national as well as European and democratic values of the country where the education policy of the Georgian Democratic Republic should have one of the key roles. Those who were in charge of educational system, understood that the society of individuals brought up by embracing national spirit and cultural equality, and full of civic responsibility, ensures the development of a new democratic country. The above-mentioned vision and the convictions are addressed in Deputy Minister Noe Tsintsadze’s report entitled “On the reorganization of a secondary school”.

In his address, delivered at the Government meeting on July 17, 1919, Noe Tsintsadze discussed the adverse outcomes of the Russification policy within the Georgian educational system and, therefore, the needs for its transformation and its replacement with the new one. From the very beginning, he emphasizes the fact that in terms of its direction and content, the old educational system, the old secondary school is the child of old reality that does not correspond to the demands and goals of a new life. Its transformation and reorganization require a new basis for the establishment of a new school: Democratism with a social intention – this is a major basis to found our new school, the development of the entire harmonious nature of a man, namely his willpower – this is the main that the school is expected to accomplish” [CSHAG, Archive, 1935, Directory I, File N518.p. 2]. Given the fact that a man is a social being, he is constantly engaged in his interaction with the environment. In other words, he is involved in a continuing process of socialization that allows him to acquire skills that are typical to a particular society. Besides, as a creative being, he participates in transformation and development of societal values. The principal goal of the social function of education is to prepare an individual to become an honorable member of society. When identifying social goals of education and school (social intention), Noe Tsintsadze considers the development of those competences that would be essential for the new democratic society in 1918. However, it is worth considering that the accomplishment of a new social function of education could not be easy in the context of a newly founded Democratic Republic, given the complex legacy inherited from the Russian Empire.

As we know, democracy is based on the principle of equality and is a model of a social order based on a defined system of values. Keeping in mind the very feature of democracy along with cultural equality, the idea of equality gives people the opportunity to develop by pursuing their chosen path. Since the idea of cultural equality was violated in the Russian imperial setting, the school was accordingly designed as a hierarchical structure. Through democratic governance the school should have become a unified organism not only by content but also by its composition which from practical perspective should have been accomplished by means of establishing a unified school system. A new school incorporated a three-stage system, i.e. public school, superior grade school and four-year secondary school with fifth graders admitted. According to the deputy Minister, a new school will be developed based on a bifurcation principle which meant the individualization and strengthening of students' skills. They will be given an opportunity to independently select their desirable subject area. However, taking into account the available cultural inequality and social level, this idea remained unaccomplished at first.

Noe Tsintsadze's report could be divided into several points which highlight important values in terms of school reorganization and, therefore, the introduction of the issue of formation of national identity. When Noe Tsintsadze poses the question about the purpose of the school apart from the transfer of knowledge, he treats an individual as a value. An individual is centralized in social relations. *"the human being himself is the reality of life within the realm of which the human creative will develops. Indeed, appreciation of the human nature should be regarded as one of the important goals of the school, for the purposes of which the study of psychology should have an important place within the school curriculum"* [CSHAG, Archive, 1935, Directory I, File N518. p. 2]. The principle of dichotomy of an individual and society contributes to the development of civic responsibility in individuals. Noe Tsintsadze identifies the growth of civic self-awareness as one of the most important goals of the new school system and believes that *"the development of human willpower takes place within the political setting and the young generation should be taught the laws of political life, and the civic issue among the young generation should be regarded as a crucial one"* [CSHAG, Archive 1833, Directory I, File 181, p.180].

Fully functional interactions between an individual and society could not be accomplished if an individual is unable to understand the national roots of society and the country. This is possible only when they are taught the history, culture, traditions, geography of their country, along with the history of Georgia; political economy, logic, law, physical education and crafts would be added to the curriculum. Also, philosophy, natural sciences and mathematics. Noe Tsintsadze pays special attention to the study of subjects of humanities. The culture of new Europe is permeated with the ideas of humanism and advocates the principles of democratism. In his opinion, removing Latin from the curriculum and including of the modern European languages would bring Georgia closer to the leading countries of Europe. Noe Tsintsadze's report highlights the main features upon which the educational system and new school of the democratic country should be based. The society of individuals who are brought up by embracing national spirit and cultural equality, and are full of civic responsibility contribute to the development of the new democratic country.

Protection of every citizen's rights represents the highest value for a developed democratic country. Along with that, the issue of rights of national minorities and of their self-determination are among the interests of a national state: *"minorities need to understand that our republic is their republic and anything that harms the state, will harm them as well"* [CSHAG, Archive 1833, Directory I, File 181, p. 180], – stated Pavle Sakvarelidze, the chairman of the constitutional committee.

In the chapter dedicated to national minorities living in Georgia in his book *The Experiment: Georgia's Forgotten Revolution 1918-1921*, the journalist and historian Eric Lee suggests that *"The Georgian Social Democrats believed in the rights of national minorities. However, the very issue was still the Achilles heel for those in power in the Democratic Republic"* [Lee, 2018: 181]. Unlike Eric Lee, the historian Firuz Kazemzadeh accuses the Democratic Republic of extreme nationalism in his book *"The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921"*. The author claims that after coming to power, the Georgian Mensheviks could but bow to the resurgent nationalism of the Georgian people. The nationalist virus spread with unexpected speed, affecting all organs of the state. Another step in the direction of nationalism was the substitution of a national flag with the picture of St. George, Georgia's patron, for the red banner of the revolution. The Georgian Constituent Assembly made the Georgian language the only one its members were allowed to speak. The only language which was common to all, Russian, was outlawed. Russian and Armenian citizens lost their jobs due to this decree, and so on. Finally, the author cites the English journalist's phrase according to which he saw a classic example of an imperialist 'small nation' (Kazemzadeh, 2016). One might get the impression that the author accuses the government of the Democratic Republic of intense and chauvinistic nationalism that led to instability and confrontation with inner and outer powers. We think that Firuz Kazemzadeh's opinion consists of subjective attitudes. As verified in the constitution, the government of the Democratic Republic recognized the rights of national minorities in the territory of the Georgian state. Most importantly, the government encouraged their cultural self-determination and their right to education. The right to education of national minorities was part of the consolidated state education policy that was expected to determine national identity of citizens of the democratic country.

On May 26, 1918, the very first day of declaration of state independence of Georgia, at the meeting of the National Council of Georgia, Noe Zhordania stated that any national minority living within the borders of the state has the same rights as the majority of the Georgian state – the Georgian population [Newspaper "Sakartvelo", 1918, N102:1]. Articles 5 and 6 of the Act of Independence highlight that the independent state, within its borders, ensures civil and political rights of all citizens, notwithstanding their nationality, religious affiliation, social status and gender [Newspaper "Sakartvelo", 1918, N102:1]. Besides, the declaration of the National Council of Georgia, dated June 15, 1918, underlines the rights of national minorities living in Georgia [Newspaper "Ertoba", 1918, 123: 2].

National minority rights, and the issues of their education and cultural self-determination shaped into its final form in the 1921 Constitution of Georgia, being specified in chapter 14 of the Constitution. Representatives of all national minorities were entitled to develop and be taught in their mother tongue, and be able to establish self-governments and unions. For the protection of their rights, they were entitled to apply to the court even through those unions

(Papuashvili, 2013). The declared promise specified in the legal act consistently developed in practice: each of the national minorities in Georgia had their own national council. Ethnically emerged political organizations pursued unrestricted operation. There were 80 Armenian, 60 Russian, and 21 Azerbaijani schools in Georgia. They laid the foundation for elementary education in Abkhazian and Ossetian languages (Janelidze, 2009).

The provisions elaborated by the constitutional committee are important for us, these provisions refer to the issues of right to education, language and cultural self-determination of national minorities. At the meeting of May 5, 1920, the constitutional committee approved that the chapter covering national minorities in the Constitution draft would be based on the project by Pavle Sakvarelidze, the member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly and the chairman of the constitutional committee. According to the project, national minorities were not restricted in their free political, socioeconomic and cultural development, and especially in their right to be taught and pursue their national-cultural affairs in their mother tongue. According to the project, individuals were free to self-identify their affiliation to any of the national minorities. Within the framework of the Constitution and the legislation, national minorities would be taught in their mother tongue, however, the law also required the knowledge of the state language [CSHAG, Archive 1883, Directory I. File N181. p.123]. The language issue was the most widely debated one among the members of the constitutional committee. The meeting held on May 8, 1920 to focus on the language issue is of importance. From this perspective, we would emphasize the idea of Levan Natadze suggesting that learning one's mother tongue is the right, rather than obligation of a human, a person and further emphasizing that considering basic requirement of education science, learning at the level of elementary education is supposed to be pursued only in the languages of minorities: *"the policy of old regime confronted this great principle, while we were fighting against the policy. The simplest definition of education is that learning in elementary schools is most fruitful in their mother tongues. Teaching of the state language should commence on the next level, at the superior grade school"* [CSHAG, Archive N1883, Directory I. File N181. p. 225].

Indeed, the representative of the Democratic Republic believed in the idea of cultural diversity in the democratization process of the country, considering it as a common privilege: *"the more diverse the entire state culture, the deeper and stronger the culture of every nation"* [CSHAG, Archive N1883. Directory I. File N181. p. 2]. Therefore, they believed, facilitation of cultural diversity and advancement of national minorities was, first of all, related to the national development of the Georgian population; however, not by restricting the interests of the Georgian people, taking into account the fact that Georgians are the majority of the population of Georgia, the national state. These are the foundations of the development of the national state, national and democratic state, they remarked [CSHAG, Archive N1883, Directory I. File N181. p. 121].

General state policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia the integral part of which is the education policy, specifies that the vision of the 1918-1921 Democratic Republic of Georgia in terms of the planning and implementation of education policy manifests into the unity of political and cultural nature of the nation. The education policy is the state policy which itself represent a mechanism for the formation of such unity. It incorporates legitimation of the development of civic consciousness, and cultural aspects for defining the distinctive character and identity of

the people / nation. In addition, the rights of national minorities in Georgia are regulated by legislation. It promotes preservation and development of their identity in the territory of the country, while expecting loyal attitudes toward the Georgian national project. The 1921 Constitution of Georgia is a clear representation of the Georgian model of democracy. However, it would be fair to note that the features of the Georgian model of democracy are to be examined also within the education policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia of 1918-1921.

[1] The term “South Ossetia” was established in the period under consideration and it is applied in the empirical material of the research: newspaper articles, official documents and archival materials.

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Shakespeare's Julius Caesar on the Georgian Stage

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Contemporary Georgian theatre director Robert Sturua is recognised in the world as one of the unrivalled interpreters of Shakespeare's plays. It will suffice to cite but a few of his Shakespearean productions to prove this: *Richard III* (1978), *King Lear* (1987), *Hamlet* (with Alan Rickman, London, 1992), *Macbeth* (1995), *Hamlet* (with Konstantin Raikin, Moscow, 1998), *Coriolanus* (Athens, 1999), *Shylock* (Moscow, 2000), *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (2001), *Hamlet* (with Zaza Papuashvili, Tbilisi, 2001), *The Tempest* (Moscow, 2010) and others. When talking about Sturua's work and about his Shakespearean productions in particular, we must consider the decades-long history of production. Sturua staged Shakespeare during the Soviet times (*Richard III*, *King Lear*), during the post-Soviet period (*Macbeth*, *Twelfth Night*, several versions of *Hamlet* on several theatre stages of the world) and in the reality of the present day. *Julius Caesar* (fragments in one act) was created precisely during the period when Sturua seems to sum up the themes and problems he broached in the Soviet and post-Soviet interpretations of his Shakespearean productions, his own attitude towards the Soviet and post-Soviet reality. In *Julius Caesar*, he surpasses the conceptualisation of just the Georgian reality and reflects on the concurrent global political and social reality as well. Through Shakespeare's art, he presents the world simultaneously on the macro and micro stage.

Julius Caesar, whose premiere was held on the Grand Stage of Rustaveli Theatre on 1 June 2015, is the last production of "Sturua's Shakespearean world". In *Julius Caesar*, Sturua does not apply new artistic methods, but uses its own traditional theatre language. As for Shakespeare's play, here too, he remains loyal to his own manner of translating, adapting or interpreting the text, he halves the play and ends it minutes after the scene of Caesar's murder. Sturua's interpretation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is based on the artistic and conceptual understanding of postmodern aesthetics, and, as a result of analysing metaphors and symbols, he shows the themes and problems which represent the main idea of Shakespeare's play and of the performance. Shakespeare's metaphor "All the world's a stage" used in the production expresses not only the contemporary reality but also the biblical, fictitious and theatrical reality depicted by means of intertextuality and the artistic technique of metatheatre. Considering this, I would like to discuss several issues:

1. Political power and postmodernism;
2. The Sturuan perception of Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar*;
3. Postmodernist understanding of Christ.

Political power and postmodernism

When we talk about Sturua's work and, especially, his interpretations of Shakespeare, we

must make a note of the director's political and non-conformist theatre language. Like in all of Shakespeare's tragedies, in *Julius Caesar*, too, politics and power are among the main themes. Sturua presents the problems depicted in *Julius Caesar* in the modern-day context and, similar to the interpretation of other plays by Shakespeare, offering a multifaceted understanding of power that prevails in the contemporaneity. He does all of this using postmodernist artistic language.

As we know, for the first time *Julius Caesar* was staged on 21 September 1599 [Hartley, 2016: 50]. Since then, a multitude of various interpretations and adaptations of the play were staged in England and all over the world. *Julius Caesar* was staged during the period of the formation of the republican rule (the period of Oliver Cromwell), however, under George III – a strong monarch – the play was not staged very often due to its anti-royalist sentiments. According to Andrew James Hartley, *Julius Caesar* was staged using contemporary outfits for the first time as late as in 1937 by director Orson Welles in the Mercury Theatre in New York [Hartley, 2016: 55, 59]. In Robert Sturua's interpretation, *Julius Caesar* is taking place in the 1930s, during the gangster period in Chicago or New York as, in the director's opinion, politics and politicians act according to the mafia way of thinking and its structures. The temper and the clothing of the characters, music as well as the six columns on the right side of the stage point to this. This decoration reminds us of the skyscrapers of Manhattan or Chicago inspired by– to borrow Umberto Eco's words [Eco, 1998: 62] – the neo-medieval architecture housing large financial corporation. When lit, the decoration that looks like skyscrapers also resembles the points of glass and/or knives. The main protagonist of the performance is not Caesar but the senators who remind us of the heads of the financial organisations who, in the postmodern period and today too, control the political events in the world and govern financial institutions, live in various metropolitan cities in the United States and elsewhere in the world (Donald Trump, who was a presidential candidate at the time, is now the US President; a billionaire businessman and the party he founded rule Georgia; a billionaire businessman president governed Ukraine and so on). The political allusions in the play are also conjured by an iron curtain hanging in the back of the stage; aside from metatheatrics, it also resembles the so-called Iron Curtain of the Soviet period. As we know, the aforementioned Western political republican order existed on one side of the Iron Curtain, which not only created the Georgian democratic republican state but which changed the political reality of almost the whole world; on the other side of the Iron Curtain, there was a Caesarean autocratic or dictatorial rule of the Soviet and post-Soviet period. This is why both Caesar and the senators in the production enter the stage precisely from the other side of the iron curtain.

An interesting analysis of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and the US democratic republican rule is given in the book *Shakespeare After 9/11* (2011) which directly resonates with the political "philosophy" of Sturua's production in its meaning. As suggested by its title, the book discusses the world order after the 9/11 tragedy and in general in the context of Shakespeare's work. In one of its chapters, Scott Maisano compares the rhetoric of the Administration of President George Bush and its opponents to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. The author pays particular attention to a recollection mentioned in the book by Paul O'Neill, Treasury Secretary in the Bush Administration, according to which Bush was planning to stage a provocation in Iraq long before 9/11, in response to which Mark Foley, representative of the Bush Cabinet, said to journalists that he had not heard of such backstabbing since *Julius Caesar* and compared Paul O'Neill to Brutus: "Et tu Mr. O'Neill [Brooks... 2011:163]. The critic continues

the discussion and cites *Death of a Dictator*, a play which was staged by Orson Welles in 1938, when Pinochet was in power, and which was an adapted version of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and notes that only the form of rule had changed between that time and America of the Bush era: in his opinion, the threat today should be expected not from dictators but from the republicanism. To support this viewpoint, the author refers to Bush's second inaugural speech which states that America is planning to bring freedom to the darkest corners of the world since the goal of the US foreign policy is to put an end to tyranny in all nations and cultures and to support democratic institutions. After that the author notes that the meaning of such export of American democracy is an attempt to create an empire without an emperor [Brooks... 2011: 164]. To back this opinion, the author cites information disseminated by *Der Spiegel* during the 2004 presidential election in Iraq which said that US soldiers were armed with loudspeakers instead of submachine guns, urging Iraqis to vote. In the author's opinion, the main unifier of the US Democrats and Republicans is their love for democracy and elections always and everywhere in which everyone must be involved. This is why, in his view, no other play by Shakespeare resonates with the threats to democracy, rule by a crowd and demagoguery (populism in today's West – D. M.) as Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* [Brooks... 2011: 164]. To support this view, he cites a phrase uttered by Brutus: "I do fear the people/ choose Caesar for their king (1, 2), which he answers with a rhetorical question: "What exactly is Brutus afraid of: autocracy or democracy? If Brutus, like Montaigne's friend La Boetie, believes that there is little difference between the two?" [Brooks... 2011: 168]. In this context, there is an interesting observation made by French anthropologist and philosopher René Girard about one of the conspirators, honest republican Ligarius who can be said to be blindly following Brutus:

Ligarius: *Set on your foot,
And with a heart new fir'd I follow you
To do I know not what, but it sufficeth
That Brutus leads me on.*

Brutus: *Follow me then [II, ij] [Girard, 1991:191].*

In Rustaveli Theatre in 2015, I attended the process of staging *Julius Caesar*. As a result, I made the documentary Robert Sturua's *Julius Caesar* (Fragments from the Stage Rehearsals). At the end of the film, Robert Sturua develops approximately the following opinion at the rehearsal with the actors: "*This democratic system of his is gradually falling apart, an empire is established in Rome because of this murder for good, there were consuls and the Senate in Rome after that but they wielded no power. They destroyed it because they interfered with the fundamentals of democracy as alleged saviours of this ruined system and it turned out that they destroyed it entirely, this is why he (Brutus) realises it earlier...*" [Maziashvili, 2015: 32:37]. It can be said that, for Sturua, nothing has changed in terms of the world order; only the form has changed. Individual rule, tyranny, fascist, communist or monarchist type of power has been replaced by the republican rule. Sturua views the republican system of political power with irony: while in the past, during the Soviet era, there was one ruler, a tyrant, Caesar this side of the Iron Curtain ruling half of the world, today this power is deconstructed, fragmented and distributed among politicians like Brutus-Casca-Cassius who took power away from the bloody tyrant using bloody methods and divided it amongst themselves. All of this is expressed with irony in the music of the play. George Gershwin's well-known song 'S Wonderful is played to denote Caesar's power which is deconstructed with the thirst for power on the part of Brutus, Casca, Cassius and other conspiring characters, using irony. While Tony Bennett performs

Gershwin's music when Caesar appears, other versions of the same theme – those by Oscar Peterson, Gilberto and other performers of 'S Wonderful – are played for Brutus, Casca and Cassius (it is noteworthy that Bennett is American, Peterson – African Canadian while João Gilberto – Brazilian, which expresses a multinational nature of democracy and republicanism and is directly related to Bush's words cited earlier. This reminds me of Jean Baudrillard's book *America*, according to which American life resembles an American highway connecting everyone with each other and determining traffic rules. If you do not follow the established rules, you have a sign that reads MUST EXIT [Baudrillard, 1989: 52]. It turns out that for a person who lives in accordance with this political system resembling such a highway (at any social level), not only the movement but also his or her location and, possibly, the future, are predetermined. This is probably why Baudrillard compares the traffic rules and signs of highways to the rules and signs of the world order. Correspondingly, Must Exit may also have the following meaning: if a person and/or state are not part of an economic, political, philosophical or ideological "highway", their connections and movement are limited and they are automatically placed outside this highway – in reality, life itself [Baudrillard 1989, 52]. VOTE OR DIE, as it is mentioned in the context of Caesar in the book *Shakespeare After 9/11* [Brooks... 2011: 164]. Shakespeare's Hamlet is facing approximately the same dilemma as Brutus in *Julius Caesar*. They must not entangle in the political games of Elsinore or Rome or steer clear of them. This is why the intellectual or artistic nature of both characters is very similar.

The Sturian perception of Shakespeare in Julius Caesar

The comparison of the philosophical and tragic nature of Brutus and Hamlet in the early 20th century is linked to Professor A. C. Bradley. This was followed by the discussion of Hamlet, Caesar and Brutus in the context of the so-called Oedipus complex of the Freudian theory, according to which in Brutus' words "not that I loved Caesar less, but that I loved Rome more", the city was perceived as a mother. In turn, this view was criticised by famous literary critic Harold Bloom [Hartley 2016: 25, 26, 44]. Sturua did not miss any of this either. It is very symbolic that Sturua's Brutus is played by the same actor who played Claudius in Sturua's own Hamlet production, and Shakespeare's Hamlet has a fear of becoming Claudius. It can be said that, by reviewing his own work and, especially, the Shakespearean world he had created, Sturua understands the inalterability of humans and/or characters at the level of ideas and/or their changes, and the director, as I mentioned earlier, is offering us these metamorphoses using the artistic forms of intertextuality, metatheatre or parody that are typical for postmodernist literature and art. This is particularly noticeable in the similarities between the characters of Brutus and Hamlet which, of course, are present in Shakespeare's work too, although Sturua shows these similarities through his own interpretations of Shakespeare's plays.

1. The graveyard scene in Sturua's Hamlet begins with the headstone inscription which falls from above piercing the stage. In *Julius Caesar*, Brutus' final decision to join the conspirators is followed by a knife falling from the sky, which, in case of the characters of Hamlet and Brutus, seem to signify the idea of fate and death. Interestingly, in one show the inscription digs into the graveyard while in the other – into Rome, because Sturua directs the passion of Brutus' struggle for power towards the allusion of Hamlet's graveyard scene.

2. In Sturua's *Julius Caesar*, Calpurnia jumps on Caesar's back which, again, reminds us of Hamlet the director staged in Tbilisi when the Ghost of Hamlet's Father climbs Hamlet's back

when they meet. This episode appears to continue the allusions of the falling headstone inscription and the knife mentioned earlier, reminding us once again that, like with Hamlet, Caesar's murder is inevitable. It is also noteworthy that, in Sturua's opinion, like Calpurnia (who has a dream about Caesar's death), fate is a woman.

3. At the beginning of the show, in the episode of the dialogue between Brutus and Cassius, Brutus, like Hamlet, sees the ghost of the killed soothsayer, although unlike him, Cassius cannot see it.

4. In Sturua's productions, we can see the parodic similarity between Brutus and Hamlet in the scene of Brutus entering with a sword and Brutus throwing the sword into the backstage when the soothsayer-narrator parodically dies one more time, which, in both cases, resembles the episode of Polonius' murder in Sturua's Hamlet.⁵ In the play, Sturua's reception of his own Shakespearean productions can be seen in the character of Casca, too. The character of Casca is a reflection of Richard III while his monologue is very similar to Richard's first monologue as well as Polonius in Hamlet staged in 2001, who is a parody of Richard. In *Julius Caesar*, Richard and Polonius are united in Casca. Added to this are Polonius' words from the play: "I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me" [III, 2].

In the production, we also see the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet*, or parodies of *Otello* killing *Desdemona*, played out by Caesar and Calpurnia. This is none other than rereading-rethinking and intertextuality of Shakespeare's work and, at the same time, Sturua's Shakespearean productions by Sturua himself. Sturua offers us not only the contemporary interpretation of Shakespeare's work but also postmodernist rethinking of his own Shakespearean productions.

In addition to all of the above, the stage design of *Julius Caesar* is a sort of a citation, a copy of the stage design of *King Lear* that Sturua staged in 1987, and not an accidental one. As we know, in the production of *King Lear*, the stage design was a mirror image of the stalls in Rustaveli Theatre, an artistic expression of Shakespeare's metaphor "All the world's a stage", while the decoration for the final scene of the show, like Lear's power, fell down, creating an allusion to the imminent end of the Soviet empire. If, according to *King Lear* stage design, part of the Rustaveli Theatre stalls moved to the stage and the events unfolding on the stage were presented to us as a reflection of reality and vice versa, in *Julius Caesar*, the ornaments of the theatre stalls fade into the back of the stage, breaking up, fragmenting and moving towards a trash bin at the end of the left-hand decoration. The front of the theatre stalls decoration is shaped like the letter "f" which, of course, indicates the Facebook logo. Sturua was actively using Facebook which he called a trash bin (it is noteworthy that Sturua's activity on Facebook resulted in the 680-page book *Two Years of Freedom. Tragicomedy in One Part* which is interesting also from the viewpoint of the artistic and documentary perception of the contemporary Georgian political reality). Thus, theatre and political and social reality unfolding on the theatre stage was replaced by the social network as a mirror of the world, and the contemporary audience (Georgian audience) threw theatre art "into a trash bin" or the reality of the contemporary world has become a virtual reality. Such interpretation of the play's stage design brings us to another layer which we could call an autobiographic layer of the director: Caesar – Sturua, Rome – Rustaveli Theatre, Brutus – Sturua's selected actors and so on. It is also noteworthy that in *The Tempest* that Sturua staged in Moscow's Et Cetera Theatre in 2010, like the actor who played Prospero, the actor who played Caesar staged in Rustaveli Theatre is physically very similar to Sturua.

Postmodernist understanding of Christ

According to Sturua's interpretation, Julius Caesar is not seen merely as a character of Plutarch, Shakespeare or Sturua's production or, as we noted above, the alter ego of the director himself: we can also discern in him an artistic perception of Christ. Several episodes of the show allow to make such an interpretation.

1. At the beginning of the production, there is a scene of Caesar's feet being washed which, of course, does not feature in the play. After his feet are washed, Caesar offers Cassius wine from his own chalice, and all of this unfolds against the background of Giya Kancheli's music. It should be noted that the rehearsal of the scene of washing feet took place during the Holy Week, on Maundy Thursday. As we know, on this day, Christ washed his disciples' feet and then, after turning wine and bread into blood and flesh (the sacrament of the Eucharist), gave the communion to his disciples, including Judas who betrayed him. Drawing a parallel between the character of Caesar and Christ on Sturua's part is a kind of a postmodernist irony of the passions of all the rulers who equalled themselves to Christ-God while being in power. It is well known that first Napoleon in the 19th century and then Benito Mussolini in the 20th considered themselves political models of Caesar, speaking of him as follows: "the greatest of all men who ever lived, whose murder was disaster for mankind" [Hartley, 2016: 177]. In the 20th century, Stalin and Hitler were added to this list of names who represent a general face of tyrant for Sturua. It is noteworthy that there are many mythological passages in Shakespeare's play too. First and foremost, this concerns the ironic inclusion by Shakespeare of the myths of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into Plutarch's serious biographic text. This is, for example, the episode of Casca seeing a lion and fire raining down from the sky, or Antony's comparison of Caesar's murder to Actaeon's; also, poet Cinna's murder which is compared to the murder of Orpheus, god of poetry, in Ovid's poem and others, although, as James Hartley writes, Shakespeare himself first mythologises Caesar and then demystifies him [Hartley 2016: 110, 111]. With this dual effect, Shakespeare offers us an inclusion of the pagan and Christian mythology in the play, too. In several episodes of the play, we encounter sacralisation of Caesar and his blood, namely, for example, in Calpurnia's dream or Decius' comment or Antony's monologue when Caesar's body is laid in front of the statue of Pompey [Hartley 2016: 115]. In the play, the interpretation of Rome is also dualist: on the one hand, it is the classic Rome and, on the other, it is the centre of the Christian world. This is why identifying Caesar – the head of the Roman Empire – with Christ as the new god of Rome is Shakespeare's own intention, especially considering the fact that Caesar is equated with god in the final book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [Hartley 2016: 116]. Such anamorphic episodes can be found in other plays by Shakespeare (Antony and Cleopatra), many such examples are discussed in the book *Shakespeare's Roman Plays* (2015) [Innes 2015, 123,124]. This is why, the introduction of Christian passages into the production by Sturua is natural, since this is Shakespeare's own interpretation and is not foreign to his theatre.

2. The second example is the director's note during the rehearsals of the play. In Sturua's opinion, killing Caesar in the Capitol was a ritual act, which is precisely why the senators wished to lure him out of the house and kill (slaughter) him in the "parliament". The director asked the actors to play killing Caesar in such a manner as to create an association with a ritual of sacrifice among the audience [Maziashvili, 2015: 29:55]. This kind of ritual sacrifice is discussed in René Girard's works about mimetic desire, mimetic triangle or a scapegoat. René Girard offers analysis of numerous plays by Shakespeare in the book *A Theatre of Envy*:

William Shakespeare (1991), whose five chapters are dedicated to the analysis of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. In addition, Girard in his work *Scandal and the Dance: Salome in the Gospel of Mark*, discusses the episode of beheading John the Baptist from the Gospel of Mark. As we know, John the Baptist was against Herod marrying his brother's [former] wife Herodias which made Herodias seek vengeance and have Salome kill John the Baptist [Mark 6:16] [Mathew 14:1]. René Girard compares this episode from the New Testament to brothers' row, reflected in myths. This row could be caused by brothers being very close. They are fighting for the same crown, the same legacy and the same woman. Their row and kinship are associated with the repetition of their own wishes [Girard 2013, 51]. Gerard's explanation of this episode from the Gospel is very similar to the storyline of Hamlet in which a brother kills a brother, appropriates his kingdom and his woman, while Hamlet, like John the Baptist, prohibits his mother from being with her husband's brother, which makes him Claudius' target and victim. We know that Claudius is not trying to kill Hamlet directly but is using intermediaries – first Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, then Laertes. Hamlet becomes entangled in a mimetic triangle which entails two brothers – Hamlet's father and Claudius, Gertrude or the desire for the throne. An example of such mimetic triangle can be discerned in one of the scenes of Hamlet staged by Sturua in Moscow: in it, Claudius lights cigarettes for Hamlet and then for Laertes with a lighter and gives his own lighter to Hamlet as a reflection of his brother and potential Claudius. In *Julius Caesar*, however, as we mentioned earlier, Claudius plays the role of Brutus, who, after killing Caesar, is fearful of becoming a ruler similar to Caesar. All of this is very interesting in the socio-political context of Sturua's Hamlet productions because Hamlet staged by Sturua in Georgia preceded the so-called Rose Revolution of 2003. Correspondingly, Sturua's Hamlet is a young prince who rebels against the Danish king with a slogan of restoring justice (in Georgian reality – to the second president) and, as a successor to the first president, stages a revolution against his uncle, although, as we saw in the example of the Raikin version and the interpretation of Girard's theory, Hamlet is an altered successor of the Father of Hamlet as well as of Claudius, which for Sturua appeared in the Georgian reality as the third Georgian president.

3. At the end of the show, the narrator and Artemidorus talk about the Last Supper and the betrayal of Christ, which is followed by the narrator's words: "The one you trust will be the one to betray you."

We can say that, by creating an artistic metaphoric allusion of Christ, Sturua generalises the problem that the nature of humans and the society in general has not changed since Antiquity, since the Bible, Shakespeare and until present; that it always turns one person into a scapegoat through a ritual sacrifice under the motto of saving the homeland, the church, the state or the theatre. As Girard would say, the scapegoat is the source of theatrics and ritual [Girard, 1991: 272]. This is why Sturua ends his show with the words of Brutus, Casca and Cassius: "How many ages hence / Shall this our lofty scene be acted over / In states unborn and accents yet unknown! How many times shall Caesar bleed in sport" and so on. And finally, Sturua's ironic remark voiced by the narrator: "It's wonderful, is it not?"

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Tamar Lekveisvili. On an Unknown Fact concerning the Relationship between Nader Shah and Georgian Royalty according to 'Alam Ara-ye Naderi by Iranian Historian Mohammad Kazem

The period of reign of Nader Shah Afshar (1736-1747) is one of the most remarkable eras in the history of Iran as well as the Middle East and the Caucasus in general. The very period is of special importance for Georgia as well, as it was during the times and through direct participation of Nader Shah that the so-called "compromise period" in Iran-Eastern Georgia relations (spanning over a century) came to an end.

Certainly, the Nader Shah era and various aspects of his reign have always been and still are a focus of attention of historians. From this perspective, Georgian historians are no exception. The study of the Persian sources is rather valuable in order to determine the same facts and events related to the history of the Caucasus and Georgia of this period.

The Iranian historian [Mohammad Kazem](#) (b. 1720/21) provides rather extensive and interesting accounts of the 18th century Iran. His historical work entitled *Alam Ara-ye Naderi (The World-Illuminating History of Nadir)* comprises three books and includes information on the Caucasus and, specifically, Georgia of the time.

Mirza Mohammad Kazem was born in the town of Merv, in the family of a government employee. The exact official position of his father is unclear; however, it is known that in 1730s Mohammad Kazem's father, being held in high esteem, worked for Ibrahim Khan, Nader Shah's brother who later served as a ruler of Azerbaijan. Only his childhood years were spent in Merv, later on Mohammad Kazem and his family moved to Mashhad. In 1736, Ibrahim Khan left Mashhad to proceed to the Mughan steppe where Nader Shah's coronation was held / Nader Shah was proclaimed new Shah of Iran. The same year, Ibrahim Khan was appointed ruler of Azerbaijan, moving to Tabriz. In 1737, his wife passed away and it was Mohammad Kazem's father who was instructed to reinter Ibrahim Khan's wife in Mashhad, and to bring his son to employ him. Mohammad Kazem's father brought his sixteen-year-old son to Azerbaijan where the latter proceeded to serve Ibrahim Khan. From 1739 onward, worked for Beglerbeg (provincial governor) of Merv. As a chancellery official, he participated in Nader Shah's campaign in Central Asia in 1740, while in 1741, he worked as a maker of military reports^[1], being engaged in the campaign against Balkh. In 1744-1746, Kazem worked for the financial office of the Merv arsenal. And in 1746-1747, serves in the Merv artillery under Bihbud khan, who was a commander of Iranian army in Turkestan. By the time when Mohammad Kazem started writing his chronicle (ca. 1749/50), he apparently had been working as the vizier (i.e. head of finance office) of Merv Beglerbeg [Стори, 1977:914].

There is the only manuscript of Mohammad Kazem's work that has come down to us. At first, only the second and third volumes were available to specialists, hence, the title of the chronicle was unknown. Later, in 1940, the first volume of the same manuscripts was discovered in the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, and the name 'Alam Ara-ye Naderi was

brought to light. In terms of calligraphy, style and miniatures, it was absolutely identical with the chronicle's second and third volumes which had been preserved at the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. The dating of the first volume – 1166 (1752/53) – suggests that all three volumes represent part of the same manuscript.

The first volume of Kazem's work covers the period when NaderShah has not yet been coronated, therefore, the author most certainly made the use of the relevant resources of his predecessor Iranian historians as he could not have been a direct eyewitness of those events. Volume two describes the events of 1736-1743, while volume three that is under consideration, covers the final period of NaderShah's rule (1743-1747).^[2] [Kazem, 2016:5]

Mohammad Kazem's contemporaries include rather distinguished and reliable chroniclers (Papuna Orbeliani, Oman Kherkheulidze, Vakhushti Batonishvili (Bagrationi), Hakop Shemakhets, Jonas Hanway, Mirza Mohammad Mahdi Khan Astarabadi, etc.), however, we should not be surprised to find that sometimes the same events or facts have been described by the historians of the time in a mutually exclusive way. It is well known that Mohammad Kazem represents quite a reliable source even due to the fact that he personally witnessed and participated in the events described by him.

We have been given an opportunity to translate Mohammad Kazem's *References about Georgia* into the Georgian language and place it into scholarly circulation for the first time^[3]. The proposed article we are specifying our point of view regarding Kazem's account of the relationship between NaderShah and one of the daughters of Teimuraz II.

From the history of Georgia it is known that Teimuraz II had five daughters: Ketevan, Ana, Elisabed, Elene and Tamar. Since 1744, Ana had been the spouse of Dimitri Orbeliani; Elisabed (1750-1770) had been married first to Giorgi Amilakhvari, and later to Katsia Dadiani [Surguladze, 1995:62]. Elene (died in 1743) had married Zaza Tsitsishvili [Orbeliani, 1981:68], while Ketevan, since 1737, had been married to NaderShah's nephew, 'Ali Quli Khan, who later became the shah of Iran, known as 'Adil Shah. As for Tamar (b.1749), we have no accounts of her marriage.

In his chronicles, Mohammad Kazem recounts about the relationship between one of the daughters of Teimuraz II and NaderShah. This specific episode is clearly unfamiliar to the history of Georgia. Kazem's chronicles dedicate almost an entire chapter to this story and in the light of its full length, we have considered it necessary to focus on it.

One of the chronicles' chapters entitled *The story of return of Amir Aslan Khan^[4] into the blessed king's horde and getting hold of a daughter of Tahmuras Mirza (Teimuraz)* reads: "the firman from his majesty commanded to bring Tahmuras Mirza, along with men and women, to a splendid palace"; "When Tahmuras Mirza learned about the supreme command, he brought his daughter of outstanding beauty (untouched by the sun), a girl with a moon-like face who grew up guarded with the veil of innocence and whose beauty, elegance and attractiveness had no match, from the main castle at midnight, along with two nannies and his thirty loyal servants,

and sent them to the top of Mount Elbrus. and hid his countless wealth at that place, – God forbid that the naibs of the country’s supreme ruler^[5] should ever get hold of this beauty” [Kazem, 2016:50].

The girl’s leaving of the castle and noble couriers’ arrival happened simultaneously. They brought with them an amnesty warrant for Teimuraz: “thecountry’s supreme ruler NaderShah wishes to have solidarity between themselves. For this purpose, it is essentials (for Teimuraz) to let his daughter (who under the guard of the veil of innocence was brought up by Tahmuras) sit upon a gilded sedan chair and sent her, accompanied by a thousand men, to the Kizilbash nobles.”

Tahmuras Mirza replied to his holiness, saying: *“I had a daughter whom I had been bringing up like a date palm of life, and in [her] entire life I had been acting the same way to achieve an overall perfection. She had approached the Lord (i.e. died) due to the heavenly destiny and justice of the Lord.”* The couriers returned and informed the ruler of this country about the death of the deceased noble. *Tahmuras Mirza was honored to visit the palace of the country’s supreme ruler together with some of the Kizilbash warriors. When the great khan heard about it, his royal face showed sorrow and grief, becoming nicer and taking tender care of Tahmuras Mirza, glorifying him with his noble royal nature”* [Kazem, 2016:50].

The text certainly shows that the daughter of the king Teimuraz may have been a very young virgin, brought up under “the veil of innocence”. Probably, this appeared to be one of the reasons for hiding her away and deceiving Kizilbash nobles about her death.

Kazem continues the narrative: Amir Aslan Khan approached the border, stayed for a while and enjoyed his time in a state of bliss and pleasure with beautiful Georgian women. The next day, together with a unit of warriors, he went hunting. Suddenly, he saw a few horsemen who were on a mountain slope. He approached Georgians and saw a girl who had put her head on an older woman’s knees, illuminating the entire wilderness with her beauty. The above-mentioned commander asked around about this girl. He was told that the girl was a daughter of the Georgian Vali, Tahmuras Mirza, who had been hidden by her father, terrified by the intention of the great Saheb Giran (Nader) to take her away and marry her. When Amir Aslan Khan found out about it, he stood up, followed a number of horsemen and left for the horde in order to carry the girl upon a gilded sedan chair. This girl with a moon-like face was seated on the sedan chair [and taken away] [Kazem, 2016: 51].

„while on their way, the famous (Amir Aslan Khan) was following the sedan chair and did his best (to protect sultan’s reputation), since he knew that the blessed and greatest [king] of the country was dreaming about having this girl with a moon-like face” [Kazem, 2016: 52].

According to the chronicles, NaderShah found out the truth, called him in and told him: your daughter that had been gone, rose from the dead and, therefore, you should let her mother, relatives and friends know about it. Teimuraz already knew that his daughter had been taken by Kizilbash warriors, so no other way was left but to tell the truth. NaderShah extended sympathy to him, as he was beware of Christian Valis. According to Nader’s order, in the middle of the journey the girl was taken to her father’s house, and in a few days, Teimuraz himself made

preparations for sending her daughter. He sent a number of women from his own harem to that of the blessed (Nader), and offered them a magnificent place to stay there. Then Teimuraz sent his brother Mohammad 'Ali Mirza to the king, expressing his wish to give his own daughter to the king. Shah treated Mohammad Quli Mirza with esteem in a royal manner and gave order to his advisers and viziers to dress her up, embellish her and adorn her with gold and silver. He prepared jewelry and other items embellished with precious gems for this "innocent virgin. They adorned and dressed her up and led her to a "special bedroom". "The blessed noble became one with a young Georgian woman" [Kazem, 2016: 53].

„[Next day, Shah offered tremendous amount of presents to the people of the country; [he] paid special respect to the Georgian people. He appointed (i.e. strengthened the reputation of) Tahmuras Mirza to a position of the Vali and protector of that vilayet, while sending Mohammad Quli Mirza to serve in the Aragvi gorge and Kartli region” [Kazem, 2016: 53].

As has already been mentioned, no similar information is available in the works of Mohammad Kazem's contemporary Georgian historians and, especially, the information concerning the fact that, supposedly, NaderShah himself preferred to have this young woman in his harem, or for one night only.

So, the question arises, which one of Teimuraz' daughters is this young woman, the story about whom has not been attested either in the writings of Mohammad Kazem's contemporary Georgian historians or in the works of Mirza-Mahdi Khan Astarabadi. Moreover, we have not encountered a similar reference in the European historical chronicles that have been available to us. It should be noted that the girl could not have been either Elisabed or Tamar, as they were born after the death of NaderShah. However, there is still a possibility that the girl was among three other daughters of Teimuraz.

In Persian sources we often encounter fictional stories which, as scholars identify, represent legends and historical anecdotes. Despite the fact that this case does not represent a fictional account, we would anyway specify the opinion held by the Italian researcher, Giorgio Rota concerning such pieces of incomplete information, which we acknowledge.

“In its prejudices and its assumptions, in its omissions no less than in its contents. Is the reflection of the inconstant human situation, and even where it is least informative it supplies us with data which no explicit statement could convincingly express and which, perhaps are as valuable to the understanding of the past as the dates and the deeds.” He further adds that “Every such work, therefore, however inadequate and inaccurate it may be in detail, is itself a historical fact of singular importance, and is best understood when considered with its fellows in their mutual complementary relationship throughout a total situation rather than being merely confronted with them on the particulars” [Rota, 1998:159].

In his records about Georgia, Nikolay Yazykov^[6] mentions King Erekle's sister who apparently spent a night with NaderShah: *“When Georgia was under the rule of Nader Shah, if encountered, they would forcedly take beautiful young women (including those of royal descent). They say, king Erekle's sister was with Nader Shah (it is also noteworthy that*

according to the Persian traditional customs, virgins could be taken, unlike married women). Therefore, fathers started marrying off their daughters at a young age, arranging their engagement as far back as in their childhood years”^[7] [Языков, 1891:183-196].

In his verse *Adventure*, Teimuraz II expresses his heartbreak concerning his daughter's marriage to 'Ali Quli Khan and the fact that his son Erekle was summoned to Iran.

/ “couriers were sent to Kakheti which gives no joy to me, / they summoned my daughter and son, I had a disheartening day, / I have no other sons; do take thought as a wise man, / no one is left in my family; how to endure?! it is distressing / Khan acted unjustly towards me / he took my fair daughter whose radiant beauty illuminates darkness, / and gave her in marriage to his nephew, I no longer expect her return, / my heart is wounded as she was taken away from me / “[Georgian Literature, 1990:89-90].

The story of Ketevan and 'Ali Quli Khan's marriage is depicted in this verse and historians, understandably, emphasize that Teimuraz' suffering is stemming from this fact.

It is also interesting that the order of these chapters in Mohammad Kazem's chronicles is as follows: the chapter recounting the story of getting hold of the daughter (of Teimuraz) by Shah precedes the chapter describing the wedding of Ketevan and 'Ali Quli Khan.

It is important to consider the above-mentioned factors that refer to the Yazykov's account of Nader and Erekle's sister and, as already mentioned above, Yazykov appears to be a rather significant figure; the phrase “they say”, quite frequently used by the author, is also noteworthy.

It is also notable that Yazykov's story was written not long after the actual events. Worth considering is the fact that in those records he mentions that some of the information he has heard from Anton I of Georgia, and Catholicos Anton I was the eye-witness of those events of the time that Mohammad Kazem had described in his chronicles. Therefore, there is practically no reason to doubt the validity of information provided by the Catholicos.

In addition, given the historical background of our country, NaderShah (as well as others) would go any lengths to have members of Georgian nobility as wives or concubines, even for just one night (for example, we will remember the event of the time that revolved around Catholicos Anton I as well, when (it seems fair to say that) NaderShah took away Givi Amilakhvari's daughter by force;^[8] and we will also recall the account provided by a European person, Louis-François de Ferrières Sauvebeuf^[9]. If we take these events into account, then Mohammad Kazem's reference of an alleged liaison between NaderShah and the daughter of Teimuraz II may well be true as opposed to a fictitious narratives which, as mentioned above, often occur in Persian sources. As for the identity of the young woman, we suppose that she might be Ketevan, since:

a) such sorrow (reflected in Teimuraz' verse) with regard to becoming relatives with NaderShah is unconvincing when considering the relationship between Teimuraz and NaderShah as well as calculated moves towards its strengthening, the moves that Teimuraz II certainly had which

further became obvious and had a positive impact on the history of Georgia. Therefore, it is possible that King Timuraz may be expressing his heartbreak through the verse due to the fact that his daughter (Ketevan) was first with NaderShah, later marrying 'Adil Shah.

b) besides, Teimuraz had written a letter with less of a dramatic tone to Erekle, asking him to take her sister and visit Shah in order for him (Teimuraz) to be liberated by Shah: "My beloved son, whenever bad things happen to us, we encounter the good. I am compelled to write to you that Shah is willing to set me free from my captivity. The only thing he insists on is that you arrive and take my daughter and your sister Keteven with you. Only your arrival to Persia will let me free from captivity. This is Shah's will" [Kikodze, 1941:31]

Certain features employed in this excerpt of Mohammad Kazem's chronicles such as details of life and recurrent stereotypes, which could be regarded as literary methods and which are applied by the author willing to transform the text into belles lettres, attract our attention in terms of source studies, since, in every particular case, the author specifies and provides a detailed description of a depicted event, thus increasing the reliability of the text.

The same outcome is attained by the attempt to provide assessment and critical discussion of events, rather than merely providing a list of facts, and noting both virtues and faults when defining characteristics of personalities.

We believe, NaderShah's politics toward the Caucasus was generally not homogeneous and could be regarded as diverging from each other, as a result of circumstances or because of specific regions or other factors.

The situation in regards to Eastern Georgia seems more difficult. A rather rough tax policy and confrontation against local elite, on the one hand, and a pragmatic approach employed by representatives of the Georgian royal dynasty, on the other, as well as accurate evaluation of reality on the part of NaderShah provided an opportunity for Georgia for ending the policy of the so-called "compromise period" in the time of the Safavids and going beyond Iran's orbit.

NaderShah's politics toward Georgia reflected the circumstances which shaped certain aspects of this policy, rather than making concessions by one or another party.

In this particular case, the involvement of Georgian women – king's daughter, in this specific case – in then extant political ups and downs should be considered as one of the well-defined features. Here, we will not go into details about the significant role of Georgian (along with Circassian) women at the Persian court. However, the above-discussed episode again shows how prestigious was the presence of the Georgian king's daughter (in a certain role) at the Persian royal court which, in its turn, should apparently have been a rather favorable factor for solving particular problems of the Georgia royal court in a pragmatic way.

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Tea Kamushadze. Social Realistic Dimension of Hero of Labor and Soviet Deconstruction of Elitism

Literature as a particular reality has always played a special role in social life. The era of Soviet totalitarianism enriches such an experience with a specific attitude towards literature and writers, and with rights and duties assigned to them in order to create new heroes with distinct identities and a different value system. The article will discuss the role of literature, specifically of socialist realism in the formation of a new Soviet elite that based itself upon the award of the *Hero of Labor* title. By looking at the case of the Rustavi metallurgical plant, we will discuss the place of literature in everyday life of new heroes and the way the everyday routine of workers has developed into literature, and the way socialist realism grew into a particular dimension for new heroes whose field of activity encompassed factories, plants, fields and meadows. The synchronism of Soviet repressions with the introduction of new title as well as the establishment of socialist realism, a unified artistic method has become a cornerstone for new Soviet identities by late 1930s (Gaprindashvili, 2010). By depicting different characters, socialist realism shaped a new type of elite which fundamentally differed from an underlying concept of the given category [Kamushadze, 2015:246]. The first part of the proposed article will be dealing with the specificity of emergence as well as development of the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor and with its possible conceptualization as an elite category. In the main body of the article we will cover the “social realistic” and “real” journey of the *Hero of Socialist Labor* and its anthropological inquiry, further proposing research findings in the concluding section.

As a successor of the title “Hero of the Soviet Union”, the highest degree of distinction - the title “Hero of Socialist Labor” was introduced by the 1938 decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. An utterly exceptional and extraordinary nature of this title in the Soviet Union is highlighted by a number of details. An interesting issue would be to know about the first awardee and examine overall statistical data on acceptance / return of or refusal to accept the awards. It took an entire year for those who initiated the award to make a decision about the first awardee.

The first Soviet recipient of the award was Joseph Stalin, awarded on December 20, 1939 to celebrate his 60th birthday, while the last recipient was Bibigul Tuligenova, a Kazakh opera singer. As for the statistics, from the date it was introduced until 1991, two distinct figures – 20605 and 21560 have been identified for the entire Soviet Union which certainly emphasizes the exclusive nature of the title. According to the newspaper *Pravda* (1938), the title of Hero of Socialist Labor has been awarded to individuals to honor their outstanding service to their country through active contribution to national economy, culture, science and the advancement of the Soviet Union. The stories of how the recipients worked their way into the list of Heroes of Socialist Labor differ and are often contradictory. For instance, no workers or farmers were included in this list until 1943.

As far as the creative elite is concerned, their names, among other Heroes of Socialist Labor, started to appear later, in the 1960s. Remarkably, this group included two teenagers who were awarded the title for their overachieved labor plans while still in school. Interestingly, ninety-five individuals were deprived of the title and some of them were re-awarded later on. Sixteen recipients were awarded the title posthumously (Славин, 2009). The situation surrounding the title points to the challenges that used to arise when bringing people together around it. Time and the epoch constitute a significant factor that shaped and transformed tendencies as far as title seekers are concerned. A substantial aspect that distinguishes as well as adds elitism to the title is that it contains the word “hero”. A hero as a distinctive category of human existence, in its traditional sense, relates to the self-sacrifice of an individual and is mostly manifested after the individual’s tragic end in the name of high ideals. In this respect, communists have achieved a certain breakthrough in the public consciousness when they started looking for heroes in factories, fields and vineyards, thus recognizing labor above human values. Labor that had to lay the foundation for heroism became a key word in the title. Labor as the substantiation of a particular value implied also the formation of new identities. It was expected to play a crucial role in the development of the identity of Soviet citizens. [Kamushadze, 2015:170]. The formation of new identities had to serve as the real basis for the development of the relevant elites. In the process of the reorganization of values, a vital role had to be played by literature by employing the relevant method. Writers were expected to identify different examples of the concept of elitism within socialist realism.

The award was equally distributed among politicians, workers, farmers, academics and artists. By means of the given award, the communist system identified a particular elite group, while, at the same time, referring to the potential every citizen had in terms of becoming part of the list. Therefore, the possibility of joining the elite was merit-based rather than ancestry-based. Those from the upper echelons of power appeared in the list of the Heroes of Socialist Labor along with writers, composers and workers.

The Soviet system offered socialist realism as a new reality to society, with the form of representation significantly exceeding its content. According to Evgeny Dobrenko, “We must stop seeing Socialist Realism only as a happiness factory, only as a laboratory of illusions. Socialist Realism is also a factory for producing a special kind of reality – socialism”. In his opinion, “the basic function of Socialist Realism is not “lying”, but substitution” [Dobrenko, 2007:158]. Soviet heroes appear to be a specific product of socialism which assumed the role of identifying and representing these heroes.

The proposed article depicts the journey of the Hero of Socialist Labor before and after the award of the title. Conditionally “social realistic” and “real” stories of a particular hero are less contradictory, rather the two may even be mutually complementary. Therefore, when discussing the Soviet reality with real people, the vocabulary and perceptions of socialist realism permeate their speech and thoughts. However, the stories narrated by the hero nevertheless allow us to explore a story of a particular Hero of Labor beyond the socialist realism discourse, identifying separate narratives. Real stories of the hero have been collected through an ethnographic inquiry and rely on the immediate narration of the hero. By referring to

the social realistic story of the same hero, we mean a biographical composition written about him, narrating the “real” story of a future hero in the first person, introducing to us his family as well as his environment and personal attitudes concerning both everyday and eternal matters.

Ten Days of a Hot Summer (i.e. *A Steelworker’s Diary*) authored by Karpe Mumladze presents a narrator, a future Hero of Socialist Labor of the Rustavi metallurgical plant. In connection with this composition, the author recollects his meeting with Giorgi Leonidze, the chairman of the Writers Union, “he thought for a while and then said: one summer in Rustavi will not be enough for any writer. If you intend to do something, you need to live and work there. You are not the only one who needs this, it is similarly vital for Rustavi. “Writers living and working among heroes, that is what is typical of our times” [Mumladze 1982:37]. Close proximity of a writer and a laborer, their coexistence, will not only contribute to literary triumphs of the socialist realism, but it would also help reexamine a traditional understanding of elitism in significant ways. On the one hand, we encounter the process that brings writers and poets closer to the factories, and on the other, there is an attempt on the part of the workers to describe and communicate the new reality. In new times, workers and farmers become preferred heroes for writers. A writer’s preference might have attracted the attention of the political elite as well. A good example of this could be our protagonist, who was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor following several editions of this book. One can proceed from the fact that he was initially noticed by the writer and then by the party nomenclature, having first appeared to us as a literary character and then as a real hero. We encounter an interesting reflection on the issue in author’s text: *“I was looking for a hero, who had not yet been among the so-called officially selected but I would know beyond doubt that he could become an example for everybody... Most certainly, a writer’s mission is rather important – to discover a hero and prove his heroism”* [Mumladze, 1982:45]. Thus, the author is well-aware of his own role and mission to shape reality into social realism, so that it becomes real. Indirectly, he points to the hero’s potential to become part of the elite. As perceived from the narrator’s words, the issue of awarding the title of Hero of Socialist Labor remained a subject of consideration for years, and was hampered due to unspecified reasons. Although the writing and publication of the composition might not have played a decisive role in awarding the title, this factor cannot be overlooked.

The stories of awarding a title reflect undisclosed contradictory processes behind the formation of the new elite. In Sachkhere region we heard about such a case concerning the award of the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. He worked in the Chiatura mines. In order to avoid daily travel of workers from other regions, they were given accommodation in Chiatura. There was a man working by his side who was successful in accomplishing labor plans. He was the one who was considered a candidate for the title. However, conditions of his room were deemed unsatisfactory during the visit to his apartment and the preference was given to another man whose room and belongings appeared to be in order [Edelashvili, 2011:5]. In this particular case, it was not labor achievements but compliance with sanitary norms that proved critical for obtaining the status. Therefore, varying interpretations of merit-based principles are encountered.

The reflections of the hero in Mumladze’s book serve to reinforce Soviet identities following in the footsteps of socialist realism. A hero, an authority was behind those identities and, therefore, a steelworker hero falls into the category of the “moral elite”.

“For instance, many of my friends work in Gardabani. Instead of alloy steel, they produce cardboard. Cardboard might probably be necessary but... let us not be naïve to consider that light labor and easy living is the aim and task of a man! What satisfaction it is to overcome challenges! You should be a courageous man from birth and remain so until the end... A man should do what he can. If you are capable of doing more and you do less, then you are a coward, a deserter!” [Mumladze, 1977:6].

It should also be noted that the approach to different types of activities is conflicting: on the one hand, all kinds of activities are declared equal but on the other hand, there is a hierarchy of labor where hard physical labor is equivalent to courage and is considered top ranked. Consequently,

light work may be regarded as less honorable and even shameful for a man of superior physical abilities.

In this passage and in the name of his hero, the author discusses labor and how it should be the life purpose for everyone and make every effort to be committed to work. He considers selfless commitment to work as courage, as opposed to the quoted word “deserter”. Maximalism in labor is actually the key criterion that makes the author of these words a candidate for heroism, and allows him to become part of the elite. Obviously, there is a somewhat didactic tone in these specific words, which is also the objective of the selection.

For manifestation of one’s own identity in Georgia, supra (“feast”) was considered to be one of the major places that was generally permeated with the heroic narratives. The supra is a place of gathering where identities are defined and established.

In “A Steelmaker’s Diary”, feasting is depicted in a rather interesting way. When asked to be the tamada, that is the toastmaster who presides over the feast, the main character of the book reacts the following way: *“...They say it must be you. As if it is not enough for me to be a supervisor at work, now they want me to preside over the feast! However, they are also right: if you are the head at work, it obliges you to head the feast too”*. [Mumladze, 1977:35].

Emphasizing the status of a leader gives him access to the elite status that is subject to consensus. The main character of the book, selected as tamada, recalls the tamada Giorgi Chavchanidze and recites the verses that end with the following strophe:

“Where did you lay your portion of bricks, or erected your stepladder?

Where does your straight road lead, for what was your sweat shed?

Colchis tea, Kakhetian vine, or perhaps a Georgian steel pipe?

Tell us what is Georgian in you?” (Mumladze, 1977:35)

New Soviet markers for the identity of Kartveloba are actually encountered in the above verse. It is worth noting that struggle and labor directly alternate, therefore, shedding blood for the homeland is substituted by shedding sweat in labor. While the sacrifice of their lives for their

country was the privilege of aristocracy, the sacrifice through labor has become the privilege of workers.

This is followed by a number of toasts made by the tamada that traditionally refer to the process of labor and highlight the significance of its outcomes. "Let's drink to our labor, to our present victory! Let's drink to the steel casting that welds in the foundation of communism!" [Mumladze, 1977:36].

The hero specifically notes that he drinks only a little wine and does not drink vodka at all and criticizes excessive drinking of wine. Then they make a toast to their ancestors emphasizing that their good habits and traditions should be continued.

"Let's drink to our forefathers, who were pure-minded and innocent at heart! May their good habits and traditions persist! Let's drink to our parents!" [Mumladze, 1977:36].

When talking about the high number of his namesakes in the Martin furnace, the character of the book refers to the fact that one of them is a worker poet whose poems are regularly printed and that he knows some of them by heart.

In one of the episodes of the diary, the hero describes a visit of pioneers to the metallurgical plant, recalling the interest with which the youth observed the process of steel casting, some of whom will become poets like Galaktioni and some will follow his path and become steelmakers. The he recalls the visit of Galaktioni to the plant and the meeting with the poet when he called him a real hero. In response to this, the steelmaker claimed that Galaktioni himself was a hero.

"It may so happen that one of these pioneers will glorify the country like Galaktioni! Or become a famous steelmaker. In any case, I do not feel wronged by fate: when labor makes you happy, no matter

how hard, you should score a goal, and especially since you have to show fortitude, you are all the more satisfied!" [Mumladze, 1977: 55]

As evidenced by the conversation between the hero and Galaktioni, they are presented as equals and friends. It is no coincidence that the narrative of the hero ends with the verses of Alio Mirtskhulava:

"Spring, May is coming,

Spreading its fragrance over gardens and fields

Coming with Georgian serenity,

Spring is in my country!" [Mumladze, 1977:90].

While reading the book, we encounter certain discrepancies in terms of the depiction of the hero himself. At a glance, he is an ordinary man, but at the same time he presents himself as a leader and an initiator. The stories depicted in the book do not evoke surprise, rather they are monotonous, leaving the reader with a sense of logical dissatisfaction. It seems that the

representation of the hero in such a way is not a mere coincidence or a matter of the writer's taste. The way the ordinary people were transformed into heroes could be considered as part of the Soviet ideology and even a tool for the formation of the Soviet elite. Anyone who is noticed and singled out may be selected. Yet, he will never change completely; despite having been selected, he will remain an ordinary person. Being part of the great mass of the population makes him the best example to follow for society. The love of poetry and quoting verses by the hero are remarkable. Quoting worker poets and the visits of great poets to the plants serve to the development of the same idea. Availability of a literary circle and Palace of Culture operating within the metallurgical plant from the date of its opening attests to the fact that this process was part of the deliberately planned ideology. That is where a literary journal titled *Rustavi Torches* was issued, publishing the writings of the workers (Jakhua, 1958). It is worth noting that in real life the character of the book participated in the meetings of the literary circle, however, as he mentions, he could not be persuaded to be a writer and he did not claim to be the one. However, in his real life he was friends with many writers and poets. Thus, the strategy of bringing together writers and workers is another important aspect for the understanding of Soviet elitism.

Providing labor heroes with access to the resources was another aspect of elitism. Heroes of Socialist Labor were given a car and a good apartment in a prestigious district that was not affordable for every family. The story about how the family of our hero received an apartment on the Avenue of Friendship is related to the activities of one of the film crews: A female director of one of the crews that arrived from Russia went to the city committee and said his family had been suffering for several days already from the lack of space in their small apartment, and that they had planned to screen the film they were producing in France, and it would be a shame to show this. Immediately afterwards, the hero's family was granted a larger apartment. Because of his Volga car, his relatives frequently asked the Hero of Socialist Labor to accompany them to wedding parties that emphasized his personal and his family's status.

"To buy a Volga was not at all an easy task in the Soviet Union, if you know what I mean. On the market, buying it off of someone, a GAZ 24 Volga cost 30,000 rubles in those times, while its state-set price was 15,000. To obtain permission to buy a Volga from the Government, you had to fill out declarations and have strings to pull within the Government" [Morchiladze, 2014:171].

A social network, a circle of acquaintances throughout the Soviet Union, was a much more important resource, where his word and his phone call carried a certain weight.

"Of course, the people respected me too. It is no secret that after I became a deputy, even though I did not do much, if someone got arrested, people would call me as if I were the prosecutor general" [Respondent, 2012:6].

The Hero of Socialist Labor^[1] recalled two facts in the dialogue: through his mediation a young Georgian man was released from Irkutsk prison and he rescued from prosecution a group of teenagers detained for disorderly conduct in the city. In connection with the Irkutsk case, he also noted how easy it was for him to take a flight to any destination in the Soviet Union: "all he had to do was to arrive at the airport half an hour in advance, and travel with no problem"

[Respondent, 2012:7]. The status of Hero of Socialist Labor was followed by the status of the deputy of the Supreme Soviet which formally represented him as part of the political process and a decision-maker. The status of a deputy normally involved various visits at the national level and excursions with representatives of the political elite. It is an interesting fact that regardless of this high status he was still listed as a worker and performed the same physical labor as before. Another striking example of the opportunity of becoming part of elite and the deconstruction of this notion is the possibility for a worker to communicate with the highest public official. Our hero was instructed by the party nomenclature of the metallurgical plant to send a letter to Brezhnev in which he would comment on the interview given by him to a French television station. The future hero took the letter written in Russian to the party committee. One woman started to correct mistakes found in the letter and that upset its author. "Hey, I said do not correct the mistakes! It should be felt that the letter was written by a worker, and a Georgian worker at that!" [Respondent, 2012:6]. Then he forgot to mail the letter and a few days later asked his son to drop it in a special mail box. In exactly two days, he was told that he had received a personal letter from Brezhnev.

As he admitted during the conversation, his first thought was, "What do I need his letter for?" But when the letter was published in newspapers and he was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, that such things did not happen by mere chance. Under the circumstances, we deal with the act of demonstration calling attention to the fact that there should exist no barriers to the elitism in the society, and that top officials could be directly accessible, direct access to top officials should be possible, even if only formally and through a prescribed procedure.

As encountered above, the future hero wished it to be understood that the letter sent to the top official was written by a worker, but his worker's clothes and the corresponding environment made him feel "uncomfortable" in the general public and in the circle of his friends. He recalls one story: "that time they wrote much about me, and some of my friends who studies at the university said, 'Let's go and see what Otar is doing and why they write so much about him.' They came to the workshop. I have to admit that some of us had a sleeve torn off or burnt. When I saw them, the shift was coming to end, I told one of the workers that they were coming to see me in dirty clothes, I would go home, asking him, if he knew where I lived, to bring them to my house" [Respondent, 2014: 8]. The excerpt clearly shows that such a famous man, who was the subject of articles and photos published in newspapers, did not wish to be seen in filthy workwear.

It is a well-known fact that steelworkers who had performed hard work retired relatively early, at the age of 50 years. That is when the Heroes of Socialist Labor were accepted as part of the "real" elite, being assigned the leadership of various organizations. For instance, Archil Dzamashvili, the first Hero of the Metallurgical plant became the director of the Rustavi movie theater after retirement; Amiran Pantsulia was appointed director of a consumer service center; Vardish Koberidze was first appointed chairman of the professional union and later chairman of the DOSAAF committee. As for our narrator, he became the director of the newly built hotel in Rustavi. Influence gained by the Heros of Socialist Labor and the attitudes towards them in the course of their retirement did not match their status at the metallurgical plant. However, all this lasted only until the collapse of the Soviet Union. "When the new government came, they said I was a communist. I said 'Ok, if I am a communist, I will leave'" [Respondent, 2012:5]. By that

time three of the Heroes of Socialist Labor of the metallurgical plant remained alive, and all three of them had to resign. According to the narrator, the other heroes shared his fate as well. The reality in which the understanding and composition of elitism dramatically changes within the society, due to political transformation within a short period of time, seems self-contradictory. All this could highlight the specificities of filling and constructing the socialist elite in Soviet times.

Nevertheless, despite the occurrence of its certain features, no formalized type of elitism is encountered in the Soviet society. The understanding of elitism is generally related to cultural intelligentsia. Even though the Heroes of Socialist Labor had access to resources, the way they were perceived could not adjust to the category of elite, neither in the Soviet nor in the Post-Soviet periods.

While the hero was happy to recall the story of his meeting with his friends, a certain incident still made him feel hurt even after 40 years. The main character in this story was the parent of a pupil. As he remembers, Komsomol members had some of Rustavi city's schools under their patronage and these schoolchildren regularly visited the plant. *"I was bringing children from School N 10, when I was approached by a rather arrogant parent, who I am sorry to say looked like a beer vendor, with GAS-21 car". We traveled to the plant by bus. This man offered a seat in his car. When we entered the territory of the plant, we met metallurgists dressed in a specific manner, not wearing ties of course! When he saw them, he said to his son – "Look at them. You will have to work here, unless you study well!"* [Respondent, 2014: 3]. Angry and hurt at these words, the narrator told the man to stop the car and got off, saying he has to meet the group. A successful businessman who, like representatives of the elite has access to certain resources (in this case, an expensive car), threatens his son by sending him to be employed by the metallurgical plant in case of academic underachievement. Socialist reality that had to captivate the youth becomes disrupted by one phrase pronounced by this man. Another interesting fact is that this man did not perceive the Hero of Socialist Labor as part of the metallurgical plant and felt free to express his opinion, implying that physical labor (as opposed to intellectual activities) is shameful.

The narrator's attitude toward this individual relates to the present day in somewhat interesting manner. He says, the activities carried out by these individuals are referred to as professions. *"A speculator has now become a trader, and a anyone wearing a tie – a businessman".* [Respondent, 2014: 2]. It seems that, unlike our narrator and other socialist labor heroes of Rustavi city, this type of "anti-elite" has managed to adapt to a new environment, maintaining access to resources. To illustrate how the economic and subsequently the social status of the narrator's family has changed, I will be referring to one fact. I first visited him on 29 November 2012. It was a very cold and windy day and the hero was wearing a thick jacket. He had no heating at home and so I did not think of taking off my overcoat. We sat like this and talked for about 3 hours. An 87-year old hero, who still continues to work at Rustavi metallurgical plant appeared the best guide to me in this labyrinth of the Soviet laboratory. This was clearly seen in his living room, with its corner of Soviet glory and the jars of canned fruits and vegetables prepared for winter stood in line under the table. Contradictions caused by the confusion of the Soviet and post-Soviet realities gave rise to further questions: who was this person for that system - a selected hero or a victim?

And finally, I would like to end my narrative of the Heroes of Socialist Labor of Rustavi city by recalling one “surrealistic” story about another Hero of Socialist Labor. *“In Surami, in a place called Chumateleti, there is a church, where people celebrate Mariamoba (the name day of Mary, the Blessed Virgin) on 28 August. I was newly wed then, and since my family comes from those areas, I took my wife there. It was an ancient church and there was no light inside it. In one corner, there was a photo like an icon. People would light candles before it, and it was a photo of Archil Dzamashvili with his brigade. I recognized the cover of the magazine Metallurgist. They were wearing bowl-type hats. People believed they were lighting candles to angels. I could recognize the photo, because I had the magazine at home”* [Respondent, 2014:7].

It is difficult to give an in-depth interpretation of this fact, as the photo cannot be fully recovered, leaving space for speculation. However, it rather represents the other vague side of reality created by the system by selecting heroes and offering them to the society. Like their false icon, heroes once greatly adored have sunk to oblivion, as if they never existed at all.

Summary

Identifying the Heroes of Socialist Labor as the category of the elite allows us to examine the policy of formation of socialist identities and the social realism as one of the crucial method in terms of the construction of reality. The newly formed elite represented part of this reality. National narratives permeated with a militaristic spirit were actively used for the construction of socialist identities. Thus, for struggle and sacrifice, a new arena was offered - a labor battlefield. Therefore, the elite was formed by the people who demonstrated heroism by accomplishing their labor plans. On the one hand, various activities were equated and, on the other hand, a labor hierarchy was created with hard work as a top-ranked concept. Social realism and the writers played a crucial role in shaping values and creating examples. They often replaced the reality with socialist realism, thus preparing a new reality. A good example of this could be the writer who selected a worker / hero from the metallurgical plant who later became a distinguished member of the nomenclature, being awarded the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor. By example of the individual stories of the Heroes of Socialist Labor we can observe the contradictions proceeding from the logic of awarding titles. Awarding a title of the Hero of Socialist Labor would become a dividing line in the life of a recipient, who was offered an elite lifestyle on one hand, and had to continue to perform the same job and participate in that routine on the other hand. Despite the fact that these eligible individuals occupied an important position in society owing to their access to material resources, as well as their proximity to the nomenclature, they proved unable to retain it after collapse of the Soviet Union. As it turned out, at the level of values, the elitism of these people was not shared by society and, therefore, they ceased functioning as “heroes” with the coming of new times.

[1] In my research, the main respondent who was Hero of Socialist Labor had an important role in public life. Today, together with his family, he lives in Georgia. Taking into account the ethical principles of anthropological inquiry, I will be referring to him as a narrator rather than identifying his name, since he is the main hero of the proposed article.

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Ivane Tsereteli. Trauma and Triumph in Literary Texts: Post-Independence Georgia

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/246

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Introduction

The 20th century can be defined as a “century of traumas”. The study of collective trauma has developed into one of the major areas of cultural studies. Experience in exploring occurrences of traumatic events across countries has expanded. Georgian reality remains under-analyzed in the light of trauma theories. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the gaining of independence and radical changes in social, economic and political systems have been accompanied by various traumatic events such as the April 9 tragedy (1989), Tbilisi civil war of 1991-1992, conflicts in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions, natural disasters (landslides, earthquakes, and floods).

[This article aims to demonstrate](#) to what extent the traumatic events of 1990s have been manifested, analyzed, understood and interpreted in post-independence literature. By employing case study, content analysis and discourse analysis methods, we will attempt to demonstrate to what extent the epithets “trauma and triumph” correspond to the case of Georgia.

[In the article, the theoretical framework is exhibited by the theory of collective/cultural trauma the key domains of which have been determined by Jeffrey Alexander](#) (Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity, University of California Press, 2004; Trauma. A Social Theory. Polity, 2012); the theory proposed by Piotr Sztompka is equally important (Society in Action: the Theory of Social Becoming. The University of Chicago Press, 1991; The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies. Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity, University of California Press, 2004; The ambivalence of social change: Triumph or trauma? WZB Discussion Paper, No. P 00-001), dealing with the trauma of dramatic social change and the trauma of victory.

As mentioned above, post-independence literature has been selected as empirical data. At this point, we focus our attention on the following three books:

1. *Journey to Karabakh* by Aka Morchiladze, 1992;
2. *Mameluk* by Aka Morchiladze, 2003;
3. *Southern Elephant* by Archil Kikodze, 2016.

[The selected books](#) are both popular and widely recognized by literary critics. The texts were published at least ten years apart, therefore, we found it intriguing to observe the narrative dynamics from the perspective of an extended period of time. In addition, in the first and the third books in the list, the action takes place in the center of the capital city, and their main characters represent the center in terms of geography, politics and culture, while the second book, i.e.

Mameluk depicts the life in a small provincial town. We believe it is compelling to examine whether or not the author addressed any differences between characters' perception of the same events.

The theory of collective trauma

[We will now begin](#) the discussion by addressing the most important question as far as identity is concerned: *who am I? and who are we?* Answering those questions involves the way boundaries are defined for the *We*-group since *those of our circle* remain within the group, while *others* stay beyond those boundaries. That is what creates the unity referred to as an "imagined community" by Benedict Anderson. Identification of our group is possible when members of this group are aware of and recognize boundaries of their oneness (Anderson, 2003).

It is in this imagined group that collective / cultural trauma spreads and often serves as one of the pillars of identity.

[According to](#) Jeffrey Alexander, "*Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways*" [Alexander, 2004:1]. Cultural trauma is explored by Jeffrey Alexander as a scholarly concept providing significant conceptual and causal relationships between unrelated events, structures, beliefs and actions. From his perspective, members of a group (community) determine the causes of trauma, thus taking moral responsibility for themselves. "*Is the suffering of others also our own? In thinking that it might in fact be, societies expand the circle of the "we"*" [Alexander, 2015:96]. According to the author, one of the great advantages of this new theoretical concept is that it partakes so deeply of everyday life. In the twentieth century, throughout the world people spoke continually about being traumatized by some events. "*We often speak of an organization being traumatized when a leader departs or dies, when a governing regime falls, when an organization suffers an unexpected reversal of fortune. [Actors describe themselves as traumatized when the environment of an individual or a collectivity suddenly shifts in an unforeseen and unwelcome manner](#)*" [Alexander, 2015:96].

He believes that trauma is not a natural phenomenon; rather, it is generated by the society. In a particular social system, massive disruptions may occur which are expected to construct traumatic effects – governments change, institutions collapse, authorities fail to perform, etc. but Alexander argues that "*For traumas to emerge at the level of the collectivity, social crises must become cultural crises. Events are one thing; representations of these events are quite another*" [Alexander, 2015:103]. According to Alexander, in order for the events and facts to acquire the impact of cultural trauma, carrier groups should emerge, and trauma should develop into a master narrative. In order to establish the narrative successfully, it should explore the nature of the pain, the nature of the victim, the relation of the trauma victims to the wider audience, and attribution of responsibility since the collective trauma narrative is supposed to describe the event and reveal what actually happened, clearly depicting the affected group and demonstrating that a traumatic event had impact on both the particular group and the wider audience. The narrative is to manifest the perpetrator, who is to be held accountable (Alexander, 2004).

Piotr Sztompka considers the concept of cultural trauma as applicable to the concept of social change. He believes, the most paradoxical and challenging observation is that even the changes which are truly beneficial, welcome by the people, dreamed about and fought for - may turn out to be painful.

Just like Alexander, Sztompka suggests that not every change is traumatogenic. Otherwise, it would mean that all societies were permanently and irreparably traumatized. Sztompka claims that only some types of changes bring about traumas, and therefore that only some societies in some periods of their history become traumatized. In Sztompka's opinion, "*we define as potentially traumatogenic only such changes which are sudden, comprehensive, fundamental and unexpected*" [Sztompka, 2004:157-158]. He identifies four major traits of traumatogenic changes, namely:

1. Speed and severity (inflation, collapse of the economic system, etc.);
2. The second traumatogenic change involves a wider audience and many aspects of life (for instance, the collapse of the Soviet Union which led to not only the change of the political domain but also to that of economy, law, medicine, culture as well as its values, thus impacting the entire population rather than only minor groups);
3. The third traumatogenic change is radical and fundamental;
4. It is an unexpected, shocking change.

Cultural Trauma in Literature

[Aka Morchiladze is one of the](#) most recognized and popular writers in post-independence Georgia. His being a historian by profession indeed contributed to the fact that he has become a literary figure describing key socio-cultural phenomena that occurred in the 20th century Georgia. *Journey to Karabakh* represents one of the critical literary works for our research. It is one of the first literary introspections on the ongoing events. As the author himself indicates, he wrote the book as a twenty-six-year-old young man in 1992, between Tbilisi and Abkhazia wars, that is by the end of Tskhinvali war [Morchiladze, 2017:5-6].

The very first sentence of the book is traumatic, further encompassing the tragic nature of the period in a few lines of the text. From the outset, the author emphasizes that it is the political confrontation that is a defining feature of the period: "*it was the war or whatever its name – when he fled and then you know, these things never fascinated me, and now even less*" [Morchiladze, 2017: 8]. Truly, he is not fascinated but he makes sure to mention it since the plot of the novel is largely defined by the very event that is not even clearly identified, i.e. "*the war or whatever its name*". Basically, the novel is definitely a traumatic narrative, and as the author himself indicates in the preface of the 2004 edition, "*while writing, I figured it out that endless aggression occurred from nowhere. I did not even try to overcome it, as I would fail anyway*" [Morchiladze, 2017:7]. The plot of the novel develops against the background of endless war and confrontations between father and son, Zviad and coup d'etat supporters, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, etc.

This narrative has even been covered in Aka Morchiladze's other works. Written after ten years following the publication of *Journey to Karabakh*, the novel *Mameluk* by the same author has become one of the critical texts for our research. While the narrative manifests the journey that the characters have embarked on, readers are getting acquainted with tragic events that unfolded in Georgia in 1990s. This text is another valid argument that the 1990s events explicitly fall within the limits of an ambivalent nature of the trauma of victory. The novel begins with the time being specified. At the very outset, we are clearly dealing with a traumatic narrative: *"I've known Peter Goldsmith since the time they were shooting in our streets"* [Morchiladze, 2019: 3]. It is already clear that the story unfolds in 1990s. The text is also valuable in terms of the traits identified by Sztompka according to whom the event becomes traumatogenic only when it is sudden, comprehensive, extremely painful and shocking. The world depicted in *Mameluk* is exactly in such condition. The text explicitly specifies: *"The story began unexpectedly. It was spring. Tbilisi had already seen the terrible events of people killed by Russian soldiers"* [Morchiladze, 2019:50]. *"Meanwhile, new flags were waving in the country. every day everything was marked by change..."* *"hard times were coming..."* [Morchiladze, 2019:77]. *"life became more and more troubled..."* *"the city was kind of wretched"* [Morchiladze, 2019:88]. *"The city encountered nothing but wakes..."* [Morchiladze, 2019:98].

Even the excerpt specifically described by Morchiladze embraces Sztompka's means to cope with trauma, saying that the knowledge of English and education are among the tools for overcoming traumatic experiences. This is exactly what one of the main characters of *Mameluk* recommends to another character when speaking about the way out of the hardship in the country: *"you should somehow learn a foreign language... I guess, English is the best. You need to learn something. Life is changing"* [Morchiladze, 2019:58].

The interpretation of 1990s events in literature is still ongoing. *Southern Elephant* by Archil Kikodze is one of the new novels and, I would say, the one of highly creative value. It is written in urban fiction genre depicting the events happening during the day. A movie director who intends to never produce any films, lets his friend stay at his place to be able to meet his beloved woman. And he himself, passing time, is wandering through the streets of Tbilisi. The most important part of the text deals with the story of the main character's mother. Their parent-child relationship was challenging. The mischief of it is that these problems may have been avoided. They were caused by the overall context of the life in the country, rather than by merely a parent-child disagreement. *"My mother was throwing stones, too"* [Kikodze, 2016:106], this is how the author introduces the mother of the main character and narrator. This part is a witness to the traumatic nature of events of 1990s. This short sentence itself is an independent paragraph in the text. It is further underlined. As for the reason for throwing stones, it is clearly specified: the mother is a supporter of the first President of Georgia. She further continues her life fully embracing the tragedy of Tbilisi war, while her ex-husband whom she divorced is among the opposition supporters. The text depicts the worst outcome of the 1990s, two conflicting parts of the society: putschists and Zviadists! The confrontation was so distinct, heavy and unceasing that *"parties following the dissertation defenses encountered hand-to-hand fighting "*. "Putschist" was the main swear word: *"my son did not prove useful as a patriot. His best friend is a putschist whose father is even worse, a putschist, drunkard and ignorant!"* [Kikodze, 2016: 106]. The civil war trauma affected the life of the main character's mother, and had an impact on her attitude towards the world, the division of everything into two opposed groups – good and bad, and her

attitude towards her son: “*first, we would merely speak to each other, just the two of us and second, without presidents, their supporters and those who despised them. No! She was not willing to...*” “*she spent the last fifteen year of her life cursing putschists, Shevardnadze, Masonry and whoever, doing nothing else even when bedridden...*” “*until her death, Mother had her share of strength and resentment...*” [Kikodze, 2016:108]. Such resentment and strength were rooted in the sense of injustice.

A direct and explicit story of Tbilisi war unfolds in the text. The following section of the text could be regarded as a classical example of trauma / triumph narratives. “*there are some advantages of losing a battle. You become a martyr and a victim as opposed to an opponent – an executioner and a murderer. And Mother would take advantage of these privileges. After Gamsakhurdia fled Georgia, she never missed a demonstration of supporters of the first president – demonstrations where the protesters have been attacked, shot and, at times, even killed in raids. She would throw stones, receiving bullets in response. I looked for her countless times in the streets and, at the end of the day, I did find her accompanied by other like-minded persons after the raids, given shelter under someone’s roof or in some dead-ends – always with blazing eyes and excited but never scared*” [Kikodze, 2016: 107].

Summary

The findings of the proposed research reveal that, on the one hand, the 1990s traumatic events provide the source for post-independence Georgian literature and, on the other hand, such explicit, detailed and unceasing accounts of these events transform them into trauma. The ways of coping are provided in certain cases. Based on the analysis of the above texts, we may assume that the events of 1990s explicitly fall within Sztompka’ trauma of victory narrative. It is apparent that the events are characterized by all the following features that are typical of cultural trauma: sudden and shocking events that have adverse impact not only on a single group but also on the entire society on every level – economic, social and cultural. The next phase of the research will involve the examination of both fiction and memoirs by a larger group of authors, making the accuracy of the research hypothesis even more apparent. Special attention will be paid to the analysis of those sections of the text that witness the dual nature of the events through simultaneous occurrence of trauma and triumph.

Morchiladze Mameluk, Tbilisi.

A.
2003

Morchiladze Journey to Karabakh, Tbilisi.

A.
1992

Kikodze A. Southern Elephant, Tbilisi.
2016

Alexander J. C. Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma, Ron, Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
2004

Sztompka
P.
2008

The Ambivalence of Social Change Triumph or Trauma?

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/fb7d/bd2e50abe4842162df85fa7e56be493f12a5.pdf>

Irine Saganelidze. Issues of Co-existence of Ethnic Groups in Georgian Publicistic Works Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries

 <http://spekuli.eui.eu/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/235>

Co-existence and civic integration of ethnic minorities represent one of the significant components of Georgia's domestic or foreign policies. And from a historical perspective, it has obviously been of fundamental importance. Settlement of ethnic groups in Georgia is related to various factors and phenomena. Apart from non-confrontational co-existence together with the autochthonous population in a new environment, it is extremely important to maintain and preserve the distinctive character, culture and traditions of foreign ethnic groups, bring their native and Georgian cultures together or absorb local culture, and ensure state support for ethnic minority cultures amid political transformations. This so-called ethnopolitics evolved and underwent certain transformations at different times, however, tolerant attitudes of the state and the society at large as well as of its progressive part towards the actual multicultural reality in Georgia has remained essentially the same. From this perspective, several of the 19th-20th century Georgian publicistic writings are of particular interest as they clearly illustrate the very same position articulated by authors. The publications that have been selected as samples are remarkable since they identify particular challenges related to co-existence of ethnicities in Georgia of the time, and indicate a patriotic and solution-oriented state approach specified by authors. First of all, this is manifested through their profound understanding of the significance of peaceful coexistence of ethnic minorities to ensure stable development of the country. Furthermore, the need for solidarity between the Caucasus nations is underlined in the article examined below. In addition, it will be worthwhile to consider the authors' emphasis on the need for maintaining cultural and national identity of ethnic minorities and promoting their social as well as civic integration.

From this perspective, the article by Ilia Chavchavadze is of considerable interest since it is where he offers his observations concerning the Tatar (i.e. common term of the time) which refers to the modern-day Azeri. In his article, I. Chavchavadze shares his ideas on the so-called *our Tatar* [Chavchavadze, 1897: 1]. By identifying it in such a way, he unintentionally captures reality rather than merely alluding to the geographical location of the ethnic group: due to their non-antagonistic attitudes towards the autochthonous population, those of foreign decent who had settled in a Georgia, transformed into *our Tatar*, a new type of Tatar as a consequence of peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, the *Tatar* ethnotype, with its distinctiveness and inherent dissimilarities, having turned into a subject of inquiry, did not go unnoticed by Ilia: "... *our Tatar is more of a loner rather than a well-established settler*" [Chavchavadze, 1897:1]. The author takes into consideration a historically typical nomadic life of *Tatars*. He also refers to a cause and effect relationship between unique features and lifestyle specificities of this ethnic group: "*such loneliness, the inability to settle, as well as a practically underprivileged existence certainly undermines his ability to evolve himself into a well-established, consistent and assertive working man*" [Chavchavadze, 1897:1]. According to Ilia, it is the tendency of the *Tatars* towards nomadization that contributes to their inconsistent performance. He also focuses on a certain self-preservation instinct in *Tatars*, underlining that

this ethnically non-Georgian group fully embraces the concept of solidarity within their ethnic group as well as the need for mutual assistance while living in a foreign environment. Therefore, as Ilia observes, they tend to love and support one another even when committing unlawful acts [Chavchavadze, 1897: 1]. Incomplete and insufficient integration of this ethnic group into the Georgian environment was a particularly compelling issue for Ilia who apparently attempted to examine intrinsic qualities of “*our Tatar*”. At the same time, however, Ilia Chavchavadze with his habitual foresight (and by presenting specific individuals or events as a common problem) made generalization and identified it as unwanted reality that undermined national interests and demonstrated limited integration of this ethnic group into Georgia’s civil society. Thus, the article under consideration is not exclusively ethnological. Rather, it is largely concerned with the issue of national importance (that has similar magnitude even today) in terms of civil integration of foreign ethnic groups or, in other words, for the stability of the country.

National and state-oriented consciousness is demonstrated throughout another publicistic work by Ilia Chavchavadze in which he examines one of the tragic parts of Georgian history. As is commonly known, since the 17th century Adjara has become a target of political and religious expansion of the Ottoman Empire leading to the forced conversions of the local population to Islam. Specifically, during 1877-78, the territory of Adjara-Kobuleti and later that of Batumi were returned to Georgia as an outcome of the Russo-Turkish War in which Georgians were engaged. Despite the foregoing, the issue of integration of Adjara’s ethnic Georgian Muslims remained challenging. A unified assembly of locals as well as Muslim Georgians, held at the Estate Bank established upon Ilia Chavchavadze’s initiative on June 10, 1905, aimed at overcoming the very challenge. Ilia, as the chairman of the assembly, considered it necessary to inform the public by publishing an announcement on the assembly and its agenda [Chavchavadze, 1905:1].

It is significant that in the course of the assembly the interests of the Georgian Muslims were represented by Memed Abashidze, a Muslim with a completely and utterly strong national orientation. He was expressly appointed a deputy chairman of the assembly. It is noteworthy that the year 1905 marked revolutionary unrest in the Russian Empire contributing to the growing importance of the issue of self-determination and autonomy of the peoples of the Empire. As it turns out, the assembly covered the very issue. According to participants, the wishes and aspirations indicated in the petitions of “Georgians” and Muslims were clearly demarcated”, however, “*the dissimilarity would not hinder unity and solidarity if Muslims take a stand for a national-territorial autonomous unit insisting on autonomy much like us*” [Chavchavadze, 1905:1]. As is evident from the article, discussions and debates were being held on the matters above. As Ilia states, “*Every Transcaucasian nation should be given the absolute right to self-determination. “Georgians” will be bound to insist that the very right be given to the Muslims as well, whereas the latter, for their part, will do the same for “Georgians”, while either of them should be given freedom to administer their own domestic affairs...*” [Chavchavadze, 1905: 1]. The article demonstrates that at that point in time the representatives of the so-called Muslim Georgia, i.e. the population of Adjara had already embraced the need and aspiration for autonomy that drew upon the self-determination principle. Memed Abashidze’s assembly address, full of national spirit, shows that he, notwithstanding religious dissimilarities, emphasizes the unity and the same origin of

Georgians, both Christians and forced converts from Christianity as a result of the historical reality: *“Even though as Muslims connected to other believers of Islamic faith, we are still Georgians by origin, by blood as well as heart and soul; therefore, no advocacy committed to encouraging discord and promoting hostility between us and our brothers, Christian Georgians can ever permeate through our minds. ... to put it another way, we are intertwined with Tatars (i.e. Turks – I.S.) and “Georgians” through the religion and nationality, respectively”*[Chavchavadze, 1905:1]. The audience responded with prolonged cheering and applause. As noted above, at that point in time, favorable conditions developed for self-determination and autonomy of the nations in the Russian Empire. On the other hand, however, the potential of attaining autonomy by Muslim Georgians became a tangible reality which, in turn, would be utterly damaging to the integrity of the state. The assembly meeting identified a tolerant platform for country’s political structure that envisaged the protection of rights and freedoms of every ethnic group living in Georgia. Within the framework of the assembly, the significance of the progressive idea of self-determination deserves special mention as, according to attendees, every ethnic group would be given an opportunity to ensure self-realization and embrace their own religious and ethnic identity. The assembly arrived at the following conclusion: *“cultural development of Caucasus and the change of social order, in line with the requirements of the regenerated life, is only possible by maintaining absolute solidarity among all nations ...”*[Chavchavadze, 1905:3]. This quite groundbreaking and progressive idea of the integrity of Caucasus nations became a major theme of the assembly. Therefore, the assembly, initiated and held by I. Chavchavadze, Memed Abashidze and others, is of historical significance due to its concept and purpose. It specifically demonstrates a favorable strategic direction of the country for 20th century, envisaging the need for tolerant environment in order to ensure harmonious coexistence of nations and offer solutions to prevailing problems.

[In one of his articles, Akaki Tsereteli highlights a seemingly minute though still distinctive and important fact for the life of Georgia’s ethnic minorities. The article refers to the stage performance of Armenians held in Tbilisi on September 14, 1879, sharing its impact experienced and specified by Akaki Tsereteli on the pages of *Droeba*. It is worth recalling and noting that by the date of publication, the Armenians, just as the other ethnic groups in Tbilisi, enjoyed the right and opportunity to produce and perform on stage in their own native language. This, indeed, demonstrates the possibility of maintaining their cultural identity while living peacefully together with the Georgian community. As for Akaki’s newspaper article, it describes the performance as well as the content of this historical play in a relatively detailed way.](#)

The play depicted the life of Arshak II, the 4th century Armenian king who faced the dilemma of choosing between Roman and Persian protectorate. The play about the life of the remarkable Armenian king attracted a large audience since it nourished patriotic feelings and presented a tragic story of the king revered by every Armenian [Tsereteli, 1879: 1]. The article indicates that the performance was attended by other Georgians, apart from Akaki Tsereteli and the Armenians (the latter included the Arghutashvilis, the Bebutashvilis and others from the Armenian communities of Gori and Kartli). Akaki’s remark that follows is noteworthy and of

particular interest for us. Akaki, who had hardly any knowledge of Armenian, asked those next to him for assistance: *“but they found themselves in the same situation: three parts of the audience understood absolutely nothing...”* [Tsereteli, 1879:1].

Clearly, Akaki deemed it necessary to publish information on the Armenian play in *Droeba* newspaper not just to lay out its content and share its impact on him but, first of all, to emphasize that the majority of the Armenian audience lacked the knowledge of their mother tongue and, what is also important, to identify the threat of language loss as well as the tendency towards full assimilation of this nation that had enjoyed great past.

Even though no thorough analysis of this particular event was provided by Akaki in his article, it follows that he, just like “Tergdaleuli” Ilia Chavchavadze, understood that general pressing issues were predominantly reflected in certain particular facts and that their generalization and assessment responded to public concerns.

Thus, we consider the aforementioned *Droeba* article as an expression of Akaki Tsereteli’s progressive view.

One particular issue related to ethnic minorities attracted attention of Akaki’s senior fellow-writer, the representative of the generation of conservatives or (as more specifically referred to) the generation of fathers. Here, what I have in mind is Grigol Orbeliani’s letter sent from Kojori, dating back to August 9, [Gigashvili, Ninidze, 2018: 53-57]. The letter was addressed to Alexander II, the emperor of Russia. As is commonly known, after his military retirement, Gr. Orbeliani was transferred to Tbilisi to serve Aleksandr Baryatinsky, viceroy of the Caucasus (1856-1862), and a year later was appointed chairman of the viceroy’s council, acting as a viceroy for a short period of time. At this particular moment, as a result of tax duplication, the uprising involving guildsmen, artisans and merchants broke out in the capital city in June. While protesting, the outraged citizens raided Mayor’s apartment and murdered the tax collector Melikov. The uprising was quelled with much bloodshed as government used the military force against rioters. Without taking into account this distressing fact, the content and the spirit of Grigol Orbeliani’s letter to the emperor would remain baffling. It appears that, as indicated in Orbeliani’s official letter, the tax increase *“at any cost”* and *“without any delay”* was administered in accordance with the imperial command leading to the unfortunate consequences described above. As we can see from Orbeliani’s letter, the imperial government perceived the uprising as having a political rather than social background. In an attempt to underline the incorrect interpretation, Grigol Orbeliani, counting on the emperor’s compassion, urges him to defer payment of increased taxes. Here it is especially noteworthy that due to the Armenian origin of the majority of artisans and merchants engaged in the uprising, the representatives of this ethnic group were seen in a relatively negative light.

Therefore, irrespective of people’s ethnic origin, Grigol Orbeliani as their protector and advocate, offers an explanation to the emperor: *“As witnessed in the course of the past sixty-five years, Georgian Armenians have been genuinely loyal to the government”* [Gigashvili, Ninidze, 2018: 53-57]. The collocation *“Georgian Armenians”* is rather remarkable, similar to the one (i.e. *“our Tatar”*) coined by Ilia Chavchavadze, manifesting the same humane attitude on the part

of both writers towards minorities in the Georgian environment. As far as the letter is concerned, it is also important to emphasize that it clearly demonstrates social activism of ethnic Armenians in the context of violation of their rights.

The letter, the memoir of Hovhannes Ter-Grigoryants is of special interest in terms of the relationship between Georgian and Armenian public figures. It was originally published in *Mshak (The Toiler)* to mark the (on December 28, 1917). Akaki Shanidze translated the article from Armenian and later published it in 1918.

The author mentions that prominent Armenians formed close ties with Georgian writers and public figures. As is commonly known, founding of the Armenian community in Georgia dates back centuries. Their integration into the civic domain and, at the same time, their aspiration and intention to maintain national and cultural identity became especially predominant in the 19th century. Engaging in the cultural, and specifically, publishing domain, which from that time onward became possible in the country, served as one of the tools to demonstrate the said intention. The point applies not just to the Armenian ethnic group, however, this time we will recall one instance of the Georgian-Armenian relations involving the assistance on the part of the Georgian community to enable the Armenians to publish the Armenian-language newspaper in Tbilisi.

Grigoryants, as a participant of this process stated that the agenda of *Mshak*, the Armenian-language newspaper intended to be published from January 1872, had been prepared as a result of consultations with the editor himself as well as newspaper employees of Georgian ethnicity, in the environment of the hospitable family of Sergei Meskhi, the editor of the Georgian-language newspaper *Droeba* [Ter-Grigoryants, 1918: 2]. There, gatherings and discussions involved Sergei Meskhi, K. Lortkipanidze, Giorgi Tsereteli, Stepane Melikishvili, (the housewife's brother), Grigor Artsruni, Gabriel Sundukian, St. Palasarian, G. Chimishkyan, M. Amerikian, Poghos Izmailian (later, the mayor of Tbilisi) and many others.

Grigoryants emphasizes that “*when the agenda has been already prepared, Sergei Meskhi gave an intense and remarkable speech concerning solidarity among Caucasians that was followed by equally poignant speeches on the part of G. Artsruni and P. Izmailov. Thus, here in this warmly welcoming family of intellectuals, the Mshak agenda has been elaborated, and, for the first time, a foundation has been laid for solidarity among Caucasus peoples*” [Ter-Grigoryants, 1918: 3].

As is commonly known and as this lengthy excerpt demonstrates, the attitudes of the members of Georgian and Armenian intelligentsia was always based on mutual respect and cooperation which also becomes clearly evident from the title of Ter-Grigoryants' letter – *Mshak and Georgian-Armenian relations*.

Mshak, the Armenian literary-political newspaper (1872-1920), whose editor until his death in 1892 was Grigor Artsruni, its founder and an outstanding Armenian public figure, played a remarkable role in cultivating the self-identification and national consciousness of Tbilisi-based Armenian readers and the sense of solidarity between the peoples of Caucasus.

However, the Georgian-Armenian relations have involved unfortunate encounters as well. In his letter-memoir Ter-Grigoryants was recalling one of the instances that happened in 1875 when *“disagreements and disputes occurred between Armenians and Georgians, and fierce debates were leaked to both Armenian and Georgian press”*[Ter-Grigoryants, 1918:5]. It was about tax collection among workers and employees practiced unfairly by an Armenian leaseholder. Unfortunately (as he believed), Georgians made generalizations about this particular case and their letters (including those by Akaki Tsereteli) were perceived as an insult against the Armenian people.

Grigoryants noted that as a response to this campaign, Grigor Artsruni, a highly regarded figure of the Armenian community and *Mshak* founder and editor, published one and only remark in the Armenian newspaper (Issue #8, January 16, 1875): *“the seventh issue of the Georgian newspaper Droeba features the article which is harsh beyond measure against the entire Armenian people. Does the respected newspaper take an unexpected turn after the format change and following the publication of its third issue? Where in the world is our friendship and concerted efforts? Just because injustice has been committed by the Armenian leaseholder while collecting tax from workers (we have been complaining about it over and over again; and if Akaki does not understand Armenian, he should have at least asked), – claiming that the entire people and literature are held responsible... and that Armenians are destroying Tbilisi just like Agha Mohammad Khan...”*[Ter-Grigoryants, 1918:8].

This exhaustive quote illustrates how strained the relationship between yesterday’s friends and companions has become which certainly was both tragic and dangerous for these two nations. For that very reason, Niko Nikoladze, a respected and highly regarded man took the initiative to end the confrontation. According to Ter-Grigoryants, Nikoladze returned to Georgia in the summer of 1875. He was rather horrified to witness the use of indecent language across Georgian magazines and newspapers that displayed the Georgian-Armenian relationships as not that exciting.

N. Nikoladze was interested in creating a tolerant and friendly environment that would promote coexistence, so he decided to reconcile them because, as Grigoryants concludes, *“as an educated and intellectual person, and a diplomat, he would anticipate the effects of Georgian-Armenian attitudes”*[Ter-Grigoryants, 1918:10]. For that reason, he decided to hold a feast outdoors, in a familiar setting for Caucasians, and invite prominent figures of both peoples in order to end the dispute. The feast was attended by Akaki Tsereteli, one of the participants in the debate, and Niko Nikoladze himself, Anton Lortkipanidze - Kutaisi Mayor, Sergei Meskhi, Giorgi Tsereteli, Stepane Melikov, Anton Purtseladze, Konstantin Bebutov – the editor of the newspaper *Tifliskij Vestnik [Tbilisi Newspaper]*, G. Chimishkyan, Grigor Artsruni, and Ter-Grigoryants, the author of this memoir.

Niko Nikoladze succeeded in eliminating the confrontation between Georgians and Armenians thanks to the feast as well as the overall environment, thus reinforcing the principle implying that friendship and cooperation between the two nations in the Caucasus region is fundamental and is of state and national importance.

The contribution of the Armenian community in Georgia to the civic and cultural life of Tbilisi has always been remarkable. In the year of declaration of independence of Georgia, ten individuals of Armenian ethnicity were among elected members of Parliament. The very fact was dealt with by Georgian poet Leli Japaridze of Tsisperi Qantsebi (The Blue Horns). In the transitional period, from the moment of declaration of independence until Georgia's Constituent Assembly held its first session (opened on March 12, 2019), the legislative power was vested in the National Council of Georgia, i.e. the so-called Parliament of Georgia. That was the Council with the ten Armenian members mentioned by L. Japaridze.

The letter indicates that the left-wing sector of the Parliament of Georgia was expanded by ten Armenian members whose initial declaration was rather noteworthy. Here, it certainly refers to the following patriotic statement by the Armenian members: "...they are here to manifest their dedication, to defend freedom of Georgia, the breathtaking little motherland, on the battlefield as well as inside [Japaridze, 1918: 1].

A large number of the Armenian parliament members and their expressed commitment to Georgia declared from country's foremost platform was proportionate to a political act which, once again, demonstrated the engagement of ethnic minorities in the political life of Georgia.

Another article that addresses the need for participation of ethnic minorities in Georgia's Civic life is authored by Ivane Gomarteli. He believes that during the most important period of the history of the Georgian nation, at point of emergence of an independent and democratic state, the differentiation between the concept of motherland and the place of residence on the part of the representatives of ethnic minorities in Georgia is unacceptable, having in mind the history of Georgia that witnessed harmonious coexistence of numerous ethnic groups over the course of several centuries. From this perspective, *„... our Georgia will become similar to Switzerland. Here other peoples such as Armenians, Tatars, Ossetians, etc. livetogther with us in the sameterritory. Much like Switzerland, the Georgian people have attained the same level of spiritual development extending their brotherly hand to every citizen, saying: we have the same motherland”*[Gomarteli, 1920: 1].

Sadly, as the author remarks, *“some of our Ossetians and our Armenians still cannot tolerate the idea that Georgia is their motherland and that they, along with the Georgian people, should protect our common homeland against all the enemies”* [Gomarteli, 1920:1].

It is uncertain, which specific actions performed by those ethnic groups are considered unacceptable by Iv. Gomarteli in his letter, however, one thing is clear: it is written by a patriot with a state-oriented vision who is concerned about the threat to the state integrity, that is the way ethnic groups consciously dissociate themselves from problems of the state of Georgia, their common motherland.

For the author, Georgia is a historically multiethnic and multicultural country. And for him, ashik

Sayat-Nova, the confluence of Armenian and Georgian cultures, is of course a classic example of such multicultural coexistence. That is why it is no coincidence that his letter is entitled *Grishashvili's Sayat-Nova*.

In his book *The Literary Bohemia of Old Tbilisi*, I. Grishashvili ultimately regards Sayat-Nova as the combination, symbol and ideal of cultures of the Caucasus.

Iv. Gomarteli associates the coexistence of ethnic minorities in Georgia with the implementation of national goals of a progressive European state which is considered to be identical with Grishashvili's integral, old-Tbilisi-type, multi-traditional and, in a way, essential setting.

Much like I. Grishashvili's *The Literary Bohemia of Old Tbilisi*, another publication entitled *Unusual Stories of Old Tbilisi* by Karapet Grigoryants is a type of non-fiction work which depicts various multicultural features of multiethnic Tbilisi and portrays more than a few colorful characters representing the very culture. It includes Tbilisi-related stories on a wide range of topics. While recounting them, the author revives the multiethnic culture of Tbilisi and Georgia in a striking way, the culture which is full of humanistic beliefs in equality and which, according to the author, is created by remarkable artists of this city. It is therefore not surprising that the narrative is preceded by a summary of the life and work of Karapet Grigoryants, the famous Armenian artist and author who lived in Georgia.

Everyone is well aware of the careers of Georgia-based Armenian artists and their highly professional works of art. Their traditional connection to the Georgian art and their creative and friendly relationships with the Georgian artists as well as public figures are especially noteworthy. Among other ones, Karapet Grigoryants (1866-1943), a self-taught artist and a contemporary of Niko Pirosmiani, was born in Ganja province, moving to Tbilisi thereafter. He even painted murals for then famous Tbilisi dukhan "Sympathy" [Grigoryants, 2011:1].

It is rather noteworthy that the Georgian State Museum of Folk and Applied Arts houses his paintings dating back to 1936-38 [Kipshidze, 2018: 248]. Apart from painting, he was passionate about literature and, as noted in his book, he had authored as well as translated numerous literary works in Georgian and Armenian languages (for instance, the Armenian translation of *The Knight in Panther's Skin* and its further adaptation as a play).

It turns out that K. Grigoryants had a wide range of interests. This time, however, it is notable how typically Georgian and nationalistic was his attitude toward the Georgian language, despite the fact that he, as an ethnic Armenian, was born in Ganja province, though his upbringing and identity construction proceeded in a Georgian environment. He considered the mandatory teaching of the Russian language to be inappropriate, and the way he was concerned about corrupted and impoverished Georgian language is striking: "*This practice of chasing Russian has led to a complete loss of old Georgian and, subsequently, to a corrupt language. Today, the Georgian language is a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Armenian and European borrowings.... Back in the old days, Georgians enjoyed their own pure language. In ancient times, there were Armenian poets in Georgia who spoke pure and uncorrupted Georgian language*" [Grigoryants, 2011: 1].

Unless one knows that the above-quoted words have been written by an ethnic Armenian, nothing raises doubts as to the Georgian origin of the excerpt's author who as a patriot is saddened by ongoing processes that threaten everything Georgian.

This certainly is an example of conscious engagement in Georgia's multiethnic and humane cultural setting on the part of a representative of another ethnic group, and an actual expression of patriotism towards a new motherland (indeed, by maintaining the integrity of one's own national identity).

K. Grigoryants also recalls the endeavors of Gr. Artsruni, one of the important figures of the Georgian culture and civic and public life, and his close friendship with Iv. Machabeli, G. Tsereteli, Akaki, Ilia, and N. Nikoladze.

He deems it necessary to treat Gr. Artsruni's funeral as a memorable and extraordinary event in Tbilisi, integrating the narrative about it in his book [Grigoryants, 2011:2]. K. Grigoryants, as a Georgian by residence and consciousness, though Armenian by ethnicity, considers it noteworthy that *"with much effort and by blocking the way, Georgian patriots made it possible for it (the funeral procession – I. S.) to pass through Rustaveli avenue in front of the palace; they knew in advance, that access was prohibited in front of the palace but they made it happen anyway"*[Grigoryants, 2011:2].

As depicted in the publication, this man became an object of regard not only for Georgians and Armenians, *"but also priests, mullahs, sayyids, ayatollahs, Jewish Hakhams and Rabbis, carrying guild flags, walked together through the poststreet from where they joined the procession in front of the government [building], further heading to The Khojivank pantheon in Avlabari"*[Grigoryants, 2011:2]. Consequently, Tbilisi multiethnic community paid tribute to the great patriot whose contribution to the literary as well artistic life in the country and to the development of relations between ethnic groups had been immense.

Thus, only several examples of Georgian publicistic works have been dealt with in the proposed article. An actual unity of themes related to the coexistence of ethnic groups appear to have led to the choice of the said publicistic works, however, it does not mean that they are the only examples of publicism that reflect the subject under discussion. Particular facts or events discussed in these publicistic articles have been generalized, and the participation of various ethnic groups in the social, cultural and political life of the country, while maintaining their cultural and national identity, has been considered by the authors of these publications to be a guarantor of stability for the state of Georgia.

The chronological order of these articles (1879-1928) is also noteworthy. In fact, this occurred at the turn of the century when the entire world was facing social, political, technological, economic and cultural upheavals. Among others, Georgia was also affected by this global process. Therefore, despite a certain reexamination of values, the publicistic works written during this time period enable us to claim that the principle of tolerant and conflict-free coexistence of ethnic groups is still common to Georgian thought and typical to Georgian mentality and, at the same time, historically represents one of the fundamental principles of stability of the Georgian state. The same could explain the continuity and persistence of the Georgian multiethnic culture.

Gigashvili K., Ninidze M. 2018	Grigol Orbeliani's Letter to Mikhail Romanov, Kojori. August 4, 1865. Tbilisi. The Epistolary Legacy of Georgian Writers of the XIX-XX Centuries. Tbilisi.
Grigoryants K. 2011	Unusual Stories of Old Tbilisi.
Gomarteli I. 1920	Grishashvili's Sayat-Nova. Leila. N 2.
Ter-Grigoryants H. 1918	Mshak and Georgian-Armenian relations. (Pages of My Memoir). Prometheus. N 1-2 .
Kipshidze N. 2018	On Formation and Importance of Self-Taught Art Museum Collection. From Colonial Politics to National Museum. Tbilisi.
Tsereteli Ak. 1879	The Armenian Play on September 14. Droeba. N 192.
Chavchavadze II. 1897	Tiflis, September 20. Iveria. N 196.
Chavchavadze II. 1905	Assembly of Muslims and Georgians. Iveria. N 198.
Japaridze L. 1918	Letters from Parliament. Sakartvelo. N 184.

Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. Fire Priests and Magi in Iberia

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As scarce and lapidary though interesting accounts attested in written sources as well as archaeological and ethnographic data, dating to the period under consideration, indicate that a certain form of the cult of Ahura Mazda should have penetrated into Iberia as early as the Achaemenid period. Both Iberia and Colchis appear to fall within the political sphere of influence of the Achaemenid Empire. Their rulers were perceived with high probability as frontier “satraps” within the Achaemenid vertical dimension of power and politics. After successful campaigns and the death of Alexander the Great in Persia, which was shortly followed by the division of his empire among his Diadochi (Greek:

Διάδοχοι, Diádokhoi "successors") the situation unequivocally changed. The circumstance that Parnavaz borrowed the name for the principal state cult particularly from the Persian religious onomastics – Armazi / Ahura Mazda / Ohrmazdi – indicates that this deity was not unknown in Georgian reality and this is even in the event of being realistic about the fact that the Armazi cult and ideology were neither “Persian” nor “Zoroastrian” at all in terms of their essence. The people of Iberia did not perceive it as such either. And still, it is difficult to imagine that this unknown form of the Persian religion could have success in Kartli – a tragic example of it is found in *Mepeta Tskhovreba* (*Life of the Kings*) where the attempt of replacing the local cult with the Persian religion on the part of King P'arnajom completely failed. This will be even more specific if we consider the fact that the Iberians were not of Indo-Iranian origin either tribally or linguistically. They had their own religious narratives. It is very tempting to identify Aryan-Kartli indicated in *The Georgian Chronicles* (*Kartlis Tskhovreba*) as a “primordial homeland” “airyanem vaējah” of the Aryans occurring in the Avestan and Middle Persian tradition; There is a divergent point of view by Ekvtime Takaishvili suggesting that the very term is more of a reminiscence of the Anatolian “Harana Land” which is related to the Hurrian ethnicity and their Anatolian motherland [Takaishvili, 1948: 621-627]. Today, the latter perspective is not exclusive at all, however, I will not discuss other points of view in more detail within the scope of the proposed article.

Several fairy tales have been preserved in the Georgian folklore that feature the onomastics typical to the Persian reality. Such is, for example, a fairy tale character “Thrithino” addressed by Giorgi Akvlediani [Akvlediani, 1914]. This name of the fairy tale character is definitely related to the Avestan *Θraētaona* and the Middle Persian *Frētūn*. The same is implied by certain characters of Georgian Demonology, for example, „ეშმა” (*ešma*, devil) – the Avestan *aēšma*, “fury”, or even “დაევი” (Avest. *daēuva*), i.e. evil spirit, „დასტური” (*dasturi*, pagan priest) of the religious cult of Georgian mountainous regions which should be related to *dastūr*, one of the ranks within the hierarchy of Zoroastrian Magi. Several theophoric names occur in Georgian that could be interpreted through the Persian onomastics.

The legend of the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp

One account from *The Georgian Chronicles (Kartlis Tskhovreba)* attract our attention, implying Persian expansion in the Caucasus as far back as in the prehistoric era prior to the emergence of Alexander the Great: “The son of Shiosh, called [Kaikhosro](#), came here. The Armenians and Georgians could not offer resistance, because his power was too great. He crossed the whole of Armenia and the whole of Kartli, ravaging and capturing people, sacking all the fortresses and cities. He left in the devastated lands his eristavis, and built in Adarbadagan a house of prayer for the followers of his faith and left”. [The Georgian Chronicles I:15]

Clearly, here it refers to the establishment of the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp that is well-known from the Middle Persian sources. It should have certainly been established by the son of Kaikhosro Siaosh (“Shiosh”), a remarkable representative of “Kava” dynasty. This is from where the earliest Media Atropatene tradition of the Mazdaist fire cult originates. According to some authors, **the Shīz** (later Takht-e Soleymān) altar was a cultic center of this tradition where the sacred fire Ādur Gušnasp was burning. However, there has been the divergence even between the ancient legends in respect of this issue, since according to other versions, the fire temple was located in [Ganzak](#), rather than **Shīz**. **The two locations, despite their close proximity to each other, should not be absolutely identical.**

V. Minorsky notes that **Shīz has been localized in the vicinity of** Takht-e Soleymān for the first time **by** Henry Rawlinson. [Minorsky, 48] Archaeological excavations have resulted in the discovery of a fire temple, however, its immense antiquity was not verified. It should have been built in the Sasanian period. In 1963, a seal was discovered there with an inscription, dated back to 400-425 CE, which reads: “mowbed of the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp”. The temple discovered as a result of archaeological excavations represents a complex, a yard with a colonnade, domed structures built with cobblestone and attached from the outside, a large hall with a colonnade, and a Sasanian balcony. [Schippmann, 1971:352]

As we see, the archeological data would not let us assume the presence of a temple here prior to the 4th-5th centuries, however, the issue could not be deemed solved since there is the Median tradition of fire worship associated with these locations. It has been reflected both in Herodotus writings and the Middle Persian, Armenian and Arabic sources. It is highly unlikely that it emerged for no reason.

The Median Magi who had been the guardians and protectors of this tradition, believed that their origin could be traced to the very remote past. They considered Manuchihra of the legendary tradition of Paradata to be a protagonist of their ancestry. According to Herodotus, from the very beginning, the Magi represented one of the Median tribes who enjoyed privileges of the clergy. There is a perspective in the contemporary scholarly literature that suggests that they have never been Zoroastrians. Rather, they apparently adjusted to Zoroastrianism later, integrating into the latter the elements of worship of Zurvan, “infinite time”. [Wikander, 1944:109] R. Frye and M. L. Chaumont disagree with St. Wikander’s thesis, [Фрай,.. 1972: 129]

The analysis of these legends makes us think that some unknown form of fire worship or cult distinct from Zoroastrianism should have existed here even prior to the Achaemenid period. According to the list of the Iranian provincial capitals, Persia’s deadly enemy, the Turanian king

Afrāsīāb, i.e. the Middle Persian Frāsiyāk, is considered to be the founder of the town of Ganzak. According to the Avestan tradition, this town was located on the shores of Čaečāsta, which means “a deep salty lake”. [Marquart, 1931:58] Lake Urmia is such a lake in this region. According to the Avestan tradition, Kava Haosravah or Kai Khosrow killed Afrāsīāb of Turan near this lake, that was followed by the destruction of the shrine and establishment of the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp. According to the Middle Persian text entitled *Menokh-i Khrat (Spirit of Wisdom)*, the evil spirit would have dominated the world forever, unless Kaikhosro had demolished the shrine near the lake Čaečāsta. [The Book of Mainyo-i Khard, 1871: 94-95]

Bundahishn or the Middle Persian compendium of the history of creation suggests that Gušnasp-fire was itself settled on the mane of Kaikhosro’s horse, dispelling darkness and shedding light on the world, until the accursed shrine (uzdesčar, uzdes-cadak) was destroyed.

Apparently, the Middle Persian adaptation of Čez derived from the hydronym Čaečāsta, which later transformed into the Arabic Şiz, al-shiz or Jis. [Kacyмова, 1983:20] However, the problem of correlation between **Shīz and** Ganzak has not been solved in scholarship so far. Because calling the tradition into question and taking only empirical materials into consideration leads scholars to the conclusion that the town emerged in the Sasanian era. Collation of source data demonstrates that it is unlikely that there was enough territory in the vicinity of the site of ancient town Takht-e Soleymān for such a large town as Ganzak should have been in the Sasanian period. Such a misunderstanding occurs as far back as in the historical sources. Arab authors, Ibn al Fakih [Ibn al Fakih, 32:246] and Al-Mas’udi [Al-Mas’udi,... IV-74] attempt to avoid it and indicate that the fire of Ādur Gušnasp was transferred from Ganzak to **Shīz**. Al-Mas’udi himself refers to the temple of **Shīz among those one thousand fire temples that existed prior to the emergence of** Zarathushtra. [Al-Mas’udi,... IV-74] Sebeos, the Armenian chronicler of the same period mentions the **fire temple in Ganzak with the burning fire of** všnasp. [Schippmann, 328]

There are references of the Arab historian Al-Tha’alibi to Bahram Gor’s visits to the temple of Ādur Gušnasp. [Zotenberg, 558] There is nothing surprising about it, considering how diligently the “Kava” traditions were maintained by the Sasanians who always emphasized ideological connection between the two. The availability of two distinct fire-altars does not seem convincing, and moving the main fire temple from one location to another due to “natural” or any other circumstances is even more unconvincing. Clearly, the same tradition and the same narrative are being discussed here. A shrine implies the existence of some cult that seems to be absolutely unacceptable and incompatible with the Iranian Zoroastrianism, the more especially as it is associated with the Turanian Frāsiyāk, Iran’s worst enemy.

An unknown cult of the Semite Chaldaeans could also be assumed in Media, since in sacral history of Iran, for example, Aždāhak (a legendary-tyrant turned into a monster, with two snake heads growing from his shoulders) was also associated with the Semites in consciousness of ancient Iranians. The conflict between Proto-Iranians and Proto-Semites seems rather reasonable to be reflected both in Mythopoetic and religious traditions. As for the period after the emergence of Christianity, the scholar Lars-Ivar Ringbom analyzes the old European legends about the Holy Grail, concluding about their oriental origin. According to his opinion, the Ganzak fire-altar represents an archetype of the Holy Grail Temple. A round form temple

with eighteen pillars displayed on one of the Sasanian coins provides a basis for his conclusion. According to Ringbom, every pillar should have had a carved surface with an inscribed Avestan Gatha (hymn). Although such a hypothesis is artificial, it nevertheless is interesting from the perspective of the history of culture.

It has been known that according to *Dēnkard*, a Mazdean encyclopedia, it was in Ganzak that Šābur I should have kept *Avesta* copied on calf skins. The Holy Grail is a symbol of the Christian Apocryphal writings. It is the cup in which Christ's blood was collected by one of his "undisclosed" disciples. Of course, the Holy Grail could not have been associated with the blood of the Crucified One before the time of Christ's birth and Crucifixion. Therefore, Ringbom discusses it in connection with the sacred drink Haoma. It is the drink that, according to the Gathas, had been extracted by holy kings-Magi who lived much earlier than the "Kava" dynasty, and later by Zarathushtra himself. [Ringbom, 1960: 267-271]

The story of founding of the fire temple of Adur Gushnasp has been narrated in a very interesting way in „Risalah“ by the 10th century Arab writer Abu-Dulaf, where this legend has been linked to the Magi kings of the Gospels. It is an important fragment of the history of the relationship between Eastern religions and Christianity. As recounted in the Risalah, the city of temple, **Shīz was founded by the Persian King** Hurmuza ibn Khosrovshir ibn Bahram. When he found out about the birth of the Blessed Child in Bethlehem, he sent an envoy giving him oil and incense to offer to the mother of a new-born child and ask for her blessings for his country and his people. Mary gave a sack full of earth to the envoy telling him that a town would be built upon this earth. Hurmuza's representative returned back, however, on his way home he died without being able to reach the king. When Hurmuza learnt about it, he sent people and commanded them to build a fire temple upon the spot where his envoy had died. When asked how to guess where the location was, Hurmuza told them, they would not miss it. Truly, at night, one of Hurmuza's delegates saw blazing light emanating from the earth given by Mary to the first messenger. He marked the location of the blazing light staying awake through the night, and commanding them to build the Temple in the morning. This was the fire temple of Ādur Gušnasp. [Minorsky, 1952:172-175]

Thus, an exceptional nature of the place is emphasized by the fact that it is related to the earth blessed by Mary. If we assume that under the name of Hurmuza ibn Khosrovshir ibn Bahram a normal Sasanian king is implied, then it is beyond belief that this type of legend could be related to the mainstream theme of the Christian community of Iran. They had a rather unfortunate experience both with the Sasanians and their privileged Zoroastrian Magi class. He might have originated from a group embracing an Apocryphal tradition, which had been under the influence of still mechanically functioning Manichean or gnostic or even "magusaion" (i.e. the Hellenized Magi of the Parthian era) elements. The "regular" Christians of Iran believed that the Mother of God and the Church had defeated fire worship as one of the forms of paganism, and initiated the Persians into the true faith. This is echoed in one of the verses of David Guramishvili's *Davitiani* where the poet addresses the Mother of God the following way:

"/You, the rescuer of the faith of barbarians, / Undermining sanctity of the Persians, / Draining and ceasing / The fires of worship" [Guramishvili, 1980:125]

However, none of the canonical or apocryphal traditions provide an account of the conversion of the Persians by or at the instruction of the Mother of God. It is not unlikely that the above-mentioned “Persians” were exactly those Magi kings of the Gospels. According to a widespread theological perspective of the time, they converted to Christianity turning away from idolatry.

At the turn of the Common Era, Ganzak was famous for its silver and wealth, the account of which is attested in a Gnostic poem the *Hymn of the Pearl* dating from as early as the first century CE. [Quispel, 1967:39] Once Christianity established itself throughout Iran, and diverse movements split off from the mainstream as a result of theological disputes, the residence of the Nestorian bishop has been located there. There is a reference to Hosea, the bishop of Ganzak and Aturpatakan, in a conclusive statement of the Synod which met in 486. [Marquart, 108] The existence of a powerful Christian community is attested by *The Passion of Eustathius of Mtskheta* in which St. Eustathius, originally from Ganzak, where he had been taught to be Magus, articulates: “But I did not adopt the Magian creed, for in the city of Gandzak the Christians are in the majority, with their own bishop and priests, and from them I learnt beyond all manner of doubt”.

The list of the Iranian provincial capitals includes an account concerning the founding of Ganzak suggesting that the very town was built by Eran Gushnasp, a great military leader of Aturpatakan. Clearly, the name of the military leader is a compound word rendered according to the name of the famous fire of Ganzak. [Marquart, 108] In the Middle Persian tradition, Ādur Gušnasp is a sacred fire of the warrior estate (Avest. Rathaestar). According to the *Book of the Deeds of Ardashir, Son of Papak*, every social class, every stratum in Iran had its corresponding sacred fire: Ādūr Farnbagh, Ādur Gušnasp and Ādur Burzēn-Mihr were the sacred fires of Magi and scholars, warriors and military leaders, and cattle farmers and husbandmen, respectively.

Thus, it is clear that the Adur Gushnasp fire-altar represented a cultic center for the Median Magi further transforming into a main alter of the Zoroastrian mobads. Its influence reached the Caucasus as well – Iberia, Armenia and Caucasian Albania encompassing the Parthian and Sasanian periods. When exploring from the prism of the Classical antiquity, Media seems to be rather interlaced with the Caucasian world. For example, [Herodotus](#) believed the Median culture to be close to Colchis when specifying that Medea went on to Media. (VII, 62 I;)

Considering the foregoing, it is easy to imagine the Ādur Gušnasp warrior cult being blended with a local tradition in Iberia. [Немсадзе, 1977:108-114]; even the idol Armazi, erected by Pharnavaz, embodied a warrior, with bronze chain armor and golden helmet, and in his hand he held a spear. In the mountainous part of Eastern Georgia, there are remaining deities with the outward appearance of warriors, such as Tetri Giorgi, Kopale, and Iakhsari. It is an interesting circumstance that in the mountainous religious tradition, which incorporates both components – Christian and pagan, those serving at the St. George shrine are referred to as dastūrs. (As mentioned above, the magus, preceptor, instructor of cult practices are referred to as dastūr in the Mazdaist religion.) The names such “Aderk” and “Adarnase” are associated with “fire” (Ādar, or Ādur) in onomastics of the kings of Kartli; the fire temple in the *Martyrdom of the Holy Queen Shushanik* is indicated by the term “Atrušan” of the Middle Persian origin – Shushanik says that “Pitiable indeed has become the unfortunate Varsken! He has forsaken

the True God, and embraced the religion of fire and united himself to the godless.” [Turtaveli, I. 1979:1] this word, just as *Ātašgāh* must be semantically related to the Middle Persian *Ātar/Ātur*, the same as *Ādur* – “fire”. For the author, when it comes to renegade Varsken, it is clearly convenient to emphasize “fire” as an element, as opposed to highlighting Ahura Mazda as a supreme god.

There is another issue as to what extent Persian religion is viewed as a fundamentally hostile phenomenon from the perspective of a Georgian pagan cult. When the idol Armazi collapsed due to rapidly deteriorating weather conditions, priests’ interpretation according to the text of *The Conversion of Kartli* is as follows: “It’rujan, the god of the Chaldaeans, and the god of Georgians Armaz have been enemies from the beginning. Indeed, the latter turned the sea back on him, so now he seeks revenge”. As this excerpt demonstrates, priests perceived Armazi and It’rujan

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Shorena Tavadze. Structural Analysis of Fragmentary Manuscripts (The Case of Six Fragments Preserved in Fragmentary MSS Fund of Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts)

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/231

Our ancestors have produced thousands of manuscript books that are held as the national treasures. A majority of Georgian manuscripts (up to ten thousand items) are preserved by the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts. The making of a manuscript book required generous financial resources, professional knowledge, and skills related to fine arts and technical production of books, such as skills of treating the writing material – parchment, producing ink, binding books and making covers and so on.

The oldest Georgian manuscripts that date from the 5th–8th centuries have not come down to us in a complete form, they have survived in fragments. As for the 9th–18th century collection, it preserves both complete and fragmentary manuscripts. In the surviving fragmentary manuscripts only a slight trace of decoration (for instance, initials) may be observed.

Fragmentary manuscripts occur for a variety of reasons that often relate to writing materials. Parchment was regarded as the most expensive material, therefore, the manuscripts that had gone out of use (i.e. mainly liturgical and bibliological works that were no longer used in liturgy) or damaged manuscripts were not disposed of; rather, they were used either for new manuscript production (the writing was scraped to be reused for another text, thus producing a palimpsest) or as endpapers of other manuscript covers (later, paper has also been used as endpaper).

The study of fragments requires a complex and multidisciplinary examination. In order to determine to which manuscript a certain fragment belongs, first and foremost, an archeographic description as well as textological study of the fragment is necessary which includes the study and identification of the text of the manuscript fragment, and establishment of the plausible redaction; It is necessary to study every colophon (if any), perform codicological analysis of fragments by performing the following: identify the material, writing implements, and form; determine the presumed chronological framework; explore the features from the point of view of illumination and paleography, and provide a thorough description of the degree of damage the fragment has sustained. The multidisciplinary scholarly study of manuscript fragments generally represents one of the important subfields of codicology and a new stage of research. Manuscript research has seen the emergence of a new field, fragmentology which examines the origin, content, migration, material decoration, and presumed chronological framework of manuscript fragments, and their immediate relationship with manuscripts. Currently, our research covers only the structural analysis of fragments.

Among Georgian manuscripts (MSS), a great number of fragmentary MSS have been preserved that chronologically cover the 5th–18th centuries. Fragmentary manuscripts, preserved in the Georgian manuscript collection (A, S, H, Q funds) of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, amount to about 1300 units and among them up to 300 fragments are written on parchment. In 1978, a catalogue of fragmentary MSS was published by K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts which lists 295 units, including 39 units on parchment. The collection of fragments is constantly growing. Manuscript fragments, including those on parchment, have been frequently discovered while exploring manuscript covers or examining personal archives of individuals.

At this point, the goal of our study is to structurally examine six (6) individual units of bibliographical content on parchment (N Fr.194, Fr.224, Fr.231, Fr.217, Fr.221, Fr.294) listed in a catalogue of fragmentary manuscripts of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts. The chronological framework of the aforementioned manuscript fragments presumably covers the 11th–15th centuries. Therefore, the study of these fragments addresses a variety of writing materials, types of treatment as well as recensional peculiarities of texts. At this point, as noted above, the topic of research focuses merely on the structure of the above-mentioned fragments, while from the point of view of textology, three samples will be selected which will be discussed when exploring each of the fragments. For the purposes of comparison, the Four Gospels of Adishi, Jruchi I, Parkhali, and Tskarostavi have been employed.

The sequence of research on fragmentary manuscripts follows a chronological order. Among the identified six fragmentary manuscripts, three fragments are removed from covers of different manuscripts, while the other three have been obtained from the personal archive fund of public figures^[1]:

1. Fr.221, 1 folio XI c. from N. Berdzenishvili archive;
2. Fr.224, 1 folio, XI-XII cc. removed from the cover of A-1459;
3. Fr.194, 1 folio, XII c. removed from the cover of A-506;
4. Fr.231, 1 folio, [XII c.](#) removed from the cover of A-461;
5. Fr.217, 1 folio, XII c. from V. Dundua archive;
6. Fr.294, 1 folio, XV c. from R. Abramishvili archive.

The chronological framework of the above-mentioned fragments is ranging in date from the 11th to 15th century. The said fragments represent part of six distinct manuscripts, therefore, different writing materials and types of treatment are addressed in the course of the study of these fragments. The sizes, as well as calligraphic and paleographic data of the fragments vary. Primarily, when performing the structural research on manuscripts, their archeographic description is ensured, followed by a codicological and textological analysis. It should be noted

that the description of the above-mentioned manuscripts does not provide such comprehensive data. Often, only the material is indicated since there has never been performed a similar multi-complex study of these fragmentary units.

1.Fr-221

The said fragment has been preserved in the archive of Academician N. Berdzenishvili, which has been transferred to the Institute of Manuscripts along with his memorial items, at the request of N. Berdzenishvili's family. The fragment is comprised of one folio, dating from the 11th century (according to the handwriting). Given the manuscript structure and paleographic data, we may assume that it should have been commissioned by some nobleman.

The fragment structure is as follows: length – 17.5 cm, width – 12.9 cm. width of the text in the column – 3.8 cm. space between the lines – 0.5 mm. space between words – 0.4 mm. right margin – 2.5 cm. left margin – 1.5 cm. upper margin – 1.4 cm. lower margin – 2.5; 2.8 cm. Number of lines in the column – 21. The folio is damaged, deformed, torn and defective. The torn part is folded in the lower section of the Spine. Due to its severe deformation, the ink and the text have been damaged, therefore, the latter has become illegible. The verso is written on the hair side with the rulling performed so carefully that it is almost invisible. A distance of 1 cm is available (with initials inserted) between the vertical lines drawn in the center of the folio. There are almost four-line initials (size: 1.3-1.7 cm).

The parchment is a well-treated thin writing material. The recto and the verso represent hair and flesh sides, respectively. During microscopic examination, the trace as well as direction of hair could be observed in the form of small stains even on a well-treated parchment. It allows to determine the precise animal origin of a skin as a writing material. With the naked eye, such signs are not easily discernible on a well-treated parchment, as is the case with the parchment under discussion.

The fragment is written in brown ink, in two columns of calligraphic Nuskhuri characters. Initials are found at the beginning of chapters and verses are written in cinnabar ink. Letters are written in close sequence. The letter „ჟ“ (hoe), inserted within the letter *don*, is executed also in cinnabar ink. In addition, under the initials, the same small-sized letters are found, both written in cinnabar ink.

The fragment under consideration represents The Gospel of Matthew 15: 20-32^[2]. The textological and verse order of the fragment coincides with the redaction by Giorgi the Athonite, with the exception of one detail, namely: the verse 31 in the manuscripts of Giorgi the Athonite's redaction reads: *[so that the crowd was amazed when they saw the mute speaking, the maimed whole, the lame walking, and the blind seeing. And they praised the God of Israel]* (Mat 15:31), however, the same verse of the fragment opens with **არამედ [but]** („არამედ უკარდაცა...“ [*but... was amazed*]). In other manuscripts, namely, in the Adishi Four Gospels, the cited verse opens with „ვიდრე უკარდაცა...“ [*Than ... was amazed*], while the verse in H-1660 (Jruchi I Four Gospels, 52v), A-1453 (Parkhali Four Gospels, 36r), A-98 (Tskarostavi Four Gospels, 24r), the beginning of the verse reads: „ვითარმედ უკარდაცა...“ [*for ... was*

amazed]; the conjunctions „არამედ“ [*but*] and „ვიდრე“ [*than*] are used to suggest a contrast and comparison. The Greek text reads as follows: „31 ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσαι...“ which could be rendered as „*for this reason, therefore, (and) so; so that; for the purpose of, with a view to, in order that*“. Given this nuance, it is difficult to determine the exact recensional attribution of the text.

2. Fr-224

According to the catalogue compiled in 1978, this fragment had been removed from the cover of manuscript A-1459. One (1) folio of the fragment has survived.

An archeographic description of the fragment is as follows: width – 24.3 cm; length – 16.6 cm; written in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters in two columns; width of a column – 18 cm; space between lines is the same – 0.6 cm; number of lines per column is 25; executed in brown ink. The verso is written on the hair side. The text is clearly legible. The writing is not damaged. The folio is newly paginated, “45” in Arabic numerals, written in pencil is found in upper right corner. Pagination is executed in modern handwriting. Why this numeral has been inserted into the fragment is unclear.

The text is damaged on the flesh sides of the recto, since a limited amount of glue has been applied. The glue coating layer has been removed in the course of the treatment, crisp colour of ink in letters has been maintained and the text is legible.

The lower unwritten part of the folio is damaged, torn and defective. A colophon in Mkhedruli, found in an unwritten part, reads: „*a living soul, doomed Ga...*“ The part of the colophon along with the torn section of the fragment is missing. In terms of calligraphy, the colophon handwriting dates back to the 17th–18th century.

Every verse of the fragment starts with initials that are executed in the same ink as the text.

There are several three-line initials. The sizes of initials are as follows: length – 1.5 cm; width – 1 cm. The four diamond-shaped cuts applied for binding are found near the spine. Distance between the cuts in the middle is 7.5 cm, while from the page edges it is 3.5 cm; Space between the spine and the column is – 3 cm; distance between another column and the right edge is – 2.3 cm. The rulling that has been performed very carefully is almost invisible. In the middle of the folio, the (ruling) distance left for initials between the columns is 1.5 in the upper part, and 1 cm in the lower part.

On the right side of the column, straightness of the column along the initials is maintained, while on the left side of the column it is not.

The space between words is 0.3 mm, and whenever the colon (:) occurs between words, the distance is 0.5 cm.

The parchment is well treated and of medium thickness. From a paleographic point of view, the text is written in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters.

As for the textology of the fragment, in this respect, it appeared to be of particular interest to us. It represents chapter 8, verses 33-51 of the Gospel of John[3]. There is a missing part, namely: „44. *When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies. 45. But because I tell the truth, you do not believe me. 46. Which of you convicts me of sin?*“.

The above-mentioned fragment is cited in Swanson's scholarly edition of New Testament Greek Manuscripts: „8. ⁴⁴ ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν θέλετε ποιῆν ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἔστηκεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν αὐτῷ ὅταν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλεῖ ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. ⁴⁵ ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγω οὐ πιστεύετέ μοι.⁴⁶ τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἀμαρτίας εἰ ἀλήθειαν λέγω διὰ τί ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετέ μοι“.

As for the Georgian manuscripts, it has been compared to A-98 (Tskarostavi Four Gospels, 10th–11th cc., 188v), A-1453 (Parkhali Four Gospels, 973 CE, 206v-207r), H-1660 (Jruchi I 10th c. 255r), Adishi Four Gospels (2003 edition, p. 400). The pages in brackets refer to the aforementioned excerpt in all the above manuscripts. As for the rest of the text of the New Testament attested in the fragment, it follows Giorgi the Athonite's redaction unaltered. Given the fragment's structural examination, it could be inferred that it does not display traces of any major damage, namely, it has neither scrapes nor cuts that could be regarded as the reason for the loss of the text. It is perfectly legible. Given the foregoing, the recensional attribution of this text requires a wider textological study on the part of scholars in the field.

3. [Fr.194](#)

Fr.194 has been removed from the manuscript A-506. Its archeographic details include: width -12 cm; length – 16.16; space between the lines – 0.5 mm; size of letters: 0.1-0.2 mm. It is written as one whole text in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters in brown ink, and in small characters. Space between words is 0.2 mm. Whenever three dots is used between words, the distance is 0.3 mm.

The writing on the verso is undamaged and readily legible, with apparent cinnabar ink stains. The recto text is damaged and scraped since a large amount of glue has been used, and a glue coating layer has been removed. It is barely legible. Mechanical damage is visible on the fragment, it is torn in the middle.

The right side of the recto of the fragment is cut off near the text, there is no margin near the spine side; and the lower part is also cut off. As a result, the final letters and a line are also missing while on the verso the left margin and the lower part are cut off, therefore, initials in certain places and the lower part of the final rulling line are missing. The margin on the right side is 2.2 cm, while the upper margin is 18 cm. The rulling lines are visible near the spine. The number of fragment lines on both sides of the folio is 27. The initials written in the text are executed in the same ink as the text. The size of an initial is 0.3 cm.

As for the textological study of the fragment, it has been revealed that recto and verso had been incorrectly indicated in the catalogue of fragments. Besides, the description mentions that the fragment should have represented chapter 16, verse 10 of the Gospel of Luke[4]. In the course of the textological examination of the manuscript it emerged that the fragment starts with chapter 15, verse 30 and ends with chapter 16, verse 21 of the Gospel of Luke. However, the beginning of verse 30 is defective due to the damage, therefore, the text of the fragment starts from the middle part of verse 30.

4. **Fr.231**

The fragment has been removed from the cover of the manuscript A-461. Dates to the 12th century. Written in one column.

The text is executed in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters in brown ink. All four margins of the fragment are truncated, though the upper and lower ones are less trimmed leading to a slightly shortened text that continues from recto to verso. The trace of folding is visible. The text is written in one column, and the ruling lines are noticeable on the left side.

Initials on the verso are written in the ink applied throughout the text as well as in cinnabar ink. Initials on the recto are not legible. The fragment size: 10.2X6.5; length: 10.2; width: 6.5;

length and width of initials are 1 cm and 0.5 cm, respectively; space between the lines – 0.8 cm.

On the right margin of the preserved text straightness is maintained and the size of the text is 5.5 cm. Space between words varies: 0.5; 0.3; 0.4 mm. In certain places, three dots (\) are used between words, but in case if one dot (.) is inserted, the distance is 0.6 cm. The ink on the hair side of the verso is stronger, compared to the flesh side, though the latter is clearly legible. The 2nd and the 4th lines are almost effaced. The text is written in relatively smaller letters of 0.3 cm on the recto, at the trace of a fold mark as well as under it.

In terms of textology, language norms and verse divisions, the surviving text of the fragment follows Giorgi the Athonite's redaction of the Four Gospels, and represents chapter 5, verses 42-43, and chapter 6, verses 1-10[5] of the Gospel of Mark.

5. **Fr-217**

Fr-217 is from academic Varlam Dondua's extensive archive. It is not clear how the fragment of V. Dondua's archive has found its way into K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, given the fact that his personal archive, being preserved at the Institute of History and Ethnology, has not been studied yet. The fragment on parchment (Fr.217) contains one folio dated to the 12th century (according to its handwriting), written in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters in brown ink, in two columns.

The folio is damaged, defective, with upper and lower parts cut, and a visible fold mark; a tiny piece of thread is still preserved on the lower right margin. Presumably it shows traces of sewing while employing it as a fragment. The color of the folio has changed (margins have become darker in color).

Fragment length – 13.1 cm; width – 19.4 cm; the sizes of text columns differ due to the damage to the writing material: width of column 1 is 6.5 cm; width of column 2 is 6 cm; in the middle of the folio, the distance left for initials is 1.5 cm. The three-line initials are written in the ink applied throughout the text as well as in cinnabar ink. Space between letters – 0.01 mm; space between words – 0.03 mm; the size of an initial (written in cinnabar ink) – 1.1 cm; the size of an initial (written in ink applied in the text – 1.5 cm. The rulling lines are clearly visible. The verso is written on the hair side. The recto text is scraped since a glue has been used, and a glue coating layer has been removed, therefore it is barely legible. The text on the margins is completely defaced; only legible part is observed in the middle.

The parchment shows the traces of stains of damp. The upper and lower margins are unevenly cut and the number of lines in columns of the text differ, 22 and 21 verses per column.

The fragment represents the text of the Four Gospels of Giorgi the Athonite's redaction, namely, chapter 27, verses 56 and 66, and chapter 28, verses 1-2 of the Gospel of Matthew^[6]. The text is defective due to severe damage to the fragment. In terms of textology, and language norms as well as verse divisions, the surviving text of the aforementioned redaction of the Four Gospels follows Giorgi the Athonite's redaction.

6. Fr.-294

^[7]

The archeographic examination of the fragment revealed the following details: the text is written in one column in calligraphic Nuskhuri characters in brown ink and is readily legible. The fragment size is: width – 9.4, length – 14.2; space between words – 0.3 mm; space between letters – 0.1 mm; letters are of varying size: 0.2-0.3-0.4 mm.

The rulling has been performed very carefully and delicately, therefore, the parchment is not damaged (cut). As a rule, equal distance was observed in the rulling of manuscripts, however, this parameter has not been complied with in the fragment under consideration, and hence, space between the lines differs.

The fragment has been damaged: the color has changed (has become darker), all four margins of the fragment are truncated, therefore, the text is defective. Near the spine, several initials are written well-defined and in an especially dark color, executed in the same ink as the entire text. Every verse starts a separate paragraph. The number of Kathisma 15 is written in Nuskhuri characters using abbreviation (indicated by the titlo) in the lower part of recto. The examination of this fragment showed how important the textological component of the manuscripts is for structural analysis.

The study of the above-mentioned fragments has revealed their common features as well as differences. It should be mentioned that in order to indicate certain readings or chapters, different signs occur in the texts of all fragments: horizontally positioned three dots (QQQ), the zigzag marks (GGG); upper and lower sections of an initial contain such signs as ✖, ∴, ≡, ∴ which, in their turn, apart from marking the text, served as adornments. Some of the initial letters are extended downwards to the next line; one, two and three dots are applied as punctuation marks.

The explored materials have revealed that the examined six fragments represent parts of different manuscripts. The text of various chapters and verses of the Four Gospels are attested in five of those fragments (Fr-221, Fr-224, Fr.194, Fr.231, Fr-217), while the text from the Psalms is preserved by the sixth fragment (Fr.-294).

Thus, the multidisciplinary and structural-codicological study of fragmentary manuscripts provides important information on the fragments in terms of both their structure and textology. Based on the foregoing, it is possible to identify those manuscripts to which the fragments under consideration belonged at the time. There have been many cases at the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts where the examination of a certain fragmentary part has led to the discovery of the related full text, with the fragment ending up as an integral part of the relevant manuscript[8]. The fact that our research findings clarify certain data of the Catalogue of Fragmentary Manuscripts suggests that the study of the manuscript fragments is crucial. Namely, it has been revealed that the catalogue details pertaining to the title of the composition as well as the dating of Fr.294 have been inaccurate. In fact, it represents the fragment of the Psalms rather than the Four Gospels, and it must have been copied not later than the 13th century as opposed to the 15th century indicated in the Catalogue of Fragmentary Manuscripts. In the course of our research, every fragment has been specified by taking into account the demands of the contemporary codicology. Details such as the materials, ink, writing implements, sizes, pagination, and copyists, place of copying, commissioners, paleographic features, illumination, illuminators, and dating have been determined.

[1] Annotations of indicated fragments are cited unaltered from the Catalogue of Fragmentary Manuscripts of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

[2] 1r: 20. „These are what defile a person, but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile. 21. Jesus left that place and went away to the district of Tyre and Sidon. 22. Just then a Canaanite woman from that region came out and started shouting, “Have mercy on me, Lord, Son of David; my daughter is tormented by a demon.” 23. But he did not answer her at all. And his disciples came and urged him, saying, “Send her away, for she (Column 2) keeps shouting after us.” 24. He answered, “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.” 25. But she came and knelt before him, saying, “Lord, help me.” 26. He answered, “It is not fair to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs.” 27. She said, “Yes, Lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters’ table.”

1v: 28. Then Jesus answered her, "Woman, great is your faith! Let it be done for you as you wish." And her daughter was healed instantly. 29. After Jesus had left that place, he passed along the Sea of Galilee, and he went up the mountain, where he sat down. 30. Great crowds came to him, bringing with them the lame, the maimed, the blind, the mute, and many others. They put them at his feet, and he cured them, 31. so that the crowd was amazed when they saw the mute speaking, the maimed whole, the lame walking, and the blind seeing. And they praised the God of Israel. 32. Then Jesus called his disciples to him and said, "I have compassion for the crowd, because they have been with me now for three days and have nothing to eat; and I do not want to send them away hungry, for they might faint on the way." [3] 1 r: „33. They answered him, "We are descendants of Abraham and have never been slaves to anyone. What do you mean by saying, 'You will be made free'?" 34. Jesus answered them, "Very truly, I tell you, everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin. The slave does not have a permanent place in the household; the son has a place there forever. So if the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed. 37 -34. I know that you are descendants of Abraham; yet you look for an opportunity to kill me, because there is no place in you for my word. 38-35. I declare what I have seen in the Father's presence; as for you, you should do what you have heard from the Father." 39-36. They answered him, "Abraham is our father." Jesus said to them, "If you were Abraham's children, you would be doing what Abraham did, 40-37. but now you are trying to kill me, a man who has told you the truth that I heard from God. This is not what Abraham did. (41) You are indeed doing what your father does." 41-38. They said to him, "We a[re not] illegitimate children;

1v: we have one father, God himself." (42) Jesus said to them, "If God were your Father, you would love me, for I came from God and now I am here. 39. I did not come on my own, but he sent me. (43) Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot accept my word. 44-40 You are from your father the devil, and you choose to do your father's desires. He was a murderer from the beginning and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. (46) [But because] I tell the [truth], you do not believe me. (47) Whoever is from God hears the words of God. The reason you do not hear them is that you are not from God." 48-41 The Jews answered him, "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?" 49-42. Jesus answered, "I do not have a demon; but I honor my Father, and you dishonor me. (50) Yet I do not seek my own glory; there is one who seeks it and he is the judge. 51-43. Very truly, I tell you, whoever keeps my word [will never see death]."

[4] 1 r 30. [you killed the fatted calf for him. 31. "And he said to him, 'Son, you are always with me, and all that I have is yours. 32. It was right that we should make merry and be glad, for your brother was dead and is alive again, and was lost and is found.'" (Chapter 16) 1. He also said to His disciples: "There was a certain rich man who had a steward, and an accusation was brought to him that this man was wasting his goods. 2. So he called him and said to him, 'What is this I hear about you? Give an account of your stewardship, for you can no longer be steward.' 3. "Then the steward said within himself, 'What shall I do? For my master is taking the stewardship away from me. I cannot dig; I am ashamed to beg. 4. I have resolved what to do, that when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.' 5. "So he called every one of his master's debtors to him, and said to the first, 'How much do you owe my

master?' 6. And he said, 'A hundred measures of oil.' So he said to him, 'Take your bill, and sit down quickly and write fifty.' 7. Then he said to another, 'And how much do you owe?' So he said, 'A hundred measures of wheat.' And he said to him, 'Take your bill, and write eighty.' 8. So the master commended the unjust steward because he had dealt shrewdly. For the sons of this world are more shrewd in their generation than the sons of light. 9. "And I say to you, make friends for yourselves by unrighteous mammon, that when you fail, they may receive you into an everlasting

1(v)home. 10. He who is faithful in what is least is faithful also in much; and he who is unjust in what is least is unjust also in much. 11. Therefore if you have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? 12. And if you have not been faithful in what is another man's, who will give you what is your own? 13. "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will be loyal to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon." 14. Now the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, also heard all these things, and they derided Him. 15. And He said to them, "You are those who justify yourselves before men, but God knows your hearts. For what is highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God. 16. "The law and the prophets were until John. Since that time the kingdom of God has been preached, and everyone is pressing into it. 17. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fail. 18. "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery; and whoever marries her who is divorced from her husband commits adultery. 19. "There was a certain rich man who was clothed in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day. 20. But there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, full of sores, who was laid at his gate, 21. desiring to be fed with the crum...

1r.42. she was twe[lve years of age.] And [they] were overcome with great [amazement]. 43. But He comman[ded them strictly that no] one should know it, [and said that] something should be given her to eat. Chapter 6: 1. Then He went out from there and [came to His own coun]try, and [His disciples] follow[ed Him. 2. And] when the Sabbath had come, He beg[an] to teach [in the synagogue]. [And many] hearing Him were as[tonished, sa]ying, "Where did this Man get these things? And] what wisdom is this [which is given to Him, that such mighty works are performed by His hands!]

1 v 6. [And He marveled because of their unbelief. Then He went abo]ut the villages in a circuit, [teaching. 7. And He called the twel]ve to Himself, and began to s[end them] out two by two, and gav[e them power] over unclean spir[its]. 8. [He commanded them] to take [no]thing for the journ[ey except a sta]ff—no ba[g, no bread,] no copper in their money [belts— 9. but to wea]r sandals, and [not to put on two] tunics. [10. Also He said to them, "In whatever place you en]ter a house, stay the[re till you depart from that place.]

[5] 1r:42. she was twe[lve years of age.] And [they] were overcome with great [amazement]. 43. But He comman[ded them strictly that no] one should know it, [and said that] something should be given her to eat. Chapter 6: 1. Then He went out from there and [came to His own coun]try, and [His disciples] follow[ed Him. 2. And] when the Sabbath had come, He beg[an] to teach [in the synagogue]. [And many] hearing Him were as[tonished, sa]ying, "Where did this Man get these things? And] what wisdom is this [which is given to Him, that such mighty works are performed by His hands!]

1v: 6. [And He marveled because of their unbelief. Then He went abo]ut the villages in a circuit, [teaching. 7. And He called the twel]ve to Himself, and began to s[end them] out two by two, and gav[e them power] over unclean spir[its]. 8. [He commanded them] to take [no]thing for the journ[ey except a sta]ff—no ba[g, no bread,] no copper in their money [belts— 9. but to wea]r sandals, and [not to put on two] tunics. [10. Also He said to them, “In whatever place you en]ter a house, stay the[re till you depart from that place.]

[6]1r: 56. among whom were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee’s sons. 57. [Now when evening had come, there came a rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who himself had also become a disciple of Jesus.] 58. This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be given to him. 59. When Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, 60. and laid it in his new tomb which he had hewn out of the rock; and he rolled a large stone against the door of the tomb, and departed. 61. And Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, [sitting opposite the tomb. 62. On the next day, which followed the Day of Preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together to Pilate, 63. saying, “Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, ‘After three days I will rise.’] 64. Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, ‘He has risen from the dead.’ So the last deception will be worse than the first.” 65. Pilate said to them, “You have a guard; go your way, make it as secure as you know how.” 66. So they went and made the tomb secure, sealing the stone and setting the guard. (Chapter 28) 1. Now after the Sabbath, as the first day of the week began to dawn, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the tomb. 2. And behold, there was

1v: [a great] earthquake; [for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat on it. 3. His countenance was like lightning, and his clothing as white as snow]. 4. And the guards shook for fear of him, and became like dead men. 5. But the angel answered and said to the women, “Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. 6. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. 7. And go quickly and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and indeed He is going before you into Galilee; there you will see Him. Behold, I have told you.” 8. So they went out quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to bring [His] disciples word. 9. [And as they went to tell His disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, “Rejoice!” So they came and held Him by the feet and worshiped Him]. 10. Then Jesus said to them, “Do not be afraid. Go and tell My brethren to go to Galilee, and there they will see Me.” 11. Now while they were going, behold, some of the guard came into the city and reported to the chief priests all the things that had happened. 12. When they had assembled with the elders and consulted together, they gave a large sum of money to the soldiers, 13. saying, “Tell them, ‘His disciples came at night and stole Him away while we slept. 14. And if this comes to the governor’s ears, we will appease him and make you secure.” 15. So they took the money and did as they were instructed; and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.

[7] 39. 1 r: [He spread a cloud for a c]loverin[g, And fire to give lig]ht in the night. 40. The people[ask]ed, and He brought qua[il, And] satisfied th[em] with the [b]read of heaven. 41. [He opened] the rock, and water gushed out; It ran in the dry places like a riv[er. 42. For He

remem]bered His holy promise, And Abraham His servant. 43. [He br]ought out His people with joy, His chosen ones with gladness. 44. He gave them the lands of the Gentiles, And they inherited the labor of the nations 45. [That] they might [ob]serve His statutes [And] keep His laws. [1. Pra]jise the Lord! Oh, give thanks to the Lord, fo[r He i]s good! For His m[er]cy endur]es forever. [2. Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? Who can declare all His praise? 3. Blessed are those who keep justice, And he who does righteousness at all times! 4.]

1v: [R]emember me, O Lord, with the fa[vor] *You* have toward [Your people. Oh, vi]sit me with [Your] salvation, 5. Tha]t I may see the benefit of Your cho[sen ones, Th]at I may rejoice in the gladness of Your [nat]ion, [Th]at I may glory [with Your] inheritance. 6. We have sinned with our fathers, We have committed iniquit[y], We have done wicked[ly]. 7. Our fathers in Egypt did not [unders]tand Your wonders; They did not remember the multitude of Y[our] mercies, [B]ut rebelled by the sea—the Red [Sea]. 8. Nevertheless He saved them for [His] name’s sake, [That] He might make [His] mighty power known. 9. [He reb]uked the Red [Sea].

[8] A-345 The Epistles of Paul X c. was added to S-1138 as its part; A-999 The Book of King Baaman XIX c. 78 p. with old pagination 479-641, was added to A-860 as its part. There are dozens of similar examples.

The Gospel of Adishi 2003	The text was prepared for publication, researched and accompanied by a vocabulary by Elguja Giunshvili, Darejan Tvaltvdze, Manana Machkhaneli, Zurab Sarjveladze and Sophio Sarjveladze; Tbilisi.
Description... 1973	Description of Georgian Manuscripts (A), Tbilisi
Berdzenishvili N. 1981	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi.
Berdzenishvili N.	Personal Archive. Catalogue...
Danelia K. Sarjveladze Z. 1997	Georgian Palaeography, Tbilisi.
Takaishvili E. 2010	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi.
Kekelidze K. 1960	History of Georgian Literature, Tbilisi, vol. I
Kekelidze K. 1979	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi.
Kekelidze Archive...	Personal Archive
Abuladze I. 1973	The Explanatory dictionary of the Georgian language, Tbilisi.
Machavariani E. 2002	The Art of the Book in Ancient Georgia, Tbilisi.

Metreveli El. 2007	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi.
1986	The Explanatory dictionary of the Georgian language
Imnaishvili I. 1979	Last Two Editions of the Georgian Gospel.
Shanidze A. 1977	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi
Chumburidze Z. 1983	On the Trail of Georgian Manuscripts, Tbilisi.
Khakhanashvili Al.	Personal Archive Archive... Catalogue of Fragments Preserved at the National Centre of Manuscripts.
Javakhishvili Iv. 1949	Study of Georgian Handwriting or Palaeography, Tbilisi.
Javakhishvili Iv. 1976	Biobibliography, Metsniereba, Tbilisi. Archive...
Шмерлинг Р. 1976	Художественное оформление грузинской рукописной книг IX-XI вв., Тбилиси.
Giovannini A. 2010	Die Erhaltung von Buchern und Archivalien.
Reuben J. Swanson 1996	New Testament Greek Manuscripts. John s.119-120.
Reuben J. Swanson 1996	New Testament Greek Manuscripts. Matthew s.149

Self-discovery is the most essential human obligation. As early as the period of classical antiquity, young learners were warned that self-knowledge was the basic precondition for learning anything, to begin with. According to Socrates, self-awareness is a way for the soul to become better and discover its own divine spark which has been preserved in the philosophy of Plato: “*and someone who looked at that and grasped everything divine—God and understanding—would have the best grasp of himself as well*” [Plato, 2013:240]. The same is the most fundamental appeal of the Christian faith – “the new law of nature”. It can be achieved through repentance, understanding the universe, and introspection. The literary works by David Guramishvili comprise poetic specimens created through self-discovery. The poet has identified self-awareness as a main way of solving the mysteries of the universe. “*In Davitiani “Know thyself” is achieved by means of “Christian Socratism”* [Siradze, 1980:127]. From a religious perspective, self-discovery is a precondition for “becoming the son of God”. *Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect*” [Matthew 5:48], – proclaims the Lord. To become complete, the author, first of all, perceives his own personal, national or common human *self* through poetic means, therefore, he represents himself as a main character of the literary work. Professor R. Siradze indicates that unlike Freud’s ego ideal (“the infantile narcissism”), the poet’s lyrical self is more “conscious”; *It is “reflected through an entire foundational belief system, both personal and social”* [Siradze, 1980:127].

David Guramishvili, who reflects on human purpose, identifies four stages of self-awareness:

/ “A young man should pursue learning to perceive himself: / [to realize] who he is, where he has come from, where he exists, and where he is going to depart for?” [Guramishvili I, 2013:19] These are the four questions, along with the search for their answers, that enable a human being to observe himself. Life in this world is what leads a man to the soul’s eternal destination. A human being returns to his source, the God, therefore, striving towards the past. Saint Augustine notes in *The Confessions*: “*from where, and on what path, and to what place does it pass, as it is measured? From where, except from the future? By what path, except by the present? To what place, except into the past?*” [Saint Augustine, 2010:118]. According to him, time may be simply “*nothing but extension ...of the mind itself*” [Saint Augustine, 2010:123], the mind that gravitates towards the source. Passing the way that leads to the God as the source incorporates the ability to contemplate and be restored spiritually through divine love. This journey is defined within time and space encompassing four stages of human life in this world such as birth, growing up, aging and death.

Davitiani presents the ways of spiritual growth of the lyrical persona who follows the path leading to the Lord. Experienced to a large extent, the author dedicates his book to young readers, the youth who have embarked on a journey of self-discovery. Therefore, the language of narration is rather intelligible. The poet employs the principle of allegorical narration which represents a widespread literary form in the medieval literature. David Guramishvili perceives time from the Christian perspective. The elderly and eminent poet never forgets his path of life and by analyzing it tries to reflect on the ways that will allow him to draw closer to God. “*Davitiani does not reflect poet’s inner evolution from a chronological perspective, rather, it depicts an entire confession of a man who cultivated spiritual depth to a certain extent. It provides the analysis of the entire life-span of the individual*” [Grigolashvili, 1979:78]. Clearly, the lyrical persona is depicted as an experienced elderly man peacefully gazing at readers: */ “It made me fade away affected by blighting, and let me be full of years heirless”* / [Guramishvili, I, 2013:137]; */ “with distress, it made my days shorter and used up, not much was left, / anything pleasurable that I had drunk, turned bitter”* / [Guramishvili, I, 2013:138], – claims David Guramishvili with regret. In the song *Zubovka*, a beautiful woman rejects the love of the poet due to his age and appearance: “*I have a lover. I don’t want you. Yet you continue to stay. My husband’s handsomer than you and better in every way*” [Guramishvili, I, 2013:190]. The woman in love with a younger man rejects the elderly man enamored of her. The poem entitled “*Dispute, Counsel, and Resentment between Man and this Earthly World*” depicts a dialogue between this earthly world and a man. This is how the polemist argues with the man (who is the author’s lyrical persona): “*How comes it that the sixty-nine-year-old you refer to me as a transient and momentary world that has spanned over seven thousand two hundred and eighty-two years?*” [Guramishvili, II, 2013:25]. Hence, the age of author’s lyrical persona is sixty-nine. The testamentary poems, epitaph lyrics, testaments and other verses of similar content echo the outcry of the soul of the poet who is approaching death. Thus, the author of *Davitiani* is an elderly man with a certain degree of spiritual experience.

The poet shares his experience with generations to come, warning, advising and instructing them by referring to his own “mistakes”: “*now be careful*”; “*...unlike me, do not waste your time*”, “*...so that not to perish*” [Guramishvili, II, 2013:9]. From this perspective, David Guramishvili appears in the role of a teacher and didactician of his readers. The poet is recalling his past life with regret and educates the youth who, if follow the path of their ancestors, will create a better future, otherwise they are likely to face failures due to the lack of experience. “*Whatever youth find easy is a challenge for the elderly*” [Guramishvili, II, 2013:9]. An experienced one has the ability to differentiate between good and evil and hence he warns the young from error. His instruction which is didactic in tone stems from a venerable old age. “*Davitiani features the basis and motivation as a right to didacticism.*

This is the experience-based knowledge and distancing oneself from a range of problems to some extent [Karichashvili, 2009]. The poet who has lived much of his life addresses and shares his wisdom with future generations, trying to pave their way offering them his experience:

“educate yourselves, behave like balance masters / to prevent disruption and burns!” [Guramishvili, II, 2013:192].

Author’s didactic speech is also demonstrated in *A Cheerful Summer*. The words of the poem’s older character are reiterated by author’s lyrical persona who attends to the purity of a young couple, giving them his suggestions. In another part of the text, the poet straightforwardly declares that he is striving to distinguish between good and evil so that *“others act with great caution to avoid tears”* [Guramishvili, I, 2013:46]. Certain spiritual experience allows the author to share it with his descendants, *“paving the way to those concerned about striving towards self-discovery”* [Ghaghanidze, 2002]. In the 19th century, there were others who followed David Guramishvili’s path. Unbridled desire of the rider of Nikoloz Baratashvili’s Merani to go far beyond the bounds of fate serves as a way for generations to come to follow life’s thorny paths. The only comfort that encourages him in such a desperate struggle is that his spiritual descendants will more easily go through this beaten path (*Merani*). In essence, the poet’s desire resonates with the ideas of David Guramishvili. Vazha-Pshavela’s *Song* dedicated to young poets urges them to maintain resilience and spiritual strength. Through self-awareness, the poet’s lyrical persona gains an insight into his own sins and virtues, further expressing his ideas by sharing his experience. Primarily, the ability to understand the inner world of the predecessor author in a profound way allows his literary heirs to manifest themselves. It is noteworthy that reading the text of *Davitiani* requires readiness to embrace it. As a literary critic Gérard Genette noted, literature is like a mirror that reflects reader’s lineaments. According to him, the history of literature is, in fact, the *“history of methods of reading”* [Genette, 2010].

David Guramishvili, willing to acquire his spiritual descendants or those who will remember him, prefers addressing young readers, dedicating his *Davitiani* to them.

“Therefore, I did not hedge the tree of parables with thorns, the one I had planted in the field, / the youths will more easily climb into the tree to shake it. / To drink, I have given them hot sugared water not to be poured out. / I have entrusted this book to the youths, not to tear it up” [Guramishvili, I, 2013:4].

The *youth* first of all suggests young age. As Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani explains the term, a *baby* is a human being in the first five years of his or her life; a young person of fifteen to twenty years of age is called “*ცრმა*”, *youth*, while the age between twenty to thirty is known as „*ჭადუკობა*“ a period of *youth, adolescence*; a person of thirty to fifty years of age is called „*სრული კაცი*“, *being of full age*. The rest of the person’s later life is referred to as *old age, being decrepit*; period of *being fit (in old years) and that of hoariness, well advanced in years* [Orbeliani, I, 1991:360]. Thus, in one respect, the youth is the state of being of a certain age (fifteen to twenty), therefore, such young persons are likely to be chosen as readers by David Guramishvili.

From the Christian perspective, the *youth* has two connotations, referring to both young age and a certain state of being in terms of spirituality. It envisages both an adolescent and a person of genuine spirit. The youth has another meaning that refers to an honest, sincere person. Since *Davitiani* falls within the paradigm of the Bible, and specifically *the Psalter* [Siradze, 1992:159], poet’s *“lyrical thought is Psalm-like”* [Siradze, 1992:160], such understanding of the *youth* has its roots in the Scriptures. *“From the mouths of children and infants You have ordained praise”* [Ps. 8:2]. These were the words referenced by Jesus as he triumphantly entered Jerusalem through the road laid with branches of box-tree and palm tree [Matthew 21:16]. The youngest, the humblest of all welcomed the Savior on his way to the city; they took off and laid down their clothes in front of the Savior mounted on a donkey. As Jesus said, the kingdom of God belongs to such as these [little children]. According to the teachings of Peter the Apostle, those who become Christian should reject each of their evil intentions and delve into the *milk of the word*, like new-born babies. Basil of Caesarea in his commentary on Psalm 114 indicates that the youth and infancy refer to both young age and bringing oneself *“down to the humility of children”* [Basil of Caesarea, 2002:202].

Depicting Christ Child *“with a more mature face showing wisdom beyond His years”* [Parulava A, 2005:36] has been a widespread tradition in Georgian and Greek iconography, symbolizing the burden of his further ordeal manifested on the face of the Christ Child. Besides, the latter urged the believers to embrace the grace of God with a heart of a child. In Georgian hagiography, it is not uncommon to find many instances where *youth* denotes spiritual genuineness, while *old age* referring to the age-related state (and vice versa). Giorgi Merchule describes young Saint Grigol as distinguished by *“maturity of his mind”*. When mentioning George the Hagiorite, the hagiographer puts emphasis on the monk’s youth *“enriched by maturity of old age”* and *“adorned with sunset years”*.

The thought model of David Guramishvili (allegorical text) integrates in itself a twofold nature of ideas. First of all, possibly, the poet dedicates his poetry to the young (as mentioned above, old and experienced author enlightens his young readers by means of didactic lessons). At the same time, he is willing to win a reputation for himself for generations to come: *“I have prepared sweet new wine to the young to remember me”* [Guramishvili, I, 2013:4], – notes the author. Good readers will be his spiritual descendants who will create a better future for themselves carefully and delicately. The poet regards them as those who will remember him and pray for him:

“...if I fail to gather and dedicate violet and rose bouquets to the young, / After I die, who will remember me - living but forgotten by everyone?!” [Guramishvili, I, 2013:11].

For *Davitiani's* author, the integration of poetic word with the Word of God, *Logos*, and expression of gratitude toward Christ's self-sacrifice are of primary importance. He urges the readers to act the same way for which they will need to have hearts that are *rejuvenated* with divine love:

“The story of David has been recounted by me, David Guramishvili, / As a fruit of my work, I enlighten readers with the Word of God that brings comfort, like young sprouts; / Spring of life is a timeless spring of eternity, / You will shed tears for the one who suffered on the cross for immortality of our souls” [Guramishvili, I, 2013:4].

The author of *Davitiani* believes that poetry is supposed to “*articulate*” the Lord [Parulava, 2005]. Guramishvili as a Christian thinker continues: *“I would not dare to speak to those aged and experienced, I would rather address new youth”* [Guramishvili, I, 2013:21]. A “*new youth*” is a human being that belongs to the New Testament, whose heart has become pure through the divine light and whose soul has been renewed through righteousness. In the famous fiftieth Psalm, the Holy King David foretold the ideal of a “*new man*”: *“Create in me a clean heart, O God, And renew a steadfast spirit within me”* [Ps. 50:10]. Renewal means spiritual rejuvenation, the idea that is manifested by famous phrase from the Psalms: *“your youth is renewed like the eagle's”* [Ps. 102:5]. The ideal of a “*new man*” has been frequently reflected in Georgian literature: “*new Nino*” (*Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language*), “*new Paul*” – Abiatar (*The Conversion of Kartli*) and so on.

The archetype of a “*new man*” is Christ Himself. This is what is manifested in the famous lines of the hymn by King Demetrius I of Georgia, where the hymnographer refers to the Mother of God as a “*newly blossomed*” vineyard. *“New” and “Old” God is the same God, however, God the Father and God the Son specifically represent their old and new nature, respectively* [Tsereteli, 2005]. “*New*” as a symbolic image of Jesus Christ is also understood by David Guramishvili.

“before the old sunny day and night regenerated, / chaffy wheat had been thrown on a threshing floor /

a new day has cleansed [wheat] mixed with rye-grass and chaff, / since then the difference between gain and harm has become visible. / no one is capable of rebuilding the ruins, / until the old day replaces the new day; / the world became more beautiful / as dawn broke and a new day began, / offering a delight for our eyes and ears” [Guramishvili, II, 2013:10].

A young soul that is full of grace easily gains insight into divine truth, which exactly is a cornerstone of spiritual rejuvenation of a human being. Saint Augustine considered love, that is the highest divine power in a man, as the foremost sign of youth. Saint King David the Builder wrote that the one who had embraced divine grace was reborn in Christ, and that his “*new creation in God's image*” could happen through an exercise of divine power (“*the Hymns of Repentance*”). Christianity delivers a “*new man*” in a human being that is created in the image of God. Through Christianity, *“the human nature was apparently renewed and recreated in Christs”* [Parulava, 2002:55]. Similarly, David Guramishvili follows the Christian tradition when entrusting his collection to the young. Stories governed by divine wisdom and reflected in *Davitiani* are to be understood by readers through “*youthful understanding*” [Siradze, 1992:161].

The verse *Infant* by Nikoloz Baratashvili is inspired by similar vision of tender age. The author refers to the child as the one speaking a “*heavenly language*”. The poet thinks that the infant is innocent and sincere, therefore, infancy is a triumph of spiritual freedom. As the poet says, in infancy the time “*has joy in looking at*” a living soul (*Infant*).

Also, noteworthy is the verse *From the Story Told by the Moon* by Galaktion Tabidze which refers to Shota Rustaveli as a dreamer child: *“remembering Rustaveli as a child / He was dreaming in a golden boat”* [Tabidze, 1988:415]. From one point of view in scholarly literature, *“Rustaveli's dream is the dream of a new thought process that emerged in the Late Middle Ages, matured throughout the Renaissance period, and marked the beginning of a new era for the civilization of the human race”* [Khintibidze, 2004:121]. Notwithstanding the above-cited opinion, specifying the child's sincerity as a source of Rustaveli's superb literary craftsmanship might imply tenderness of the poet's soul.

Given the fact that *Davitiani's* author is primarily aiming at being self-aware, he also wishes to rejuvenate spiritually and contemplate the truth through youthful eyes. Meanwhile, the poet relentlessly strives for finding the meaning of existence while being well advanced in years.

Finding the truth is only attainable through rejuvenated consciousness. According to the ancient epic of Gilgamesh, the hero on his quest for immortality meets his ancestor and, becoming convinced of the fragility of men, warn out by his wandering, continues his search for “*a rejuvenating plant that grants eternal youth*”. Gilgamesh descended to the bottom of the sea, and “*found depth*” [Kiknadze, 2009] but a snake stole the plant. The hero saw the snake losing its skin and “*renewing its youth*” (as in Grigol Robakidze's *The Snake's Skin*, Archibald Mekeshi's feverish desire of returning to his motherland and, thus, renewing the past, has been symbolized by a gruesome scene depicting a snake renewing itself). The ancient epic manifests the process of spiritual perfection of the character and “*a gradual sublimation from physical to spiritual heroism*” [Kiknadze, 2009].

Grounds for a similar concept of self-discovery manifest themselves also in *The Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri. In the beginning part of the text, the poet writes: *Midway along the journey of our life I woke to find myself in a dark wood, for I had wandered off from the straight path*” [Dante, 2012: 5]. The “awakened” character begins thinking about the world and discussing a destiny of the man’s earthly life. The youthful gaze of the old poet is directed at the primal cause - the source so that to face death with the renewed youth”, a pure heart and sincerity of a child when facing the inevitable hour.

A similar point of view is featured also in Akaki Tsereteli’s literary works. According to him, how could “grey hair ruin” a heart full of divine wisdom and love? How old age can impair it? (*There Can Be no Shining without Burning*); in another verse, the poet who is rejoicing when men and God lovingly unite, he has a distinct feeling of soul renewal: /„...As being a young man, who has already lived his late life”/ (*Kebata Keba*). Maintaining childlike sincerity late in life symbolizes the willingness to accept the grace of God. These word of Akaki Tsereteli “*imply sincerity, innocence and purity of heart which is the only thing welcoming the God within a human being*” [Parulava, 2005:35].

Childhood is perceived as the most genuine and sincere time by Ivan Ilyich, the character in Leo Tolstoy’s novella (*The Death of Ivan Ilyich*). Childhood is the only light left in the soul of a dying man.

According to Arthur Schopenhauer (*Aphorisms on the Wisdom of Life*), the youth and old age are understood as the life narrative and its assessment, respectively: “*The first forty years of life give us the text: the next thirty supply the commentary which enables us rightly to understand the true meaning and connection of the text with its moral and its beauties.*” [Schopenhauer, 2010:298]. In his view, observing the past life will ultimately lead humans to self-discovery.

Goethe, a character of the novel *Lotte in Weimar* by Thomas Mann, has the same idea. The writer who is well advanced in years says in the above-mentioned novel: *But man can experience recurrence, he knows youth in age and the old as youth; it is given him to relive what he has lived, his is the heightened rejuvenescence that comes after the triumph over youthful fears, impotence, and lovelessness, the circle closes and shuts out death*” [Mann, 1986:254].

From this perspective, *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button*, the short story written by Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald is of utmost interest. With skillful mastery, it depicts the story of spiritual and physical rejuvenation. At the end, being born as an old man, he dies as an infant.

The same spirit is reflected in Gatsby’s selfless efforts to bring his past back, and pursue every possible way, both legal and illegal, in order to recover what has been lost. In the final part of the novel, the narrator indicates: “*So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past*” [Fitzgerald, 2015:176].

Tzinacan, the character in the story by Jorge Luis Borges excited by discovering a grain of God in himself, allows “the day to enter” his night, and feeling with all his heart the joy of becoming young in spirit (*The Writing of the God*).

Davitiani provides an example of transforming a real hero into a literary persona. According to the book, it is often difficult to distinguish between poetic imagination and reality. Moreover, fictional reality is what largely matters to its readers. The poet is recalling his past. For him, the reality matters as long as it has a symbolic meaning. To a certain extent, it stems from the fact that by recalling and bringing his past to life, David Guramishvili “*takes years off the fact itself and gets his own youth back as well. By revitalizing the world of memories, and bringing the past into the realm of his time, the poet moved beyond its limits*” [Ghaghanidze, 2002].

Thus, the text features David Guramishvili’s lyrical persona as a man well advanced in years who, on the one hand, shares his experience with and dedicates his book to the young and, on the other hand, wishes to have a youthful spirit throughout his life, since the renewal and rejuvenation of heart allows to get closer to God. From the Christian point of view, apart from young age, the *youth* encompasses sincerity and purity of heart. With theological traditions in mind, a well-tried path toward the spiritual rejuvenation implies the pursuit of the past in order to return to the source, the God.

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Tinatin Lekiasvili. Hyperbolization of The Knight in the Panther's Skin in the Context of Medieval Thought

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Precedents of miracles as works of God abound in the medieval religious literature. The characters of hagiographic monuments achieve higher levels of spirituality. God grants them the ability to perform miracles. The hagiography is based on the principle of representation of truth and, therefore, in those times God's miracles were perceived as real events (as is always the case when it comes to a true believer).

The Medieval religious literature provides a basis for the secular literature. The very issue has been thoroughly examined and fully substantiated by Korneli Kekelidze in his *History of Old Georgian Literature* (volume 2): *“here, from the earliest times when the religious literature has been predominant, and in the profound depths of these writings, the elements of the secular literature have been generated and the traditions thereto have been developed”* [Kekelidze, 1981: 8]. K. Kekelidze identifies four elements within the composition pattern of a hagiographic narrative and, by way of comparison, emphasizes / underlines a striking affinity between the secular literature (in particular, epic, chivalric romance) and hagiography:

a) being unique among the peers, a saint has a beautiful soul at a very young age. The same is true in the case of poems. For instance, Tariel speaks of himself, saying *“At age five, I looked like a rose in full bloom, a blossom to show. I could kill a lion as if it were weak, with a single blow”* [Kekelidze, 1981: 7].

b) as a saint grows, he or she develops into a true spiritual hero, overcoming the myriad of temptations, and working miracles, that manifest his spiritual strength. The scholar believes that the same is true for poems. Tariel says, *“I grew to be a lion, like the sun to look at, and was praised”*. *The heroes [of Amiran-Darejaniani] are real “superhumans”, and their “heroic deeds” are incredible exactly the same way as the miracles performed by saints* [Kekelidze, 1981: 7].

c) The worldly life of a saint unfolds itself into indefatigable efforts, dedication and service to God. The scholar compares it to the love, commitment to loved ones and chivalrous service on the part of the heroes of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* and those of *Amiran-Darejaniani* [Kekelidze, 1981: 7].

d) A saint either suffers a martyr-like death or dies a natural death at the end of the long and ascetic life but *“either way, she or he will let good be victorious over evil. The same goes for the poems: no matter how the heroes' journey ends, they accomplish their goal, finally saying, “Evil is defeated by Good. Good will forever be our aid.”* [Kekelidze, 1981: 7].

R. Siradze indicates that the secular literature has borrowed a lot from hagiographic literature [Siradze, 1982: 161], therefore, specific elements or motifs that are typical to hagiography regularly occur in secular writings. Miraculous behavior of saints which is expressed through hyperbolization represents one of such elements.

Even though a miracle that is characteristic to hagiographic monuments in terms of its form and content rarely occurs in secular works, still there is an underlying medieval way of perceiving the supernatural as a reality in the way an unfathomable heroic act, and a hyperbolic behavior, depicted in the secular literature, is interpreted by an author and, therefore, embraced by readers. In other words, an entire structure of the medieval thought is manifested in the secular literature, namely, a distinctive transformation of the miracle model which is characteristic to hagiographic literature, and which is generally demonstrated through hyperbolization of heroic acts performed by characters of the secular works.

From this perspective, the proposed article will be dealing with Rustaveli's *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*.

We would like to suggest that it is important to study and analyze any text specifically against the background of the period of its composition, since every literary work features the worldview and spiritual convictions of its times. Otherwise, we might not be able to perceive the truth and our conclusions might be irrelevant. In view of the above-discussed issue, here is a quote from M. Gigineishvili's book stating that "... readers of different epochs can read a literary work in a new way, depending on literary tastes and creative principles of their times, however, for the study of a literary monument^[1] composed in the Early Medieval period we should take into consideration the specificity of the Early Medieval literature, and the worldview of the Medieval era." [Gigineishvili, 2003: 675]. Thus, when discussing the hyperbolization of heroic acts performed by characters of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* the Late Medieval view of the world is to be taken into account.

Rustaveli is the poet of the Late Middle Ages. The moment *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* emerged within the Georgian Christian thought process marked the formation of the type of worldview that further led the humanity to the Renaissance era. Therefore, a proper understanding of Rustaveli's position as well as his perception of the world is possible within the mentality of the transitional period from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It has been referred to as a harmony between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance by E. Khintibidze [Khintibidze, 2009: 60, 659].

When describing the Middle Ages, Laura Grigolashvili suggests, "*the Medieval culture is permeated with the notion that God is the true Creator and the sole author, while others, being merely interpreters, comment upon the divine creation. They express their attitude towards the Supreme God by means of ready-made religious formulae; the literary thought is based on such religious-dogmatic phraseology, paradigmatic images and expressions... Therefore, this would rule out any conflict between the author and readers of the time in terms of the worldview and esthetic appreciation.*" [Grigolashvili, 2008: 129].

Certain events, depicted in the storyline of the poem, which create a distrust in today's world full of pragmatism and which are merely understood by readers or scholars as hyperbolization, are illusory and mythic. They are natural for readers of the Rustaveli era in much the same manner as the miracles rendered in hagiographic literature because they are based on the characters' deep faith towards God. Driven by such reasoning, the article will deal with several episodes of the poem where, from our point of view, superhuman behaviors occur.

As mentioned above, a typical hagiographic miracle hardly ever occurs in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*[2]. Hyperbolization has been first established by *Amiran-Darejaniani*[3], later followed by Rustaveli by continuing and taking it to another level of superb artistry in his poem. In the poem, the behavior of heroic characters is hyperbolized, thus allowing the author to depict their extraordinary heroism.

From this point of view, the episode describing the Avtandil's encounter with the pirates is significant. Apart from the depiction of the superhuman physical strength of the heroic knight, the above-mentioned episode demonstrates his deep faith and trust in God, which allows him to miraculously defeat the pirate warriors. When thanked and praised by joyful merchants, Avtandil responds, saying:

He said: "To God the Creator, who makes all, we thankfully kneel.

God's heavenly power on high decides whether to hurt or heal.

It's He who does everything: some He will hide and some He'll reveal.

One should accept what happens; a wise man never resists the real."

[Rustaveli, 1966: stanza 1050].

Also:

"God has deigned to spare your lives, so many of you with blood unshed.

What am I? Earth. By myself, what could I have done?"

[Rustaveli, 1966: stanza 1051].

Clearly, Avtandil does not ascribe the victory to himself since he is absolutely sure that without God's assistance and His marvelous support in hero's battle against pirates, mere physical strength would in no way help. The voice of the poem's author in the following excerpt makes it even more obvious:

"Oh man! Do not brag as though drunk, nor boast of the strength you have got!

Might is of no avail if the power of the Lord aids you not!

The greatest tree can be burned down by a tiny spark on the spot.

God is guarding us. It is from Him the final arrow is shot."

[Rustaveli, 1966: stanza 1046].

Even though Avtandil is a character of a secular poem, still he puts himself in God's hands and wins the victory over the pirates because of his faith which, in fact, is a superhuman act; at the same time, however, Rustaveli consistently portrays a battling hero who defeats countless warriors entirely unsupported. This is not the victory overwhelmingly built on physical force; rather, Avtandil decides to defeat the pirates with his wits, devising a sound plan against them"

[Chakunashvili, 2011: 51]. Interestingly, the episode involves a specific weapon which enables the poem's character to win miraculously – with his iron mace he breaks the beam (upon which is a spear) of the pirate ship. The very episode is characterized by hyperbolization, however, the medieval view of the world serves as a basis for such hyperbolization.

The part portraying Tariel's battle against the Khatavians is interesting.

Rustaveli depicts Tariel's unprecedented heroism in the war against Khataeti, and his unparalleled strength which he employs to beat the innumerable Khatavian warriors. *"In the course of his fight against the Khatavians, Tariel demonstrates miraculous heroism, cleaving the warriors in half and overthrowing the riders"* [Goltsev, 1944: 174]:

"I swooped like a falcon on partridges bunched in an open pen.

I threw man against man, piled up bodies in heaps, horses and men.

A man thrown down by me spins like a fly and won't get up again.

Thus did I entirely destroy their two front squadrons there and then.

[Rustaveli, 1966: stanza 450].

The above-mentioned excerpt, first of all, emphasizes Tariel's superhuman physical force and his unparalleled bravery. Tariel's behavior features miraculous signs. Besides, the text shows that the physical strength is not the only thing that Tariel relies on. Much like Avtandil, Tariel finds a smart way and develops a rational strategy well in advance, the one that he pursues in all his further actions. Both instances (Avtandil's battle against pirates and Khataeti war) are characterized by hyperbolization, however, in addition to that, human intelligence, ratio is embraced which is typical to the Renaissance way of thinking^[4]. Though, unlike Avtandil, Tariel does not ascribe his victory to God, it is still implied that it comes from God because, according to the mentality of the epoch, God is the creator of all things. God assists the knights in overcoming the obstacles; but at the same time, Rustaveli explains how certain superhuman acts unfolds, which strategies are employed by the hero that lead him to a miraculous victory on a battlefield.

Both episodes feature the integrated vision of Rustaveli, and the same structure and concept. Both cases are characterized by hyperbolization, however, this hyperbolized heroism is perceived by the Late Medieval readers as a real, undeniable fact.

The next episode of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* dealt with in the proposed article is the capture of the Kadjeti fortress by three hero-knights [Rustaveli, 1966: stanzas 1411-1426].

Let us recall that Tariel, Avtandil and Pridon, accompanied with three hundred soldiers, destroy massive forces of the Kadjis. This action undergoes hyperbolization insofar as we know the Kadjis are evildoers and skilled in sorcery. However, we believe that both this particular episode and the entire poem require in-depth consideration, taking into account the worldview of the epoch as well as the Areopagitic wisdom which, as a recurring leitmotif, binds the poem together. *Evil is defeated by Good. Good will forever be our aid.*" [Rustaveli, 1966: stanza

1361,4.]; “*God creates only good; He lets no evil in the world arise*” [Rustaveli, 1966: stanza 1491,2]. The author deeply believes that evil is short-lived since it is non-existent, and not the God’s creation, therefore, the defeat of a seemingly unbeatable army of the Kadjis by engaging three hundred men becomes absolutely possible because these three self-sacrificing hero-knights full of bravery, good will, love and trust in God’s protection put up resistance to the Kadjis.

At the same time, the episode clearly displays the Renaissance ideals: by employing the armor taken from the cave of the Devis that is particularly effective against the Kadjis, and using a sound and specifically devised plan, the hero-knights destroy their enemies. Their counsel is a direct representation of the Renaissance worldview. “*Evil must be defeated which requires action. The reasoning power, logic, estimation and identification represent the only way towards accomplishing this philosophical idea of action. That is why the heroes try to determine a wiser plan in order to find way into the Kadjeti fortress*”

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Irina Javakhadze. Plot-Compositional Interrelations in Translated Hagiography of the Genre of Lives

Hagiographic literature is one of the most important fields of religious literature. The hagiographic works of the genres of *Martyrdom* and *Lives*, both from Eastern and Western Christian literature, have been translated into Georgian. Active engagement of the Georgians into the processes of global Christian literature led to the presence of a wealth of material.

Both in Georgia and abroad, cultural-educational centers were cultivated that involved extensive processes of translation. Let us recall the theological and literary schools of Tao-Klarjeti, Mount Athos, and the Black Mountain [Khintibidze, 1969:103-107]. Great emphasis was placed on translation of works since it allowed to identify sociocultural needs of local mentality, and made it possible to determine intellectual, moral, aesthetic and creative abilities of certain peoples in a particular period of time. The cultural world of different nations has manifested itself through translated literary monuments [Kekelidze, 1957:5]. Contemporary philology and literary studies assign a special position to the study and research of literatures of different countries through a historical-comparative method [Лихачев, 1963: 61], which in itself allows for the identification of similarities and differences in terms of structure, plot and composition between literatures. In his article *The Georgian-Byzantine Literary Parallels*, K. Kekelidze discusses certain schemes and patterns developed by the Byzantine literature as far back as in the premetaphrastic period, which later have become essential for the literatures of every nation connected to the Byzantine cultural world [Kekelidze, 1945:99].

The proposed research aims to explore the translated hagiographic works of the genre of *Lives* through the prism of the plot and composition and, particularly, to compare them, identify their features and similarities as well as differences, and divide them into groups according to certain schemes. The article examines the Lives of St. Antony the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ephrem the Syrian and St. Sabbas the Sanctified. Based on the study of the works, the following features have been identified:

1. In terms of the plot, the hagiographic works are characterized by a rather legitimate practice of indicating the date of composition, the date of death of a saint, and the description of the period on the part of the author.

The period of his life and the time of his death are indicated in *the Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*: “His death occurred on 5 December of the tenth indiction, in the year 6024 since the creation of the world, when time began to be measured by the course of the sun... The chronology of his life in the flesh is as follows. He came to Palestine at the age of eighteen and lived seventeen years in the cenobium and passed fifty-nine years in the desert and at the Great Laura. He died in the ninety-fourth year of his life, in the second year after the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:115].

The date of death of St. Ephrem the Syrian is similarly specified. Ephrem “*commended his innocent soul to the angels in February, on the first day of the month*” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:232].

As for the identification of the author, *the Life of St. Antony the Great* reveals that the work had been written by Athanasius of Alexandria.

2. In translated hagiographic works, the hagiographer tries to explain with inherent humility his desire to depict the Saint’s life, asking for forgiveness from readers and for help of God in such an important matter.

In *the Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*, the hagiographer addresses readers with the following words: “*Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has prompted your virtuous perfection to instruct my nothingness to record and send to you the lives pleasing to God of our holy fathers and precursors Euthymius and Sabas, and who through their intercession has in his ineffable mercy instilled into me in my misery a drop of eloquence to open my mouth to fulfill such profitable instructions*” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:56].

And in *the Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian*, the author states: “*I shall start with the help of God and by the power of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and through the help of the Holy Mother of God and through the intervention of the Holy Spirit, since there is the beginning and end of words that are otherwise ineffective*” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:211].

As for the hagiographer of *the Life of St. Antony the Great*, he respectfully notes: “*you have also asked me for an account of the life of the blessed Antony: you would like to learn how he came to practice asceticism, what he was previous to this, what his death was like...*

You have in mind to model your lives after his life of zeal. I am very happy to accede to our request, for I, too, derive real profit and help from the mere recollection of Antony” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:9].

3. Since a hagiographer preaches the truth, he wishes to refer to a trustworthy source that he relies on while describing a *Life* of any given saint. Such accounts are usually offered by reverends who had been close to Holy Fathers.

In *The Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*, the hagiographer mentions that “*And these few facts I assembled with difficulty, hastening hither and thither and gathering and collecting them, as if rescuing them out of some abyss of distant time and oblivion, lest the edifying stories about him become extinct with time. But now the fitting moment calls me to bring to fulfillment the remainder of your instructions and to record a few facts about our celebrated father Sabas, which with thought and labor I gathered from truthful and pious men who were his disciples and fellow-combatants*” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:56].

The author of *the Life of St. John Chrysostom* indicates as follows: “*I had not witnessed any of these, rather, I compiled and combined those described by them. And most of the narrated events I have learnt from the book of Palladius the bishop who had written to Theodore the deacon of the Roman church. Some I have learned from Socrates and others as well. And after*

I read everything, it seemed good to me to collect and combine such virtues” [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:2]. The hagiographer of the Life of St. Antony the Great educates the readers, saying “I myself know – for I have seen him often – and whatever I was able to learn from him who was his companion over a long period and poured water on his hands. Throughout I have been scrupulously considerate of the truth: I wanted no one to refuse credence because what he heard was too much” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:9-10].

4. Translated hagiographic works of the genre of *Lives* feature a rather widespread pattern demonstrating a saint as a clearly distinct personality among his or her peers due to certain specificities, referring to a charismatic nature of the saint. And those characteristic features manifest themselves in works in the following ways:

- a) a national or social origin of saints is an essential component to specify. Some of them belong to aristocracy, while others come from relatively lower strata;
- b) the description of the appearance of saints holds an important place in works;
- c) they are distinguished due to their exceptional attitude towards learning as well as their deep religious commitment, fear of God and their ability to overcome temptations;
- d) either before or after the saint’s birth, being distinguished and blessed by God, once again, is an explicit reference to their exceptionality.

5. Holy Fathers have a desire to seclude themselves from the world. They often reject earthly honor and glory, and distribute their entire wealth among the poor, striving to maintain isolation.

For example, following the death of his parents, St. Antony the Great, like the Apostles, *“gave to the townspeople the property he had from his forebears – three hundred arurae, very fertile and beautiful to see... He sold all the rest, the chattels they had, and gave the tidy sum he received to the poor, keeping back only a little for his sister” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:10].*

Then, having seen an old man who had lived the ascetic life, St. Antony the Great, *“was zealous for that which is good; and he promptly began to stay in the vicinity of the town. Then, if he heard of a zealous soul anywhere, like a wise bee he left to search him out, nor did he return home before he had seen him; and only when he had received from him, as it were, provisions for his journey to virtue, did he go back” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:11].*

And St. Sabbas the Sanctified, *despising all the things of this life without exception, offered himself to the monastery...” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:57].*

6. Despite saints’ desire to self-isolate, they are often followed by their spiritual brothers on their journey, and in some cases, they even stay in Saints’ cloisters. For example, when St. Sabbas the Sanctified stayed *“In this desert of Roubâ there came to him, and stayed with him, a monk worthy of mention called Anthus” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:63].*

And when St. Ephrem the Syrian left for *“the wilderness to look for those secluded Holy Fathers who dwelt there, he found a deserted cell as well as a cave. And he entered there, and the translation, and stayed there for many days” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:22].*

7. The life of Holy Fathers represents the continuous spiritual labor that manifests itself in the suppression of worldly temptations, and their ceaseless prayer and fasting. Their entire dedication confirms their love of God.

The following words are employed to describe the spiritual endeavours of St. John Chrysostom: since his actions were exemplary for others, St. John Chrysostom, like Paul the Apostle, preached without charge; *“he would not accept anything but a daily bread... and did not love dining with others. And even if anyone invited him, he would not go. first of all, because of the reason as he did not drink wine at all. While in the summer, due to summer heat, he would have a little rose drink; and second, due to his stomach pain because of the illness... and third, he would be fasting for most of his days, until the nightfall, absolutely forgetting to eat because of his responsibility toward the church, and fourth, due to continuous practice of reading and perceiving religious books”* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:48-49].

St. Sabbas the Sanctified *“gave himself over entirely to God. ... and stripped himself for combat, spending the day in physical labor and passing the night without sleep in giving praise to God, making humility and obedience [the root and foundation of his life]”* [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:60].

After becoming a monk, St. Ephrem the Syrian, *“until the end of his days ate nothing but barley bread, some broad beans and edible greens, and drank water. Because of intensive fasting and hard work, his skin was withered over his bones, and his clothes were old, badly worn and humble”* [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:221-222].

It is noteworthy that in *the Lives of Saints*, the Fathers, similar to the martyrs, proclaim their willingness to pursue martyrdom. A clear evidence to that is what St. Antony the Great declares in the reign of the emperor Maximinus and the persecution of Christians: *“Let us also go to take part in the contest if we are called, or to look on the contestants.” Now, he had a yearning to suffer martyrdom... to give himself up”* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:32].

8. Holy Fathers reject any of the ways to advance their careers and prefer to remain in solitude, since they do not accept worldly honor and glory. For example, in *the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, the bishop decided to ordain him a priest, *“so that to found the church in Athens afterwards... as soon as John learnt about it, he secretly fled and arrived in his city of Antioch”* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:14].

Similarly, St. Sabbas the Sanctified refused to be given a higher rank, as he considered it to be the root of all evil desires.

But sometimes, after multiple requests, Holy Fathers finally agree to proceed to a higher position within a hierarchical structure. Such a case occurs in *the Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian*: when St. Basil the Great asked Ephrem about the reason why he had refused to be an ordained priest, Ephrem answered: *“because I am a sinner, Father. ... and St. Basil the Great laid his hand on Ephrem’s head and ordained him a deacon... and St. Basil wished to appoint him a priest, but Ephrem refused and said, ‘I do not deserve to be the one truly worthy of God”* [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:224].

9. Since the holy Fathers are chosen by God, they are assigned a certain spiritual mission even in their early years. While setting an example for society, thanks to their spiritual endeavours, they are to strive for the spread and strengthening of Christian faith.

As for St. Antony the Great, “... *the Lord was guarding him for our own good and for the good of others, that to many he might be a teacher of the ascetic life which he himself had learned from the Scriptures. In fact, many from merely seeing his conduct were zealous followers of his way of life*” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:32].

We shall recall another example that depicts an important episode from *the Life of St. John Chrysostom*. The Disciples Peter and John appear to the Saint, addressing him with the following words: “*Do not hide the Grace of God, given to you and, through your words, illuminate and strengthen all those created by Him... Do not fear, as Lord Jesus Christ is pleased with the way you enlighten many souls, bringing true knowledge to them... you will experience numerous hardships and calamities because of your innocent soul; instead, do grant mercy as a true believer*” [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:18-19]. And rightly so, numerous Antiochians have followed Christ because of their love for the Saint.

10. The works of the genre of *Lives* are characterized by the saints acting under the guidance of God or the Holy Spirit. St. Sabbas the Sanctified “*descended the hill... by God’s guidance*” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:64].

When St. Ephrem the Syrian was discovered among the followers of Christian faith, his father commanded his expulsion from home. “*The Grace of God that was upon him protected and guided him towards the church*” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:212].

11. There is a widespread pattern across hagiographic works, depicting saints acting as instructors of young men. For example, after being expelled from home, the young St. Ephrem the Syrian “*came to Holy Father Jacob, the Bishop of Nisibis... He was overjoyed and received him with love, letting him dwell among the listeners of the book*” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:212]. “*The patrician Juliana, the grand-daughter of the emperor Valentinian, and Anastasia, the daughter of the patrician*” also drank in the teachings of St. Sabbas the Sanctified [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:92].

12. Holy Fathers, despite being self-isolated in the desert and caves, still attract and gather spiritually like-minded men, a brotherhood, which gradually expands.

According to *the Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*, Sabbas “*began to receive all those who came to him. Many of the scattered anchorites and ‘grazers’ came to join him... By divine grace his community grew to seventy persons*” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:64-65].

Similarly, St. Ephrem the Syrian succeeded in attracting a large congregation of spiritual followers, who “*have been given the grace of the teachings of St. Ephrem... and he had various other apprentices as well*” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:22].

And St. Antony the Great *“induced many to take up the monastic life. And so now monasteries also sprang up in the mountains and the desert was populated with monks”* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:18].

It is also noteworthy that Holy Fathers are focused on the construction of churches and monasteries, however, the churches are not as many as we encounter in the Georgian hagiography. Fathers are rather busy with the construction of cells, which is probably typical to the specificities of the historical period, since living as the so-called isolated anchorites was a prevalent feature of the time. St. Sabbas the Sanctified took *“some of the fathers to Castellium, and began to clear the place and to build cells from the material he found there. In clearing the place, they found underneath the debris a large, vaulted, inhabitable room... after digging it out and setting it in order, he made it into a church, and from then on, he aimed at making the place a cenobium, which indeed has taken place”* [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:71-72].

Holy Fathers develop certain rules for their churches and monasteries. Such rules were set by St. Sabbas the Sanctified soon after his monastery was built.

13. Spiritual brothers have obedience towards the saint, their spiritual leader. They fulfil the leader’s commands with forbearance. Here is an episode as an example from *the Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*: when feeling offended by his spiritual brothers, renegades and misbelievers, St. Sabbas visited the Archbishop of Jerusalem, Elias. The Archbishop was joyful, urging him to *“return to his own laura. When Sabas asked to be excused and utterly declined, the archbishop became annoyed and said, ‘Believe this: if you do not heed my bidding and advice, you will never again see my face. I cannot bear to see the fruit of your labors directed by others.’ When the archbishop had said this, our father Sabas consented to yield to his command”* [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:78].

Before his exile, St. John Chrysostom as well calls upon his spiritual children to obey the new bishop: *“I am urging you to be selfless and follow the rules of your church, and whoever is appointed by laying on of hands, under the overall agreement, do bow your head to him like John, as it is improper to abandon the bishop of the church”* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:115].

Hagiographic works have a specific feature, namely, when meeting each other, before being provided nourishment, the Holy Fathers converse on spiritual themes, read religious books, pray and, afterwards, eat their food.

14. Humility is one of the remarkable virtues of saints. They constantly claim to be weak, powerless and worthless before God. Holy Fathers never take advantage of being chosen by God, rather they continually practice self-blaming and self-shaming.

St. John Chrysostom *“greatly appreciated ... humbleness, being blessed quietly and simply. And he was admired by everyone, both ordinary men and scholars, due to his humble nature”* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:7].

Likewise, the hagiographer depicts a similar degree of humility of St. Antony the Great, who *“was, moreover, forbearing by disposition and humble of soul. Renowned man that he was, he yet showed the profoundest respect for the Church’s ministry and he wanted every cleric to be*

honored above himself" [St. Antony the Great, 1975:41].

St. Sabbas the Sanctified and St. Ephrem the Syrian are also distinguished due to their humility.

15. It is very common for saints to hide their whereabouts as well as pursuits in hagiographic works. However, God loves His children and wants to shed light on their endeavours.

In the Life of St. Antony the Great, "our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ glorifies those who glorify Him; and that He not only leads to the Kingdom of Heaven those who serve Him to the end, but even here He makes them, though they hide themselves and strive to live away from the world, known and spoken of everywhere because of their own goodness and because of the help they give to others" [St. Antony the Great, 1975:53].

In the Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian, after the people of Urha became overwhelmed with love and kindness towards Ephrem, he decided to leave his dwelling place. While descending into the gorge, an angel appeared to him, asking him, where he was hurrying down. Ephrem replied: "I am fleeing away from turmoil of life. The angel said: watch out that what was written does not happen to you, as 'Ephrem was fleeing from me like a calf'... he answered, crying: Lord, I am powerless, and do not deserve this. Then the angel answered and said: men are not supposed to light up a candle and hide it under a vessel, but rather put it upon a lampstand so that every man can see its light" [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:219].

Similarly, the Saint's dedication to work is acknowledged by God in Biblical words in *the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, as specified in the following quote: John *"has become radiant with kindness, since it is impossible to hide a city built upon the mountain, or obscure a bright shining of a candle by the vessel"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:128].

16. Hagiographic works describe the way the Holy Fathers become famous beyond their realm, and afterwards public figures, including statesmen and clergy, seek to be close to them and ask for their blessings.

As for St. John Chrysostom, *"his fame spread everywhere around the world, and those from faraway lands who had been instructed about him arrived to listen to his words"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:20]. Also, *"came the king and his principals as well as those accompanying him and his military commanders followed, in order to be blessed by John"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:42].

As for St. Antony the Great, both Christians and pagans would come to meet him. There are occasions where Holy Fathers themselves visit their spiritual children and brothers. For example, St. Antony the Great, *"As he came to the outer cells, all gave him a hearty welcome, regarding him as a father. And he, for his part, as though bringing them provisions from his mountain, entertained them with his stories and gave them of his practical experience"* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:35].

Following God's order, St. Sabbas the Sanctified himself left in order to meet Archbishop Elias who had been in exile.

17. In translated Haghyographic works, special attention is paid to the description of the relationship between clergy and laity. The depicted episodes demonstrate that the authorities meet the clergy with respect and regard.

When the king was told about the arrival of St. Sabbas the Sanctified, He, *“overjoyed, sent the imperial galleys to meet him... [The emperor] running up, he greeted him with reverence, kissing his godly head with tears of joy”* [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:109].

When exploring the relationship between laity and clergy in *the Life of St. Antony the Great*, there is an excerpt that reminds us of the episode described in *The life of St. Gregory of Khandzta*, namely, the one where King Bagrat meets Saba Ishkhneli.

Here is a quote from *the Life of St. Antony the Great*: when the fame of Antony reached to emperor and his sons, *“they wrote to him as to a father and begged him to write back. He, however, did not make much of the documents nor did he rejoice over the letters; but he was the same as he was before the emperor wrote to him. When the documents were brought to him, he called the monks and said: ‘You must not be surprised if an emperor writes to us, for he is a man; but you should rather be surprised that God has written the law for mankind and has spoken to us through His own Son.’ Indeed, he did not like to accept the letters”* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:47], but after Antony found out that the emperor was Christian, he wrote back, commending them and giving them advice *“not to think highly of the things of this world, but rather to bear in mind the judgment to come; and to know that Christ alone is the true and eternal King”* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:47].

The state authorities provide clergy with financial and material support during the construction of churches, hospitals and shelters for the poor, while asking for the blessing of the Holy Fathers in return.

Here is a quote illustrating the episode from *The Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified*, specifying a dialogue between Sabbas and the king: *“The emperor summoned the sanctified Sabas and said to him, ‘I have heard, father, that you have founded many monasteries in the desert. For whichever of them you wish, ask for a revenue for the needs of the inmates and we shall provide it, so that they may pray for the state entrusted to our care...’*

All these requests of our father Sabas were fulfilled without delay by our most pious king” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:110-111].

While *the Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian* includes the episode where Ephrem urged the rich to donate their wealth in the time of famine in Mesopotamia, which was successfully accomplished. Further, Ephrem built shelters for the poor and for those diseased.

During the construction of churches, the Holy Fathers are materially supported by other spiritual fathers. For example, in the course of the church construction, when Sabbas and his spiritual brothers lacked food, the angel of God appeared to the community head Marcian asking for help for Sabbas and his spiritual brothers, which Marcian fulfilled.

18. Saints frequently relocate, and often cry when parting with their disciples and spiritual brothers. Shedding tears over saying final goodbyes to each other is also typical to the moments prior to the death of the Saint.

When according to God's will, St. John Chrysostom had to be ordained as a priest by bishop Flavian and had to leave for Antioch, the heartbroken congregation "*cried and their tears poured forth to the ground, saying: "Woe to us! As we will be distressed. Who will heal the wounds of our soul and who will teach us about our deliverance, and who will guide our souls to the life of truth, since we have become deprived of great kindness and are now orphaned, without our father"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:30]. With similar heartbreak, his spiritual brothers and disciples say farewell to Holy Father, before his banishment from Antioch, and not long before his death.

[Also, when St. Antony the Great "spoke to the brethren" that it was time for him to die", hearing this they wept, embracing and kissing" him.](#)

19. before the death of Holy Fathers, their spiritual brothers and children gather around them, who are blessed by the Saint, urging them to grow stronger in faith.

After St. Antony the Great fell sick, before he died, he called those two men who were with him, saying: "*I am going the way of my fathers, as Scripture says, for I see myself called by the Lord. And you—be on your guard and do not bring to naught the asceticism you have practiced for so long... rather, let Christ be your life's breath, and place your confidence in Him*" [St. Antony the Great, 1975:51-52].

20. In translated Hagiographic works of the genre of *Lives*, the passing away of the Saints, the ritual of their burial and grieving is described almost always in an identical manner. The process that describes coming of the host of angels to guide the Holy Father to the kingdom of God, is accompanied by receiving of the Eucharist by saints who, being spiritually calm and purified, further implore God for help. In addition, following the burial of saints and paying them a great honor, the believers take with them the parts of their clothes as eulogia and relics.

When St. Ephrem the Syrian "*was informed of the day of his death, he ordered and received the Holy Eucharist of Christ. And after the Eucharist, with hands uplifted, he said: My Lord, Jesus Christ, into Your hands I commit my spirit. As he uttered these words, he committed his pure soul into the hands of the company of angels...*

Then every soul in the city and the poor gathered and they buried him with honour and glory, and all of them were sorrowful because of his death. And everyone who could reach him, would take part of his clothes as a certain eulogy" [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:232].

St. Sabbas the Sanctified "*once lying in his tower... after continuing for four days without taking any food or conversing with anyone, late on Saturday at the dawning of the next day he requested and received communion. Then, after saying finally, 'Lord, into thy hands I shall commit my spirit,' he gave up his soul...*

The news of his death circulated through all the surrounding region and brought together an immense crowd of monks and lay people. The most holy archbishop Peter also arrived with the available bishops and the leading men of the holy city. And so his precious remains were laid to rest in the Great Laura between the two Churches, in the spot where he had seen the pillar of fire” [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:115].

Before his death, after St. Antony the Great had a parting request to distribute and give his clothes, like eulogia, to Bishops, he *“having been kissed by them [his followers], he drew up his feet; and with a look as though friends had come to him” he saw angels... “his face had a cheerful look—he passed away and was gathered to his fathers. Then they, following the orders he had given them, prepared and wrapped up the body and buried it there in the earth” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:52].*

As for St. John Chrysostom, he died in exile. As death approached him, John, clothed in pure vestments, entered the church; he received the Eucharist, prayed and, finally, offered up his soul to the Lord. Despite passing away in exile, a large crowd of clergy gathered from different regions to attend his burial ceremony.

21. As witnessed in translated hagiographic works, some of the Holy Fathers are buried in places where they had worked all their lives, while others – in other churches, due to dying in exile, and some of them are buried in absolutely unknown locations, according to their will.

„And so his precious remains were laid to rest in the Great Laura between the three churches, in the spot where he had seen the pillar of fire“ [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:115].

According to *the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, the body of the Saint who died in exile was buried *“in the grave in the above-mentioned church of the Martyr Basilisk” [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:131].*

As regards St. Ephrem the Syrian, according to his burial wishes, he was *“buried ... in an unfamiliar grave, as he had been informed in advance” [St. Ephrem the Syrian, 1975:232].* However, after a while, he was reburied to the burial place of bishops.

As for St. Antony the Great, two of his disciples *“following the orders he had given them, prepared and wrapped up the body and buried it there in the earth. And to this day no one knows where he is buried, save those two only” [St. Antony the Great, 1975:52].*

22. Hagiographic works are characterized by glorifying and praising of the deeds of Holy Fathers.

The author of *the Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified* indicates that *„Resplendent were the divine charisms of our inspired father Sabas. His manner of life was glorious, his conduct virtuous, and his faith orthodox. This has already been shown in part by what has been said, but it will be shown more perfectly by what is still to be told, if the Word of God guides my words. This sanctified Sabas, already revealed at Castellium as victor against the spirits of evil, raised a further abode of piety, with the help of the Holy Spirit within him, in his eagerness to make the desert into a city“ [St. Sabbas the Sanctified, 1975:80-81].*

The Hagiographer of *the Life of St. John Chrysostom* glorifies the Saint's dedication to work the following way:

"There was no one like him and perfect, and kept pace with others; even though his teaching and books as well as his responses were despised, he endured with a strong soul" [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:51].

23. Hagiographers who compare Saints with Biblical figures, i.e. Jesus Christ, Apostles, other Biblical characters and famous Holy Fathers, provide for a widespread pattern in hagiographic works. The authors identify Biblical parallels to Saints' appearances, traits and actions. Moreover, frequent instances of hagiographers quoting the Biblical text are observable.

As indicated in *the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, *"he cared for the life of people, like Paul the Apostle, when translating and interpreting books"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:2]. Also, another remark from the hagiographer: *"he was preaching baptism of repentance, like John the Baptist, and mercy and peace were with him, like with David the Prophet"* [St. John Chrysostom, 1986:2].

This is what the author is suggesting about St. Antony the Great: *"Thus Samuel recognized David, for he had eyes that begot gladness and teeth white as milk." So, too, was Antony recognized"* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:41-42].

As for St. Sabbas the Sanctified and St. Ephrem the Syrian, the hagiographer compares St. Sabbas with Jesus Christ, due to his modesty, peacefulness and fairness, while St. Ephrem who, even in his mother's womb was chosen by God, is compared with the prophet Jeremiah.

24. Geographical descriptions do occupy a rather modest place in translated hagiographic works under consideration. It is noteworthy that the descriptions of nature in compositions have no special aesthetic emphasis; since any kind of physical and earthly beauty is shadowed, and spiritual side is preferred, similarly, the description of nature serves the only purpose, such as the identification of the location where a saint has to lead the life of a hermit or a church has to be built. For example, when discussing Gregory of Khandzta, R. Siradze indicates that "the composition contains images of nature seen through the eyes of Gregory of Khandzta. 'Human and nature' pattern is relatively rare, as opposed to 'nature – Khandzta church' and 'nature – Shatberdi' patterns. They (i.e. Khandzta, Shatberdi, and similar churches) give sense to the surrounding nature and transform it into an urban setting" [Siradze, 2005:103]. The scholar believes that such descriptions of nature are the manifestation of the aestheticization of nature of the time. The following excerpt is cited from *the Life of St. Antony the Great*: Antony *"came to a very high mountain. At the base of the mountain there was water, crystal-clear, sweet, and very cold. Spreading out from there was flat land and a few scraggy date-palms. Antony, as though inspired by God, fell in love with the place... and stayed alone on the mountain, with no one to keep him company"* [St. Antony the Great, 1975:33-34].

Thus, the proposed article discusses (to the extent possible) the translated hagiographic works of the genre of *Lives*, and specifies plot-compositional parallels between hagiographies, attempting to arrange the material by employing appropriate schemes, keeping in mind similar or different compositional patterns.

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Liliana Gogichaishvili. John Donne's "The Relic", as an Example of English "Metaphysical" Poetry

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/242

Founded in the XVII century, metaphysical poetry is one of the wittiest, deepest and the most complex poetic schools throughout the world. Exclusiveness of metaphysical poetry is shown in its form, content and use of metaphysical wit and metaphysical conceit. Using these two main artistic forms, metaphysical poets (John Donne, George Herbert, Thomas Carew, Richard Crashaw, Abraham Cowley, Andrew Marvell, Henry Vaughan etc.) were able to express a blend of emotion and intellectual ingenuity simultaneously; using this technique, they could connect totally different ideas and images with each other. This was one of the main characteristics of metaphysical poetry that T.S. Eliot found highly interesting. He devoted lots of his lectures and works to analyze this technique. Eliot believed that metaphysical poets were the only poets in the history of literature who, using unification of sensibility fought and won against dissociation of sensibility and, thus, created incredible poetic school of all times.

English poet, satirist, lawyer and, finally, the dean of the St. Paul's cathedral, John Donne (1572-1631) is one of the leading authors of the metaphysical school. His works include love poetry, religious poems, elegies, songs, sonnets, satires and sermons and are well known for their sensual context. John Donne's style is characterized by various paradoxes, unexpected openings and endings, deep metaphysical conceits, ironies and everyday lexis. The main subject of John Donne's as well as other metaphysical poets' works is showing a bond between soul, body and mind; material and metaphysical examination of a human existence; exploring a man's attitude towards God and on the contrary, Gods attitude towards a man; and on the basis of this reciprocity finding a person's place in the world. He was one of the first poets who rebelled against the conventional Elizabethan poetry and brought European Baroque and Mannerist techniques in English literature. As already mentioned above, he wrote religious poems, as well as erotic and love poems; in fact, he wrote in a way that it is often hard to notice the limit between voluptuousness and religious morality.

"The Relic" is John Donne's one of the wittiest love poem. Like in his other poems, here, as well, the author finds a similar characteristic in two totally different subjects. The main figure of speech of the poem is a conceit- such an exaggerated metaphor, where, in fact, there is nothing in common between a signified and a signifier; but John Donne, using metaphysical wit, composes, invents a common sign between them and connects a beautiful lady and a grave with each other.

It can be said that the poem unites all the characteristics typical to John Donne's poetry: religious depths, voluptuous and platonic love, conflict between material and "metaphysical" worlds, irony, sarcasm etc.

The poem belongs to the collection named "Songs And Sonnets" and not to "Holy Sonnets", which at a glance points to its secular and not religious meaning. However, the title "The Relic" proves opposite and even at the beginning of the poem reminds us of that paradoxical dispose

which can be noticed even in the first stanza of the poem:

When my grave is broke up again

Some second guest to entertain,

(For graves have learn'd that woman head,

To be to more than one a bed)

And he that digs it, spies

A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,

Will he not let'us alone,

And think that there a loving couple lies,

Who thought that this device might be some way

To make their souls, at the last busy day,

Meet at this grave, and make a little stay? [Donne, 1996:122]

In the first stanza of the lyric the author describes a tragic-comedic, paradoxical picture: already dead protagonist tells us about the scene occurring at his grave after several years of his death. In the overcrowded graveyard there is no place for a new body, therefore, the gravedigger has to bury the “newcomer” in an already occupied grave. The scene is very familiar to a reader and it reminds us of the episode from Shakespeare’s Hamlet. Just like Yorick, the protagonist of the lyric, as well, is obliged to host the new “guest” and keep her “entertained”. (The original spelling of “guest” as “ghest” [Donne, 1985:112] is a kind of wordplay which reminds us of a word “ghost” and once again alerts us the tragedy of Shakespeare.) Later, it is becoming clear that the new “guest” is not the first lady who has ever shared the protagonist’s grave. The speaker is already buried with his mistress. The sarcasm and witticism so typical to John Donne is obvious even in this introductory part of the lyric - while mentioning the second guest the author hints about women’s secret desire to share their beds with more than just one person. On the other hand, one can notice one more proof of John Donne’s witticism in his teasing wordplay: while talking about women, he deliberately uses a word “woman-head” which reminds us of its pun “maidenhead”, the word describing a virgin, pure woman. So, simultaneously, the author describes women as pure creatures and as voluptuous ones, who are able to share a bed with several men at the same time.

The tone of the lyric changes and becomes loftier since the author mentions “A bracelet of bright hair about the bone.” [Donne, 1996:122] Woman’s hair as a symbol of love and dignity is also used by John Donne in his other poem called “The Funeral”. In the lyric the protagonist asks those who are about to “shroud” him to be careful with the “subtle” hair that is circled around his arm like a crown. That subtle wreath of hair, which crowns my arm;/The mystery, the sign you must not touch” [Donne, 1996:119]. In both of the lyrics the hair of the mistress is a

special symbol meaning everlasting love and dignity between the couples even after their death. As for “The Relic” the bright hair can be perceived as the first relic of the poem. The important thing here is that, in this part of the lyric, the author deliberately describes the hair as a bright one, not just as fair. The adjective bright underlines the vitality and strenuousness. Using this conceit John Donne opposes totally dissimilar things to each other: a bleak grave, death and a skeleton of a dead body is contrasted with vitality, joy and brightness. Depth of John Donne’s poetics is that, here, as well, he shows a forced connection of physical and metaphysical, the author makes us perceive the bracelet as a divine symbol on the one hand and as a defiled one on the other. The bracelet as an emblem of the perfect circle gets a heavenly meaning here. John Donne uses the symbolism of circle in his other poems as well. For instance, this is the symbol that ends one of his poems named “A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning”

Such wilt thou be to me, who must, Like th' other foot, obliquely run;

Thy firmness makes my circle just, And makes me end where I begun [Donne, 1996:112]

A perfect circle as an embodiment of God was often mentioned in John Donne’s sermons too. In one of his sermons the author straightly identifies a circle with the God: “Fix upon God any where, and you shall finde him a Circle; He is with you now... He was with you before... and He will be with you hereafter” [Donne, 1962:52] However, on the other hand, the bracelet as a perfect circle can be perceived as a symbol of femininity and woman’s sexuality.

The second stanza of the poem includes not only religious, but historical and political context as well:

If this fall in a time, or land,

Where mis-devotion doth command,

Then he, that digs us up, will bring

to the bishop, and the king,

To make us relics; then

Thou shalt be a Mary Magdalen, and I

A something else thereby;

All women shall adore us, and some men;

And since at such time miracles are sought,

I would have that age by this paper taught. [Donne, 1996:122]

According to John Donne's paradoxical assume, if the lovers' grave is opened in such time and space where "mis-devotion" commends, their bones will be brought to a bishop and a king who will verify them as relics. In this part of the lyric the irony of the author as a former catholic is obvious. However, more interesting thing here is that he is sarcastic not only to Catholicism but towards Protestantism too. Mentioning a bishop and a king side by side in this "godless" time obviously hints to this sarcasm.

In the previous stanzas of the poem the protagonist mainly talks about his mistress in first person plural (us) and therefore she is perceived, by a reader, not as an independent person, but as a part of the protagonist. However, after the second stanza this principle of unity is abolished by the author and, for the first time, he addresses his mistress as "thou". (Thou shalt be a Mary Magdalen, and I a something else thereby) [Donne, 1996:122]. Here the historical and political thematic switches back to religious one and after talking about the world, emptied of god's grace, the author unexpectedly mentions the name of Mary Magdalene. Introducing the image of this particular saint by John Donne was not accidental. Mary Magdalene who was cured from seven spirits by Christ, is the most mysterious female character of the New Testament. On account of misleading interpretation of the gospel, peoples' attitude towards this saint has been changing from time to time. Later, under the influence of different legends or art works, she has even been perceived as a fallen woman (despite the fact that there is no exact explanation of what was meant in her curing from seven spirits in the new testament.) In this case, it could be possible that John Donne relies on this last opinion and identifies the main character of the lyric with Mary Magdalen with carnal and spiritual signs. As for the protagonist, the author calls him "a something else" (A something else thereby) [Donne, 1996:122]. This "something", if we discuss it in relation with the saint, can be perceived as one of her old partners on the one hand, or as the Christ himself on the other, because, just like the female character of John Donne's lyric, the male one as well is simultaneously characterized with carnal and spiritual signs. In this part of the poem, John Donne again uses witticism and irony so typical to him. Consideration of the bones of the lovers and the bracelet as relics means that the couple will be acknowledged as saints and people will start praying on them. And who will they pray on? On a fallen woman and one of her partners or on the saint and the Christ himself? In both cases the whole Christian faith and the main doctrine of Christianity- Christ's bodily resurrection, would turn upside down. If the bones are attributed to Christ, then the fact of resurrection is also in doubt. In this part of the lyric John Donne mixes all the carnal and depraved ideas with each other, however, one should not forget that his ideas are mere supposition and not confirmation. He creates an imaginary scene using word "if" in the beginning of the poem, according which, the lovers' relics should have been found in the time and space of mis-devotion. (If this fall in a time, or land, Where mis-devotion doth command) [Donne, 1996:122]. Hence, this part of the lyric turns out to be one more sarcastic game of the author, not a heresy.

As it is characteristic to John Donne, the mood of the lyric is unexpectedly changed in its last stanza. Here the central figure of the poem becomes protagonist's mistress and not the two of them as a couple. He no longer addresses her as "thou", neither mentions her in plural. ("we" "us"...) The man praises his mistress for her mercifulness and once again reminds us of her magical nature.

First, we lov'd well and faithfully,
 Yet knew not what we lov'd, nor why;
 Difference of sex no more we knew
 Than our guardian angels do;
 Coming and going, we
 Perchance might kiss, but not between those meals;
 Our hands ne'er touch'd the seals
 Which nature, injur'd by late law, sets free;
 These miracles we did, but now alas,
 All measure, and all language, I should pass,
 Should I tell what a miracle she was [Donne, 1996:122]

In his work "John Donne. Conservative Revolutionary" [Andreasen, 1967] Andreasen marks that while reading John Donne's elegies or songs and sonnets one notices that most of them are written according to Petrarch's or Ovid's tradition. Such lyrics are either characterized by sublime mood, or by sexual implication. Ovid's poetry is focused on physical love, Petrarch's lyrics are centered on exaggeratedly ideal one and these two fulfill each other in John Donne's poetry. "The Relic" is a good example of Andreasen's words. The lovers' relationship described in the last part of the lyric, reminds us of Petrarch's and Laura's love on the one hand and brings us back to Ovid's "Metamorphosis" on the other. In his "Metamorphosis" the Roman poet protests the interruption of law there where nature dominates; the following episode of "The Relic" confirms that John Donne indeed does the same: "Coming and going, we Perchance might kiss, but not between those meals ;Our hands ne'er touched the seals,Which nature, injured by late law, sets free" [Donne, 1996:122]. This part of the lyric draws our attention for other reason as well. Here the word "seals" gets double meaning. On the one hand it reminds us of an instrument used for making an official mark on a document but, on the other, it brings to mind one of John Donne's most erotic poems "To his Mistress Going to Bed" where it gets clearly erotic meaning.

To enter in these bonds, is to be free;
 Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be [Donne, 1996:22]

After analysis of John Donne's lyric "The Relic", it is obvious that, as in his other love poems, ("The Ecstasy", "The Canonization", "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning" etc.) in this case as well, the author describes the faces of two different forms of love- Agape and Eros. The first one is characterized by an unconditional love towards a person, while the main distinctive feature of Eros is lust, erotic passion. By demolishing the line between physical and platonic love John Donne shows us one more example of "heterogeneous ideas yoked by violence"

together” and reminds us that it is always possible to find an obscure similarity in things “apparently alike”. („a combination of dissimilar images or the discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently alike”) [Andreasen,1967:4]

One of the biggest advantages of John Donne’s poetics is that it unifies all the opposed images and ideas. The poetry which is based on this technique is exquisite and highly intellectual and it needs a well-prepared reader for a proper analysis. Besides, the problems, raised in John Donne’s lyrics, the existential crisis of a human nature, man’s attitude towards the God, physical and metaphysical layers of relationships between a man and a woman and numerous of others- are everlasting and are of special interest for a modern reader.

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Imagism and Peculiarities of its Reception in the Georgian Literary World

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Reception of Imagism in Georgian Literary Studies

Imagism found no reflection in its contemporary Georgian literature even though some modernist movements, e.g. Symbolism, Dadaism and Futurism, to a greater or lesser extent, gained a foothold in Georgian literature of the early 20th century. The first data on the "imaginization" appear in the works of one of the first researchers of the Georgian Verse libre, and ardent supporter of the "Tsisperkantslebi" and Dadaists, Gr. Tsetskhladze, who mentions "imaginazation" as a poetic device in the verse libre [Barbakadaze, 2002:3]. However, it is hard to say conclusively who he actually means when referring to "imaginization" – the European Imagists or the Russian Imaginist group inspired by the former and set up in 1919 (the group included Sergei Esenin, Riurik Ivnev, Anatoly Mariengof, and Vadim Shershenevich), who in their manifesto proclaimed the death of "futurism", along with the rebirth of "Image" and the formation of the new movement "Imaginism."

Under the Soviet regime, especially in the period between 1931 - the early 1950s, Georgian writers compelled to abide by the rules of Socialist Realism rejected all associated with or related to the West and Modernism. Even more dangerous was mentioning the name of one of the inspirers of Imagism, Mussolini's fervent supporter and notorious Fascist - Ezra Loomis Pound.

According to prominent scholar of Ezra Pound's works, Ian Probst, in 1939 Russian translations of Ezra Pound's poetry by a Russian Acmeist poet Mikhail Zenkevich were excluded from The Anthology of New English Poetry as by that time Pound had become a staunch supporter of Mussolini. However, Thomas S. Eliot's poems and a large fragment from his Waste Land were included. It was not until 1994 when Zenkevich's translations were eventually published, even though he was the first of all the Soviet scholars to study Pound's works and life in earnest and started translating some of his most famous poems – The Garden, the Pact, the Rest – as early as in the 1930s. It was not until 1982, i.e. the period when the Soviet dictate started declining, that the first independent publication of Pound's works was printed.

In this respect Georgian literature was ahead of the Russian. The first data on Imagism and Imagist poets appear in The 20th century American Poetry by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, where the author gives insight into the shift, the so-called Renaissance, taking place in the American poetry of the 1910s, and distinguishes two groups ("pleiades") of poets. He assigns Ezra Pound, Emi Lowell, Hilda Dolittle and Thomas Sterns Elliot to the second, which came on the poetic scene almost simultaneously with the first (Edwin Arlington Robinson, Carl Sandburg and Robert Frost) (Gamsakhurdia, 1972). Z. Gamsakhurdia associates the poets of the second group with the European poetic tradition and calls Ezra Pound "the flagship of Imagism". Gamsakhurdia highlights Pound's interest in social themes, substantiating the claim by his "Lake Isle" and "Commission".

In Georgian literary studies Z. Gamsakhurdia is the first to give official data on Imagism and the Imagist movement. He provides an overview of the peculiarities of the Imagist poem and techniques and inspirational sources of creating an image. According to him, "Imagists' image, which derives from an imaginative dream, is vague, sometimes only the emotion is left." [Gamsakhurdia, 1972:86]. Gamsakhurdia claims the Imagist poetry is closely associated with the Symbolist dispositions and maintains their image is manifested in "unrealistic perspective."

Z. Gamsakhurdia is accurate in his judgement of the Imagists' unassuming and clear style, which is almost "drained of feelings". He offers a deep insight into the essence of the image by stating: "the Imagist poet catches a momentary glimpse in order to turn it into eternal." [Gamsakhurdia, 1972:93].

Z. Gamsakhurdia rightly attributes "modern stylization" and strive for revitalization of the motives of the ancient poetry to Ezra Pound. According to him, "he exercises modernist stylization through which he brings the modern spirit close to the sentiments of the ancient poetry" [Gamsakhurdia, 1972:89]. This phenomenon is clearly obvious throughout all of Pound's works, replete with allusions from the ancient Greek, Egyptian and Chinese poetry.

Of all the Imagist poets, Gamsakhurdia gives special mention to H.D (Hilda Dolittle), who, according to him, is a more "typical imagist poet" "modernizing the lyrical traditions of ancient Greek poetry."

Z. Gamsakhurdia highlights the common feature uniting these new poets debating over certain theoretical issues but being unanimous about the necessity of using as few adjectives as possible. "The leaders of the new poetry unanimously declared war against the similes and metaphors as they were understood in the earlier poetry." [Gamsakhurdia, 1972:119].

Z. Gamsakhurdia is credited with being the first Georgian translator of Ezra Pound's poetry and the fact that Pound's first Georgian translations were published in 1972 while, as previously noted, his first Russian translations saw the daylight only ten years later, is truly worth mentioning. The fact is exceptional in and of itself as under the Soviet regime, translations of foreign authors' works were published in the peripheries only after they had been printed in the language of the hegemon nation. However, it should be highlighted that Russian expatriates persevered in translating his poetry.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Soviet dictate, Modernism in general, and Ezra Pound's poetry in particular, started drawing attention of the poets and translators who had been previously denied access to them. Nowadays Pound's pieces are translated into Georgian by Zviad Ratiani, Dato Barbakadze, Nino Baramidze, Zaal Jalaghonia, Otar Tsiskaridze, Zaal Chkheidze, Fridon Kardava and Ana Kopaliani.

Image and Key Imagist Tenets

Despite the interest in the poetry of one of the inspirers and "flagships" of Imagism, Georgian literary world still knows rather little about the short-lived but influential movement, which is why in trying to find answers to the following questions, we will give a brief overview of the movement and its tenants:

1. What was Imagism and what were the differences and similarities between it and the other modernist movements?
2. What is the "image" and what is the difference between the Imagist's image and images of traditional poetry?

Imagism developed from a sequence of three literary groups formed during the years of 1909 to 1917: 1909-1911 – Pre-Imagism phase, 1912-1913 – Imagism and 1914-1917 – Amagism.

Imagism has at least two chronological sources: the modern and the ancient. The ancient literatures from Greek, Latin, Chinese, and Japanese contributed to the ideals of Imagism just like the modern influence from France. Of course, not each poet was affected by the same literatures; every poet had a specific influence and was an individual product of singular combinations of sources. In the result of these diverse origins there wasn't such a jumble as might be thought; on the contrary – its theory was orderly and consistent. According to some scholars, the Imagists have "produced an anomaly: a literary movement of great and lasting significance without a great literature" [Internet resource 3].

Even though the creators and inspirers of Imagism emphasized the difference between them and the other poetic schools, many a scholar speak about similarities between Imagism and other modernist movements. According to Ian Probst, Pound's first Russian translator, Zinaida Vengerova called his poem "Heather" "a symbolist poem" but later in the article printed in 1915 in the magazine "Strelets" (Sagittarius), convinced that their manner was borrowed from Marinetti's aggressive manifesto, she referred to the movement as "the English Futurists" [Internet resource 4].

According to prominent scholar of Imagist movement, Stanley Coffman, Imagism clearly echoes the symbolist movement and the Imagists (from Hulme to Emmy Lowell) developed their theory and practice from models they found in their contemporary French literature [Coffman, 1972:91]; however, the Imagists themselves never acknowledged this affinity or similarity; they rejected ambiguity of the Symbolist poems, their eloquence and overuse of the adjectives; they said no to "obscure" statements which, in their view, only dulled the image. Ezra Pound in the essay published in "fortnightly Review" states: "IMAGISME IS NOT symbolism. The symbolists dealt in "association," that is, in a sort of allusion, almost of allegory. They degraded the symbol to the status of a word. They made it a form of metonymy. One can be grossly "symbolic," for example, by using the term "cross" to mean "trial." The symbolist's symbols have a fixed value, like numbers in arithmetic, like 1, 2, and 7. The imagiste's images have a variable significance, like the signs a, b, and x in algebra" [Pound, vol. 6:484].

The fundamental principles of Imagism were rooted in the ideas first developed by English philosopher and poet T. E. Hulme, who was influenced by the 19th century philosopher Henri Bergson. For Hulme poetry was based on an absolutely accurate presentation of its subject, with no excess verbiage; for him the starting point of the poetry was an "image" and the poetry itself was the phenomenon speaking the language of images. As he noted in his famous article "Romanticism and Classicism" "Images in verse are not a mere decoration, but the very essence". For Hulme Image was an instant information perceived through senses; the method of creating images was an analogy, on which he noted: "never, never a simple statement. It has no effect. One must always have analogies, which make another world." [Hughes, 1972:21].

According to Hulme, the main function of the Image was “to appeal to the visual”, however, his like-minded Pound expanded its meaning and attributed intellectual appeal to it. Pound believed Image should reproduce the past feelings, which he successfully accomplished in his famous, mono-image poem “In a Station of the Metro.”

The Imagist poems are noted for the clarity of image, brevity, suggestiveness, freedom from metrical laws. The Imagists believed, a reader shouldn't be able to detect a scheme of rhythm, meter or rhyme. They opposed to making symbols out of objects and attaching one specific significance to any of them. For them the natural object was always the adequate symbol. The Imagists revolted against works which were written in a specific style and had no individual aspects. They tried to use no superfluous word, no adjective which did not contribute to the presentation; the poem had to be freed from the syntactic frames, which is why majority of the Imagist poems use parataxis.

For Hulme the most significant element of all the poetic structures was analogy. However, Pound, who adapted his ideas on poetry for his Imagist movement, invented a literary means of his own naming it “superposition”; he considered one image to be the basis of one poem, the clear example of which are his tanka and haiku-style poems.

With a view to understanding and comprehending the essence of the image, we will give an example of the most famous of all Hulme's poems – “Autumn”, which for a number of reasons cannot be considered a perfect example of the Imagist doctrine.

Autumn

A touch of cold in the Autumn night –

I walked abroad,

And the ruddy moon leaned over a hedge.

Like a red-faced farmer.

I did not stop to speak, but nodded,

And round about were the wistful stars

With white faces like town children [Internet resource 2].

The seven line stanza presents one dominant image – the image of Autumn night; however, there are images of the moon and the stars too. The author does not use any inexact or decorative word which would “obscure” the image. The moon and the stars are described through analogy; the perception is individual and subjective; likening the moon to the red face of a farmer does appear strange to many as only few can perceive in the moon “leaned over a hedge” “the ruddy face” of a farmer and see any affinity between the “wistful stars” and “white faces like town children”. It may seem odd but is backed up by logic, though this logic is neither rigidly enforced nor explicitly stated. The analogy clearly creates a very powerful image; however, there is a clear violation of the major Imagist tenet, namely, the conjunction “and” and the word “like” should not have been used. The phrase “autumn night” should not be used in the body of the poem as “autumn” is its title and for the Imagists, the title and the body make one complex. By adhering to the imagist principles, the poem should sound like this:

Autumn Night

A touch of cold

I walked abroad,

the ruddy moon leaned over a hedge.

A red-faced farmer.

I did not stop to speak, but nodded,

round about were the wistful stars

The white faces of town children.

The poem has no intrusive rhythm and no rhyme scheme. The euphony is created through alliteration. There is not a single unnecessary adjective which does not contribute to the creation of an image or even worse, obscures it. The syntactic structures are minimal, if not a few lapses, the poem would have been considered a perfect example of the Imagist doctrine.

Nowadays the poem written by adhering to all the Imagist tenets is considered “Oread” by H.D., the acclaimed archetype of the Imagist poet, widely read and admired for her innovative and experimental approaches to poetry. Her poems epitomizing the imagist tenets are based on structural and linguistic polarity, like: the sea and the land, soft and hard, ripe and unripe, salty and sweet, etc. It is true H.D.’s concentration of the language, the skill to create a musical line and a clear image materialized the Imagist doctrine, however, she did not write her poetry to fit the theory, nor did she contribute in print to the doctrinal debates about Imagism.

The most controversial of all the Imagist poets is an American poet and critic, E. E. Cummings whose works cannot be strictly analyzed from the viewpoint of Imagist doctrine, in the first place because of loquacity of her works; however, “we cannot fully reject her.” [Harmer, 1975:24] as she is credited with the popularity the Imagist doctrine enjoyed in America.

After the World War I, Imagism as an organized movement ceased to exist; however, it is important not only because of the pieces of poetry produced by it but also for its revolt against the 19th century poetry traditions and the contribution to the tenets of the modern poetry.

Overview of the Georgian Translations of the Imagist Poetry

Interest in the Modernist poetry, especially in Ezra Pound’s, is high indeed among our contemporary Georgian translators, who translate his early works – of Pre-Imagist, Imagist and Post-Imagist eras. Dato Barbakadze even wrestled with his Canto XLV, which with its archaic lyricism and authoritative didacticism is reminiscent of neoclassical texts to the extent that it is often considered anti-Modernist. However, it should be noted that Dato Barbakadze brilliantly succeeded in this endeavor. We will not go deep into this translation of his but will limit our discussion and state that this translation is not only one of the best of all his translations of Ezra Pound’s poetry but of all the Georgian translations of the great Modernist’s works.

The most frequently translated of all his works is *Pact*, the title of which is translated differently by different poets. The poem has been translated by Z. Gamsakhurdia, Z. Ratiani, D. Barbakadze, O. Tsiskaridze and Z. Jalaghania. There are a few translations of a mono-image haiku-style poem *In a Station of the Metro, Salutation and Commission*, the title of all of which are translated differently into the target language but all of them are quite faithful to the source.

The Georgian translations are noted for their faithfulness to the principles of *verse libre*, which allows readers to pay more attention to the contents rather than to the rhyme or the metrics. The Georgian translators refrain from embellishing and thus obscuring the images created in Pound’s poems noted for their simplicity and modesty. They do not strive to overuse tropes to make the poems sound more poetic. Like the author, they create euphony through alliteration and assonance. However, we cannot deny the existence of a few exceptions to this general trend either.

The Georgian translations of Ezra Pound’s poetry almost never distort the poem’s architecture; they retain the original’s style (simplicity of the language and laconism), contextual-conceptual information and sub-text and the images created. However, with a view to attaining poeticism and euphony, the translators more often than not use grammatical and lexical archaisms and in certain cases even translate with 14 syllable lines, which is manifested to different extents in the works of different translators.

However, translations of the individual poets and their translational strategies is a topic of more comprehensive research.

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The Expression of Gratitude in Social Networks and Virtual Correspondence (On the Material of English and Georgian Languages)

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/236

- ["spekali" #14](#)
- [Linguistics](#)
- [Irine Demetradze](#)

Modern technology has yielded new channels of communication. In this regard, it is interesting to study the verbal and non-verbal means serving to express gratitude in internet communication. The empirical material has been obtained from my personal correspondence, internet resources, messages in my personal chat, my friends' timeline posts and comments.

Gratitude as Part of the Expressive Function of Language

According to G. Leech, *"language can have an expressive function: that is, it can be used to express its originator's feelings and attitudes"* [Leech, 1974:40].

D. Crystal notes that *"the purpose of expressive use of language is to convey emotion"* [Crystal, 2005:228].

When discussing the expressive function of language, O. Hargie mentions the following examples: *"I am very happy" or "I spent a wonderful vacation" they reflect the feelings of the speaker or the writer* [Hargie, 2011:166].

According to a well-known Indian author and sage Sadhguru, *"Gratitude is something that flows out of you when you are overwhelmed by what has been given to you"* [Sadhguru Jaggi Vasudev: 2019]

Thus, gratitude is one of the most significant and pleasant feelings, and the utterances and phrases related to gratitude undoubtedly serve the expressive function of language.

Gratitude as Part of the Phatic Function of Language

Expressions of gratitude also perform the phatic function. In 1936 Malinowski introduced the concept of 'phatic communion'. He explained that the term implied *"free, aimless social intercourse", "inquiries about health, comments on weather and greeting formulae"* [Malinowski 1936: 313]. B. Malinowski mentions that *"phatic communion serves to establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by the mere need of companionship and does not serve any purpose of communicating ideas."* [ibid: 314-316]. [1]

Further, R. Jakobson used this term, naming the phatic function of language among other six functions and noting that the phatic function implies the use of language *"for the sake of interaction and is therefore associated with the Contact/Channel factor. The Phatic Function can be observed in greetings and casual discussions of the weather, particularly with strangers. It also provides the keys to open, maintain, verify or close the communication channel"*. [Jakobson, 1960: 366]. As the phrases of gratitude do not convey any informative meaning and serve the purpose of expressing warmth and friendship, they undoubtedly serve to perform the phatic function of language.

Gratitude as Speech Act

Before discussing the ways and examples of performing the phatic acts of gratitude in social networks, I would like to mention that the above utterances are used to perform certain speech acts. In Austin's classification of performative utterances, the above-mentioned speech acts fall within the group of „behabitives“. According to Austin, *"Behabitives include the notion of reaction to other people's behavior, ... expression of attitudes... stating or describing what our feelings are"* [Austin, 1962: 159]. Examples of behabitive utterances are: apologize, thank, commiserate, compliment, condole, congratulate, felicitate, sympathize, welcome, bid farewell, bless and so on. In J. Searle's classification, the above-mentioned utterances fall within the group of "expressives". According to Searle, such speech acts express how the speaker feels about the situation. *"Expressive verbs are 'thank', 'congratulate', 'apologize', 'condole', 'deplore', and 'welcome'"* [Searle, 1976:12].

The Etymology of Words of Gratitude

The most widespread English phrases of gratitude are based on the verb “to thank” (variants are “thanks”, “thank you”, “thank you very much”, “many thanks” “I can’t thank you enough”). According to the online etymological dictionary, the verb “thank” takes its origin in Old English: þancian, þoncian "to give thanks, thank, to recompense, to reward," from Proto-Germanic **thankōjanan* , from **thankoz* "thought; gratitude," from PIE root **tong-* "to think, feel", also "good thoughts, gratitude." Thus, as we see, thanking is semantically related to good thoughts and feelings.

As for the word gratitude, it originates from Latin “grattus” meaning “thankful, pleasing” and is semantically linked to “grace”.

The Georgian words მადლობა /madloba/ (thanks), მადლიერება /madliereba/ (gratitude), გმადლობთ /gmadlobt/ (thank you) are derived from the word მადლი which, like Latin, means grace. The verb accompanying this word in Georgian is გადახდა //gadaxda/ (to pay) მადლობას გიხდით /madlobas gixdit/ (literally - I am paying thanks), მინდა დიდი მადლობა გადაგიხადოთ /minda didi madloba gadagixadot/ (I would like to thank you very much). Thus, semantically, these phrases imply that the speaker pays with grace for the favour he/she has received from someone.

The Expression of Gratitude in Business Communication

The expression of gratitude forms a very important part of business communication. According to Alison Doyle, *“A thank you note or email message, in addition to showing your appreciation, can boost your career, help you get a job offer and cement a relationship with a client, vendor, or networking contact. When writing business and work-related thank you messages and letters, keep in mind that every time you say thank you, you are not just showing your appreciation - you are also reminding the person you are writing to of who you are. These letters are great relationship builders”* [Doyle, 2019]. [2]

Below are given the opening or conclusive phrases from several formal thank-you letters:

1. *“Dear Mr. Smith,*

I want to thank you for being our loyal customer”

2. *"I am grateful to you for your advice and for recommending us new potential customers. I cannot thank you enough.*

Sincerely yours..."

3. *"Dear Mr. Jones,*

I am writing to thank you for the time you spent with me during the job interview for the position of chief marketing manager"

4. *"Dear Mrs. Thompson.*

I would like to thank you, most sincerely, for your kind assistance in the marketing project. You have helped us a great deal indeed."

As praise and recognition are very important for every employee, letters of gratitude frequently contain appraisal and compliments. Below is given a sample letter which starts with the expression of gratitude and goes on with compliments about the work being performed by the addressee of the letter.

"Dear Mr. Johnson,

Thank you for your speedy and beautiful work fixing our floors after our plumbing mishap this spring.

Although I would have preferred to meet you and your crew under different circumstances – a planned renovation, say, and not during our busiest season – I am so grateful that my neighbor recommended you.

Our floors have never looked better. Customers comment on them at least once a week, which is unusual to say the least! I always make sure to give them your information and pass along my recommendation.

Thank you, again, for fitting us in at the last minute and getting us back up and running so quickly."[3]

Besides establishing a favourable atmosphere in communication, gratitude serves as face-saving strategy and mitigates threat to one's face. According to O'Keefe, in certain cases there is a need for "Face-relevant elaborations" aimed at the mitigation of potential threat to one's face [O'Keefe, 1991:102]. Phrases of gratitude serve as such face-relevant elaborations in letters of refusal. According to Write Express Corporation, "*A refusal letter communicates unhappy news in a diplomatic way. You have one chance to say it right*".[4] Thus, a tactful refusal letter might start with a sentence: "*I am most appreciative of your offer of employment*" and end with: "*Thank you for your time and consideration*". An informal example of a refusal to accept a job may contain the following expression of gratitude: "*I prefer not to work at weekends, thanks anyway, it's sweet of you to think of me though*".

Thus, as the above-mentioned examples have proved, the expressions of gratitude are used as face-saving strategies that soften the "bad news" and make the relationship less embarrassing.

Another face-threatening act is a request. If it is our wish to make the request successful, we usually apply politeness strategies in order to impress the listener and avoid imposition that might irritate the latter. In Brown & Levinson's terms, "positive politeness is an involvement-based approach made by the speaker to ratify, understand, approve of and admire the positive image of the addressee" [Brown & Levinson, 1987:75]. One of the best strategies of politeness which helps save one's face when making a request is to express gratitude for the favour we are asking. Therefore, when performing the speech act of request, be it formal letter or informal virtual communication, we write "I'll be very grateful to you if...", "thank you in advance" or, in formal correspondence, "thank you in advance for your time and attention".

The Expression of Gratitude in Social Networks

Another important field where gratitude is expressed by verbal and non-verbal means is communication via social networks. On daily basis, users of social networks come across thousands of examples expressing gratitude in timeline posts, comments or personal messages. Below I will bring several examples.

For instance, a post of a woman whose son has entered a university:

“უკვე სტუდენტის დედა ვარ. დიდი მადლობა ჩემი შვილის მასწავლებლებს, რომლებიც „იბრძოდნენ“ მისი წარმატებისთვის. დიდი მადლობა ყველა ჩემს მეგობარს რჩევებისა და გამხნეებისთვის“ /ukve studentis deda var. didi madloba chemi shvilis masc'avleblebs romlebic ibrdzodnen misi c'armatebistvis. didi madloba q'vela chems megobars rchevebisa da gamxnevebistvis/ (“I am a student's mother now. I would like to thank my son's the teachers who have “fought” for his success. I also thank my friends for their advice and encouragement”).

Naturally, we often write personal messages to our friends and relatives thanking them for their presents or kindness. Frequently, posts of gratitude involve thanking our friends, colleagues and relatives who have congratulated us on our birthday, e.g.

დიდი მადლობა ყველას, ვინც მომილოცა დაბადების დღე. ყველანი მიყვარხართ. /didi madloba q'velas vinc momiloca dabadebis dghe. q'velani miq'varkhart/ (Thanks to everyone who has congratulated me on my birthday. I love you all), or “Words are not enough to express my gratitude to all who remember my birthday and fill me with so much love and warmth. Thank you for your kind wishes”.

Gratitude is also expressed in comments to various posts. For instance, people write that they are thankful for the interesting article or video which a certain Facebook user has posted or shared. Photographs of events are accompanied by comments expressing gratitude to the organizers. Below the photos of parties, the guests usually express their gratitude to the host.

In informal internet communication, the expression of gratitude is frequently accompanied by the expression of love as well as blessing phrases and compliments. ღმერთმა დაგლოცოს /ghmertma daglotsos/ (God Bless you), გაიხარე /gaixare/ (be happy), /oqro xar/ (you are made of gold), “It's very kind of you”, “How kind of you”, “You are a star” and so on.

Apart from the verbal means expressing gratitude, FB users frequently apply various kinds of emoji, stickers and GIFs (graphic interchange format). Suffice to mention the emoji of two folded hands, which forms part of Japanese and Indian cultures and is frequently applied by Facebook users to express gratitude. The emoji, GIFs and stickers are used in comments to various posts as well as in personal chat communication via Messenger. It is quite natural that in our hectic times, when people have no time for writing long texts to express their feelings, these means of expression of gratitude have become extremely popular.

Conclusion

Gratitude is an inalienable part of politeness and a successful Face-saving strategy. Research has proved that gratitude forms part of the expressive and phatic functions of language. The analysis has also proved that the utterances expressing gratitude should be considered as speech acts belonging to the groups of Austin's "Behabitives" and Searle's "Expressives". The diachronic study has proved that both English and Georgian languages have always abounded in words and phraseological units related to gratitude. These lexical units are still widely used in oral communication as well as business-correspondence and social networks.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that gratitude is one of the most rewarding and pleasant feelings. Scientific studies have found that gratitude is associated with greater happiness, more optimism and positive emotions, lasting relationships, better health, increased generosity, empathy and numerous other benefits [Firestone: 2015]. [5] The inner urge of human beings to be grateful has also passed on to modern times and penetrated into modern technology. This fact can be proved by the abundant verbal and non-verbal means expressing gratitude so widely used in internet communication.

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Natia Poniava. Distribution of Fricative Phonemes in Abkhaz (According to The Abkhaz National Corpus)

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When investigating the phonemic structure of the language, the study of distributive patterns of its phonemes is utterly important.

The Abkhaz literary language has 62 phonemes, including 56 consonants and 6 vowels. While characterizing the phonemes in her monograph *Historical-Comparative Analysis of Abkhaz and Abaza Languages*, K. Lomtadze refers to the vowels and their respective positions. In a similar manner, she discusses some of the consonants [Lomtadze, 1976:24-61, 139-190]. However, she has not explored the very issue from a statistical perspective.

In our article *Verbal Root with CVC structure in the Abkhaz and Abaza Languages*, we have covered the issue of phoneme distribution, including fricatives, which led to the following findings: in the anlaut position of the CVC structure, there have been following occurrences: every one of

ʃ (z), ʃ (s), ʃ^{3/4} (ž^{3/4}) and ʃ (f) – in one respective root,

ʃ (ω°), ʃ (□), ʃ (□), ʃ (□) - in two respective roots,

ʃ (γ) - in three roots, and

ʃ (□) - in five roots [Poniava, 2014:154-155].

Our study was based on data from dictionaries; only verbal roots have been selected for analysis; hence, the materials have been limited. Therefore, at this point, we are aiming at covering the entire language system and conducting the corpus research.

The contemporary linguistics actively employs the corpus research in order to explore various issues. Such a study pertaining to the issues of Abkhaz phonetics and phonology has not been carried out so far. We have decided to examine the distribution of phonemes based on the Abkhaz National Corpus the development of which started within the framework of the project „Palag“ in 2015. It comprises over ten million units of which 7 596 355 are word forms.

Given the fact that it would be impossible to perfectly describe the distribution of all phonemes by positions in one particular article, we have decided to examine the distribution of fricative phonemes in the anlaut, inlaut and auslaut positions, based on the Abkhaz National Corpus[1].

The following fricatives (spirants) occur in the Abkhaz literary language:

labio-dental: ʃ (v) ʃ (f)

alveolar hissing sibilant: ზ (z) ს (s)

alveolar hushing sibilant: ჟ (ž) შ (š)

velarized alveolar hushing sibilant: ჟ^{3/4} (ž^{3/4}) შ^{3/4} (š^{3/4})[2]

labialized alveolar hushing sibilant: ჟ (ჟ) შ (შ)

velar: ლ (l) ხ (x)

palatalized velar: ლ (ლ) ლ (ლ)

labialized velar: ლ (ლ) ლ (ლ)

laryngeal: ჰ (h), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ°) [3]

Abzhywa and Bzyp are identified among the Abkhaz dialects where the following fricatives are attested: ფ (f), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ), ღ (ღ), however, the Abkhaz National Corpus is based on the Abkhaz literary language, therefore, it does not incorporate dialect data, hence, our study cannot reflect the distribution of the Abzhywa and Bzyp specific fricatives. We will only discuss the issue of fricative distribution typical to the literary language. Since it is a corpus research, the relevant examples represent the forms attested in the corpus as opposed to the dictionary forms. Two or three examples will be proposed for every phoneme. When referring to the borrowed material, the pathway of transmission of the borrowed word will be dealt with.

According to the Abkhaz National Corpus, the following set of five consonants have the highest frequency of distribution among fricatives in the anlaut position: **ს (s)** (სარა (sara) "I", სტოლ (stol) "table" < Rus. стол „id.“), **ზ (z)** (is represented in the following words: ზნე (zn) "once", ზე (ze) "everyone"; occurs also as an affix: ზბეჯი (zbejt) „I saw“ and in some loan words as well: ზან (zan) "Law" < Rus. закон „id.“), **ჰ (h)** (ჰარა (hara) "we", ჰალალ (halal) "kind" < Turk. helal "id."), **ღ (ღ)** (ღარა (ღara) "saying", ღნთქარა (ღntkarა) "states") and **შ^{3/4} (š^{3/4})** (შ^{3/4}გ (š^{3/4}g) „year“, შ^{3/4}ა (š^{3/4}a) „white“).

The following set of five consonants have the second highest frequency of distribution in the anlaut position: **ღ (ღ)** (ღარა (ღara) "you", ღნა (ღna) "your hand"), **ხ (x)** (ხადა (xada) "leader", ხე (xe) "head"), **ღ (ღ°)** (ღბა (ღ°ba) "two (non-human class)", ღნე (ღ°ne) "house"), **შ (š)** (შა (ša) "foot", შთა (šta) "trace") and **ღ (ღ)** (ღბა (ღba) "five, non-human class"), **ღ (ღ)** (ღბა (ღba) "child").

The third set of five fricatives in the initial position is as follows: **ღ (ღ)** (ღბა (ღaba) "ten (non-human class)", ღლარ (ღlar) "people"), **ღ (ღ)** (ღგ (ღg) "name", ღა (ღaa) "pain"), **ღ (ღ)** (ღა (ღa) "strong"), **ფ (f)** (also attested specifically in the Abkhaz lexical units (ფბა (fba) "six"), but is especially frequent in borrowings: ფორუმ (forum) "forum" < Rus. форум "id.") and **ვ (v)** (the frequent use of v in the Abkhaz corpus stems from the borrowed lexical units (ვიზიტი (vizit) "visit" < Rus. визит "id." and, for the greater part, from the fact that the corpus comprises the words used in the Russian dialogues of literary characters of the Abkhaz literature: **всех** "everyone". **ვბა (vba)** "fault / guilty", **ვანგს (vanqs)** "rib", etc. are represented from specifically Abkhaz vocabulary).

The least frequently attested set of four fricatives in the anlaut position is as follows: **ღ** (**χ**) (**ღბა** (**χba**) "ship", **ღრა** (**χra**) ("fault"), **ჟ^{3/4}** (**ჭ^{3/4}**)(**ჟ^{3/4}ღ** (**ჭ^{3/4}ღ**) "adolescent", for the most part in loan words: **ჟ^{3/4}ურნალ** (**ჭ^{3/4}urnal**) "journal"), **ჟ** (**ჟ**) (**ჟა** (**ჟa**) "hare", **ჟგ** (**ჟგ**) "meat") and **ღ** (**ღ**) (**ღგ** (**ღგ**) "thief").

Different forms of the same words occur throughout the corpus because the prefix **ა-** (**a-**) sometimes expressing generality and other times – definiteness, is either attested in the word or is missing: the dictionary form **ა-შხა** (**a-šxa**) "mountain" is attested as both **შხა** (**šxa**) and **აშხა** (**ašxa**). The fricative in the first and second forms occur in the anlaut and inlaut positions, respectively.

ბ (**x**) is the most frequent phoneme in the inlaut position: **ღგნხონ** (**dღnxon**) "lived", **აშხა** (**ašxa**) "mountain".

The **ზ** (**z**) phoneme has shifted to the second position in inlaut. For the most part, it occurs in the words of Abkhaz vocabulary: **ამზა** (**amza**) "moon"; rarely occurs in the borrowed lexical units: **აზინ** (**azin**) "the right" < Turk. **izin** „id“.

After **ზ** (**z**), the **ს** (**s**) fricative is the most frequent one in the inlaut position: **აფსნგ** (**Apsnღ**) "Abkhazia", **აფსგძ** (**apsღჟ**) "fish", and is attested in proper nouns as well: **ნესტორ** (**Nestღr**) "Nestor".

შ^{3/4} (**š^{3/4}**) is in the fourth position, in terms of the distribution in inlaut: **ლაშ^{3/4}ა** (**laš^{3/4}a**) "light", **აფშ^{3/4}არა** (**apš^{3/4}ara**) "beauty"; also occurs in loan words that include the very phoneme: **აშ^{3/4}კოლ** (**aš^{3/4}kol**) "school" < Rus. **школа** "id“.

In inlaut, the fifth position is assigned to **ღ** **ღ**, being specifically represented in the Abkhaz vocabulary: **ანგღა** (**anღღa**) "celebration", **აფღგს** (**apღღs**) "woman, wife".

The second mostly spread set of five fricatives in the inlaut position is as follows: **ღ** **ღ** (**ღაღა**) "today", **აღთა** (**aღta**) "cold", **საღა** (**saღa**) "face" < Geo. **სახე** (**saxe**) "id.“), **ღ** (**ღ^o**) (in Abkhaz words: **ამღა** (**amღ^oa**) "road / way", **აღაღგ** (**awaw^oღ**) "a human being"), **შ** (**š**) (**საშა**) (**saša**) "my brother", rarely in loan words as well: **ადაშმა** (**adašma**) "floor" < Turk. **dღšeme** "id.“), **ღ** (**ღ**) (**აფღმა** (**apღma**) "host", **ფსღალა** (**Psღღala**) "in Abkhaz") and **ჟ** **ღ** (**ეღჟა**) (**ejha**) "more", **აჩჟა** (**acha**) "honey", is frequent in loan words: **აბაჟჩა** (**abahča**) "garden" < Turk. **bahče** "id.“, **აჟათერ** (**ahatღr**) "respect" < Turk. **hatღr** "id.“).

In terms of the distribution in the inlaut position, the third set of five fricatives includes: **ღ** (**ღ**) (**ღღღღა**) (**ღღღღa**) ("her children", and is not that rare in loan words: **აღაღამა** (**awაღama**) "church" < Megr. **ოღამე** (**oღame**) "id.“), **ღ** (**ღ**) (in specifically Abkhaz lexical units: **ღაღა** (**ღ^oaღa**) "twenty", **საღა** (**saღa**) "my word"), **ჟ** (**ჟ**) (for the most part, is in the Abkhaz vocabulary (**შგბჟონ** (**šღbჟon**) "in the afternoon"), proper nouns that include **ჟ** (**ჟ**) have been borrowed: **ბეჟან** (**Beჟan**) "Bezhani"), **ვ** (**v**) (for the most part, is in loan words: **ასოვეტ** (**asovეტ**) "council" < Rus. **совет** "id.“, **ათღვარა** (**atვღvara**) "outer wall" seems Abkhaz) and **ფ** (**f**) (**რფეჟტ** (**rfejტ**) "[they] ate", **აშ^{3/4}ოფერ** (**aš^{3/4}ofer**) "driver" < Rus. **шофер** "id.“ is generally among the borrowed lexical units).

The following set of four fricatives has the lowest frequency of distribution in the inlaut position: ლ (χ) (occurring in the Abkhaz lexical units (აბლა (abχa) “back (of human)”, აგლრა (a□χra) “hope”) as well as those borrowed from other languages: ალაბ (aχab) “girl” < Megr. ძლაბი (χyabi) ”id.“), ჟ^{3/4} (ž^{3/4}) (აბჟ^{3/4}ა (abž^{3/4}a) “half”, აჟ^{3/4}ანრ (až^{3/4}anr) “genre” < Rus. жанр ”id.“, ასუჟ^{3/4}ეჲ (asjuž^{3/4}eᲒ) “storyline” < Rus. сиужет ”id.“), □ (□) (არ□ა (ar□a) „right hand“, ბ□გ (b□□) “leaf”) and □ (□) (ა□□ა (a□□a) “strong”, ა□რა (a□ra) “wooden floor”).

In terms of distribution in the auslaut, the ზ (z) phoneme is at the top: აბზ (abz) “tongue”, კავკაზ (Kavkaz) “Caucasus” < Rus. Кавказ „id“.

After ზ (z), ს (s) has the highest distribution in the auslaut. For the most part, it is attested in the specifically Abkhaz lexical units (ნას (nas) “afterwards; later / after”, ასას (asas) “guest”), though occurring in loan words as well: ვერს (vers) “verst” < Rus. верс „id.“.

In terms of distribution in the final position in a word, the first set of five fricatives also include □ (□) (აშთა□ (ašta□) “afterwards; later / after”, აუსურა□ (ausura□) “to the workplace, in the workplace”, the most frequent are the forms that exhibit postpositions such as -ა□ -a□ ”to, towards, in“, შ^{3/4} (š^{3/4}) (ამშ^{3/4} (amš^{3/4}) “day, weather“, აჭ^{3/4}გშ^{3/4} (ač^{3/4}gš^{3/4}) “garlic”, აკართშ^{3/4} (akartōš^{3/4}) “potato” < Rus. картошка ”id.“) and □ (ω°) (ა□ადა□ (awadaω°) “difficult”, mostly occurs as a postposition that primarily denotes a profession; the one acting as: აჯთაგა□ (ajtagaω°) “translator”).

The second mostly spread set of five fricatives in the final position in a word includes ბ (x) (ანბ (a□x) “night”, ა□ათახ (awatax) “room” < Geo. თათხი (otaxi) „id“. When this is the case, some Russian words are attested that have been employed in the dialogues from the Abkhaz literature: многих “to many”), □ (□) (ადგრა□ (a□g□ra□) “grass-snake (a reptile)“, ახ□□ (ax□□) „window“), მ (š) (ყათშ (□apš) “red”, აჯგმშ (ač□mš) “onion”, აქალმშ (akalm□š) “jelly of grape juice boiled with flour” < Geo. ფელამუში (pelamuši) ”id.“), □ (□) (ადბა□ (a□ba□) “story, news“, არა□ (ara□) “cattle; goods”, არც□ (ar□c□) “number, digit” < Geo. რიცხვი (ricxvi) ”id.“) and ჟ (ž) (ა□აბჟ (a□abž) “story, short story”, აშგჟ (aš□ž) “morning”).

In terms of the distribution in the auslaut position, the third set of five fricatives is as follows: □ (□) (primarily, in specifically Abkhaz words (ალგა□ (al□ga□) “old/elderly (man)”), though occurring in the borrowed lexical units as well: აკარპე□ (akar□□□) “watermelon” < Turk. karpuz ”id.“), ვ (v) (occurs in one single, specifically Abkhaz onomatopoeic word (ა□^{3/4}ვ-ს□v (a□^{3/4}v-s□v) “a bullet whistle”), while the rest are borrowed: არნივ (arxiv) “archive” < Rus. архив ”id.“), ჰ (h) (most frequently occurs in interjections (ოჰ (oh) “Oh!”) and borrowed lexical units: აკალმაჰ (akalmah) “trout” < Geo. კალმახა (kalmaha) ”id.“, ალლაჰ (Allah) “Allah” < Turk. Allah ”id.“), □ (□) (mostly in the Abkhaz words: ა□გ□ (a□□□) “dove”, ახა□ (axa□) “stone”) and ფ (f) (is attested in the Abkhaz words as well (□აფ (□af) “sixteen”), however, for the most part, it occurs in borrowings: მიფ (mif) “myth” < Rus. миф ”id“, ატარიფ (atarif) “tariff, rate” < Rus. тариф ”id.“).

The following set of four fricatives has the lowest frequency of distribution in the final position in a word: ლ (χ) (ა□ალ (a□aχ) “anger, hatred”, ა□გბზლ (a□□bz□χ) “loving, affectionate”), □ (□) (არბა□ (arba□) “rooster”, ა□ტა□ (a□ta□) “egg”), ჟ^{3/4} (ž^{3/4}) (also attested in the Abkhaz word (ჭ^{3/4}გჟ^{3/4}-ჭ^{3/4}გჟ^{3/4} (□^{3/4}gž^{3/4}-□^{3/4}gž^{3/4}) “creaking”, though mostly occurs in loan words: ატირაჟ^{3/4}

(აჭირაჴ) “print-run” < Rus. тираж „id“) and □ (□) is generally attested in borrowings in the final position: აუ□ (au□) “burden” < Megr. უღუ (აუ) ”id.“, ისანდ□ (isanz□) “his border” < Megr. სანძღუ (sanzyu) ”id.“, though it also occurs in the Abkhaz word: □გრდა□ (□□rda□) “wooden bed”).

The table below shows the numbers and percentile distribution of phonemes in various positions across the available word-forms of the corpus:

#	Phoneme	Anlaut		Phoneme	Inlaut		Phoneme	Auslaut	
		Number	%		Number	%		Number	%
1	s	276 959	3.64	x	826 274	10.87	z	431 220	5.67
2	z	187 477	2.46	z	816 837	10.75	s	189 894	2.49
3	h	149 444	1.96	s	652 042	8.58	□	75 853	0.99
4	□	91 017	1.19	š ^{3/4}	403 178	5.30	š ^{3/4}	64 495	0.84
5	š ^{3/4}	63 211	0.83	□	319 536	4.20	ω°	24 523	0.32
6	□	55 925	0.73	□	297 478	3.91	x	22 334	0.29
7	x	54 365	0.71	ω°	293 579	3.86	□	19 633	0.25
8	ω°	24 804	0.32	š	289 172	3.80	š	15 738	0.20
9	š	23 853	0.31	□	239 729	3.15	□	15 684	0.20

10	□	21 939	0.28	h	238 164	3.13	ž	12 788	0.16
11	□	16 392	0.21	□	169 973	2.23	□	10 285	0.13
12	□	9 998	0.13	□	158 390	2.08	v	9 248	0.12
13	f	5 265	0.06	ž	98 603	1.29	h	9 101	0.11
14	□	3 822	0.05	v	64 289	0.84	□	5 207	0.06
15	v	4 099	0.05	f	47 506	0.62	f	4 055	0.05
16	ɣ	1 230	0.01	ɣ	46 673	0.61	ɣ	2 333	0.03
17	ž ^{3/4}	1 080	0.01	ž ^{3/4}	36 055	0.47	□	1 953	0.02
18	ž	970	0.01	□	34 492	0.45	ž ^{3/4}	1 001	0.01
19	□	730	0.01	□	19 534	0.25	□	372	0.01
In total		992 580	13.06		5051504	66.49		915717	12.05

Thus, the research that we have carried out on the basis of the Abkhaz National Corpus, revealed that the fricative phonemes have the highest frequency of distribution. Their percentile distribution in inlaut, anlaut, and auslaut, has been reported as 66.49% (the highest), and 13.06 %, and 12.05% (the lowest), respectively.

The research has demonstrated that the same frequency has not been found among fricatives in different positions. For instance, **b (x)** is characterized by the highest frequency of distribution in inlaut, while it is found to be the seventh and sixth most frequent in terms of distribution in the anlaut and auslaut positions, respectively. **ž (z)** has the first and second highest frequency of distribution in auslaut and, anlaut-inlaut positions, respectively. The statistical data on distribution of the identified phonemes vary across positions.

The implemented corpus research has also shown that **з (v)**, **ფ (f)**, **ჰ (h)** and **ჟ^{3/4} (ž^{3/4})** are mostly attested in loanwords in every position; **□ (□)**, in auslaut, much like in inlaut, has the lowest frequency of distribution, and occurs mostly in loanwords in the word-final position.

Other fricatives, being rarely reported in borrowed lexical units, generally occur in the specifically Abkhaz material. Apart from fricatives, the patterns of distribution in Abkhaz must be found for all the phonemes which is important in terms of the comparative study of Abkhaz-Adyghean as well as other Ibero-Caucasian languages that we consider as part of further research.

[1] We would like to extend our sincere gratitude to Paul Meurer who assisted us in regard to the data of the Abkhaz National Corpus in the proposed research.

[2] For phonological accuracy, this symbol refers to the Abkhaz velarized consonants, as opposed to the tradition accepted for the transcription practices in Georgian (□ □ □ □).

[3] For phonological accuracy, this grapheme refers to the Abkhaz phoneme which in the Georgian transcription of the Abkhaz alphabet is rendered by **Â**.

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The Abkhaz National Corpus	http://clarino.uib.no/abnc/page

Natalia Koroshinadze. The linguistic means of expressing ideology and power in political discourse (Using the examples of speeches delivered by Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Giorgi Margvelashvili)

Critical discourse analysis which is based on interdisciplinary research, views language as one of the ways of social practice. It also examines the ideological and power implications expressed through linguistic forms [Fairclough, 1995, 2010]. More specifically, critical discourse analysis examines the strategies of expressing social relations, identities, ideologies, and power in society, or, in other words, the specifics of linguistic expressions of ideology and the features of their interpretation in written and oral discourse [Fairclough, 1989, 2001; 2012].

According to Fairclough, political ideology is realized and transformed into the discourse, which makes power a social category [Fairclough, 2010]. Moreover, according to this theory, power is one of the key components of language communicative activities both socially and culturally.

To explore the socio-linguistic issues concerning critical discourse, Fairclough proposes a socially-oriented, three-dimensional model that corresponds to three interrelated factors of the discourse on the one hand, and a specific act of communication, on the other. They are: (1) the object of analysis (the text and specificity of its formal expression studied by means of descriptive methodology); (2) text interpretation issues, which include interrelationships between the text and interaction and interpretation of facts; and (3) sociocultural practices, which include the explanation of discourse, its social implications, and social effects. The process of explanation must relate to historical, social, and cultural contexts. This requires exploration of the above-mentioned problems in a specific socio-cultural dimension. The three dimensions of analysis explain the linguist's choice of the textual fabric of the text and its relationship together with the interpretation of a particular social event.

The type of relation between discourse and ideological structures is of great interest to scholars. For example, some of them study the linguistic arsenal employed by politicians discussing the discourse of (anti)terrorism. [Sarfó E. & Agyeiwaa Krampa E. 2013]. Ehineni [Ehineni, 2014] explores the role and power of modal verbs in Nigerian political manifestations concluding that a linguistic category such as a modal verb can serve as an important tool. Relying on the categories of critical discourse analysis and functional linguistics, Vakili Latif Sh. [Vakili 2016] explores the reflection of an event in different media.

There is a good tradition of studying political discourse in Georgia. For example, Rusieshvili-Cartledge explores the features of Georgian female politicians' speeches from the standpoints of linguistics and intercultural pragmatics [Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017]; another interesting issue discussed in Georgia is systemic language norms and contextual variations from the point of view of the theory of politeness [Rusieshvili and Dolidze, 2014] as well as in terms of gender and identity expression [Rusieshvili-Cartledge and Totbadze, 2018]. Politicians' speeches are also studied from the point of view of argumentation and persuasion [Keburia, 2018].

Based on the model described by Fairclough, this article deals with the linguistic analysis of official speeches of 2 Georgian presidents, in particular, of the congratulatory speeches delivered by Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Giorgi Margvelashvili (1 hour and 15 minutes, 8500 words), the first and fourth presidents of Georgia at the New Year's Eve and military tattoos on May 26, inaugural address delivered by Giorgi Margvelashvili, speeches made by Gamsakhurdia in exile. While analyzing these data, particular attention is paid to the linguistic markers through which both presidents express and justify their approaches to certain events and ideology, and gain or maintain public support.

As noted above, according to Fairclough, the critical analysis comprises three interrelated layers: description, interpretation, and explanation. It is understood that, according to Fairclough, the first step is a textual analysis based on a description of the relationship between linguistic forms, their meaning and social relations, the syntactic form of the sentence and its modality. More specifically, this type of exploration occurs at the following levels of the text analysis: lexical, grammatical, and text structures. The second dimension of analysis, discourse analysis, involves the phases of the emergence, interpretation, distribution, and perception of a particular discourse. The third stage of analysis - social analysis is based on the description of the expression of ideological power in language. From the above, it can be said that text analysis is based on the study of language structures in discursive-social practice, which in turn involves the stages of text creation, perception and reproduction [Fairclough, 2001:108].

The interpretive level reflects coherent and formal features of the text, temporal-spatial and syntactic directions [Fairclough 2001: 108]. The final, highest level of analysis reflects the structure of the text and its thematic interpretation. At the same level, the purpose of the text, its theme, and the linguistic features utilized to achieve the purpose are discussed. When analyzing speeches by Gamsakhurdia, the 10-question model provided by Fairclough (1996) is utilized. This 10-question model is employed while analyzing texts at their lexical, grammatical, and textual levels. Also, the analysis is focused on the relationships between linguistic markers of ideology and power. Particular attention is paid to socio-cultural discursive practices and demands of society.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia

As stated above, the main purpose of politicians' speeches is to persuade the population that their standpoints are valid and, therefore, to gain their support. This applies to official speeches or greetings made by politicians. The same applies to Presidents' inaugural as well as any of their official addresses. In order to explore the way president's speeches served the very purpose and identify the linguistic markers employed, in this article, the speeches made by Gamsakhurdia on New Year's Eve and celebrating Georgia's independence were analyzed.

It is clear that these keywords are connected with the ideology of the first president of Georgia. The study identified the following keywords frequently used by Gamsakhurdia: National Liberation Movement / Independence / Freedom; Georgia / Homeland / Fatherland; Freedom; Past / history; Christianity / Christ / Barabbas / Ilia the Righteous.

Gamsakhurdia uses these core words as a backbone to his speeches and expresses his ideology based on them.

As it is known, Zviad Gamsakhurdia became the President of Georgia in 1990-1992 which was a particularly difficult and unsettled period for the country. At that time Georgia declared independence and embarked on building a free and independent state. This is one of the major topics emerging in Zviad Gamsakhurdia's speeches. As well as this, he puts emphasis on justifying the need, importance and necessity of independence for a country and presents it as the only right path for the state to follow. Besides, Gamsakhurdia emphasises the leading role of the national liberation movement in this painful process of liberating the homeland. The president is well-received and appreciated by his followers and he also responds effectively. It is particularly important to note that in that period of recent history the Georgian population was less experienced politically. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the demand for freedom was the major demand from society. Gamsakhurdia, one of the leaders of the National Liberation Movement, was looked at more as the Savior and the messiah than as a skilled politician. Therefore, my experience agrees with the opinion that Zviad Gamsakhurdia, at the request of his followers which represented the majority of the country, created a script for a religious story in which the Savior dies, and his followers experience persecution and oppression. [Internet Resource 1].

Below there is an attempt to explore how Gamsakhurdia realizes his linguistic ideological approach, based on the Fairclough model and 10 questions suggested by the scholar to analyze discourse at the lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and textual levels.

The major goals of Gamsakhurdia are as follows: 1. To explain the ideology of the National Liberation movement and 2. Persuade the population of Georgia that the road selected by the Movement is the only right one and therefore gain power over it.

In more detail, at the lexical and semantic level, the major goals of Gamsakhurdia can be achieved in several ways: 1. by providing relevant and meaningful semantic context by repeating lexical units and assigning them the status of a stylistic centre of the expression. For example, several important themes are highlighted in Gamsakhurdia's address: Georgia's historic struggle for freedom, the importance of devotion to it, the triad provided by Ilia the Righteous, and finally, the role of Georgia's national liberation movement in this process. 2. By the abundant use of archaic elements, which gives his speech a sought for and fashionable-for-the-period aspiring, religious tone. This tendency is evident both at the lexical-semantic and at the syntactic levels of the language. For example, "*Brothers and Sisters! The Georgian nation, by the commandment of Christ, has been moving along a painful and thorny path of its history, and I want to remind you of the parable found in the Gospel of John, for this parable is applicable to our present day, our yesterday, our freedom, our independence, which is so deprived, so defeated ...*" [Internet Resource 2] or "*Brothers, we stand face to face with Satan, the serpent. Either we will defeat it, strengthened with St. George's help, or this cosmic dragon will absorb our historic destiny and trample us down. This beast - the antichrist appears in front of us and tells us: Here's the national movement, and with the mask and cover of the national movement, the Antichrist is close, Barabbas is close and anathema threatens us.*"

In these passages, linguistic strategies expressing equality and unity characteristic of Gamsakhurdia's speeches are also worth noting: (1) forms of address (friends, brothers and sisters). In this way, Gamsakhurdia emphasizes the equality and unity of his and his followers. Sometimes this address form is replaced by the equivalent form "Children of our motherland", which also implies the unity of the homeland; (2) It also refers to the unity and equality between the president and the people in his use of certain pragmatic doctrinal intentions. For example, the active and frequent use of the so-called inclusive pronoun "we" ("and we need to realize today what choices we have"); (3) The emphatic use of the pronoun "we": "And when history brought Great Ilia to us, we chose a cut-throat over him; we rejected Ilia and we shot him dead." [Internet Resource 3].

At the syntactic-stylistic level of the language, Gamsakhurdia's overused repetitions and parallel constructions are also extremely interesting, making him a great orator: "Here is the time for our liberation ... Here's why we deserved this punishment, brothers ... Here's the reason for our disaster, here's the reason why we were defeated on May 26" [Internet Resource 4].

From a stylistic point of view, the whole cascade of biblical comparisons and metaphors encoded in Gamsakhurdia's words are also extremely interesting: "And we were here as murdered beasts, beaten by enemies!". Archaic lexical-syntactic constructions are utilized and make the speeches enticing ("*defeated by enemies; Jesus Christ our Savior*", etc.).

Fairclough (1996) pays particular attention to the type of relationship between text and discourse. In this sense, it can be said that the main backbone of Gamsakhurdia's discourse is religious-philological discourse, which, as it has already been mentioned, was the demand of the era in which he had to work and live. Thus, the first president expresses his attitude towards Georgia's statehood letting his followers observe integrity and coherence of the country's past and future rooted in the integrity of religion and history.

Giorgi Margvelashvili

The picture changes when analyzing speeches delivered by Margvelashvili. I have analyzed the following speeches by the fourth president of Georgia - ~~speeches~~ those made on May 26, New Year greetings and, in some cases, public speeches delivered at certain events.

It should be noted that under Margvelashvili's presidency, society was more politically experienced and thus less naive. Accordingly, the demand from society is also different from that of Gamsakhurdia's period. More specifically, at this stage of Georgia's development, the main themes of Margvelashvili's speeches are the need for Georgia's territorial integrity, the building of a democratic state and membership of the European and transatlantic space. The keywords of his references are also in line with these issues. These include territorial integrity, independence, freedom / free society / open society / European and transatlantic structures.

On the other hand, the loyal and positive attitude of Georgian society towards the country's history and cultural identity has not changed. Margvelashvili feels this and places great emphasis on cultural and historical realities. (See below).

Interestingly, unlike Gamsakhurdia, in Margvelashvili's words, there is a semantic distinction between the following lexical units, "freedom" and "independence". For example, "*But the road from independence to freedom still has to go. A country based on a free society is free and a society is free when every member is free.*" [Internet Resource 5].

Margvelashvili's texts are distinguished by their stylistic simplicity, but even here the text's lexical, semantic and stylistic markers appear. (1) Specifically, antitheses and alliterative structures ("*Those who regard freedom as the highest value, do not think about who you have defeated today; think of whom you have defended today*"). (2) Metaphorical Comparisons and Expanded Metaphorical Structures ("*As the Georgian song's polyphony incorporates many different voices but creates one harmony, so each citizen of Georgia must be heard in the unified harmony of our*

nation's development – Only in this case will the supreme value be realized in everyday life“).(3) Allusions to facts from Georgia's history and literature („ The poet sums it up in the past and future phrase: "It is better to die in pursuit of freedom than be a rich slave"and today, as we celebrate Independence Day, I want to think about those people who fought at the battlefields, or by personal example showed us the meaning of the supreme value“). Semantic allusions to important moments in the history of Georgia also attract our attention. The president, to a certain extent, summarizes fundamental moments of Georgian history (“I see the energy that compelled Rustaveli to write A Man in the Panther's Skin” and gave Ekvtime Takaishvili the power to defend his ancestors' treasure at the cost of his sacrifice; The energy that enabled Pirosmiani to paint “the Black Lion” and encouraged Dr. Joseph Jordania to give up his life to save the little girl's; The energy, which made the artist carve the Khakhuli triptych and strengthened Giorgi Antsukhelidze not to kneel in front of our enemy“)[Internet Resource6].

As quoted above, the listeners are reassured that the energy mentioned by G. Margvelashvili will empower Georgia on its rout towards development and survival.

All of these linguistic-textual features singled out and analysed based on the model by Fairclough, assist the politician, in this case, the first and fourth presidents of Georgia, to reveal their political credo, respond to society's needs, pass on their values, and thus gain influence over it.

Obviously, from the perspectives of critical discourse, the analysis of G. Margvelashvili's speeches demonstrates that the president responds to society's needs and meets its requirements when structuring his speeches. As for the style of his addresses, it is mostly figurative, being related to Georgia's history and emphasizing cultural identity of the Georgian people.

In summary, the research described in the proposed article aimed at providing linguistic analysis of speeches delivered by Z. Gamsakhurdia and G. Margvelashvili from the perspectives of critical discourse, and identifying those lexical-semantic and figurative linguistic markers that are employed by both presidents in order for them to propose their positions as well as state ideology, substantiate its validity and, therefore, gain and maintain public support.

In both cases, these markers are manifested by means of specific lexical-semantic structures that represent a central element of the speeches, and figurative lexical-semantic units and tropes that provide metaphorical representation of integrity and connection between Georgia's past and future. In addition, these linguistic markers serve as a background for the key message of the speech and facilitate their pragmatic decoding and delivery to the listener; being well aware of the demands of their contemporary society, both presidents take them into account when addressing their audience.

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Tamar Kvaratskhelia. Comparative Analysis of Byron's Lyrics and Mose Karchava's Translations

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/241

The Georgian literature has been enriched by a considerable number of excellent translations through the efforts of Mose Karchava in the 20th century. They are still popular today, but up to date no one has become interested in this wonderful translator and humorist. Our goal is to conduct a scholarly research of his biography and creative translations.

We have looked for information about Mose Karchava with great care. Much to our chagrin, we have discovered that little to no interest has been shown in this talented author and translator. Only in 2009, in his book entitled *Roots*, V. Rodonaia devoted four pages to him as a literary figure from Chkhorotsku. "Machabeli from Chogha" - this is the title of the article dedicated to Karchava. He calls him a creator, a writer, a journalist and a translator and believes that, "*in a very short period of time, he has made an invaluable contribution to the Georgian literature. Great erudition, great talent ... and unselfishness – that is what permeated his life. Our translated literature will always be embellished by works of Shakespeare, Byron, Shaw and others translated by Mr. Karchava. According to scholars and specialists, after Ivane Machabeli, Mose Karchava was the first translator who could create best renderings of masterpieces of English literature into the Georgian language*" [Rodonaia, 2009:505].

Mose Karchava is buried in Chogha. We reached out to Chkhorotsku residents, but we failed to find any of his family members or descendants. We looked for information on Mose Karchava in the Chkhorotsku Museum as well, but nothing of significance was discovered there either. We were only given a single issue of the magazine *Niangi* ("Crocodile"). In 1985, Chkhorotsku residents commemorated 20 years since Mose Karchava's passing. In the same year, the issues #9-10 of the satirical-humorous magazine *Niangi* published a brief article with an undertone of sadness under the headline "*Battle-Tested Editorial Team of Niangi* ." Here Mose Karchava's kindness and chivalry are manifested through brief recollections that are full of warmth and love: "*Every applicant that visited the editor's office was accepted, helped and encouraged by M. Karchava ...*" [Niangelebi, 1985:4].

M. Karchava was born in 1914 [Obituary 1965:8] (1916, according to an alternative version). In 1935, after graduating from the Zugdidi Pedagogical Technical College, he became a teacher. In 1937 he was admitted to the TSU Faculty of Western European Languages and Literatures, graduating later in 1948 due to the war. He served in World War II. As we have discovered through the study of M. Karchava's life, he graduated from Telavi Military School in March 1943 and was set to the front lines of the war. In May 1943, he was captured by the enemy in the Battle of Kerch. After his escape from the prison camp in Romania, he crossed the front line, joining again his fellow soldiers there; He returned to Georgia in 1946 as a decorated veteran with the Order of the Red Star.

In 1948-1952, M. Karchava worked at the Department of English Language at Tbilisi State University and later at the State Committee of Radio and TV Broadcasting of Georgia. From 1958, he was the secretary responsible for the magazine *Niangi* and a member of the editorial board, writing under the pseudonym of "Karashoti" (storm); He was a humble and generous man with great spiritual culture and a writer blessed with artistic taste, fluent in English. This is witnessed [through](#) his "English-Georgian Proverbs and Sayings", and translations of William Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens", Jonathan Swift's "Gulliver's Journey", Oscar Wilde's "Dedicated Friend", George Byron's "Sardanapal" and lyrics, etc. He also authored the articles about the progressive foreign literature. In the end, he was working on the translation of *The Genius* by Dreiser and, in cooperation with the historian V. Machavariani, he was co-writing a film script about Besiki's life.

The subject of our research is to compare and contrast lyric patterns translated by Karchava with the original and analyze the translator's masterpieces. The research findings are presented by taking into account important aspects of Translation Studies.

In 1965, the publishing house "Nakaduli" published translations of Byron's lyrics, which include seven literary pieces translated by M. Karchava, of which we have selected four for our research.

While examining the originals of Byron's poems and translations by Karchava, we have applied a literary-linguistic analysis and an interdisciplinary method. Literary-linguistic analysis involves the study of the accuracy of language correspondences by comparing the original with the translation, taking the features of figurative language (epithet, metaphor, comparison, hyperbole, etc.) into account. The interdisciplinary method simultaneously includes the data of the disciplines such as linguistics, literary studies, and cultural studies.

Lines Addressed to the REV. J.T. BECHER on His Advising the Author

to Mix More with Society

Politics holds an important place in Byron's lyrics. A romanticist author, to whom the flattery and injustice of England's aristocratic circles were totally unacceptable, firmly opposed his opponents with his fierce artistic expression. That is why he was repeatedly condemned or slandered among the politicians and academia. The poet's frustration and resentment also influenced his poetry. This was the theme of the given verse.

Blessed John Thomas Becher (1770-1848) was an English clergyman, social reformer, and Vicar-General of Southwinstmaster in 1818-1840. Becher and Byron became friends when the poet stayed on holiday at Southwell. The views of Becher, a distinguished figure, were important to the poet.

The poem is written in the second person. It clearly shows the sadness and idealistic beliefs of the dissatisfied poet - the reality of modern England is metaphorically "Etna's cave" for him. Karchava diligently and carefully rendered the poem, perfectly representing the author's

„კვლავაც რომ ვიყო, / რაც ვიყავ / წინათ,
რითმა)

5 3 2

„But could I be / what I have / been, (შიდა

5 1 3

კვლავაც რომ მქონდეს / მის გულში / ბინა,
რითმა)

5 3 2

And could I see what / I / have seen (შიდა

5 3 1

კვლავაც რომ შევძლო, / მას ვანდო / თავი,

5 3 2

Could I repose / upon the / breast

5 3 1

ვინც მაგრძნობინა / კარგი და / ავი,
რითმა)

5 3 2

Which once my warmest / wishes / blest(შიდა

5 3 1

არ ვეძიებდი / სხვა მხარეს, / რადგან

5 3 2

I should not seek / another / zone,

5 1 2

ვერ შევიყვარებ / სხვას, ერთის / გარდა“

[Byron, 1965:46].

Because I cannot / love / but one“

[Byron, 2012:913].

Such attitude can be seen in the other lines of the original as well as the translation. As if Byron suffers, not only from love (Mary Cheworth), but from the love of England, Old Albion. Both charm and bitterness of "forbidden love" are felt in the poem. The poet could not escape the spiritual suffering, though ...

5 3 2

„...და ბევრიც ვცადე, / მონშეა / ღმერთი,
რითმა)

5 3 2

5 1 3

„And I have striven, / but / in vain, (შიდა

5 1 3

რომ მასზე აღარ/მეფიქრა/ მეტი

5 3 2

Never to think of / it / again:

5 1 3

და მაინც ვტოვებ / ალბიონს, / რადგან

5 3 2

For though I fly / from / Albion,

5 1 2

ვერ შევიყვარებ / სხვას, ერთის / გარდა“

[Byron, 1965:46].

I still can only / love / but one“

[Byron, 2012:913].

The poet compares himself with „მართო შთენილ ფრინველს“ (a lonely bird) (Archaism) and keenly feels a sense of loneliness, just like Baratashvili: „ხალხის ბრბოშიაც მართო ვარ...“ This phrase also gives cause to an allusion of Galaktioni. The author's sense of loneliness reaches its culmination. He remains not only without a lover and a homeland, but also without a friend. The translation still has a hue of Byron's fighting mood:

5	3	2	5	2	3
„გადიყოლოს / სხვა იქნებ / დარდმა			„Yet wish I not those /eyes / to weep		
5	3	2	5	2	3
ვაგლახ, მე კი რას / დამაკლებს / დარტყმა...“			For him that wanders / o'er / the deep“		
[Byron, 1965:47].			[Byron, 2012:914].		

The original verse has 11 stanzas, three-foot lines. Each line is ten-syllable and are embellished with an exact and coupled rhyme: aa, bb, cc. The verses are composed of six lines and the ending represents the same refrain: „ვერ შევიყვარებ სხვას, ერთის გარდა...“ ან „და არვინ მიყვარს, შენ ერთის გარდა...“ The translation still shows an allusion of Al. Chavchavadze's poem: "I am the same forever and ever". [Georgian Literature, 1992:48].

The Georgian translation of the poem has eight stanzas. There is similarity not only in the content but also in the form. The original is also a six-stanza (Mustazad), with a ten-syllable metre, the rhymes are even: aa bb cc. As the 5th and 6th lines are rhymed and the end of the 6th line is repeated everywhere, this enhances the rhythm and musicality of the verse. This common rhyme brings stanzas together as an integrated whole. Mustazad is not typical to the English literature. The verse proves again that Byron was fascinated by Oriental literature and liked Mustazad. His poetic experiments were of great importance.

Vision of Belshazzar

Byron's poem "Vision of Belshazzar" is one of the most interesting works in which the author criticizes human greed, impudence, senseless passion for wealth and disrespectfulness. The text has an underlying Biblical theme. The original is written in the 2nd person and Byron addresses the king Belshazzar, while the translation is rendered in the third person and is artificially expanded. As though the idea and content of the work are preserved but the original and the translation cannot be compared at all, because Mose Karchava's poem is, in fact, a completely new composition written on the subject of Belshazzar.

The mythological plot of the verse highlights Byron's ideological position that no one, not even the king, should glorify himself. Every person must obey the divine rules and providence, otherwise he will be punished both on earth and in heaven.

The translation of the poem is performed in such a style which is not characteristic of Karchava. If the other translations reveal the translator's efforts in seeking words and phrases closest with the original language, "Vision of Belshazzar" is rendered in a very free style. For some reasons, the translator felt it necessary to narrate a Biblical story, while Byron's poem depicts only the end of Belshazzar.

In the original verse, Byron addresses the king Belshazzar. The poem is written in the second person, while the translation is in the third person. Byron tells Belshazzar that he is spiritually fallen, which is evident at the feast. There are many tyrants and unjust rulers annointed by God, but Belshazzar is the worst and the weakest of all, also impudent and sly. Byron presents an interesting example of a metaphor:

„და როგორ.. შენ უნდა მოკვდე?

ნადი! ვარდები სწრაფად გაიკაღე,

გააშრიალე შენი წარბებიდან...“ (Translation ours).

This is an interesting example of a metaphor with an enchanting flow of sound in English, but the translator failed to render it into Georgian. "Vision of Belshazzar" is perceived as a completely independent work, and only conventionally could it be regarded as "translation", so it deserves only criticism.

To Inez

The poem is based on a romantic motif, and is full of sadness and melancholy. The author addresses a beautiful woman who looks at him arrogantly. „*ნუ მოგვკრის ღიმილს ჩემი მონყენა, ვერ შეგაგებებ პასუხად ღიმილს...*“ – The poet tells the woman. It seems that the lady does not sympathize with him. A slight offence is felt in the poem. It is obvious that the author expects empathy from the woman but gets disappointed. Despite his frustration, he still looks at the woman kindly and says: „*...და ღმერთმა ნუ ქნას, აცრემლდე შენაც და ჩემებრ თავი ჩაქინდრო შენაც.*“ The translator begins the dialogue with the woman with an interesting metaphor: „*ნუ მეკითხები დარდი რად მნისლავს, რად ვკლავ ჭაბუკურ სიხარულს ბოღმიით...*“ For him, love is a heavy rock, under which the „exhausted man“ does not want to escape. Neither love nor hatred can force him to do it, nor can the fear of humiliation. The poet overwhelmed with romantic feelings says:

5 3 2
„მე მბუგავს სევდა, /რომელიც/ ჩნდება

5 1 2
„It is that weariness/which/ springs

5 3 2
ყოვლისგან რასაც /ვისმენ და /ვხედავ,

5 3 1
From all I meet, or/ hear,or /see:

5 2 3

5 3 1

არ მგვირის სიამე /თავად /მშვენება

To me no pleasure/Beauty /brings;

5 3 2
2 2

5

და შენი მზერაც /არ მიქრობს/ სევდას“

Thine eyes have scarce/ a charm/ for me“

[Byron, 1965:52].

[Byron, 2012:102].

The translator creates an interesting Georgian version for a rare kind of comparison:

	5	3	2		5	3	1
„ვით ლეგენდარულ /ებრაელს /თურმე					„It is that settled, /ceaseless /gloom		
5 2 3					5 3 1		
აყილებდა/ბედი / წყეული,					The fabled Hebrew/wanderer/bore,		
5 2 3					5 3 1		
საიქიოსაც /ეჭვით / შევყურებ,					That will not look / beyond the / tomb,		
5 2 3					5 2 2		
ქვეყნად სიამეს /არა /ჩვეული“					But cannot hope / for rest/ before“		

[Byron, 1965:52-53].

[Byron, 2012:103].

The original is composed of nine-stanzas, three-foot stanzas contain 9 syllables, and are embellished by precise cross rhyme. A strong emotion and transcendent love are apparent.

Here, again, Byron’s doubts emerge. The reality around him is so unacceptable to the poet that he doubts that even in Heaven could it be possible to find peace and happiness. Again, a wicked demon appears, reminiscent of Baratashvili's black raven. Byron knows that he cannot run away from it, because it is his evil thought, sorrow and grief, which traces him everywhere and gives him a poison.

M. Karchava's translation is a nine-stanza as original and is performed with a three-foot, 10-syllable metric form and cross-rhyme, indicating his diligence. He still uses the emotional style, archaic forms of the narrative and artistic forms („ქმუნვის ისარი,“ „ბედი ტიალი,“ „გულის გადახსნა“...). The poet urges his beloved not to “unmask” his heart since it will reveal the “hell”. It should be noted that the metric style, rhyme and mood of the Georgian version completely correspond to those of the original.

It should also be noted that the possibilities of translation are endless. In the 21st century, a new Georgian version of this poem emerges. It belongs to Prof. Inesa Merabishvili and it is a more precise representation of the original in Georgian [Merabishvili, 2014:271].

The research findings and the conclusion were interesting. The 19th-20th century translations are clearly influenced by Russian literary traditions. Frequently, English works were translated into Georgian from Russian versions.

Gradually, the 20th century translators' basic principle implied that the rendering of literature through translated versions in Georgian should be avoided.

Mose Karchava revived the old Georgian traditions of translation (e.g., Mtatsminda School – 11th century, the principle of accuracy and additions; Sargis Tmogveli, S. Orbeliani, etc.) and, from the contemporary perspective, he created an interesting translation tradition.

Mose Karchava showed the beauty of English culture and original literature to Georgian readers.

A comparison of original and translated texts convinced us that the translator was fluent in English, rendering compositions from the original texts. Karchava was well-informed in the peculiarities of English verse, metrical form, Byron's poetic style, etc. The translations show that the translator also took readers' taste, beliefs and even intellect into account. This is evidenced by the translation of "Vision of Belshazzar". M. Karchava knows that modern readers do not have the proper knowledge of religion, and extensively represents the Biblical story of Belshazzar to better illustrate the essence of the problem, the main idea of the poem, and the author's attitude.

In the original verse, Byron only discusses Belshazzar's spiritual attitude and the end, as he believes that the public is well aware of his adventure. Perhaps that is why the translation of this poem is less powerful compared to others.

The results of the study show that Karchava has his own style of translation. He often uses archaisms to try to represent Byron's epoch as well as language better, and also pays considerable attention to poem's metrical structure, rhyme, and skillfully finds Georgian equivalences for English phrases. He tries to maintain the content and idea of the text accurately, but at the same time he takes the original's structure and artistic-expressive means into account.

Thus, Mose Karchava is one of the distinguished translators of the 20th century, whose life and work require serious research. Unfortunately, his merits are not properly appreciated and the proposed article is the first attempt to introduce his creative works to the public. Artistic translation is a difficult path from translation to co-authoring... This has been properly identified while exploring M. Karchava's translations.

M. Karchava's translations make clear that the translator perceives Byron's lyrics from the perspective of Georgian romanticists. The meaning between the line of his translations echoes the exact sound of their poems. Mose Karchava - "*A Silent and devoted person of Georgian Literature, an Excellent Translator and Journalist ...*" [Obituary, 1965:8] deserves a serious monograph ... Hopefully, we will be able to accomplish this project.

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Literary Translation and Philological Research It Involves (Based on the Georgian and Russian translations of a poem by Edgar Poe)

 spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/en/article/viewArticle/14/237

- ["spekali" #14](#)
- [Study of Translation](#)
- [Lela Ebralidze](#)

The complex nature of literary translation is demonstrated by the number of academic disciplines closely connected to it (linguistics, text linguistics, semasiology, stylistics, pragmatics, literary studies, philosophy, psychology, history and others), also by the formation of translation theory as a separate branch of translation linguistics. Considering the requirements to be satisfied by literary translation, it is obvious how serious the responsibility borne by literary translators is. The main requirement to be fulfilled by a translator is transferring the original to the target language in a way that will allow to leave its contents and form unchanged and to reproduce the literary devices employed by the author. The translation has to convey all the categories of information (factual, conceptual, subtextual [Гальперин, 1981:27] and image-bearing [მერაბიშვილი, 2005:196]) contained in the original in an adequate manner. It must also reproduce the author's style [ფანჯიკიძე, 1988:29] and, finally, the emotional and aesthetic effect produced on the target readers should be the same as the effect of the original on its readers. In case of poetic translation the translator's task is made even more difficult by having to retain the characteristic features of poetry such as rhymes, rhythm, metre and melody of the original poem.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the correct interpretation of the original, which is a necessary precondition for its correct translation, sometimes requires going beyond the microcontext and resorting to macrocontext (the so called extratext or repertoire). This involves "studying all the works by a particular author, understanding his/her world-view and getting familiar with the history of creation of the original." [ფანჯიკიძე, 1988:11]. However, there are cases when this is not sufficient for getting an insight in a literary work and the allusions employed by the authors send the translator to explore the world literature, history and mythology. That is why literary translation is considered as "a combination of creative work and philological research" [ფანჯიკიძე, 1988:3]. To be more precise, since the present article deals with poetic translation, I will add one more quote, namely L. Ginsburg's words: "In translation poetry merges with philology, an inspired impulse is combined with thorough research" [მერაბიშვილი, 2005:9].

As I have already mentioned, the present work is about literary, namely poetic translation, which was deemed impossible by a number of famous authors and scholars. For example, a well-known Welsh poet R. S. Thomas compared translation to a kiss through a handkerchief

[House, 2013:3]; the German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote that “every translation is an attempt at solving an unsolvable problem;” Cervantes likened translation to a back of a carpet; Bryusov, a Russian translator and critic, thought that “translating poetry from one language to the other is impossible, but it is equally impossible to give up that dream.” [მერაბიშვილი, 2005:13].

Since, despite the above mentioned difficulties, I could not give up the dream of translating poetry myself, I am going to analyze my own translation comparing it to the original and the other translations. The object of my analysis is the three stanza poem To Helen dedicated to Jane Stanard, the poet’s classmate’s mother, which was first published in 1831. As it is known, the poet himself announced later that Mrs. Stanard was his first love, although there is a different version as well, suggesting that the 14-year-old fellow was not really in love with the woman, but was grateful to her as she was the first person who encouraged him to write poetry.

The poet calls the source of his inspiration Helen and the simile begins from the title of the poem to go on for the whole stanza – five lines. The poet means Helen of Troy, who, according to the Greek mythology, was the most beautiful mortal woman. The first stanza of the poem reads as follows:

Helen, thy beauty is to me
Like those Nicéan barks of yore,
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,
The weary, way-worn wanderer bore
To his own native shore [An Anthology... 1972:263].

In this part of the poem Helen’s beauty is compared to a Nicean ship of old times gently sailing across the fragrant sea carrying the way-worn traveler to his homeland. This implies that the feelings of the lyrical hero were similar to those of a tired traveler getting back home. These are the feelings of joy, quietude and safety.

But who was the person Poe had in mind speaking about the “way-worn wanderer”? This allusion caused controversy among scholars. Some think that the reference was made to Gaius Valerius Catullus (a Latin lyric poet who lived from 84 BC to 54 BC), whose works were familiar to Poe as he was very good at Latin at school. It is known that Catullus spent some

time around the area of Nicaea and then sailed home. He probably sailed close to the coast and near islands where flowers and fruit trees were in bloom and their odor reached him, hence the "perfumed" sea. Supporters of this assumption name some of Catullus poems in which he talked about being tired and worn out and wishing to get home.

According to a more popular version, it must have been the Greek hero Odysseus (or Ulysses) Poe meant by speaking about the wanderer. This version is supported by several arguments: Odysseus fought in the Trojan War, which took place in the same area as Nicaea; after the war, it took him ten years to get home, which would definitely wear him out; Odysseus like many other heroes was in love with Helen and wanted to marry her.

However, some scholars suggest that the wonderer was Dionysus, the god of grape-harvest, winemaking and vegetation who was raised up by nymphs on mount Nysa, but eventually returned to his home on Mount Olympus.

It is interesting to see how the allusions encountered in the original were transferred in the Russian and Georgian translations of the first stanza. Let us begin with Russian translations, namely the translation performed by Konstantin Balmont, which is remarkable for its faithfulness to the original as well as well-selected rhymes. Structurally, lines are somewhat extended compared to the original and this makes it difficult to reproduce the delicate melody of the original, but thanks to the rhymes and rhythm, the sublime tone of the original has been maintained. Balmont's translation of the first stanza of Helen is given below:

О, Елена, твоя красота для меня

Как Никейский челнок старых дней,

Что, к родимому краю неся и маня

Истомленного путника мчал все нежней

Над волной благовонных морей[balmont.lit-info.ru].

The next translation I am going to analyze was performed by Valeri Bryusov, but, sadly, it is not as accurate as the previous one:

Елена! Красота твоя –

*Никейский челн дней отдаленных,
Что мчал меж зыбей благовонных
Бродяг, блужданьем утомленных,
В родимые края! [По, 1924:2].*

According to this translation the Nicéan ship carried a group of tramps tired of wandering, which is incompatible with the contents and the mood of the original poem as well as the image created by it in the reader's mind. The allusion employed by Poe is lost, since instead of one way-worn hero the reader imagines a whole group of tramps. The rhythms are not perfect either.

Let us analyze Tomashevski's translation:

*Мне красота твоя, Елена, -
Никейских странствий корабли...
Они к отчизне вожденной
Пловца усталого несли
По волнам до земли [По, 1976:51].*

As we can see the allusions have been maintained. The translation is accurate, the rhythms and metre are appropriate as well as the melody, which brings the translation closer to the original.

As for Roman Dubrovkin's translation, it reads as follows:

*Елена, красота твоя,
Как челн никейский, легкокрыла,
К морям благоуханным я
Плыву в отцовские края! –*

Ты древность для меня открыла [По, 1988:105].

In this translation, which sounds really beautiful, the allusion to a traveler has been lost. The long comparison used by the author has been shortened and the traveler has been replaced by the lyrical hero himself – it is the lyrical hero of the poem who returns to his homeland. As an attempt at correcting this discrepancy the translator employed the phrase “Ты древность для меня открыла” implying that the author identifies himself with a hero of ancient times. However, the mentioned phrase cannot compensate for the lost allusion.

One more translation obtained from the internet for analysis is anonymous. Unfortunately, the picture it creates in the minds of its readers is very different from that of the original. Instead of the peaceful voyage of a traveler tired after a long journey, the translator describes a desperate struggle of a yacht for freedom. The yacht sailing in a rough sea is named Dream. This makes us think that the dream of the lyrical hero of the poem is to gain freedom, not to reach home after overcoming difficulties.

Хелен, твоя живая красота

Подобна яхте в буйном море.

Её движенья простота

Уже несёт меня на волю...

И имя яхте той - мечта [https://www.deviantart.com].

As for the Georgian translations of the given poem, I was able to find only one performed by Leila Gamsakhurdia and along with it I offer my own translation for analysis.

The first stanza of Gamsakhurdia’s translation reads as follows:

მშვენება ელენე შენი

მაგონებს ხომალდს ძველ ნიკეის,

რომლითაც მგზავრმა დიდ ჭირთა თმენით

სურნელოვანი ზღვა გადასერა

და მშობელ ნაპირს მიადგა გემით [პო, 2001:46].

This translation, whose rhymes and metre leave some room for improvement, is faithful to the original. However, I would still like to dwell on one detail: according to the original the ship is gently carrying the tired voyager, while the translation paints the picture of a voyager who is enduring hardships while sailing across the fragrant sea. As I see it, the traveler has already overcome the hardships and is now peacefully and safely sailing across the sea, which is calm and fragrant and not rough or dangerous.

Below is given my own translation, which has not been published yet:

*ჰელენ, ეგ ხიბლი სიმშვიდით მავსებს,
ვით მგზავრს დაღალულს, დიდი ხნის წინათ,
ცურვა სურნელით გაჟღენთილ ზღვაზე
ნიკეურ გემით, რომ აპოვნინა
კვლავ თვისი ბინა.*

I tried to find the suitable rhymes and metre and create the melody similar to the original without changing or ignoring different kinds of information conveyed by Edgar Poe's poem. I did not use the exact Georgian equivalents ("მშობლიური მხარე" or "სამშობლო") of the phrase "his own native shore" as I could not find their matching rhymes that would convey the same meaning as the original. However, I compensated for that by the phrase „აპოვნინა კვლავ თვისი ბინა“ (let him find his home/own house again).

Let us move on to the next stanza:

*On desperate seas long wont to roam,
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home
To the glory that was Greece,*

According to this stanza, thanks to Helen's "hyacinth hair" (possibly reddish-orange and resembling the bunchy shape of the hyacinth), her "classic face," and "Naiad airs" (In Greek mythology nymphs of rivers, streams, lakes etc.), the lyrical hero of the poem, who is used to sailing in rough seas, feels the glory of the classical antiquity – the ancient Greece and Rome. It should be noted that Hyacinth is also a charming representative of Greek mythology. As for the phrase "have brought me home", in my opinion, it is used not literally but figuratively and means "to get familiar with".

As in case of the first stanza, the first translation analyzed will be the one performed by Balmont:

*По жестоким морям я блуждал, нелюдим,
Но классический лик твой, с загадкою грез,
С красотой гиацинтовых нежных волос,
Весь твой облик Наяды - всю грусть, точно дым,
Разогнал - и меня уманила Наяда
К чарованью, что звалось - Эллада,
И к величью, что звалось – Рим [balmont.lit-info.ru].*

The structure is extended; particularly the five-line stanza is represented by seven lines. Words and phrases are also added for the sake of rhymes, but those extra words are chosen in such a way to assure that they do not distort the poem's meaning. This leads us to think that the translation is faithful to the original.

Let us see the same stanza translated by Bryosov:

*В морях Скорбей я был томим,
Но гиацинтовые пряди*

*Над бледным обликом твоим
Твой голос, свойственный Наяде,
Меня вернули к снам родным:
К прекрасной навсегда Элладе
И к твоему величью, Рим! [По, 1924:2].*

Here we have seven lines like in the previous translation. The “classical face” has been transferred as paleness, which also stresses the subtlety and delicacy of the woman’s features. However, for some reason, the translation reads that Helen’s voice (instead of airs) reminds the lyrical hero of Naiad. Moreover, “brought me home” has been translated literally – вернули к снам родным (returned me to my own dreams. “Родной” means “native,” “home,” “own”).

It is interesting to analyze Tomashevski’s translation:

*Я плыл сквозь шторм, мечтой томимый:
Наяды взор, античный лик...
Влекомый им неодолимо,
Я славу Греции постиг
И грозное величье Рима [По, 1976:51].*

The message conveyed by the original has been maintained, but the image of the “hyacinth hair” is lost, or, more exactly, substituted by a different phrase. The idiomatic expression “brought me home” has been translated adequately using the Russian word “постиг” (to comprehend, perceive, grasp).

This is how Dubrovkin translated the given stanza:

*Твои античные черты
С игривой прелестью наяды*

Для нас классически чисты:

К величью Рима и Эллады

Скитальца возвращаешь ты [По, 1988:106].

Again, the “hyacinth hair” has not been mentioned. Otherwise, the translation saying that Helen’s classical features take the traveler back to the glory of Rome and Greece, is quite adequate.

As for the anonymous translation, allusions have been ignored in the second stanza as well. The glory of Greece and grandeur of Rome has been represented by the phrase “К земле святого покаянья” (to the land of sacred worship). Moreover, the lyrical hero has not felt the glory of the antique world yet, and still continues his way towards the holy land.

И вдруг... шторм в море утихает.

Твоё лицо, твои власы, твоё дыханье...

Твой образ море восхищает.

И продолжает путь свой странник

К земле святого покаянья [https://www.deviantart.com].

In contrast to the above translation, the allusions of the original have been maintained in Gamsakhurdia’s translation. It reads that the lyrical hero has travelled a lot in dangerous seas and the woman represents the past glory of Greece and Rome. However, the link between these two statements – that the woman’s beauty allowed the tired poet to feel the grandeur of the antique world - is not clear enough.

ბევრი მივლია შფოთიან გლვებით;

ნატიფი სახით, სუმბულის თმებით

და სინარნარით ნაიადების,

შენ ხარ ხატება ანტიკურ რომის

და საბერძნეთის წარსულ დიდების [პო, 2001:46].

Last comes my own translation:

*მღელვარე ბღვაში უსასოდ მთენილს
თმით ჰიაცინტის, მწყაბარი სახით
და ნაიდას იერით თქვენით
დიდებულება მე დამანახეთ
რომის, ათენის.*

I tried to create the Georgian version of the given stanza without losses. For the sake of rhymes I resorted to metonymy – replaced Greece with Athens.

Let us move on to the final stanza:

*Lo! in yon brilliant window-niche
How statue-like I see thee stand,
The agate lamp within thy hand!
Ah, Psyche, from the regions which
Are Holy-Land! [An Anthology... 1972:263]*

This time the poet compares the source of his inspiration to Psyche. In the Greek mythology Psyche personified the soul (represented as a maiden with the wings of a butterfly) whose extraordinary beauty made Aphrodite (Roman Venus), the goddess of love, jealous and she asked her son Eros (Roman Cupid) to revenge the maid. However, fascinated by Psyche's beauty Eros fell in love with her himself. It is noteworthy that the allusion to psyche is very important and it should be maintained in translation as it refers to the young Poe's infatuation with an older woman and represents the subtext of the whole poem. As for the Holy Land, considering the context, it must imply the antique world. Let us analyze the translations:

Balmont's translation was performed in the same manner – with additions, but thanks to the translator's masterly efforts that did not damage any of the information categories conveyed by the original:

*Вот, я вижу, я вижу тебя вдалеке,
Ты как статуя в нише окна предо мной,
Ты с лампадой агатовой в нежной руке,
О, Психея, из стран, что целебны тоске
И зовутся Святою Землей! [balmont.lit-info.ru]*

Let us see Bryusov's translation:

*В окне, что светит в мрак ночной,
Как статуя, ты предо мной
Вздымаешь лампу из агата.
Психея! Край твой был когда-то
Обетованною страной! [По, 1924:2].*

It is really good except the last line, where the translator, apparently misled by the mention of Holy Land, associates Psyche with the Promised Land. In my opinion, association of the pagan Greek goddess with the Promised Land is not correct. This could be caused by the fact that the Holy Land has been used to refer to the Promised Land or the Biblical Canaan, but the context and connotation of the poem has to be considered as well.

Tomashevski's translation reads as follows:

*Ты, в нише у окна белея,
Сжимаешь, статуя над мглой,
Агатовый светильник свой.*

Там родина твоя, Психея,

Там край святой! [По, 1976:51].

The translation is adequate, remarkable for its melody and rhymes. The two final lines – Там родина твоя, Психея, /Там край святой! (There your homeland is, Psyche, the holy land is there!) – echo the end of the previous stanza referring to the glory of ancient Greece and Rome.

The next translation analyzed is the one performed by Dubrovski:

Тебя я вижу в блеске окон

С лампадой в мраморной руке,

И гиацинтовый твой локон

Созвучен певческой тоске

О райском далеке [По, 1988:106].

As we can see, the translator made an effort here to compensate for the lost image of hyacinth hair (гиацинтовый твой локон). In addition, he managed to maintain the comparison to a statue in a masterful manner through the laconic phrase “С лампадой в мраморной руке” (holding a lamp in a marble hand). However, having compensated the image of the hyacinth hair the translator changed the contents of the original, saying that it was Helen’s hyacinth hair that evoked the poet’s wistfulness about the distant paradise. Obviously, this discrepancy was caused by the need to find rhymes and the message conveyed by the original was not seriously distorted, but still it is not correct to lay such emphasis on the woman’s lock as the only thing that reminded the poet of the holy land.

The final stanza of the anonymous translation is even freer than the previous two. In fact, it has hardly anything in common with the original. According to this translation the lyrical hero begs the goddess, who is like a lighthouse shining far away, to give another morning to the world, which is a complete mess:

И вечером во блеске окон с перламутром,

Стоишь с агатовым светильником в руке -

Ты как маяк, светящий вдалеке.

Молю богиня, подари вселенной утро,

Ведь мир погряз в ужасном бардаке [<https://www.deviantart.com>].

I think that it is not worth continuing the analysis of that translation. So, let us move on to the Georgian translations:

სარკმელი შენი - ბრწყინვალე ნიში,

სადაც შენ დგახარ ვით ქანდაკება,

ხელში გიპყრია ლამპარი გიშრის!

ტურფა ფსიქეა, ზღვისპირეთიდან,

წმინდა ქვეყნიდან! [პო, 2001:46]

This is Leila Gamsakhurdia's translation, which is really remarkable for its faithfulness to the original and lofty style, but the choice of the final pair of rhyming words is not really perfect and the ABBAB rhyme scheme of the original has not been maintained here, which is true for the whole translation.

Finally, below is given my own translation:

ო, ისე დგახართ მაგ ფანჯრის ნიშთან,

ვით ფსიქე ტურფა, ქვისაგან თლილი,

აქატის ლამპრით, შეუჩით მოსილი,

წმინდა მხარიდან - სად მითი იშვა -

აქ მოვლენილი!

I did not use the Georgian equivalent of the word “statue”, but compensated for it with the phrase “ქვისაგან თლილი” (carved from stone), which will hopefully make it clear to the reader that the poet compares Helen to a statue of Psyche holding a lamp. I also added the epithet “ტურფა” (beautiful), as from mythology it is known that Psyche was immensely beautiful and it was her beauty that inflicted so many troubles upon her. Since Holy-Land is associated with the Biblical Promised Land I added the words “სად მითი იშვა” (where the myth was born) to make it clearer that the holy land refers to the antique world.

In conclusion, I would like to sum up the results of the comparative analysis given in the article. The present work deals with the five Russian (performed by K. Balmont, V. Bryusov, B. Tomashevski, R. Dubrovkin and one anonymous translator) and two Georgian (by L. Gamsakhurdia and me) translations of Edgar Poe’s poem To Helen. The analysis has been conducted in terms of faithfulness to the original, and maintenance of its form and contents, transfer of different elements of the poem, particularly its melody. It was of special interest to see if the allusions employed by the author had been transferred adequately by the translators, considering the great role of this element in the interpretation of connotative and subtextual information contained in the original.

As an object of analysis I selected the poem, which, despite its small size, is quite rich in allusions and poetic images and its translation requires philological research. The analysis revealed that most of the translations are faithful to the original, although some of them contain errors. In this regard I would like to focus on two issues: Firstly, a translator cannot confine himself/herself to the microcontext of the original work, but its correct interpretation requires further study of the macrocontext or extratext, which implies philological research. Such research can help a translator to extend the text or make it more compact (if needed for reproducing the right meter, rhythm, rhymes or melody). Thanks to that kind of additional knowledge a translator will be able to treat the material more freely and confidently without damaging its message. On the other hand, after studying the extratext a translator will not misinterpret the text and, consequently, will not mislead the readers. Secondly, it is a problem that very often the information conveyed by the original is sacrificed to rhymes, which is not acceptable at all.

Finally, I would like to offer my attitude towards poetic translation: in my opinion, the criteria for assessing poetic translation should be closeness to the original both in form and contents; maintenance of its melody, rhymes and figurative language; and the adequate transfer of connotation and subtext. All this is a necessary precondition for creating a text of equal value to the original, which is the goal of every translator.

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