

**GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN EUROPEAN
SCHOLARSHIP**

Edited by Elguja Khintibidze

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The land of Georgians has since time immemorial lain in the area south of the Caucasus Range, eastward of the Black Sea, at the boundary of Europe and Asia. The Georgian language and culture, the customs and mores of the Georgian people hold the beginning of the 5th century, the Georgians created a rich and highly important literature which, today too, is developing intensively, with its national Georgian writing – one of the oldest among the world scripts.

Interest in Georgian literature in Europe commenced towards the close of the 16th century. Hundreds of scholarly studies or pupolar essays have since been published in Europe on Georgian literature. The present monograph is devoted to their critique. It is the first attempt at tracing the history of the study of Georgian literary culture and at compiling a bibliography of studies published in Europe on Georgian literature and of translations of Georgian literary works. The monograph fills a substantial lacuna in the scholarly history of Georgian literature, offering a bibliography of works written by Europeans on Georgian literature to foreigners interested in the Georgian world.

FOREWORD

The present monograph is the result of a team work of researchers at the libraries and philological centres of various European countries and Georgia. Both the research team and the themes of problems to be studied and the methodology were selected and drawn up by me. The material was gathered, generalised, and the monograph written on its basis at the Centre for Kartvelian Studies. I feel obliged to list the scholars and students who responded to my call and participated in the work. These are the foreign Kartvelologists: Steffi Chotiwari-Jünger, Michel van Esbroeck, Heinz Fähnrich (Germany), Robert Thomson, the late David Barrett, Katharine Vivian, Donald Rayfield (Britain), Bernard Outtier, Gaston Bouatchidze (France), Luigi Magarotto (Italy), Fridrik Thordarson (Norway). The team at the Centre for Kartvelian Studies was formed of scholars: Arrian Tchanturia, Marika Odzeli, Maka Elbakidze, Gaga Shurghaia, Sesili Gogiberidze, Neli Saginashvili, Greta Chantladze, Kakha Loria, and Bela Tsipuria; students: Eka Macharashvili, Tamar Pataridze, and Maia Orkodashvili. Special mention should be made of those who worked together with me on the compilation of the bibliographies of the studies on Georgian literature published by European researchers and of the works of Georgian literature translated into European languages: Steffi Chotiwari-Jünger, Eka Macharashvili, and Neli Saginashvili - on the German version; Marika Odzeli - on the English version; Tamar Pataridze - on the French, and Gaga Shurghaia - on the Italian.

As work on the monograph continued for a rather long period of time (since 1994 to the present) and over a fairly broad geographical area (Georgia, Britain, Germany, Italy) some of the principles worked out originally by the team of authors had to be forgone. In particular, it had been envisaged that the bibliographies

would list essays on Georgian literature published only till the 1990s. However, some literary facts of a later period were gradually reflected in the monograph, finding their way into the bibliography as well.

Part Two of the monograph - "Georgian literature in German, French, English and Italian languages" - was written by different authors, owing to which the technical design of the respective sections lacks uniformity. The same applies to the various-language bibliographies as well; considering it a specificity of the scholarly literature of the respective countries, I have abstained from artificial uniformity.

Here I should like to express my gratitude to the administrations of several libraries for their ready response to my request by providing written advice or facilitating my work at those centres. In particular, my special thanks are due to the late P. Leonard E. Boyle, the Prefect of the Apostolic Library of the Vatican; to A.D.S. Roberts and D. Barrett, collaborators of the Department of Oriental Books at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Nieves Diaz, collaborator of the Information Department of the Madrid National Library. The latter supplied written information about the books on Georgia in the National Library of Madrid. I recall with deep satisfaction the excellent scholarly atmosphere at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, where I worked during the compilation of the above-said German bibliographies.

Here I should mention the scholarly centres of Tbilisi where the collaborators of the Centre for Kartvelian Studies worked on the compilation of the above bibliographies: the National Library of Georgia, the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Rustaveli Study at I. Javakhishvili State University of Tbilisi, and the Laboratory of Georgian-Foreign Literary Contacts. The members of this laboratory (Lela Shanidze, Manana Erkomaishvili, Nana Ingoroqva, Tamar Razmadze, Asmat Japaridze, Maka Kharebava, Valeri Khintibidze and Eka Kutateladze, together with me, shouldered the technical work preparatory for the printing of this monograph (desktop setting, compilation of the indexes, proof-reading, etc.) My special thanks are due to Prof. Levan Menabde who went through the manuscript

of the book and made highly significant comments, as well as to Assistant Professor Arrian Tchanturia, the translator of this monograph and consultant in the treatment of the English-language material. The English version of the monograph was finally edited in March 1999 at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Oxford in collaboration with Professor Robert W. Thomson to whom I express my profound gratitude.

It should be stressed that this monograph would not have been written without the substantial funding and moral support from the Information and Press Department of NATO by allocating a grant for the implementation of the project in 1994-96. In the grave economic situation in Georgia at the time the cited grant proved the only material basis that enabled me to complete this laborious task. Here mention should also be made of the financial or other material help received by the Centre for Kartvelian Studies towards the publication of the present monograph from Georgian state bodies or NGOs, among which I should single out the Department of Science and Technologies of the Ministry of Economics of Georgia, the *Horizonti* firm and the *Free Society - Georgia*. My one-month visit to Oxford, funded by the British Academy within the framework of a joint programme with the Georgian Academy of Sciences, proved very useful in the final stage of editing the English version of the monograph.

Elguja Khintibidze
September, 2000

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P R E F A C E

In its early as well as later stages, the Georgian world was and still is closely linked to the process of European civilisation. The geographical location of the land of Georgians at the boundary of Asia and Europe is reflected in the character of Georgian culture, involving both Eastern and Western traits. However, the Georgian phenomenon is not reducible to a mere synthesis of Eastern and Western elements, for its main formational stages - lost in antiquity - remain obscure to modern scholarship. That is why the interest of humanitarian disciplines in the core issues of Georgian studies has gradually grown over the past decades, viz. the ethnogeny of the Georgians, the uniqueness of the Georgian parent language families, the mystery of the Georgian folk musical culture, the Georgian mythos and the Georgian-Caucasian world in Classical mythology, etc. Among these problems the study of the centuries-old Georgian literature holds a very important place, for the major peripeteias of European civilisation have found peculiar reflection in Georgian literary sources, beginning with the 5th century. There are substantial facts to prove direct or typological relationship with Byzantine literature, European Renaissance thinking, and modern Russian and European literatures.

As a set of disciplines studying Georgian history, language, literature, art and culture, Georgian Studies or Kartvelology is a relatively young branch of knowledge. The principal cause of this delay in the scholarly study of the Georgian phenomenon is the political vicissitudes Georgia found herself in from the second half of the 13th century. Scholarly research into Kartvelological problems in Europe commenced at the end of the 18th Century. Interest in the Georgian world became manifest from different angles: individual facts of Georgia's heroic and tragic history, the uniqueness of the Georgian and other Kartvelian languages, Georgian Christianity and the Georgian Church. Scholarly gratification of this varied interests in the Georgian world was based

on the study of Georgian literary sources. Thus, Kartvelological research in Europe was based from the start on the study of individual works of the rich Georgian literature.

European interest in Georgian literature stemmed in different times from various causes. Whereas in 17th century Rome the desire to gain an insight into the Georgian world by the *Propaganda fide* was prompted by missionary objectives, the *Société Asiatique* of Paris was interested in Georgia as a little-known country of the East. These first steps were followed by a closer European acquaintance with the Georgian people and Georgian literature. This led to a direct interest in the study of the Georgian world out of warmth and affection for this people, and the exotic perception of the Georgian world. The desire to gain an insight into the unique Georgian phenomenon became obvious in the works of many 19th-century Europeans. In the 20th century European scholarship studied Georgian literature not only for its own sake, i.e. to study just one rich and interesting national literature, but from general human interest as well. There came an awareness of the fact that Georgian literature was an inalienable and significant constituent of European civilisation. Hence, the study of the Georgian translations of the Bible was conducted in general bibliological interests: Georgian biblical texts allow to make important conclusions on the shaping and diffusion of the Eastern versions of the Bible. Study of Georgian hagiography permits to fill a major gap in the history of Byzantine hagiography: the lives and martyrdoms, considered lost in Byzantine literature, show up in Georgian writings. Georgian secular literature of the 12th-13th centuries evinces early impulses of Renaissance thought, providing significant material for the study of the geographical and chronological boundaries of the inception of European Renaissance culture. The process that gave rise to certain trends in East-European, particularly Russian, literature are discernible in Georgian literature of the 20th century.

European research into Georgian literature is of major importance for Georgian Kartvelology proper, which lies in the fact that Georgian themes thereby enter the world arena. In addition, this means a Western contribution to the scholarly study of Georgian literature through the introduction of European methodology using differing criteria in its approach to the problem. Western researchers

often view Georgian literary processes from positions of general literary criticism, which is highly important at the present stage of development of Kartvelian Studies.

Georgian philologists follow with great interest the work of Western scholars in the field of Kartvelology. However, studies by foreign scholars are not always duly reflected in Georgian scholarship. There are multiple reasons for this: the language barrier, unavailability of the literature, etc. Most important, however, is the lack of a systematised and bibliographic study of foreign research into Georgian literature. The purpose of the present book is to fill this hiatus. To be sure, the way for such research was being gradually laid in Georgian scholarship. Reference should first be made to K. Kekelidze's essay on the significance of Old Georgian literature and the status of its study (In: "A History of Georgian Literature", vol. I, Tbilisi, 1960, pp.11-30, in Georgian). Special note should be made of the research done at the Rustaveli Seminar of Tbilisi State University into the Rustvelological studies of foreign scholars ("Rustaveli in World Literature", Chief Editor L. Menabde, Tbilisi, vol. I, 1976; vol. II, 1978; vol. III, 1988; vol. IV, 1985). Rustvelology is the only area of Georgian literary criticism in which more or less comprehensive bibliographies of both scholarly works (G. Imedashvili, *Rustvelological Literature*, Tbilisi, 1957) and editions and translations into foreign languages (V. Chachanidze, *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in the Languages of the World, Tbilisi, 1980) have been compiled and edited. Georgian students of West-European literature give attention to the Georgian theme in European literature, in particular to the study of topics of Georgian literature by European researchers. Notable in this respect are individual monographs on European Kartvelologists or on European translators of Georgian literary pieces (Al. Baramidze, Marie Brosset: Student of Georgian Literature, in "Essays on the History of Georgian Literature", vol. VII, Tb. 1985, pp. 229-239); Rusudan Dodashvili, Marie Brosset: Researcher into Georgian Literature, Tb. 1962; Leila Taktakishvili-Urushadze, Marjory Wardrop, Tb. 1965), as well as a series of essays on Georgian-foreign literary contacts (M. Tamarashvili, *A History of Catholicism among the Georgians*, Tb. 1902; D. Lang, *Georgian Studies in Oxford*, *Oxford Slavonic Studies*, VI, 1955; Sh. Revishvili, *On Georgian-German Literary*

Contacts, Tb. 1969 and German-Georgian Studies, Tb. 1977; D. Panchulidze, On the History of Georgian-French Literary Contacts, Tb. 1969; N. Orlovskaya, Georgia in the Literatures of Western Europe of the 17th-18th Centuries, Tb. 1965 and Questions of the Literary Contacts of Georgia with the West, Tb. 1986; G. Sharadze, The roots of English-Georgian historical relations and the inception of Georgian Studies in Britain, in *Bednierebisa da satnoebis saunje*, Tb.1984, pp. 3-34; S. Turnava, Foreign Kartvelology, Tb.1978; by the same author: *Bedi Kartlisa*, Tb. 1991, etc.). H. Rohrbacher's *Materialen zur georgischen bibliographie*, Bonn, 1986 proved an important guide to the compilation of a bibliography of German-language scholarly literature. The same is true of the bibliography: "Georgia in German-language Sources" (compiled by M. Gachechiladze, Tb. 1991). However, this as well as other materials in print serve only as pointers to the time-consuming work to be done in fulfilment of the task set. First, bibliographies of the basic works published by European scholars and of the translations of specimens of Georgian literature translated into European languages had to be compiled. The present monograph was written as a result of a further study and generalisation of these bibliographies.

The proposed study of Western research into Georgian literature primarily deals with the treatment of problems of Georgian literature by European scholars in the principal Western languages: English, German, French, Italian and Spanish. As the monograph focuses on the work of European researchers, emphasis is not made on works on Georgian literature published by Georgian researchers in Western languages¹. However, the influence of Georgian literary criticism on the work of European scholars, revealed by the studies and papers published by Georgian scholars in Europe, are of course taken into consideration in researching the process of Kartvelological work in Europe.

¹ "Georgian researchers" are not distinguished here according to nationality. Researchers of all nationalities, including those of Georgian nationality, are considered European who reside and work in Europe, are citizens of this or that European country and write their studies in a European language. Therefore, the Kartvelological works published in Europe in Georgian by Georgian emigres are beyond the scope of our present interest. They are not represented in the present English, German, French and Italian bibliographies of European researchers.

A preliminary analysis of the problem in hand showed that research into Georgian literature in Europe assumed a single and original form in the scholarly literature written in European languages. To be sure, Georgian literature is dealt with in the languages of the peoples of Eastern Europe as well: in Czech, Slovak, Polish, Bulgarian, etc. - especially after World War II, when Europe split into two political camps, Eastern Europe forming a close political, economic and cultural bloc with the Soviet Union. In this region of Europe, it is the Russian-language material on Georgian literature that sets the fashion for research into the latter literature. Thus, translations of Georgian literary works into the languages of East-European peoples are largely made from the Russian; scholarly studies of Georgian literature are mainly also translated from the Russian or are written on the basis of Russian-language studies; in encyclopaedias articles on Georgian literature are mostly translated from the Russian, and so on. Hence, I believe, study of the treatment of Kartvelological problems in the languages of Eastern Europe should be related to the study of Russian-language Kartvelological literature. Consequently, it is not the subject of discussion in the present monograph.

The problem in hand - Georgian literature in European scholarship - is studied here along three lines:

1. *Compilation of bibliographies.* Two types of bibliographies are appended to the monograph:

a) German-language studies of Georgian literature by European scholars; French-language studies of Georgian literature by European scholars; English-language studies of Georgian literature by European scholars; Italian-language studies of Georgian literature by European scholars.

b) German-language translations of works of Georgian literature; French-language translations of works of Georgian literature; English-language translations of works of Georgian literature; Italian-language translations of works of Georgian literature.

Such bibliographies have not been compiled so far. Despite the shortcomings (omission of bibliographical items, errors in recording individual facts), this first attempt may have I believe,

they will be of considerable help to both European and Georgian researchers¹.

2. *A brief history of the study of Georgian literature in Europe.* I have compiled such a history on the basis of the bibliographies just cited, consideration of the material on research into Georgian literature gleaned in various Western countries (Spain, Finland, Norway, etc.), and an analysis of essays published to date on the subject. The facts are ordered chronologically, the main centres where such work was carried on, the principal publications in which material on Georgian literature was printed are identified, and the work of the major European Kartvelologists dealing with Georgian literature is discussed. The sections of Part Two of the monograph dealing with the study of Georgian literature in German, French, English and Italian literary criticism, in which information about Georgian literature is discussed within the frame of the literary criticism of the respective country, serve to complement this brief history of research into Georgian literature in Western Europe. The accent is largely made on the listing of facts and annotating the views expressed. It should be noted here that some parallelism found here with the first part of the monograph is due to the repetition of certain literary facts - albeit in a different context.

3. *Scholarly analysis of the research into Georgian literature in Europe.* The novelties introduced by European scholars into the study of Georgian literature are analysed; correct solutions of controversial problems and expansion of the sphere of research are emphasised. At the same time shortcomings and imprecision, characterising European Kartvelology in tackling problems of Georgian literature, are brought to light. A critique is given of the typical errors regarding problems of Georgian literature prevalent in European scholarly circles.

¹ Chronologically the bibliographies cover the period from the inception of Georgian-European literary contacts to the 1990s. However, some literary facts of the 1990s are indicated in the research part of the monograph as well as in the bibliographies.

PART ONE

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH INTO GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN EUROPE

Among the national literatures of the modern world Georgian literature is one of the oldest and richest. Since the 5th century thousands of original literary pieces - written in the Georgian national script - have survived to the present day. Extant also are thousands of translated literary works, beginning with the Bible whose Georgian translation is attested in the first half of the 5th century. To date six Georgian redactions of the Bible are known. The extant literary monuments in Georgian are translations from the Greek, Armenian, Persian, Arabic and Russian. In some cases their originals are unknown to scholars and are considered lost. Beginning with the 19th century literary works have been translated into Georgian from nearly all major languages of the peoples of Europe and Asia. This rich literature has come down to us not only in printed form but as old manuscripts, the oldest fragments of which date from the 5th-6th centuries. Today Georgian books and old MSS are preserved not only in Georgia but also in the major libraries of Europe and America, as well as in mediaeval church libraries. One of the major poetries of the peoples of the modern world has been created in the Georgian language, crowned by Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, a masterpiece of modern civilisation.

First attempts at a scholarly study of this literature are perceivable in the Early Middle Ages: bibliographic (10th-century catalogue of the library of the Georgian monastery on Mount Sinai), a list of the literary works of a writer (catalogue of the works translated by Euthymius the Athonite, dated to 1002), a view on the

relation of the earliest Georgian redactions of the Bible to the original (Giorgi the Athonite and Giorgi Mtsire, the mid-11th century), an analysis of the old Georgian method of translation (Eprem Mtsire, second half of the 11th century), etc. Such scholarly interpretation of Georgian literature by Georgian monastics was largely made outside Georgia (Mount Sinai on the Sinai peninsula, the Black Mountain near Antioch, Mount Athos in Greece), showing that Georgian men of letters flourished at major cultural centres of the mediaeval Christian world.

The acquaintance of Europeans with some Georgian writers or individual works must have taken place in the same Middle Ages. Anyway, the Greek monastic corporation of Mt. Athos was aware of and appreciated the eminent Georgian translators Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites and their literary activity. This is seen from the fact that at the beginning of the 11th century Euthymius, whose talent had so far been known by his literary activity (translation) at the Georgian Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos, was appointed *epitropus* of the principal monastery - the Great Lavra of Athos, and following his death was canonised by the Oecumenical Orthodox Church. The Byzantines seem to have also been well-acquainted with the literary activity of Giorgi the Athonite, another outstanding Georgian writer flourishing on the same Mount Athos. He was consulted at the Byzantine royal court on key issues of the ecclesiastical split between the Greeks and Latins; ultimately, he too was canonised by the Orthodox Church. According to the evidence in Greek and Latin MSS, translation of literary works from the Georgian into Greek must have commenced in the Middle Ages. In 1048 an anonymous Latin translator in Constantinople translated the well-known mediaeval literary work *Barlaam and Ioasaph* from the Greek into Latin. In his introduction to the work, the Latin translator - describing his own activity - notes that the work had been translated into Greek by the Georgian monk Euthymius the Athonite (14th century MS N VIII, B10 of the Neapolitan National Library). That Euthymius the Athonite translated *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is indicated clearly in two Greek MSS of this work (Venet. Marc. VII-26 and Paris gr.1771). 11th-century Georgian MSS (Kutaisi - 20; A-558) point to the translation of the Georgian *Balavariani* into Greek. Thus, the review of literary works translated

from Georgian into European languages must start with *Barlaam and Ioasaph*.

Barlaam and Ioasaph was almost the most popular story of late mediaeval Europe. A charming plot, interspersed with romance episodes; simple and attractive oriental parables, interpreted symbolically to conform with the Christian moral; polemic with paganism through rendering the basic statements of Christian dogmatics - paved the way for the entry of this work into almost all Christian literatures of Europe. *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was twice translated from the Greek into Latin in the 11th and 12th centuries. From the Greek it was translated into Slavic and Armenian, and from Latin into almost all European languages. To date there exist nine Italian elaborations, and eight French, five Spanish, three Slavic, a Portuguese, German, English, Czech, Irish, Polish, Hungarian, and Dutch redactions. In Georgian the prototype of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is represented by two redactions; *The Wisdom of Balahvar* and *The Life of St. Iodasaph*. Both chronologically precede the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, being the first Christian elaborations of this well-known oriental story. The Georgian redactions depend on the Arabic-Ismaelite redaction *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdāsf*, the latter, in turn, being an elaboration - on the ground of the Muslim confession - of a redaction of the *Life of the Buddha*, preserved in Sanskrit, that found its way into the Arab world via Pahlavi.

In Europe this story was disseminated via the Greek metaphrasis and under the name which first appeared in the Greek redaction: *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. It is precisely to the translation of this Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* from the Georgian by Euthymius the Athonite that the above-cited Greek and Latin MSS point.

This view is shared and scientifically argued not only by Georgian but chiefly by European scholars¹. However, a different

¹ **P. Peeters**, La première traduction latine de "Barlaam et Joasaph" et son original grec. - *Analecta Bollandiana*, t-XLIX, Fasc. III et IV, Bruxelles, Paris 1931, pp. 276-312; **R. L. Wolff**, Barlaam and Ioasaph - *The Harvard Theological Review*, v.32, 1939, pp. 131-140; **L.Brèhier**, , La civilization Byzantine, Paris,1950; **R.P. Blake**, - *Anal. Boll.*, t.68, 1950,pp. 27-43; **F. Halkin**, *Anal. Boll.*, t. 71, Fasc. IV, 1953, pp.475-480; **H.Musurillo**, , *Traditio*, 10, 1954; **D.M. Lang**, , Euthymius the Georgian and the Barlaam and Ioasaph Romance. - *BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/2, pp.

view is also popular in European scholarship regarding the authorship of the Greek redaction of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. This view is based on the indication found in a part of the Greek and Latin MSS of this story to the effect that it was written in Greek by St. John of Damascus¹; there also is a third view that rejects the authorship of both John Damascene and Euthymius the Athonite².

According to Georgian sources, we have other indications regarding the translation of Georgian literary works into Greek. However, owing to the non-survival of the indicated works in Greek, their interpretation calls for further research. Yet, I must touch upon one of them. Giorgi the Athonite wrote that Euthymius the Athonite had translated from the Georgian into Greek "*Balahvar, Abukura* and a few more other writings". *Balahvar* or the *Balavariani* was discussed above. The *Abukura*, indicated by Giorgi the Athonite is - in the opinion of Georgian scholars - *The Martyrdom of Michael of St. Sabas* - a Georgian hagiographic work of high literary merit. It was called *Abukura* because, according to the introduction to the work, the story of the martyrdom of Michael of St. Sabas was related to the monks of the St. Sabas monastery by the well-known ascetic Theodore Abu Qurrah. This work has survived in Georgian in a 10th-century MS, preserved at present in the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos. It is this work that Euthymius the Athonite translated from the Georgian into Greek at the turn of the 11th

306-325; **C.Toumanoff**, *Caucasian and Byzantine Studies*. - *Traditio*, 12, 1956, pp. 409-425; **G. Downey**, - *Speculum*, vol. 31, 1956, N 1, pp. 165-168; **P. Devos**, , Les origines du "Barlaam et Joasaph" grec. - *Anal. Boll.*, t.75, Fasc.I-II, 1957, pp. 83-104; **H.Grégoire**, "EEBΣ", 32, 1963, pp.420-426; "Barlaam e Josafat", (Edition critica por John E. Keller y Robert W. Linker), Madrid 1979, p.XL; "The Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph " (text prepared, with a study and comments by N.N. Lebedeva), Leningrad 1985, pp. 10-27 (in Russian).

¹ **F. Dölger**, *Der Griechische Barlaam-Roman ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos*, Ettal 1953; **H. Beck**, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, München 1971.

² **H. Zotenberg**, *Notice sur livre de Barlaam et Joasaph*, Paris 1886; **A.Kazhdan**, Where, when and by whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not written. - *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G.WIRTH zum 60 Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, vol.II, Amsterdam 1988, pp. 1187-1209.

century. Euthymius' Greek translation has not come down to us, but an unknown Greek redactor on Mount Athos entered this translation in the metaphrastic redaction of *The Life of Theodore of Edessa*. This is supported by the interpolation of the subject of the martyrdom of Michael of St. Sabas in the Greek work and a textual collation of the Georgian text of *The Martyrdom of Michael of St. Sabas*¹.

In the 12th-13th centuries secular literature came into being in Georgia. By its character (courtly poetry, chivalrous and romantic epic) it shows typological affinity with both Oriental (Persian-Arabic) and Western (Byzantine and French) literatures. Thus, Georgian secular literature was in accord with the literary style and taste of the world literature of the period. Bearing in mind that the 12th-century Georgia was one of the powerful states of the East and enjoyed popularity in the Christian world, it may be assumed that works of Georgian literature were translated or rendered into other languages. There are certain grounds for this assumption.

In 1942 F. Toussaint published a book in Marseille, entitled: *Chants d'Amour et de Guerre de l'Islam*. The book contains four poems by Georgian authors translated into French: Prince Zoumali's "La Rose", "L'embarras" by Chavtali, "La peau de Léopard"(Extrait) by Roustoual, and "Nuit" by an anonym². According to Toussaint's oral statement, made later to Georgian scholars interested in the fact, he had taken the specimens from the Arabic collection of poems by Abu l'Farag he had seen in the Library of Cairo University. None of the poems listed above are extant in Georgian sources. Apart from the title, the text of "The Panther Skin" has no connection with *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. However, the peculiar spelling (distinct from the Georgian tradition) of the names of the Georgian authors, entered in the collection, gives ground to conjecture that the French author might have found them in some Arabic source. The title

¹ **K. Kekelidze**, The romance of "Abukura" and its two redactions in Old Georgian literature. In: *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, v.VI, pp. 1960; **Datiashvili, L.** "The Life of Theodore of Edessa" and the "Abukura". In: *Questions of Old Georgian Literature and Rustaveli Studies*, v.V, Tbilisi, 1973. (in Georgian).

² **F. Toussaint**, *Chants d'Amour et de Guerre de l'Islam*, Marseille, 1942.

"Panther Skin" would seem to suggest its provenance from a manuscript containing Rustaveli's works and which begin with *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. The title of the poem was translated as "Panther's skin" by students of Rustaveli as far back as the 19th century (Marie Brosset, Nicholas Marr). In my view, the cited Abu l'Farag is the 13th-century Christian Arab man of letters Abu l'Farag Bar Hebraeus, born in *ca* 1225. He held the office of bishop in Armenia, and resided in Azerbaijan as well. Being a productive translator and compiler, he was well acquainted with Georgia. His writings contain evidence on the Iberians, their conversion to Christianity, and on the relationship of the Mongols and the Iberians. Of course the foregoing does not give ground to accept Toussaint's publication without doubt, as some researchers tend to. Indeed, so far there is no proof of the existence of the book indicated verbally by Toussaint. At the same time there is no evidence to demonstrate Toussaint's forgery. Thus, the rendering of 12th-13th cent. specimens of Georgian secular literature into Arabic cannot be ruled out.

In the 1220s the Georgian state suffered a political collapse. The Mongol conquest of the country was followed by its gradual economic and cultural decline. Georgia gradually left the main developmental line of European civilisation. The country's literature and thought, in general, became closed in themselves, and cultural contacts with neighbouring countries, especially with Europe, ceased. This accounts for the paucity of information about Georgian literature in European sources of the 14th-16th centuries. However, neither in this period is the occurrence of isolated Georgian-European literary contacts ruled out. Mount Athos may be mentioned as an example, where the rich traditions of Georgian church literature lived on long in the Iviron Monastery. The canonisation of several major figures of the Iviron Monastery in the 11th century by the Byzantine Church obliged the monastic corporation of Mount Athos of a later period to resort to Georgian sources in studying the lives of saints. Literary works written in Georgian on the construction of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos in the mid-11th century appear to have spread both through translations and orally among the Athonite Greeks. It must have been on this basis that the two works preserved in the Mount Athos

MSS 4467 and 4573, were composed: *The Life of our Holy Father Euthymius the Iberian* and *The Life and Activities of Our Holy and God-graced Fathers Iovane, Euthymius and Giorgi, Builders of the Holy and Great Lavra of the Iberians*¹. Furthermore, as established to date², Greek and Latin translations of a passage from *The Life of Giorgi the Athonite*, an 11th-century Georgian hagiographic work, have come down to us through three MSS of the turn of the 14th century (1251 and 1252 of the Greek *fonds* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; and 253 of the Greek *fonds* of the Ambrosius Library, Milan). Missionaries of the Catholic Church in the East appear to have taken early interest in the favourable and loyal attitude of the eminent Georgian churchman Giorgi the Athonite to the history of the Roman Church and to individual details of eucharistic practice. Greek and Latin translations of an excerpt from his *Life*, reflective of this attitude, was entered in a 13th-century collection, *Thesaurus fidei*. This activity is linked to the name of Bonaccorsi, a Bolognan monk of the Dominican Order, who resided in Greece for a long period of time. He is believed to have died in ca 1275³.

The 'rediscovery' of the Georgian world by the Europeans took place from the 16th century. This was facilitated by Georgian efforts to establish political contacts with European countries. With the ultimate fall of the Byzantine empire (1453) Georgia lost her only political ally in the East and - encircled by aggressive Muslim countries - faced the threat of physical annihilation. This prompted the Georgian royal court and the church to look for real friendly ties with countries of the Christian West and the East. On the one hand, Georgian political orientation tended towards Russia, and towards Christian Europe, on the other. According to the extant evidence, the

¹ The Greek *Life* of Ioane, Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites (ed. by M. Machkhaneli, Tbilisi 1982).

² **G. Hofmann.** Texte zum Religionsgespräch von Kaiser Konstantin X. Dukas: *Miscellanea G. Gabbiati, III (Fontes Ambrosianus, XXVII)*, Milano 1951, p. 249-262.

³ **E. Khintibidze,** Thirteenth-century Greek and Latin Translations of a Georgian Hagiographic Text: ANAΘΕΣΙΣ, Philological-Historical Studies, Tbilisi 1999, pp. 310-323.

Georgian kings: Konstantine II (end of the 15th century)¹, Simon I (latter half of the 16th century), and Teimuraz I (first half of the 17th century) sent their envoys to various European countries, especially to the Pope and the Spanish Royal Court, with request for aid. Although this initiative did not result in any real political help from the West, Europe became interested in Georgia, her Church and culture. Large-scale missionary activity started in Georgia on the initiative of the Popes, aimed at the propagation of Catholicism and rendering humanitarian and cultural aid. This was naturally followed by the Italians taking interest in Georgian culture and literature, and their first steps in the study of the Georgian language and literature.

Interest in Georgia as an exotic country of the East, was originally voiced in the writings of European travellers. The initial significant steps in this direction were taken by Italian missionaries. First to be mentioned here are the notes made with great care and precision by the Italian travellers Pietro della Valle², which for a whole century filled Europeans, interested in the East with great sympathy and love for Georgia. The last quarter of the 17th century saw the publication of the "Journey to Persia and other Countries of the Orient" by the French traveller Jean Chardin. A considerable part of the book is devoted to the impressions of Chardin's travels in Georgia in 1672-73, supplemented with the evidence of ancient authors on Georgia.

The 1620s proved especially noteworthy for the history of Georgian culture, for it was around this period that the *Sacrae Congregatione de Propaganda Fide* launched its activities towards training monks for their missionary work in Georgia. They were taught the Georgian language by Niceforo Irbach, the Ambassador of the Georgian King Teimuraz I in Rome. Georgian type was cast at the printing-press of the Sacred Congregation on the latter's initiative and the first Georgian printed books were issued³: 1.

¹ See: **E. Khintibidze**, Negotiations between the Georgian and Spanish Kings at the End of the Fifteenth Century: *Mediterranean Historical Review*. London 1991, v. 6, N 2, pp. 78-85.

² **Pietro della Valle**. Informazione della Giorgia data alla Santita di nostro signore Urbano VIII da Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, Roma 1627.

³ See: **A.S. Chikobava** and **J.L. Vateishvili**, First Printed Books in Georgian, Tbilisi 1983.

Alphabetum Ibericum, sive georgianum, cum Oratione Dominicali. Romae Typis, Sac. Congr. de Propaganda Fide, MDCXXIX; 2. Dittionario Giorgiano e Italiano, composto da Stefano Paolini con l'aiuto del M.R.P.D. Niceforo Irbachi Giorgiano, Monaco di S. Basilio... In Roma, Nella Stampa della Sacra Congr. de Fide MDCXXIX...); 3. Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis Lauretanae, (Romae, 1629). The above-mentioned erudite Georgian monk Niceforo Irbach made a major contribution to the casting of the Georgian type and the printing of the first books in Georgian. This was the first Georgian type and first Georgian books not only in Europe but in general printed in Georgian. The Board of the Sacred Congregation was aware of the major significance of this cultural fact. Appended to the "Georgian and Italian Dictionary" is the Dedication of Achille Venerio, Head of the Congregation's press, to Pope Urban VIII, stressing that books in this language had hitherto not been printed in Europe.

There was another great cultural sequel to the work of Italian missionaries and the activity of the Congregation. Maggio's "Georgian Grammar" was printed in 1643 in the same press of the Congregation (Maggio Francisco-Maria, Syntagmata Linguarum orientalium quae in Georgiae regionibus audiuntur..., Romae, M.DC. XLIII). This was the first grammar of the Georgian language. Its compiler, F.M. Maggio hailed from Palermo. Departing for Georgia at the Pope's request, he learned Georgian, familiarised himself with its dialects and made ethnographic notes. Residing first in Gori, Kartli, he then moved to Mingrelia and Guria, and travelled in Abkhazia. Returning to Italy, he called himself "a new Argonaut, with the spoil of the Golden Fleece"¹.

The first missionaries sent to Georgia by the Congregation were Theatine monks. Later these were followed by the Capuchin missionaries. Their long residence in Georgia resulted in valuable information reaching Europe about the mode of life, history, language and religion of the Georgians. Especially important in this respect was the work done by Don Pietro Avitabile, Arcangelo Lamberti, Giuseppe Guidice, Antonio Giardina, Don Cristoforo de

¹ **G. Zhordania, Z. Gamezardashvili**, The Roman-Catholic Mission and Georgia, Tb.1994, pp.39-264 (in Russian).

Castelli, Andrea Borromeo, and Fra Reginaldo da Lentini. Their Relations to the Popes on Georgia are preserved in the Archives of Rome and the Vatican, (e.g. Don Pietro Avitabile, *Relazione di Georgia anni 1624-1638*; Andrea Borromeo, *Relazione di Georgia, 1658*; Fra Reginaldo da Lentini, *Relazione di Georgia*)¹. Cristoforo de Castelli's drawings and notes on Georgia are invaluable², as well as Arcangelo Lamberti's books *The Description of Mingrelia* and *Sacred Colchis*, issued in Italy in the 1650s.

Beginning with the 17th century the Georgian theme gradually entered European literature too. European writers adopt legends from the Classical period (*The Argonautica*), historical sources (Tacitus' *Annals*), or stories on Georgia brought by European travellers. Occasionally, fairy-tale themes from the East are mystified and the development of the plot is transferred to Georgia. The play *King and Non-King* by the English dramatists Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher must be a free adaptation of Classical sources. The main character of the play is the Iberian King Arbasis who fights the Armenian King Tigranes. The play was first staged in London in 1611.

The news of Shah-Abbas' martyring of the Georgian Queen and mother of King Teimuraz I swept Europe in the 1630s. In 1633 a special letter was printed in Oxford, written by Gregorius, a monk³. In 1657 the German poet and dramatist Andreas Gryphius published a five-act tragedy in verse, entitled: *Catharina von Georgien oder Bewährte Beständigkeit*. The tragedy was staged with great success in Europe.

The action takes place in Georgia in the works of the French writers Gillet de La Tessonnerie *Le triomphe des cinq passions* (1642) and Crébillon's *Radamiste et Zenobie* (1711). In the mid-17th century the Georgian theme appears in the work of the English sentimentalist William Collins: *Abra, or the Georgian Sultana*.

¹ Preserved in M. Tamarashvili's private archive and the archives of the Congregation.

² **Don Cristoforo de Castelli**, Reports and an album on Georgia, ed.by B. Giorgadze, Tb. 1976 (in Georgian).

³ "A Letter Relating the Martyrdom of Keteban, Mother of Teimurases Prince of Georgians... Sent from Gregorius Monke and Priest... Written first in Greek, and now done in English, Oxford 1633.

Early in the 19th century the English romantic poet Thomas Moore sang to a Georgian girl in his *Lala Rooke*. In 1761 *La bella Georgiana*, a play by the Italian dramatist Carlo Goldoni was staged in Venice. In 1762 and 1764 Carlo Gozzi's play "A Woman-Serpent", in the same theatre of Venice, in which Georgia is proclaimed to be the geographic area for the development of the fairy-tale subjects. In Gozzi's *Blue Bird* the principal character of the fantastic themes is a princess from Georgia. In 1791 the German writer Friedrich Maximilian Klingler wrote his *Medea*. The Austrian dramatist Franz Grillparzer wrote his *Das goldene Vlies* around 1820.

The name of Georgia gradually appears in collections of fairy-tales stemming from the East. However, these tales have nothing to do with the Georgian world either in origin or in folklore-ethnographic traits. Such are, e.g. a collection of Turkish fairy-tales: "Turkish tales, consisting of several extraordinary adventures, with the history of the Sultanness of Persia and the visiers", published, first in French (Amsterdam 1707) and then in English (London 1708) by Antoine Galland and Pétis de la Croix; and the "Chinese Fairy-tales", published in two volumes in Paris by T. S. Gueulette, whose main characters are - according to the plot - connected with Georgia. Fairy-tales of properly Georgian origin had found their way into Europe already in the 17th century, unknown to the broad public. In the 17th century the Capuchin Bernardo the Neapolitan recorded Georgian fairy-tales, taking them home. Until the 1960s these records were preserved in Naples, and became the object of study by Georgian scholars only in the 1960s¹.

The records of travellers in the East, reports from the Persian and Turkish royal courts, the much talked martyrdom of Queen Ketevan, the Classical theme of Medea, drew European attention to Georgian women. From the end of the 17th century Georgian woman with her beauty, steadfastness and reasonableness became the main character of the French so-called gallant novel. The short stories on the adventures of Georgian and Circassian women must

¹ **M. Chikovani**, Georgian fairy-tales recorded in the 17th century. In: *Mravaltavi*, I, Tb. 1964, pp. 61-205 (in Georgian).

have come from the pen of Jean Batista Chevrement¹, published anonymously in two different works in 1695 and 1696².

A novel of the same type, entitled *Abdeker, ou l'art de conserver la beauté*, came out in Paris in 1748. The novel, whose author must have been Antoine le Camus, deals with the beauty of a Georgian woman, Fatma, - an exile in the East. The same motif, but closer to Georgian geography and historical facts, is dealt with in two novels by Barthelemy Marmont du Hautchamp: *Rethima, ou la belle Géorgienne*³ and *Histoire de Ruspia, ou la belle Circassienne*⁴.

The Georgian themes were made especially popular by the French enlighteners and philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries: the French *Encyclopedie* edited by Denys Diderot; Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs*, Charles-Louis de Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*; Winckelmann; Thomas Moore; Emmanuel Kant.

European interest in the Georgian world in the 17th century acquired scholarly character as well, initially directed at the Georgian language and literature. As noted above, the Congregation's activity started with the study of the Georgian language. This great work, launched in Rome, was preceded by the scant reports of descriptive character on the Georgian language, found in the writings of some European travellers. More important among these is the evidence of Salomon Schweigger. Describing his travel in Turkey in 1579, he speaks of Georgia too, providing brief information about the Georgian language. In particular, he prints the Georgian alphabet with a Latin transcription and opening part of the Psalms⁵. This is the first example of the use of the Georgian type in print.

¹ See N. Orlovskaya, Georgia in the Literatures of Western Europe of the 17th-18th Centuries, Tb. 1965, pp. 111-117 (in Russian).

² La Connoissance du monde, Voyages orientaux. Nouvelles purement historiques, contenant l'histoire de Rethima, Géorgienne, sultane disgraciée et du Ruspia, Mingrélienne, sa compagne du serrail; avec celle de la fameuse Zisbi, la Circassienne, Paris 1695. "Histoire et les aventures de Kemiski, Géorgienne", Brusselle 1697.

³ Paris t. I, 1735; t.II, 1736.

⁴ Amsterdam 1754.

⁵ **Salomon Schweigger**. Eine neue Reisebeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Nürnberg 1608, S. 85.

European interest in Georgian literary works is visible from the latter half of the 17th century. In this respect primary interest attaches to the archives of Bernardo Maria of Naples, who in the 1670s spent some ten years in Georgia. In his archive in the Capuchin monastery in Torre del Greco, near Naples at the turn of the present century Georgian scholars found a catalogue of Old Georgian church and secular literary texts. There are also fragments of Georgian secular literature and records of Georgian fairy-tales¹. Unfortunately, the information gleaned by Italian missionaries in Georgia was not known widely in Europe. Nor did the archive of Bernardo of Naples claim the attention of European scholars. The first steps in the study of Georgian literature in Europe were chiefly based on the advice of Georgians or other consultants with knowledge of Georgian², or reports coming to Europe via the Armenian language, the first Georgian books printed in the first printing press established in Tbilisi in 1709 (there are indications of the discovery of books printed here in Europe in 1714-15), and on the Georgian Bible published in 1743 in Moscow by Bakar, the son of Vakhtang VI.

Of European researchers more or less scholarly information about Georgian literature is contained in the book by the German scholar Georgius Adler on the Borgia Museum of MSS in Velitris, published in Rome in 1782³. Adler discovered Georgian-Arabic coins of the 12th-13th centuries in the collection of the museum, deciphering their Georgian legends with the help of a Georgian consultant. The author gives general information about Georgia, specifically on the Georgian alphabet and literature. He is familiar with the Georgian Bible, discusses Georgian theological literature,

¹ **M. Tamarashvili**, A History of Catholicism among the Georgians, Tb.1902, p. 682 (in Georgian).

² A Georgian, Stepan Avtandil, resided in Rome in the latter half of the 18th century. His essay on Georgia was translated into Italian ("Notizie riguardanti la sagra scrittura giorgiana, per ordine del card. Borgia da Stefano Avutandil scritta in lingua giorgiana, tradotta de Paolo Leoni", 1780). This Avutandil was the consultant of the German scholar G. Adler, one of the initiators of research into Georgian literature in Europe. The German F. Alter availed himself of the consultations of a certain *Baginanti* from Tbilisi, who knew Georgian.

³ **J.G. Adler**, Museum cuficum Borgiaum Velitris, Romae 1782.

and presents evidence on *Kartlis Tskhovreba* ("History of Georgia"). Of European scholars, Franz Carl Alter is the author of the first book devoted to Georgian literature¹. Alter was an Orientalist, professor of Greek, publisher of Classical authors (Homer, Plato, Cicero, Lucretius), and author of many studies on various languages, writing and diplomacy of oriental countries. He mainly discusses the Georgian alphabet and church literature. He collates the Georgian Bible with its Greek, Armenian and Russian counterparts, and touches on Kartvelian languages (Megrelian and Svan) and their relation to Georgian.

This attempt at studying Georgian literature by German scholars was continued by Johann Christoff Adelung, with his book, "Mithridates or Universal Linguistics"², published in 1806 in Vienna, the first volume containing Georgian material, largely of linguistic character. However, he dwells on Georgian literary facts as well, in particular Anton the Catholicos and Sulkhani-Saba Orbeliani, the printing of Georgian books, and points to the existence of theological and grammatical literature in Georgian.

Scholarly study of Georgian literature commenced in Europe in the 1820s, which was chiefly linked to the growing scholarly interest in Asia in general, reflected primarily in the founding of the *Société Asiatique* in Paris in 1822. It published a monthly, *Journal Asiatique*, which often carried material on Georgia. This journal printed one of the earliest reviews of Georgian literature in French, authored by J. A. Saint-Martin (1791-1832), one of the founders of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris³. In 1825 Marie Felicité Brosset (1802-1880), with whom the inception of Kartvelology in Europe and Russia is linked, was elected member of the *Société Asiatique*. The young Brosset had taken interest in the study of the Georgian language and literature upon familiarisation with the critical analysis of the Russian scholar Evgeni Bolkhovitinov's book *Historical Description of Georgia in her Political, Church and Educational State* (St. Petersburg, 1802), published in vol. XII of the "Annals of

¹ **F. C. Alter**, *Über georgische Literatur*, Wien 1798

² **J. Ch. Adelung**, *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde*, Bd. I, Berlin 1806.

³ **J. A. Saint-Martin**, *Rapport sur la littérature géorgienne*. In: *Journal Asiatique*, II, 8, 1823, pp. 117-125.

Travels", issued in Europe in 1819. Bolkhovitinov's book had already been translated into German and published by Fr. Schmidt¹. Brosset commenced his great Kartvelological work with a study of the latter work, a major role being subsequently played by his contacts with Georgian men of letters. In 1831 Brosset was introduced to Georgian princes - nephews of Solomon II, King of Imereti, on a visit to Paris. More important and crucial for Brosset's Kartvelological activities was the correspondence, started in 1830, with Prince Teimuraz Bagrationi, the son of Georgia's last King Giorgi XII, developing into personal acquaintance from 1837. The two men remained inseparable friends ever since. The history of Kartvelology as an independent field of the Humanities actually began with the collaboration of these two scholars in St. Petersburg, where Brosset moved with his family in 1837 upon his election as member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Here Brosset was gradually joined by young Georgian scholars, among whom David Chubinashvili should be singled out. A group of researchers into Georgian history, culture, language and literature was formed here. The shifting of this research centre to Tbilisi in 1918 led to the present developmental level of Kartvelology.

Brosset started publishing articles on Georgian literature in the *Nouvelle Journal Asiatique* in the late 1820s. "The Modern State of Georgian Literature" is one of his earliest publications, read by him at the general meeting of the *Société Asiatique* in 1828². Later, Brosset published his studies in Georgian literature in Paris, but mostly in the *Bulletin* of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Brosset's work in the field of Georgian literature commenced with his study of the Georgian printed books and MSS preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Hence his first studies of Georgian literary texts deal with the Moscow 1743 edition of the Georgian Bible (*Nouv. J. Asiatique*, 1828, v. II, pp. 42-50) and *The Man in the*

¹ **Fr. Schmidt**, Eugenius, Georgien oder historisches Gemälde von Grusien, Riga und Leipzig 1804.

² **M. Brosset**, État actuel de la littérature géorgienne par M. Brosset [Lu à la séance générale de la Société Asiatique, mardi, 29 avril, 1828]. : *Nouv. Journal Asiatique*, juin, 1828. t. I, pp. 434-454.

Panther's Skin (*Nouv. J. Asiatique*, 1828, v. II, pp. 277-294) (At the time the Paris Library boasted two MSS of Rustaveli's poem). This prompted his choice of *Miriani*, a fairy-tale epic story of the last period of Old Georgian literature for study and publication in French in 1835-36 (*Nouv. J. Asiatique*, 1835, v. XVI; 1836, Series III, v. I). Extracts from this story were immediately printed in English in London, according to Brosset's edition.

The focus of Brosset's scholarly research was Old Georgian secular literature. In the first place, it should be noted that he was the first European student of Rustaveli's poem, and the first to familiarise the West with the plot of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. This was the first assessment of Rustaveli's poem as one of the best creations of European literature. He was not only a populariser of the poem but the first to establish the text (1841, St. Petersburg); he interpreted the poem against the background of the socio-political and ideological world of the 12th-century Georgian state. Thus, he was the founder of the national-allegorical interpretation of the poem and author of a scholarly hypothesis on the identity of Rustaveli. In his view, Shota Rustaveli - the author of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* - was the same Chakhrukhadze, the author of the *Tamariani*. This theory was subsequently developed by N. Marr. Besides Rustaveli's poem, Brosset studied other texts of the classic period of Georgian literature: the *Abdulmesia*, *Tamariani*, *Visramiani*, and *Amirandarejaniani*. He drew a parallel between the chivalry of the *Amirandarejaniani* and the mediaeval institution of chivalry, thereby laying the foundation for the treatment of Georgian literature within the context of European literature. Brosset studied the Georgian secular literature of the last period of Old Georgian literature: the works of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, Vakhtang VI, and David Guramishvili, as well as the *Rusudaniani*, *Shahnavaziani*, *Miriani*, and many other pieces of this period. He was the first to draw attention to many aspects of Guramishvili's poetry - philosophical, religious, moral, and historical, the simplicity and ease of his poetic art, and versificational diversity. Brosset's contemporary Georgian literature also was in the sphere of his interest. In particular, he translated Ilia Chavchavadze's *Do You Call That a Man?!* The unpublished translation is preserved in Brosset's archive.

The Kartvelological work, starting in St. Petersburg under Brosset's guidance, led to an enhancement of research into Georgian literature not only in Georgia and Russia but abroad as well, particularly in Europe. David Chubinashvili, Brosset's co-editor of the second edition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, published an essay on the poem in 1842, which was translated into German in the same year and published in Berlin¹. Since then German scholarship began to pay attention to Rustaveli, his name entering histories of world literature, published in Germany, and, gradually, encyclopaedias.

Scholarly interest in England too started with the translation of works of Georgian scholars², which is linked to the name of Solomon Caesar Malan. This was preceded by the activity of the Biblical Society, founded in London, aimed at the study of Georgian MSS. In two reports, published in 1816 and 1820 by Pinkerton, a representative of the Society, presents information about Old Georgian Church writings, viz. the Georgian MSS on Mount Athos. In 1823 an Asiatic Society was founded in London. It became interested in Georgian literature. In the 1830s the British Museum acquired the first Georgian MSS.

This interest of Western researchers in Georgian literature was soon followed up by a closer acquaintance of Georgia and the study of the Georgian language, research into Georgian literature in the original and translation of its best specimens into European languages. From this point of view too it was Brosset who set the first example for European scholars. In 1847-48 he travelled through Georgia for a whole year, studying various provinces, gathering a wealth of material and making acquaintance of Georgian learned men. S.C. Malan and William Richard Morfill also made acquaintance of the Georgian world on the spot and studied the Georgian language. Journeys to Georgia for Western researchers were not prompted by an interest in travel. It meant acquaintance

¹ **D. Teshubinow**, Rustawel, der grusinische Dichter. In: *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*. Herausgegeben von A. Erman, Berlin 1842, B. II, S. 659-667.

² **P. Ioseliani**, A Short History of the Georgian Church. Translated by S.C. Malan, London 1866.

with the Georgian intelligentsia and establishment of contacts with scholars who could speak with competence with foreigners about Georgian literature. In the period under discussion foreign scholars had contacts with their Georgian counterparts: Platon Ioseliani, Gabriel Kikodze, Aleksandre Tsagareli, Aleksandre Khakhanashvili, Mose Janashvili, Ilia Chavchavadze, Iakob Gogebashvili, Ivane Machabeli, and others.

A new stage in European research into Georgian literature commenced in the 1880s. The Austrian couple Bertha and Arthur Suttner took up the translation into German of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Residing in Georgia for several years, they availed themselves of the consultations of the Georgian man of letters Iona Meunargia, the translator of the poem into French. To be sure, the Suttners' translation was reportedly not completed, and the part done is believed to have been lost, but an extensive essay by Arthur Suttner, entitled "A Foreigner's view on *The Man in the Panther's Skin* has survived in Rustaveli Studies. The essay first came out in Russian, and then in Georgian¹. It was the first attempt to find a place for Rustaveli in the European literary process. The activity of the German scholar Arthur Leist (1852-1927) proved more successful in introducing *The Man in the Panther's Skin* to the European reader. His translation of Rustaveli's poem was reprinted several times after its first publication in 1889. This was the first edition of a complete translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in Western Europe. (This was preceded by the Polish translation by K. Lapczynski in 1863). It found response in England too. In 1891 W. Morfill published a study on this translation: *The Georgian National Epic*. Leist lived in Georgia for a long time, collaborating with I. Chavchavadze, N. Nikoladze, I. Meunargia and I. Machabeli. Along with his numerous studies on Georgian culture², his anthology of Georgian poetry, translated and edited by him³, was of major importance in the popularisation of Georgian literature in Europe.

¹ The *Kavkaz* newspaper, 1884, Nos 265, 266, 267; the *Iveria* newspaper, Nos XI-XII.

² **A. Leist**, *Georgien - Natur, Sitten und Bewohner*, Leipzig 1885; *Das georgische Volk*, Dresden 1903.

³ **Georgische Dichter**. Übers. von A. Leist, Leipzig 1887; Dresden, Leipzig 1900.

The *Kaukasische Post* newspaper, founded in Tbilisi by Leist in 1906, contributed to the familiarisation of German-language readers with Georgian literature. Leist's scholarly activity was followed up in Germany. Alexander Baumgartner's attempt to review Georgian literature, published in 1897, was largely based on the works of Brosset and Leist¹.

European interest in Georgia grew following the foundation in Tbilisi of the French journal *Le Caucase Illustré* by J. Mourier in the 1880s. Mourier resided long in Georgia at the end of the 19th century, publishing his own observations on Georgian literature and translating some of its specimens (I. Chavchavadze's *The Hermit*, Mingrelian fairy-tales).

The work of the English brother and sister Oliver and Marjory Wardrop proved especially significant in the study of Georgian literature. John Oliver Wardrop (1864-1948) was a diplomat and the UK representative in Russia. He developed an interest in Georgian culture, which proved contagious for his sister Marjory Scott Wardrop (1869-1909). The Wardrops studied Georgian, travelled in the country several times, made close acquaintance with the Georgian people and intelligentsia, establishing friendship with its best representatives (Marjory Wardrop's friendship and correspondence with Ilia Chavchavadze form a brilliant page in Georgian-English literary relations). Oliver's book *The Kingdom of Georgia*², published in London in 1888 played a major role in the popularisation of the Georgian world. He translated several Georgian literary texts. Marjory followed the same path. An outstanding role in acquainting Europe with Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and, generally, in its popularisation in the world was played by Marjory's translation, which was published in 1912 with a preface and notes by Oliver Wardrop³.

¹ **A. Baumgartner**, Die georgische Literatur. In: "Geschichte der Weltliteratur", Bd. 1. Freiburg 1897. S. 256-268.

² **O. Wardrop**, The Kingdom of Georgia. Notes of Travel in a Land of Women, Wine and Song, London 1888.

³ **The Man in the Panther's Skin**. A Romantic Epic by Shot'ha Rust'haveli. A Close Rendering from the Georgian Attempted by Marjory Scott Wardrop, London 1912.

At the turn of the present century, work in Kartvelology, viz. in the study of Georgian literature, made particular progress in St. Petersburg, under the direction of the well-known scholar Nicholas Marr. A new wave of interest in Georgian literature swept Europe, caused by the many scholarly studies he published in Russian, and through his pupils. Thus, his pupil Ivane Javakhishvili roused the interest of such an eminent student of Eastern Christianity, as A. Harnack whose lectures Javakhishvili attended. Their joint work resulted in the publication of the German translation of *The Passion of Evstate of Mtskheta* with studies and comments, in 1902¹.

The work started by Harnack was continued. Soon K. Schultz's German translation of another brilliant piece of Georgian hagiography, *The Martyrdom of Abo Tbileli* came out². Marr's Russian translations of rare specimens of Byzantine literature drew the attention of European bibliologists. In this respect Marr's Russian translation of the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* by Hippolytus of Rome³ drew wide response. Parts of this work were translated into German and French by J. Bonwetsch⁴ and M. Brière⁵. In 1909 Marr published the Russian translation of *The Capture of Jerusalem* by the 7th-century Byzantine author Antiochus Strategus. A 10th-century Georgian translation of the latter work is preserved among Georgian MSS⁶. In 1910 an English translation of the same work was published in London by F. Conybeare.

An attempt to treat Georgian church literature is made in F. Fink's essay "Georgian Literature" which was entered in a solid

¹ **Das Martyrium des heiligen Eustatius von Mzcheta.** Übers. von Dschawachoff. Bearb. von A. Harnack. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 1901. S.875-902.

² **J. Sabanidse,** *Das Martyrium des heiligen Abo von Tiflis.* Übers. von K. Schulz, Leipzig 1905.

³ **N. Marr,** Hippolytus - *Commentary on the Song of Songs.* In: *Teksty i razyskaniya po armyano-gruzinskoi filologii*, book III (in Russian).

⁴ *Drei georgische erhaltene Schriften von Hippolytus (Der Segen Jakobs, Der Segen Moses, Erzählung von David und Goliath).* Übers. von G. N. Bonwetsch, Leipzig 1904.

⁵ **Hippolyte de Rome,** *Sur les bénédictions d'Isaak, d'Iacob et de Moïse.* In: *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. XXVII.

⁶ **Antiochus Strategus,** *The Capture of Jerusalem...* In: *Teksty i razyskaniya*, book IX, St. Petersburg 1909 (in Russian).

edition devoted to world cultures¹. Despite the many factual errors found in this essay, it was often referred to by foreign researchers. A more or less complete picture of reviews of Georgian literature began to emerge in German-language studies. Important in this respect was Prof. A. Baumstark's paper entered in a corpus of reviews of Eastern Christian literature².

The study of Georgian church literature progressively became closely linked to mediaeval and Byzantine studies. It became gradually clear that mediaeval Georgian literature fully represents the process of Christian thought, preserving ample material for a correct understanding of cardinal problems of Byzantine philology.

At the end of the 19th and early 20th century the well-known English Armenist Frederic Cornwall Conybeare (1856-1924) took up the study of Georgian church literature. Friendship with the Wardrops and a journey to Georgia helped him to study Georgian. In 1896 he published two studies on two cardinal problems of Georgian ecclesiastical literature: the provenance of the original redaction of the Georgian New Testament and the Georgian redaction of the *Balavariani*. This was followed by his study of the Athos MSS and the publication of the English translations of the Georgian redactions of individual texts of Byzantine literature.

A. Harnack's interest in Georgian literature found continuation at many scholarly centres of Europe. A singular role in the development of European Kartvelology was played by the Belgian orientalist Paul Peeters (1870-1950), member (and later President) of the Society of the Bollandists. He translated into Latin and published Georgian hagiographic pieces - both translated from the Greek and original (the "Martyrdoms" and "Lives" of Razhden the Protomartyr, Shushanik, Konstanti Kakhi, Ilarion the Georgian, Serapion of Zarzma, Grigol Khandzteli, Euthymius the Athonite, Giorgi the Athonite, and others)³. Peeters studied not only individual

¹ **N. F. Fink**, Die georgische Literatur. In: *Kultur der Gegenwart*, T.I, Leipzig 1906, S.299-311.

² **A. Baumstark**, Die georgische Literatur. In: *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, Bd.2, Berlin 1911 S. 99-110.

³ **P. Peeters**, Histoires monastiques géorgiennes: *Analecta Bollandiana*, t.36-37 (1917-1919), p. 5-318.

works of Georgian hagiography ("St. Shushanik - a martyr of the Georgians and the Armenians", "Saint Ilarion the Iberian", "The Iberian-Armenian Version of the Autobiography of Dionysius the Areopagite") but also cardinal problems of mediaeval Georgian culture: "The Spread of Christianity in Georgia according to Hagiographic Sources"¹, the first Latin translation of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* and its Greek original and the Georgian version.

A major contribution to the study of Georgian church literature was made by the American Kartvelologist Robert Blake (1886-1950), a pupil of Marr and sometime professor of Tbilisi State University. Special mention should be made of his "Description of the Georgian MSS in Jerusalem"² and the "Description of the Georgian MSS on Mount Athos"³. He authored many important studies in the sphere of Georgian bibliology and patrology, published mainly in the *Harvard Theological Review*⁴.

The interest of European scholars in Georgian literature, and in general, Georgian culture, their advance in Kartvelology was almost invariably due to their contact with Georgian society, namely Georgian scholars. In the 1920s a wave of Georgian intelligentsia migrated to Europe, which was caused by the loss of independence by the young Georgian republic (1917-1921). In the late 1920s Kartvelological research in Europe was developed by the Georgian émigrés. Initially their literary and scholarly work continued mainly in Georgian. They founded Georgian newspapers and journals, and published monographs and various collected papers. Rich publicistic literature came into being, chiefly of political, literary and Kartvelological character. Review and research articles and monographs were written on basic questions of Georgian literature,

¹ **P. Peeters**, Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie d'après les sources hagiographiques: *Anal. Boll.*, t. 50, 1932, pp. 5-58.

² Catalogue des Manuscrits Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale Grecque à Jérusalem: *Orient Chrétien*, 3 série, t. III (1923-24).

³ Catalogue des Manuscrits Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos": *Orient Chrétien*, 3 série, t. VIII (1931-32) et IX (1933-34).

⁴ **R. P. Blake**, Ancient Georgian Version of the Old Testament. In: *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, 1926, pp. 271-297.

Rustaveli Studies coming to the fore (Viktor Nozadze, Mikheil Tsereteli, Zurab Avalishvili, Grigol Robakidze, Noe Zhordania, Ekvtime Taqaishvili, and others). The intelligentsia in exile continued Kartvelological work not only in Georgian. European citizens of Georgian extraction published significant studies in Western languages too, dealing mainly with problems of Georgian literature. The research of several Kartvelologists into Georgian literature should be specially discussed.

1. Mikheil Tamarashvili (1858-1911) is to be mentioned among the Kartvelologists emigrating to the West. However, he does not belong to the above circle of Georgian émigrés of the 1920s. He was expelled from Georgia in 1890 by the tsarist government for his public and literary activity. Tamarashvili's contribution to the discovery of materials on Georgia and Georgian literature in foreign libraries is outstanding. In Rome and Paris he traced materials on Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's journey to Europe; in Sicily he discovered the well-known album of drawings by Cristoforo de Castelli. Of Tamarashvili's works special mention should be made of his *History of Catholicism among the Georgians*, published in Georgia in 1902, and *A History of the Georgian Church*, published in 1910 in Rome, in French (under the name of Tamarati). The latter book evoked wide response in European scholarly circles.

2. Mikheil Tsereteli (1878-1965) is a well-known European Kartvelologist. Important from the viewpoint of Georgian literary criticism are his: German translation of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's *Book of Wisdom and Lies* (Berlin, 1933), edition of the Old Georgian texts of the histories of David the Builder and Queen Tamar, with translations into German (in *Bedi Kartlisa*, Paris), and his critical edition of Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (Paris, 1961).

3. Grigol Robakidze (1880-1954), a well-known Georgian writer. Following his emigration to Europe, he continued to write in German. At the same time he published Kartvelological studies in Georgian - and, occasionally, foreign scholarly journals¹.

¹ **G. Robakidze**, Die Literatur Georgiens vom 5. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. In: *Das neue Russland*, 6 (1929), H. 9.

4. Mikheil Tarkhnishvili (1897-1958) was an eminent researcher into Georgian Church literature. He edited texts of Old Georgian literature with philological studies: *Old Georgian Liturgies* (1950), *The Typicon of the Georgian Petritsoni Monastery* (1954), *The Great Lectionary of the Jerusalem Church* (1959). Jointly with Julius Assfalg, he adapted in German and edited Korneli Kekelidze's *History of Georgian Church Literature*¹. He is the author of numerous studies on Georgian Christian literature, in German and French, published mainly in *Le Muséon* and *Oriens Christianus*.

5. Grigol Peradze (1899-1941) engaged in extensive church and scholarly activity in Germany, England, France and Poland. He consulted his foreign counterparts in interpreting Georgian sources, translated into foreign languages Kartvelological scholarly literature, among which special mention should be made of his English translation of K. Kekelidze's study "Foreign authors in Old Georgian literature". He is the author of many Kartvelological studies published in various European languages, including "Old Georgian Literature and its Problems"² and "Old Christian Literature in Georgian Translations"³.

6. Shalva Beridze (1892-1970) was actively engaged in the popularisation of Georgian literature, especially of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*⁴. This work was crowned in 1945, with his Italian translation of the poem⁵.

7. Eka Cherkesi (1920 - ca 1945-50) was actively engaged in the promotion of the Georgian language and literature in Oxford. In

¹ Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze. Bearbeitet von M. Tarchnišvili in Verbindung mit der Dr. Julius Assfalg, Vaticano 1955.

² **G. Peradse**, Altgeorgische Literatur und ihre Probleme. In: *Oriens Christianus*, III, 2 (1927).

³ **G. Peradse**, Die altchristliche Literatur in der georgischen Überlieferung . In: *Oriens Christianus*, III, 3-4 (1928-1929); III, 5 (1930), III, 6 (1931), III, 8 (1933).

⁴ **Ch. Bérizé**, Chota Roustaveli: vie, idées, maximes, Paris 1928; Rustavéli ed il suo poema *La pelle di Leopardo*. In: *Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli*, IX, fasc. II-III-IV, Napoli 1937.

⁵ **Rustaveli, Sciota**. *La pelle di Leopardo*. Traduzione di Scialva Bérizé, Milano 1945.

1923 she compiled a catalogue of the Marjory Wardrop Collection. In 1934 she delivered a lecture at Oxford on Georgian culture and Georgian history. In 1928 she began to compile a "Georgian-English Dictionary", which was issued in 1950 in Oxford.

8. Kalistrate Salia (1901-1986) was the most outstanding populariser of Kartvelological scholarship in the West. He did this through the Kartvelological journal *Bedi Kartlisa* ("Revue de kartvélogie") founded jointly with his wife Nino Salia. He published numerous papers in French on questions of Georgian literature ("Revue de kartvélogie", vol. 17-18, 1964; vol. 19-20, 1965; vol. 21-22, 1966; vol. 23-24, 1967; vol. 25, 1968; vol. 26, 1969; vol. 42, 1984).

The founding of Tbilisi University (1918) ushered in a new stage in the development of Kartvelology in general, and in the promotion of European Kartvelology, in particular. Scholarly work in national disciplines at Tbilisi University began by continuing the traditions of the St. Petersburg Kartvelological School, carried on at the level of world standards of the Humanities of the time. This contributed to the progress of Kartvelological studies in Europe too. European scholars were invited to Tbilisi University to teach in Kartvelological fields as well. Gifted Georgian philologists were sent abroad from the University for training or research. Before long close contacts developed between European Kartvelologists and Tbilisi University. From the 1930s individual European researchers mastered the Georgian language, becoming Kartvelologists at home. In this they differed from European Kartvelologists of the turn of the century who, as noted above, were frequent guests of Georgia. This was primarily facilitated by the emigration of Georgians to Europe and the close scholarly and scientific contacts of Tbilisi University with the West.

In 1932 William Edward Allen's monograph, *A History of the Georgian People*, came out in London, marking a new stage in English Kartvelology. Allen's work was continued by David Marshall Lang (1924-1992), the most productive Kartvelologist among English researchers. For many years he led the Chair of Caucasian Studies at the University of London. He taught Georgian and delivered lectures on cardinal problems of the Georgian language, literature and history. From the viewpoint of the history of

literature special note should be made of his numerous studies dealing with questions of the Georgian *Balavariani*. In the field of translation mention should be made of his abridged translations of Georgian original hagiographic writings¹ and a scholarly translation of both redactions of the *Balavariani*².

Georgian Church literature, in particular, the Georgian translation of the New Testament in the context of the earliest versions of the Bible was studied by Joseph Molitor (1903-1978)³.

The study of Georgian Church literature in Europe was raised to a higher level by the Belgian Kartvelologist Gérard Garitte (1914-1992). He studied Georgian translated theological writings, publishing their Georgian texts with Latin translation and studies. He sought the place of the Georgian versions among other redactions. This is the way Garitte studied Georgian translated hagiographic texts⁴: *The Martyrdom of Saint Rokopi, The Life of Stephen of Saint Sabas, The Martyrdom of St. Goliandukh, The Life of St. Ephrem, The Conversion of Three Babylonian Youths, The Martyrdom of Saint Elien of Philadelphia (Amman), The Martyrdom of St. Riphstime, The Life of St. Cyriacus, The Martyrdom of St. Abd-al-Maih, The Life of St. Martha, The Martyrdom of the Saints Paue, Belus, Theon, Heron and Tinnis*. Garitte published a special monograph on the Georgian redaction of the *Lives* of St. Symeon the Stylite the Old and of St. Ephraem⁵; study of the Georgian

¹ *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints*. Selected and translated from the original texts by David Marshall Lang, London 1956.

² *The Wisdom of Balahvar, a Christian Legend of the Buddha*. English translation by D.M. Lang, London, 1957; *The Balavariani (A Buddhist Tale from the Christian East)*. Translated from the old Georgian by David Marshall Lang, London 1966.

³ **J. Molitor**, Die georgische Bibelübersetzung. Ihr Werdegang und ihre Bedeutung in heutiger Sicht. In: *Oriens Christianus*, 37 (1953); Die georgische Version der Apokalypse (von 978) ins lateinische. In: *Oriens Christianus*, 51 (1967).

⁴ See *Le Muséon*, t.66, fasc. 3-4 (1953); t.67, fasc. 1-2 (1954); t.72, fasc. 3-4 (1959); t.75, fasc. 1-2(1962); t.79, fasc.1-2(1966); t.81, fasc.1-2(1968); *Anal.Boll.*, t.74, fasc.3-4, 1956; t.79, fasc. 3-4(1961); *Bedi Kartlisa*, XXV, 1968.

⁵ **G. Garitte**, *Les Vies géorgiennes de S. Syméon Stylite l'ancien et de S. Ephrem, Ephrem*, Louvain, 1957.

redactions of the letters of St. Anthony and St. Arsenius¹; he published a bibliography of the works of Korneli Kekelidze in French². Especially valuable among Garitte's studies are his: "Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts of Mount Sinai"³, commented edition of Ioane Zosime's Palestinian-Georgian Calendar and the edition of the Georgian versions of the Acts of the Apostles.

Research into Georgian literature, viz. biblical texts, was successfully continued in England by James Neville Birdsall. He studied the text of the Georgian New Testament, its provenance and relation to the oldest versions⁴, as well as traces of the oldest redactions of the Bible in Old Georgian literary texts⁵.

Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* still claims European attention. Papers on Rustaveli's poem were published by the well-known German Kartvelologist Gerhardt Deeters (1892-1961). His extensive essay on Georgian literature was published posthumously⁶. In 1955 a new German translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, made by the Austrian poet Hugo Huppert (1902-1982) came out in Berlin⁷. This edition, which was reprinted many times, renewed the interest of German readers in Rustaveli's poem. In the 1970s a new translation of the poem was made by Herman Buddensieg. Extracts of this translation were printed in 1970-71 in

¹ See "Le Muséon", t. 64, fasc. 3-4 (1951); t. 68, fasc 3-4 (1955).

² **G. Garitte**, Bibliographie de K. Kekelidze (□1962). *Le Muséon*, t.26, fasc.3-4(1963).

³ Catalogue de manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du mont Sinai par Gérard Garitte, Louvain 1956.

⁴ **J. N. Birdsall**, Some Recently Discovered Georgian Fragments of the Gospels. In: *Studia Evangelica*, VI(1973); The Georgian Version of the Book of Revelation. In: *Le Muséon*, t.91(1978); Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian. In: *Studia Patristica*, XVIII(1985); The Georgian Version of the Acts of the Apostles. Text and Testimony. In: "Essays in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn", Kampen 1988.

⁵ **J. N. Birdsall**, Traces of the Jewish-Greek Biblical Versions in Georgian Manuscript Sources. In: *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol.18(1972).

⁶ **J. Deeters**, Georgische Literatur. In: *Armenisch und die kaukasischen Sprachen, Sprachen*, Leiden-Köln 1963, S.129-155.

⁷ **Schotha Rustaweli**, Der Recke im Tigerfell. Altgeorgisches Poem, Berlin 1955.

the journals *Mickiewicz-Blätter* (Heft XLIII) and *Sinn und Form* (Heft 6). The translation was published in full in Tbilisi, in 1976¹.

Research into Georgian literature was successfully continued by Julius Assfalg. Being a pupil and co-author of Mikheil Tarchnishvili, Assfalg dedicated one of his first Kartvelological monographs (*Georgische Handschriften*, 1963) to the latter. It was jointly with Tarkhnishvili that Assfalg adapted, translated and published K.Kekelidze's fundamental work, vol. I of *A History of Georgian Literature*. This book played a major role in the development of European Kartvelology. Assfalg is the author of many popular science articles on Georgian literature, entered in German encyclopaedias of the 1960s-70s. He highlighted Kartvelological problems in the well-known collections and journals *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* and *Oriens Christianus*. Of Assfalg's works in literary criticism his descriptions of Georgian manuscripts preserved in Germany's national and university libraries² and his essay "Georgian Church Literature" should be noted specially³.

Georgian theological literature is researched by the Belgian Kartvelologist Michel van Esbroeck. He studies Georgian hagiography in its relation to Byzantine writings, the structure of the Georgian *mravaltavis*, and the process of their origin and development, and reconstructs the oldest layer of the Georgian *mravaltavi*, dating it to the 5th century. He supplements his studies with Latin and French translations of Old Georgian homiletic, apocryphal and hagiographic readers. Of Esbroeck's studies in the field of Georgian-Byzantine literary contacts the following may be singled out: *The Oldest Georgian Mravaltavi*⁴, his studies on the Old Georgian translations of Greek homilies⁵, etc.

¹ **Schotha Rustaweli**, Der Mann im Pantherfell (Altgeorgisches Epos). Nachdichtung von Herman Buddensieg, Tbilisi 1976.

² **J. Assfalg**, Georgische Handschriften, Wiesbaden 1963.

³ **J. Assfalg**, Die kirchliche georgische Literatur. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, XXIII, 1957.

⁴ **Michel van Esbroeck**, Les plus anciens homélieux géorgiens, Louvain-la-Neuve 1979.

⁵ **Michel van Esbroeck**, L'homélie d'Eustathe d'Antioche en géorgien... : *Oriens Christianus*, t. 66, 1982; Un Palimpseste géorgien de l'homélie 38 de Grégoire de Nazianze: *Le Muséon*, t. 99, 1986.

Bernard Outtier studies Old Georgian manuscripts of theological writings with regard to their relationship to Byzantine and Eastern Christian literature. In his reviews he popularises the Kartvelological literature published in Georgia. From the viewpoint of literary criticism the following studies should be singled out: "The Georgian Collections Attributed to Saint Ephraem the Syrian"¹, "Uncial Fragments of the Georgian Lectionary"², "The Greek Model of the Apophthegms Translated into Georgian by Euthymius"³.

B. Martin-Hisard studies Georgian monasticism and related cultural and enlightenment centres in old Georgia. From the same angle she studies the Old Georgian hagiographic texts of *The Thirteen Syrian Fathers*⁴.

Thus, research into Old Georgian theological literature in Europe has made significant headway since the 1950s. This is understandable, for among the literatures of the countries of the Eastern Christendom mediaeval Georgian literature was the latest to claim the attention of world scholarship. There are reasons for this: the loss by Georgia for a long time of her statehood, the decline of the country's economic and cultural life over the centuries, and the virtual non-existence of a Georgian diaspora. In the meantime, the European Humanities - mediaeval, oriental and Byzantine studies - discovered, from the early 20th century, a most rich mediaeval Christian literature in the shape of Georgian theological writings, which had to be taken into consideration in solving many controversial problems of Byzantine and oriental studies.

The enhanced interest in Old Georgian theological literature has not slackened attention to Georgian secular literature. The solid ground of research into Georgian secular literature in the 19th

¹ **D.B. Outtier**, Les recueils géorgiens d'oeuvres attribuées à S. Ephrem le Syrien: *Bedi Kartlisa*, XXXII, 1974.

² **D.B. Outtier**, Fragments onciaux du Lectionnaire géorgien: *Bedi Kartlisa*, XXXIII, 1975, XXXIV, 1976.

³ **D.B. Outtier**, Le modèle grec de la traduction géorgienne des apophthèmes par Euthyme: *Anal. Boll.* t.95, fasc.1-2 (1977).

⁴ **B. Martin-Hisard**, "Les treize saints pères". Formation et évolution d'une tradition hagiographique géorgienne (VIe-XIIe siècles): *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes*, N 1, 1985; N 2, 1986.

century was further strengthened and developed. Modern Georgian literature entered the sphere of European research.

Gertrud Pätsch (1910-1993) - basically a linguist who studied the structure of the Old Georgian verb - devoted much attention to research into the works of Rustaveli¹, Vazha Pshavela², and K. Gamsakhurdia³. She translated into German K. Gamsakhurdia's novel *The Right Hand of a Great Master*, and other literary texts, including mediaeval Georgian historical chronicles, viz. *Kartlis Tskhovreba*.⁴

Problems of Georgian literature appeared in Spanish-language literature. In 1984 Gustavo de la Torre Botarro published his own poetic translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into Spanish (Santiago)⁵. Fragments in prose of Rustaveli's poem in Spanish were first printed in 1930 (Madrid). The poem was translated into Basque by Shabier Kintana, a Basque Kartvelologist and linguist⁶. He is the compiler and translator into Basque of "An Anthology of Georgian Poetry".

In the 1970s the English-speaking world received two new translations of Rustaveli's poem, one by Katharine Vivian, an English writer and well-known Kartvelologist⁷. She also translated part of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* - the period of Lasha Giorgi, as well as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's *The Book of Wisdom and Lies*. She

¹ **G. Pätsch**, Der Mann im Pantherfell als Zeitdokument. In: *Sinn und Form*, 22 (1979).

² **G. Pätsch**, Washa-Pschawela und der Realismus. In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der FSU*, 22(1973).

³ **G. Pätsch**, K. Gamsakhurdia 1893-1975. In: *Georgien. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der FSU*, 26(1977).

⁴ Des Leben Kartlis. Eine Chronik aus Georgien, 300-1200. Herausgegeben von Gertrud Pätsch, Leipzig 1985.

⁵ **Shota Rustaveli**, El Caballero de la Piel de Tigre. (Traducción Española de Gustavo Alfredo de la Torre Botarro), Santiago de Chile 1964.

⁶ **Xota Rustaveli**, Zaldun tigelarruduna (Xabier Kintanak georgieratik itzulua), 1999, Zubia Editoriala, Madrid.

⁷ **Shota Rustaveli**, The Knight in Panther Skin. A free translation in prose by K. Vivian, London 1977.

published papers on *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, and in general, on Georgian secular literature of the classic period¹.

The other translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, issued in 1977, belongs to the English Kartvelologist Robert Stevenson². R. Stevenson is a well-known researcher of Rustaveli's poem³, as well as of other pieces of secular literature: *Didmouraviani*, *Omainiani*, and *Amirandarejaniani*. He published an English translation of the latter work⁴.

Modern Georgian literature is researched by the English scholar Donald Rayfield. He has translated and published with comments Vazha Pshavela's poem⁵, as well as those of Titsian and Galaktion Tabidze⁶, and is doing research into the life and works of Georgian symbolists in relation to the Russian poetry of the same period.

The Italian Kartvelologist Luigi Magarotto has made Georgian symbolism the main theme of his research. He translates into Italian individual masterpieces of Georgian poetry and prose (poems of Galaktion and Titsian Tabidze, Ilia Chavchavadze's *On the Gallows*, Paolo Iashvili's *The First Word* and Vazha-Pshavela's *Poems* in co-authorship with Gianroberto Scarcia). Magarotto has authored many encyclopaedic articles on Georgian writers. Along with Georgian symbolism and futurism, he studies Ilia Chavchavadze's works⁷ and the poetry of Vazha Pshavela¹.

¹ **K. Vivian**, Vepkhistaqasani: Elements from Eastern and Western Cultures. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, XXXIX, 1981; Sufic Traces in Georgian Literature, Kent 1982.

² **Shota Rustaveli**, The Lord of the Panther-Skin. A Georgian Romance of Chivalry. Translated by R.H. Stevenson, New York 1977.

³ **R. Stevenson**, A Note on Rustaveli's Panther-Symbol. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, II-III, 1957; On Translating Rustaveli. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, VIII-IX, 1960.

⁴ **M. Khoneli**, Amirandarejaniani. Translated by Robert Stevenson, Oxford 1958.

⁵ **D. Rayfield**, Važa Pšavela, Aluda Ketelauri. (Introduction and Translation). In: *Modern Poetry in Translation*, 1983, I; Vazha Pshavela, Three Poems. (Translated from Georgian by **D. Rayfield**), Tbilisi 1981.

⁶ **D. Rayfield**, Georgian Poetry: Titsian and Galaktion Tabidze. (Introduction and Translation). In: *Modern Poetry in Translations*, 1974. Galaktion Tabidze, Ten Poems. (Translated by **D. Rayfield**), Tbilisi 1975.

⁷ **L. Magarotto**, La poetica dello sguardo nel poemetto L'eremita di I. C'āvc'āvadze. In: *Annali di Ca'Foscari*, 26:3, Venezia, 1987; L'impegno sociale, Note sull'opera critica e artistica di I. C'āvc'āvadze. In: *Annali di Ca'Foscari*, 26:3, Venezia 1988.

A monograph published in French by the Belgian researcher Goldi Blankoff-Scarr is devoted to the study of the works of Nodar Dumbadze and Chabua Amirejibi, the two major representatives of modern Georgian prose².

The well-known Kartvelological linguist Heinz Fähnrich successfully familiarises the German reader with Georgian literature by contributing encyclopaedic articles on Georgian literature, translating Georgian fairy-tales into German, and writing essays and monographs on Georgian literature³.

The German Kartvelologist Steffi Chotiwari-Jünger is engaged in fruitful research into Georgian literature. She focuses on the novels of Mikheil Javakhishvili⁴, the works of Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, and the prose of Nodar Dumbadze and Otar Chiladze.

This review of European research into Georgian literature will not be complete without dwelling on the European Kartvelological centres and scholarly journals that facilitated the study of Georgian culture in Europe and at which European Kartvelology developed. Of such centres mention should primarily be made of the Collection of Georgian books and manuscripts in the Oriental department of the Bodleian Library and the Marjory Wardrop Fund at Oxford. The Fund was set up in 1910, after Marjory Wardrop's death, to perpetuate her memory by a decision of the Board of Oxford University. By this decision the Board of the

¹ **L. Magarotto**, La poesia epica di Važa-Pšavela. In: *Georgica*, I (a cura di Luigi Magarotto e Giancarlo Scarcia), Roma, 1985; Il sogno di Aluda. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 1985, v.45.

² **G. Blankoff-Scarr**, Quatre grands écrivains de la littérature soviétique multinationale: Thinghiz Aitmatov, Nodar Dumbadzé, Tchabua Amirejibi, Fazil Iskander, Bruxelles 1987.

³ **H. Fähnrich**, Georgische Literatur. In: *Sinn und Form*, 22(1979); Die Georgische Literatur und wir. In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der FSU, Jena*, 26(1977); Georgische Literatur, Aachen. Shaker 1993.

⁴ **S. Chotiwari-Jünger**, "Die Geächteten von Marabda" von M. Dschawachischwili. In: *Humboldt-Universität*, 5(1987); Der Weg K. Gamsachurdias zum künstlerischen Chronisten des geeinten Georgiens. In: *Georgica*, 11, Jena-Tbilissi 1988; N. Dumbadse. - Der Mann aus dem Weriski-Viertel. In: *Freie Welt*, 3(1981). Moralischer Verfall. Otar Tschiladses "Das Eiserne Theater", *Sonntag*, 12 (1989).

Fund should use the income towards building up of the Georgian department of the Bodleian Library, publication of Kartvelological works, getting English students interested in the Georgian world, public teaching of the Georgian language, literature and history at Oxford. Over the past 90 years the Fund has honourably adhered to these principles. The Georgian Department of the Bodleian Library is today too the only functioning academic Kartvelological library in Europe, whose holdings have been described by the late David Barret, an Oxford Kartvelologist¹. On the initiative of the Marjory Wardrop Fund many eminent foreign Kartvelologists and scholars visiting Oxford from Georgia have delivered public lectures in Georgian Studies. I, too, have been granted this honour. At the invitation of the Byzantine Society and the Marjory Wardrop Fund on 10 November 1976 I delivered a public lecture on "Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts". The Kartvelological work in Oxford has been summed up by David Lang². His, too, was a public lecture read at Oxford on the initiative of the Marjory Wardrop Fund.

From 1946 Georgian was taught at the University of Zurich by the eminent Georgian linguist Kita Chkhenkeli. He soon set up a Kartvelological centre and taught the young Swiss ladies Leah Flury, Jolanda Marchev and Ruth Neukomm the Georgian language. Under Chkhenkeli's direction, they compiled and issued a "Georgian-German Dictionary" (1974), and founded the Georgian publishing-house *Amirani*. From 1964 Marchev headed the Georgian Chair at Zurich, delivering lectures in the Georgian language and the history of Georgian literature. Flury directed the Georgian publishing-house. Together with Chkhenkeli, Ruth Neukomm translated from Georgian the *Visramiani* (1957), *Modern Georgian Stories* (1970), *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (1974). She is the author of articles on individual examples of Georgian literature in German-language dictionaries³.

In 1935-1937 an English-language journal, *Georgica*, was published in London by "The Georgian Historical Society". In all

¹ **D. Barrett**, Catalogue of the Wardrop Collection and of Other Georgian Books and Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 1973.

² **D.M. Lang**, Georgian Studies in Oxford. In: *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol.VI, 1955.

³ See e.g. "Kindlers Literatur-Lexicon", Zürich.

three volumes came out in five issues. The Society united both foreign scholars (W.E.D. Allen, E. Denison Ross, J. F. Baddeley, and Lehmann-Haupt) and Georgian researchers residing in Europe (A. Gugushvili, E. Taqaishvili, M. Tsereteli, G. Peradze, Z. Avalishvili, T. Margvelashvili, G. Gvazava, and G. Bochoridze), as well as Kartvelologists living in Russia and Georgia (N. Marr, G. Chitaia, S. Kakabadze, A. Javakhishvili, G. Leonidze, I. Javakhishvili, L. Muskhelishvili, and S. Janashia). As seen from the subtitle, the journal dealt with Georgian and Caucasian Studies. It published studies on properly literary questions, mainly around *The Man in the Panther's Skin*.

The journal *Bedi Kartlisa*, which came out in Paris in 1948-1964 in Georgian, and in 1957-1984 in French under the parallel name *Revue de Kartvélogie*, played an outstanding role in the development of foreign Kartvelology. The journal, uniting foreign and Georgian scholarship, was published by Kalistrate and Nino Salia. Conceived originally as an émigré journal, it gradually turned into a general scholarly publication that popularised Kartvelological work abroad. Both foreign and Georgian researchers contributed articles to it and it was sponsored by the French Academy of Sciences. D. Lang, R. Stevenson, H. Vogt, G. Garitte, B. Outtier, K. Vivian, M. Esbroeck, K. Salia, G. Robakidze, M. Tsereteli, M. Tarkhnishvili, G. Kobakhidze, and others contributed to *Bedi Kartlisa*. Its last issue (vol. 43) came out under K. Salia's editorship in 1984. An attempt is being made to continue the traditions of the journal by a new, annual scholarly organ: *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes*, founded by Georges Dumézil. The first issue (editor Georges Charachidze, Secretary Dominique Gauthier-Eligoulachvili) came out in Paris in 1985¹. The subtitle of the journal, *Bedi Kartlisa*, retains the old name. The journal was issued regularly till 1995.

¹ *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes*. N1. (*Bedi Kartlisa*, XLIV). [Ouvrage publié avec le concours du CNRS, de l'Académie Française, de la Fondation Meillet du Collège de France de la Direction de la Recherche Scientifique et de l'INALCO], 1985 Paris.

A significant contribution to the development of European Kartvelology is being made by the joint German-language journal *Georgica* of the Jena Fr. Schiller and Tbilisi State Universities. Heinz Fähnrich is its founder and permanent editor. The foundation of the journal was preceded by the Proceedings of the Jena University, entitled *Sakartvelo/Georgien* and issued on Fähnrich's initiative. Three issues of the publication came out (in 1973, 1975, 1977), the last number being devoted entirely to Georgian literature. *Georgica* is an annual scholarly journal, governed by two editorial boards - those of Jena and Tbilisi Universities. Its editors from Tbilisi University were Sh. Dzidziguri and M. Lordkipanidze. Since 1990 the journal has been printed in Konstanz, as a joint organ of four universities: Jena, Tbilisi, Saarbrücken and Konstanz. The material is presented according to fields of research. Studies reflective of all periods of the history of Georgian literature and nearly all basic problems have been printed in the literary criticism section of *Georgica*. The authors are predominantly Georgian scholars. However, European Kartvelologists, too, are among the contributors, namely, G. Päscht, N. Birdsall, K. Vivian, I. Bitsadze, H. Fähnrich, L. Magarotto, and S. Chotiware-Jünger.

There is another scholarly collection known in European literary criticism under the same name. In 1985 the materials of a seminar on Iranian, Uralo-Altaic and Caucasian studies, held at the University of Venice, came out in Italian, in Rome. Its editors are the well-known Italian Kartvelologist Luigi Magarotto and Gianroberto Scarcia. The second issue of the collection, edited by the same scholars: *Georgica II. Materials on Eastern Georgia* (*Georgica II, Materiali sulla Georgia Occidentale*), came out in 1988.

Five numbers of a scholarly journal came out under the same name (*Georgica*) in Amsterdam in 1996-1999.

Since the 1970s problems of Georgian literature have gradually become the object of discussion at world symposia and congresses. Initially, questions of Georgian theological literature found their way into the world Byzantinist congresses. Old Georgian church literature is a major ramification of Byzantine literature. Hence the problems of Georgian Christian writings broadened the

sphere of Byzantine research, step-by-step becoming an item on the agenda of Byzantinist gatherings. Later, questions of Georgian literature entered the agenda of world congresses of mediaevalists. A new tendency is observable (since the 1990s) at Europe's scholarly and scientific centres - holding conferences and symposia on questions of Georgian literature proper. A gratifying beginning is an international symposium dedicated to Shota Rustaveli and held in Finland under the aegis of the University of Turku and Finland's Society of Oriental Studies on 11-12 April 1991. The symposium was devoted to an interesting fact - the first publication of the Finnish translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. The story of this translation itself is noteworthy in highlighting the cooperation of European scholarly circles on problems of Georgian literature. The Finnish translator Olavi Linnus decided to translate Rustaveli's poem into Finnish. He was consulted by the Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. But the translator used mainly Marjory Wardrop's English translation. Therefore, reviewing the translation and supplying the translator with notes devolved on the late Kartvelologist David Barret, collaborator of the Georgian department of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The cooperation of Olavi Linnus and David Barrett lasted for years and was crowned by the publication of a poetic translation into Finnish of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*¹. The Turku Symposium brought together Kartvelologists from Europe (Katharine Vivian, David Barrett, David Lang, Vrej Nersesyan, Winfried Boeder, Tatyana Nikolskaya, Olavi Linnus, and others) and Rustvelologists from Tbilisi.

Since the early 1980s the Day of the Kartvelologist has been systematically held in London in the first decade of May. This tradition has been laid by the English Kartvelologist Tamara Dragadze who is its permanent organiser. Questions of Georgian literature are discussed at these meetings.

Since 1994 the Bagration Foundation has been organizing the Day of Georgia annually in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Papers

¹ **Shota Rustaveli**, Pantterintaljainen. Georgian kansallisrunoelma. (Suomentanut ja runomittaan sepittänyt Olavi Linnus), Helsinki 1990.

on Georgian literature are often presented at a scholarly conference held on that day. In 1996 D. Rayfield presented a paper at the conference: "What is Remarkable about Georgian Literature?" which was published in the *Georgica* (N2, 1997) issued in Amsterdam.

Three international symposia of Kartvelologists were held at Tbilisi State University in 1987, 1988 and 1994. The materials of the symposia are printed. At all these symposia there was a section of Georgian literature in which the following foreign Kartvelologists participated: Michel van Esbroeck, Katharine Vivian, Pedro Badenas, Dodona Kiziria, Luigi Magarotto, Fridrik Thordarson, Ivan Bitsadze, Steffi Chotiwari-Jünger, Vakhtang Djobadze, Konstantin Lerner, Patricia Karlyn and Nino Qaukhchishvili.

Georgian scholarly centres are increasingly supporting European Kartvelology. Visits of Georgian specialists to European scholarly centres to give lectures in various fields of Kartvelology are becoming frequent. Training of foreign students at Georgia's higher educational institutions is also conducted on a regular basis. A summer school has been organised. It offers foreign students and researcher-Kartvelologists intensive instruction in Georgian, general lectures in foreign languages in Kartvelological disciplines, and familiarises them with Georgia's scholarly centres and historical monuments. The summer school is conducted by the Centre for Kartvelian Studies, attached to Tbilisi State University.

Taking once again a bird's-eye view of the history of the study of Georgian literature in Europe, we shall notice that Georgian literature is slowly but steadily becoming the object of European literary research. To be sure, the study of Georgian literature in Europe still remains the subject of the private initiative of individual scholars. The above-cited editorial boards and libraries largely serve the popularisation of this literature in Europe. So far there is no scholarly centre in Europe in which planned research is carried on. There are no institutes or university chairs studying Georgian literature. This, hopefully, is a matter of the future. Beginning with the early Middle Ages, Georgian literature has been an organic part of European civilisation. It is large in its scope and profound in its problems. Hence, it will, I believe, take its clearly defined place in Europe's intellectual life.

PART TWO

GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN THE GERMAN, FRENCH, ENGLISH AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES

GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN GERMAN-LANGUAGE COUNTRIES

The first remarks on Georgian writing and literature in German-language sources are largely of casual nature. The traveller Salomon Schweigger, in his book *Eine neue Reisebeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, issued in 1608, gives approximate information about the Georgian language, writing and literary translations. In his 1782 work Jacob Georgius Christianus Adler, in discussing Arabic coins from the *Museum cuficum Borgianum Velitris*, speaks of Georgian letters engraved on the reverse of one coin.

The Austrian Franz Karl Alter, with his book *Über georgianische Literatur* (1798), is considered the founder of Karetvelology in Germany and Europe. Although in his paper , Johann Christoff Adelung¹ called Alter's book "a verbose hodge-podge" and disparaged its importance, "in which a very small place is devoted to Georgian literature", and Franz Nicolaus Fink (1906) "called it not a very successful attempt at presenting Georgian literature", it, nevertheless, was a noteworthy development for its reference to and description of many Old Georgian manuscripts and

¹ J. C. Adelung, *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachkunde*, Bd. 1. Berlin 1806, S. 429-436.

books, primarily attracting the attention of biblical researchers. The book says nothing about Georgian secular literature. The author, a professor of Greek and doctor of philosophy, was well aware of his task in writing: "I shall be delighted if I have the friends of this literature to amend and further complement my very limited reports."

Introduction of Georgian literature was continued in Chubinov's (David Chubinashvili's) paper, whose German translation appeared in the *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland* (1842). This professor, linguist and literary historian, flourishing in St. Petersburg, made the first attempt to introduce Rustaveli and his *Vepkhistqaosani* or Panther Skin (*Panther-Fell*) to German-speaking scholars. He reviews the historical situation of the period of the writing of the poem and the level of cultural development; he dwells in detail on the various printed versions of the poem, touches on questions of rhyme and metre, compares the epic with other specimens of world literature, draws parallels between the geographical names and characters of the poem with Georgia's geographical places and historical persons, although the action in Rustaveli's poem takes place in India. Chubinov speaks of the folk character of the content and the unity of the idea of the poem. Finally he points even to the shortcomings of the poem. On the one hand, he calls Rustaveli's poem "a national work of high poetic value" - an inimitable work "turned genuinely popular", though "in many places it reminds us of the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, of the poets and thinkers of the period, of Homer and other poets of Classical times", while, at the same time "the style is totally oriental, especially cognate with the adventures of The Arabian Nights". Elsewhere Chubinashvili writes that the poem "cannot be compared to the immortal creations of Homer, Virgil, Tasso and others". Perhaps the long-standing erroneous assessment of Rustaveli's work in the German-speaking world should be sought in the statement just cited. The translator of Chubinashvili's paper into German is unknown, nor is the identity known of the person who complemented it. The notes were presumably added by the translator or editor, for they contain explanations, debatable views and even questions.

Unfortunately neither did Friedrich Bodenstedt (1819-1892), who resided in Georgia for quite some time and who established a considerable difference between Georgian and Armenian literatures in his book *Tausend und ein Tag im Orient* (1850), make a significant contribution to the popularisation of Georgian literature. He focused more on "Tartar" literature prevalent in Georgia. Nevertheless, he roused interest in Georgia by investing it with oriental exoticism. He was renowned in Europe as a virtuosic interpreter of oriental poetry.

In 1865 the Georgian scholar Chubinashvili was again quoted in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt*. The author of the paper (Brockhaus) discusses the three volume "Georgian Chrestomathy or Excerpts from Works of Outstanding Georgian Writers", issued by David Chubinov in St. Petersburg in Georgian in 1860-1863. The reviewer calls Chubinashvili - along with Brosset - the initiator of the scholarly study of Georgian. In the Introduction, the author notes: "Two currents are easily perceivable in Georgian literature. On the one hand, Christian-Byzantine literature exerted a strong influence on the people. It is from there that the chronicles, legends, legislation and, of course, theological literature stem. On the other hand, there was the influence of Persian literature, which gave rise to such poetry that resembles Persian specimens in their subjects and forms". The Chrestomathy is comprised of several parts: volume I - Georgian prose, beginning with translations of the Bible, biographies, lives of martyrs, fairy-tales and romantic stories, historical fragments, letters patent and law codes. The author regrets having failed to obtain complete translations of King Vakhtang VI's Laws; Volume II - Georgian poetry: specimens of poetry, epic fragments, lyrical poems and panegyrics, beginning with Tamar's epoch to the present period; Volume III deals with *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. The author concludes that "By the time this poem was created, there was no similar poem in the West that could stand comparison with Rustaveli's work in versification and perfect rhyme". Here for the first time we find a novel evaluation of the work. Against this background, the finale of the review is unexpected: "On the basis of this information, Georgian literature, viz. poetry, does not make an epoch in the cultural development of mankind". Notwithstanding this, Georgia is assigned a major role

from the viewpoint of the history of culture (an outpost of Christianity, care for the development of poetry and scholarship, a link between East and West).

In 1883 another study, written in Russian, became known in Germany, viz. Vsevolod Miller's paper, "Prometheische Sagen in Kaukasus"¹, published in *Russische Revue*. The author is interested in the Caucasian Prometheus/Amirani. He devotes three pages to the Georgian version of this legend, bringing to light its difference and similarity with the Greek, Armenian, Ossetic, Circassian and Persian poems and stories.

In 1884, towards the close of their 9-year sojourn in Georgia (1876-1885), Bertha and Arthur von Suttner commenced, in Tbilisi, the translation into German of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* or *Tigerhaut*, as they called it. "Our return home had been decided for May; three months were still left till that time; we wanted to use this time for one thing which a friend of my husband - a Tbilisi journalist - had asked for. This was the translation into French and German of Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* - the Georgian national epic. Since we did not have good knowledge of Georgian, the work would have to be carried on in the following way: Mr. M. would render the original word for word in broken French, to the best of his ability; we would put this in perfect French, and would translate it into German from the latter. At the time, a grand, festive edition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was planned, for which the artist Zichy made remarkable illustrations". As Bertha Suttner writes in her *Lebenserinnerungen* (first published in Stuttgart in 1909), the translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was not published. Neither is there any indication in her archives about the manuscript.

A year later another German, Arthur Leist (1852-1927), began to translate Rustaveli. In his article in *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes* (1883), Leist reminded the readers of the "forgotten Georgian literature". Following an historical excursus, the researcher begins his review with the literature of Tamar's epoch. Along with other works, he names "*The Man in the*

¹ It must probably read *Prometheische Sagen im Kaukasus*; cf. Heinrich Rohrbacher, in *Deutsches Schrifttum*, Bonn 1986, p.76. Here the title is wrong: "Prometheus-Sagen im Kaukasus".

Panther's Skin (Das Tigerfell) or a poem named after Nestan-Darejan, a character". The author notes that while studying at the University, in 1881, thanks to Friedrich Bodenstedt, he became interested in the Orient and in Georgia, and that he has so far little knowledge of that country and its literature. He mainly analyses the situation in the 19th century. He dwells specially on poetry and prose, singling out I. Chavchavadze, G. Orbeliani and A Tsereteli. In his words, "The novel has so far not assumed its final form, instead, dramaturgy is on an upgrade. In the scholarly literature the historical line has come to the fore in recent years". Finally, the author announces his intention to publish the works of Georgian classics. Leist felt that he could not accomplish this without going to Georgia. In 1884 he travelled to Georgia for a month, then in 1885 he arrived again and with the help of I. Chavchavadze and I. Machabeli he started translating Rustaveli's poem. At the same time he translated specimens of Georgian poetry of the time.

In 1885 Leist's book *Georgien. Natur, Sitten und Bewohner* was issued in Georgia. Along with pictures of the country and its inhabitants, Georgian literature is represented in some detail, from the beginning to the 19th century, as well as first translations, fragments of Rustaveli's poem and works of N. Baratashvili, G. Orbeliani, I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, and R. Eristavi. This 40-page book was a first attempt at reviewing Georgian literature by a German-speaking author.

In 1887 Leist's book *Georgische Dichter* came out in Leipzig. This 150-page edition features 11 Georgian poets (beginning with G. Orbeliani and ending with V. Mikeladze). Here are 57 literary and 32 folk poems. This should be considered a fact of historical importance, for Georgian literature was not only written about, but specimens of this literature were also published. The author presents biographical data only on five authors. In the preface he notes briefly that all translated texts are new and have been selected as reflective of the people's way of life. Three years later a new, enlarged edition of the book came out, now containing 112 poems of 21 Georgian poets and 39 folk poems. The Introduction was accordingly enlarged to cover 28 pages, giving an extended account of Georgian history, culture and literature. Beginning with the Middle Ages and Rustaveli, Leist makes special emphasis on

19th-century Georgian literature. Within another three years the translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* came out. Although Leist did not translate the Prologue, the translation is slightly abridged, and Rustaveli's verse is not rendered in four-line quatrains, this attempt should be considered a significant development. In the Preface Leist says that his translation is the first attempt at rendering the poem in one European language. This statement is wrong from the viewpoint of Western languages, as A. Borin published a French translation in 1885 in Tbilisi.

The publication by Leist of such extensive literary material induced Bodenstedt to justify himself in the Preface to the fifth edition of his book *Tausend und ein Tag im Orient* (1891), viz. that he "had not mastered the Georgian language well", he "had to leave Tbilisi earlier than originally planned", and that "no poet distinguished for his works lived in Tbilisi at the time".

Leist's publications on Georgian literature led scholars of the German-speaking world to the conclusion that first the existing vast material on Georgian literature should be gathered, analysed and, as far as possible, translated into German.

In 1889, N. Seidlitz issued 100 Georgian proverbs. In 1900 Leist published 15 proverbs.

In 1896, the well-known Austrian linguist Hugo Schuchardt discovered the 17th-century Georgian manuscripts belonging to Bernardo de Napoli (who had resided in Georgia to 1670) in the Capuchin monastery in Naples. Schuchardt classed his "discovery" into various categories: 1) theological writings, e.g. translations of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; 2) dictionaries (Georgian-Italian and Italian-Georgian); 3) fragments of specimens of Georgian literature (short excerpts of one poem, one historical chronicle, of a vast novel about the Eranian King Baaman, etc.)

In 1899 an interesting discussion between W. Golther and W. Nehring took place in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* on whether there is an affinity between the Mingrelian "Sanartia Fairy-tale" and the *Nibelungenlied*, or we are dealing only with a similarity of reflection and situations. Although the arguments here tended in favour of the latter position, the discussion foreshadowed a new, interesting aspect: study of

individual specimens of Georgian literature and their introduction into the world literary process.

In 1897 a review of Georgian literature was published for the first time in the subsection of vol. 2 of the *Freiburg Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, entitled *Die Literaturen Westasiens und der Nilländer*. A. Baumgartner devotes 12 pages to Georgian literature. The author starts with a brief review of the origins of Georgian literature and comes to Rustaveli's work. Considering the poem according to a preconceived idea, he notes that it comprises 1589 quatrains, of which "some were garbled by Prince Davidand Teimuraz" and some were interpolated by Nanucha Tsitsishvili. Here he quotes a passage from Chubinashvili which, as noted above, disparages Rustaveli's work. Nevertheless, at the end of his brief review, Baumgartner fails to abstain from praising the poem. In the course of analysis he names other sources along with Leist's translations: Bodenstedt, Brosset's catalogue and the catalogue of Prince Tsitsishvili's library. The purpose of his review is to shed light on Georgia, her history, language, and primarily literature. He often quotes specimens of Georgian literature in German.

Georgian literature is entered in section one, "Der Orient/Türkei" of the *Illustrierte Geschichte der Weltliteratur*¹. The author, J. Scherr, devotes only two pages to Georgian and Armenian literatures. He offers wrong conclusions in the assessment of writers and their works. He considers Rustaveli to be the beginning of Georgian literature, naming *The Man in the Panther's Skin* to which, in his view, "a high standard cannot apply". Scherr's book was translated into several languages and was reprinted many times. Georgian literature was not entered in the first edition entitled *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur - Handbuch*. It has so far not been possible to ascertain in which edition it was entered first - probably between the sixth (1880-81) and tenth (1899). The latter was a jubilee edition whose 50,000 print run was soon sold out. Unfortunately, this rather readable book failed to excite any special interest in Georgian literature.

Towards the close of the 19th century a note appeared in the German press about the visit of a Georgian writer. In 1898, F. Z.

¹ I had the issues of 1872, 1875 and 1899.

Lehman wrote in four articles about his stay in Georgia. He links his observations with his conversations with Ilia Chavchavadze, the latter supplying him with much informal information about Georgian history, nature, language, dress, etc. Thanks to this acquaintance the author had the honour of hosting Chavchavadze in Berlin in 1902. When in 1907 Lehman read about the murder of Chavchavadze in the *Vossische Zeitung*, he offered the newspaper an obituary on Chavchavadze. The author of the obituary tells about his visit and conversations with the Georgian writer. Much in the obituary reminds one of Lehman's article in *Die Zeit* 1902. However, the obituary contains new information: discussion of the character of the murder - whether it was an act of robbery or politically motivated. The author concludes that " I. Chavchavadze's name will permanently live on in Georgia and beyond her borders - the name of this gifted person whose becoming and work, whose life, words and writings are imbued with great love and warm sentiments".

At the turn of the present century, indication was made in studying Old Georgian Christian literature of Old Georgian translations of Hippolytus of Rome, which were discussed by Bonwetsch in 1902, 1904, and 1907. This was initiated by Harnack, professor of theology and Rector of Berlin University who, with the assistance of I. Javakhishvili, published *The Martyrdom of St. Evstate of Mtskheta* in 1901, and *The Martyrdom of Abo of Tbilisi*, jointly with K. Schultz in 1905.

Leist's book *Das georgische Volk* came out in 1903. Part Three of the book contains an extensive analysis of 19th-century Georgian literature. Specimens of poets of the younger generation, lyrics, prose, scholarship, architecture, theatre, music and dramaturgy cover 90 pages. Specimens of folk poetry and proverbs are given in an appendix.

In the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* a certain H. discusses the *Dilariani*, published in Georgian for the first time. The anonymous reviewer advises Leist to translate the work into German. In his words the *Dilariani* is another *Shahname*, with the only difference that, whereas the latter is comprised of traditions of a legendary Persian hero, the *Dilariani* tells us about the almighty King of Abyssinia and Egypt whose worthy rival is a Georgian hero.

Franz Nikolaus Fink, who resided in the Caucasus in 1900-1902, devoted 10 pages to Georgian literature in his book *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (1906). He is highly critical of Alter's book *Über georgianische Literatur*, considering Brosset the initiator of fundamental research into Georgian literature, and A. Tsagareli, N. Marr and A. Khakhanashvili continuers of Brosset's work. In Fink's view, Khakhanashvili's three-volume *Essays on the History of Georgian Literature*, issued in Moscow in Russian (1895, 1897, 1901) and available to Fink, is the most comprehensive review. Fink does not seem to have been aware of the brief reviews of Georgian literature available in German. In his three-page general introduction Fink subdivides Georgian literature into five stages: 1) Time of preparation (5th-11th centuries), 2) Apogee (12th century), 3) Period of decline (13th-17th centuries), 4) Period of rise (17th-18th centuries), 5) New period (19th century). Fink's essay served for a long time as an important source of information, as *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* was reissued repeatedly till 1925.

In the *Weltgeschichte der Literatur*, dated 1910, the author, Otto Hanser*, offers a shorter review of Georgian literature. He first points to Leist's works, and in general places new accents. Whereas Scherr, Baumgartner and Fink discussed Armenian and Georgian literatures in the same context or jointly, Hanser considers these two literatures separately, pointing to their originality. In Hanser's words, "They were divided not only by language but also by the character of the people, and this is why Georgian literature in its heyday (12th century) is quite distinct from Armenian. Hence it would be proper to consider the two separately". In contrast to this, Georgian literature is discussed only in conjunction with its Armenian counterpart in Paul Wiegler's *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (1914): "Georgian literature has the closest ties with neighbouring peoples. Its heyday is the reign of Queen Tamar".

In his work, *Zwei Grundsteine zu einer grusinischen Staats und Rechtsgeschichte* (1907), F. Holldack discusses a legend on Tamar and Rustaveli's poem, known to him through the translations of Borin and Leist. True, the researcher is interested more in the "idea of the state" in the literary work, yet he arrives at noteworthy

* Not Hauser, as the name is often spelt.

conclusions from the point of view of the history of literature as well.

Along with scholarly research and interpretation, German authors continued to gather materials: in 1907 Seidlitz published 32 Georgian proverbs. Adolf Dirr (1867-1930) commenced the study of Georgian folklore by publishing a Georgian folk poem in the journal *Anthropos* in 1910. Residing in Georgia in 1902-1913, he selected specimens from two collections of folk songs (those of I. Kargareteli, 1899 and D. Araqishvili, 1905) and published their Georgian texts with German translations. Here are drinking and love songs, those of the harvest and threshing, lullaby, travel songs, and discussion of Georgian folk musical instruments.

The German Professor Anton Baumstark continued the study of Georgian literature, viz. the Georgian translations of biblical texts. In 1911 his essay, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, came out, in which, along with Georgian ecclesiastical prose and hagiographic literature, historical, geographical, legal and secular literature is partially presented. In Baumstark's view, Old Georgian literature is of special importance among the Christian literatures of the East, for it had a specifically ecclesiastical character much earlier and secular works were written in its heyday. In discussing hagiographic and secular literature, ending here with Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, the author points out that Georgian literature suffers an excessive influence of Byzantine, Persian, and other literatures. In 1915-1916 Baumstark published articles on the miniatures of the Georgian manuscripts of the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark. At the same period, Theodore Kluge's papers on "Georgian translations of the New Testament"(1911), "The manuscripts of the Old Testament and their Georgian translations"(1911), and "Towards the date of the Georgian translation of the New Testament" (1910) appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* and *Die Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

In 1928 Baumstark published a new study in *Oriens Christianus* on the Georgian text of the Gospel.

In 1916 Sebastian Euringer's "Notes on the Georgian translation of the Song of Songs" were published in the *Biblische*

Zeitschrift. The author describes the history of translation and collates the Mount Athos MS and the text of the Bible printed in Moscow with the Russian, Greek, Armenian and Syriac redactions.

In 1918 the Austrian Professor Robert Bleichsteiner (1891-1954) reviewed in some detail the "Legend of Amirani" in the *Berichte des Forschungsinstitutes für Osten und Orient*. After studying oriental languages and defending his thesis in Persian literature at the University of Vienna, the young professor began to study Caucasian languages and literatures. He had at his disposal legends of Amirani current in various regions of Georgia (Racha, Svaneti, Imereti, and Pshavi), as well as the 12th-century work of Mose Khoneli. The researcher compared these with the versions found among neighbouring peoples.

Bleichsteiner continued the study of the proverbs, legends and fairy-tales current in the Caucasus in his 308-page *Kaukasische Forschungen* (1919). Part One of the book contains Georgian and Megrelian texts, fairy-tales and songs predominating over the latter texts. The Georgian counterparts feature legends, fairy-tales and incantations found in the beliefs of the people. The book was the result of linguistic studies carried out during the author's two-month stay in a prisoners camp. These planned studies led Bleichsteiner to take up the study of Georgian and other Caucasian languages. The process of the research and the prisoners that furnished him with the folklore material are referred to in the Introduction. This is the first extensive collection of Georgian folklore in German.

In 1922 Adolph Dirr published 84 Caucasian fairy-tales of which, according to Dirr, ten are Georgian and one Imeretian*. Here is also a Megrelian fable on animals, the Georgian legend of Prometheus, an Imeretian legend of Solomon the Wise, a Georgian tradition of Alexander the Great, and a story of Imeretian loafing. The brief introduction mainly refers to the compilation of the collection, basically differing in this from Bleichsteiner's book. Here the material was gathered in Georgia proper, imparting an absolutely different character to the collection.

* Regrettably, Dirr does not seem to have had a clear idea on questions of the Georgian ethnos.

In 1926 Robert Lach's *Georgische Gesänge* was published in the *Mitteilungen der Phonogramm-Archiv-Kommission*. Over 300 pages are devoted to specimens of Megrelian, Abkhaz, Svan and Ossetic songs, with music. The book is furnished with texts transcribed, translated and commented by Bleichsteiner. Hence the statement in the *Anzeiger* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences to the effect that the book was of interest not only to musicologists and folklorists but also to Caucasologists, ethnographers and comparative historians of literature.

The writing of poems in German and their publication by a future Georgian writer during his studies and travel is a novel development. Thus, in 1918 the journal *Neuer Orient* printed Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's poems *The November Wind* and *The Zeppelin*, written under German influence. In 1928 the journal *Caucasica* printed Dirr's translation and transcription of I. Grishashvili's poem, presented in a brief article entitled *Ein polyglottes Liebeslied*. Significant here is the fact that the text of the poem is given in four languages: Georgian, Armenian, Azeri and Russian, the author focusing attention on a multinational region - Transcaucasia.

From 1927 the Georgian émigré scholar Grigol Peradze joined his voice to that of German scholars. From 1921 he had studied in Germany and did research into questions of Georgian literature both in Western and Eastern Europe. Tracing Georgian manuscripts, he considered the history of the Georgian church in the world literary context. Basing on K. Kekelidze's works, in his *Altgeorgische Literatur und ihre Probleme*, Peradze brought to light new relations in Old Georgian literature. The work just cited was followed in 1930-1933 by his semi-annual series *Altchristliche Literatur in der georgischen Überlieferung*, devoted to questions of the Christian East. Represented on 42 pages are "Unknown authors of Old Georgian literature". Peradze points to Kekelidze's work issued in 1927 in Tbilisi, introduces it to Europe's scholarly world, and supplements it regarding some texts with new evidence.

Georgian literature is periodically discussed in other contexts as well. In 1931 J. Brutzkus, writing in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, reviews the Georgian Chronicles on the life and culture of the Jews.

In his book *Das georgische Volk*, F. Bork writes cordially about Georgia, her history and inhabitants. However, the author brings political interests to the fore. In discussing Georgian literature, he focuses on 19th-century writers and publicists, and on Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Here the reader encounters a very controversial, preconceived view regarding Rustaveli: "As a true Georgian, the poet is not a thinker and master in reasoning. Hence we must not look for deep problems in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*; neither are the characters depicted by him taken from reality, these are rather idealised characters. Notwithstanding this, with its poetic flight and the poet's passion for the ideal of vassalage, it has been known and appreciated in Georgia to the present day."

In contrast to this, the Georgian émigré writer Grigol Robakidze gives an entirely different characterisation of Rustaveli's work in the journal *Das neue Rußland* (1929). In his paper "Georgian literature from the 5th to the 20th century", printed in the cited journal, Robakidze writes: "This work seems to have fallen from the sky. It reminds us of works written in the West". Being the first author in the long chain of German-language writers on Rustaveli, Robakidze gives a detailed treatment of the structure, poetics and impact of *Der Ritter in Pantherfell*, as he calls the poem. Besides, his paper does justice to the originality of many other - chiefly 19th-century - Georgian writers, discussed in the context of world literature.

After a 30-year gap, voluminous specimens of Georgian literature were again translated and published in Germany. First Robakidze's novel *The Snake Slough* was published. Interest attaches not only to the preparation of the book (presentation by Robakidze himself, an introduction by Stefan Zweig, translation by Robakidze, Asatiani and Meckelein) but its fate following publication. Due to good promotion (excerpt from the novel and W. Kann's favourable review in *Die Tat*, a journal dedicated to questions of culture, excerpt of the novel in the journal *Das neue Rußland*, and a detailed analysis of the book by O. Wesendonk in the journal *Politik und Gesellschaft*) the novel became known to the broad public and accepted. Hitherto no Georgian book had met with such response in Germany.

In 1932 Robakidze's *Caucasian Short Stories** and his novel *Megi, a Georgian Maiden* came out. Unlike the *Short Stories*, *Megi*, dedicated to "Stefan Zweig, writer and person", was reprinted four times - last in 1943. Yet, Robakidze's *Snake Slough* brought him special recognition.

The publication in 1933 of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's *Book of Wisdom and Lies* was also a significant event. This publication was the result of the initiative of three Georgian immigrants. Archil Metreveli was the publisher, and Michael Tsereteli the translator and author of notes on Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani. S. Avalishvili's Introduction helps the German reader perceive the author's work, and researchers discussing it in the context of other literatures. The scholarly purpose of the book is indicated by its Contents, built on the subject principle. However, the book failed to have the same response as Robakidze's had.

Mikheil Tarkhnishvili, another Georgian immigrant, published studies on Georgian theological literature in German. In 1934 a journal of liturgical scholarship published a paper: "The Georgian translation of John Chrysostom's liturgy according to a parchment of 10th-11th centuries". In 1940, Tarkhnishvili published a study on "The legends of St. Nino" in *Byzantianische Zeitschrift*.

Meanwhile, G. Peradze continued research into Georgian Christian literature, viz. "A document on the history of mediaeval literature (the journal *Kyrios*, 1936); "The spiritual life of present-day Georgia in the mirror of fiction" (Proceedings of the University of Albertus, 1938), and "On Georgian manuscripts in Austria" (Journal of Oriental Studies, Vienna, 1940).

In 1931, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, adapted in prose for children by Felix Pecina, came out in Reutlingen.

In the late 1930s a series of articles dedicated to the 750th anniversary of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* were written in German, beginning with Deeters' article "Schota Rustaweli. Zu seinem 750-jährigen Jubiläum" appearing in the Georgian émigré magazine *Klde*. The author deals with the historical situation of the time of writing of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, the content of the

* This book was issued in the same form in 1979 by the *Surkamp Publishers* in Frankfurt.

poem, "the Georgian veneration for it", its national subject and national language form, and the legends about it. Under the influence of this issue of the journal, dedicated to the Rustaveli anniversary, such German newspapers as *Völkischer Beobachter*, *Kölnische Zeitung* and *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* carried materials on Georgian poets.

In 1937 articles by E. Sikar, S. Veltman, S. Evgeniev, and P. Pavlenko, and a fragment of Leist's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* were published in the Moscow *Deutsche Zentralzeitung*. In 1938 R. Miller-Budnitskaya, writing in *Internationale Literatur/Deutsche Blätter*, highlighted the significance of "Der Held im Tigerfell", as she styled the poem, noting that "the history of the West-European Renaissance must be revised - it commenced not in Italy but in Georgia". Niko Imnaishvili's two-page article in the journal *Der Orient* and R. Bleichsteiner's eight-page article in the *Asienberichte* were also in response to Rustaveli's anniversary.

Besides Rustaveli, the above-cited *Internationale Literatur / Deutsche Blätter* devoted space to Caucasian themes as well. In 1937 it printed Miller-Budnitskaya's article "Mythus Geschichte kaukasisches und germanisches Epos". In 1938 the journal printed Alfred Kurella's German translation of the Russian prose translation of the Pshav-Khevsurian legend of *Gogotur and Apshina*.

Of special merit among the translations of specimens of Georgian literature is Bleichsteiner's translation of Daniel Chonkadze's *The Surami Fortress*, printed in Vienna in 1940. In a brief preface, Bleichsteiner touches upon Chonkadze's work and Georgian literature, in general. As observed by K. Novotny in the *Asienberichte* in 1941, "The translation of Chonkadze's work was a good idea, for it belongs to world literature". Bleichsteiner is also interested in ethnological parallels. In 1942 he published the Georgian variant of the Turkish and Persian versions of *Koroghli* in the journal *Leipziger Vierteljahresschrift für Südosteuropa*.

During World War Two no studies on or translations of Georgian literature were published, with the exception of books of political trend, viz. Robakidze's works on Hitler and Mussolini, and the first issue of a German-Georgian dictionary for soldiers.

In the late 1940s a new trend takes shape in regard to Georgian literature. Whereas it was earlier represented almost entirely in scholarly journals, books and dictionaries, now it was often discussed in the periodical press, becoming known to a wide circle of readers. The journals: *Tägliche Rundschau*, *Frau von heute*, *Berliner Mittag*, *Brücke*, *Morgen*, and *Tribüne* publish Georgian legends and poems (A. Abasheli, S. Chikovani, G. Leonidze), as well as materials on Georgian authors. Writing in 1945 in *Die Brücke*, Bleichsteiner refers to Nikoloz Baratashvili as the first Georgian poet to choose the European path. In 1948 the same author discussed the entire Georgian literature in the same newspaper. Regrettably, he restricts himself only to poetry prior to 1921, committing some errors in selecting important writers. In the post-war period the publication in 1946 of *Neue georgische Dichter* by Bleichsteiner should doubtless be considered a special event. The collection contains 44 poems of 11 poets of the 19th-20th centuries, most of them having been written between 1905 and the Sovietisation. In the Afterword the author justifies his choice by the availability of particularly rich material for the indicated period. He planned to issue two small volumes of lyrics - one of the 19th century and one of Georgian poetry of the Soviet period. Unfortunately, neither of these volumes came out.

In 1950 Bleichsteiner issued a book, *Georgien gestern und heute*, in which he deals with Georgian literature as well. Along with a brief review of the four literary periods chosen by him (Old Georgian, Middle Georgian, New Georgian and the Soviet period), he dwells specially on *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, considering it not only a unique development of Georgian but also a landmark of world literature. Notably enough, he does not share the view on Rustaveli's work having been a translation of a Persian work, or being based on a Persian version, or under its influence.

Since 1947 the German-language magazine *Sowjetliteratur* engaged in the popularisation of Georgian literature. Up to 1989 it published works by Georgian poets, prosaists, and playwrights, fairy-tales and legends, reviews on books devoted to Georgian literature, information on cultural life in Georgia. In the late 1940s the journal printed poems by S. Chikovani and stories by S. Kldiashvili. In the 1950s the same journal introduced the Georgian

writers: D. Guramishvili, G. Tabidze, A. Beliashvili, G. Leonidze, I. Abashidze, R. Cheishvili and M. Baratashvili, as these are represented in N. Stepanov's anthologies *Die Dichtung Georgiens* and *Märchen und Sagen aus Gebirgsgegenden*. All this influenced the subsequent publication of Georgian literature in Germany, especially in the eastern part of the country. Here works of 20th-century Georgian authors are largely printed, including, among others, works dedicated to the so-called collectivisation: L. Kiacheli's *Gwadi Bigwas Wandlung*, K. Lortkipanidze's *Morgenröte*, A. Cheishvili's *Sonne über Grusien*, D. Bakradze's *Herren der Wälder*, a book on the fight of the partisans in World war II, and N. Lortkipanidze's *Unbeugsame Herzen*. Besides these prose works, a collection of fairy-tales, *Die Zauberkappe*, came out in 1957, reprinted four times. A play by Sh. Dadiani was published, but not staged.

Of the translations made in East Germany Hugo Huppert's new, complete translation of Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was doubtless a major development. (During World War Two the poem was translated by Maria Pritwiz but, unfortunately, the text has not been published to the present day). The Georgian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Union of Soviet Writers requested Hugo Huppert, an Austrian, to make a translation from the original. Huppert's intensive work, lasting 28 months, was crowned with success and the poem was published in 1954 by the *Rütten und Loening* Publishers. Subsequently this edition was reprinted several times. Huppert published several articles on his work on the translation and the contents of Rustaveli's work in *Neue Deutsche Literatur*, *Georgischer Wanderstab*, and *Weltbühne*, as well as in the Afterword to the translation of the poem, called "a model of art" by one reviewer.

The German abridged translation of the *Visramiani*, made by Kita Chkhenkeli, founder in the early 1950s of the Kartvelological Centre in Zurich, and Ruth Neukomm came out in Switzerland in 1957. Especially interesting in the translators' view in this work is that this story is a middle space between the world of mythos and novel, their desire being to revive the half-forgotten spiritual landscape of past times through this magnificent mediaeval creation. Fragments of examples of Georgian literature of various centuries

and their word-for-word translations are entered in K. Chkhenkeli's textbook *Einführung in die georgische Sprache* ("Introduction to the Georgian Language").

A fragment from *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, viz. "The Life of King David" was published in German in *Bedi Kartlisa* (1957). The text was edited and translated by M. Tsereteli. Lomtadze's *Die Legende vom Georgier* was also printed in the same issue of the cited journal.

Early in the post-war period Old Georgian Christian literature was the main object of scholarly study. This was reflected brief information in dictionaries: *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, *Handbuch der Weltgeschichte*, *Herder*, and *Brockhaus*. In comparison with the early articles by Scherr, Baumgartner, Fink and Hanser, the new entries showed basic knowledge and evaluation, though errors occur here too.

In 1947 Tarkhnishvili published his papers in *Oriens Christianus* and *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*: "On the status of research into Georgian literature"; "Saint Nino: the illuminatrix of Georgia", "Georgian church poetry and its relation to Byzantine".

The printing in the Vatican in 1955 of M. Tarchnishvili's (jointly with Julius Assfalg) *Geshichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* was a significant development. No review of the history of Georgian literature had come out since the publication of Baumstark's work *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients* (1911). Instead, many catalogues of the Oriental Library were compiled and published and reviews of individual Christian literatures were written. In the above *Geschichte* Tarchnishvili recast Kekelidze's *History of Georgian Literature*, supplementing it with European sources and data. The book turned into a major source of Georgian Christian literature for European readers.

In the 1950s Joseph Molitor (1903-1978) published papers in various journals on Old Georgian fragments of the Bible and the Georgian translations: the Adishi Four Gospels, the *khanmeti* and *haemeti* biblical fragments, quotations from the Gospel.

The close of the 1950s witnessed the publication of Kluge's paper *Über zwei altgeorgische neutestamentliche Handschriften* and of Assfalg's monograph *Die Religionen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

G. Mdivani's Georgian dramatic works were published and staged in the 1960s. Translations of poems by the Georgian poets: N. Baratashvili, V. Gaprindashvili, G. Tabidze, K. Kaladze, I. Noneshvili, M.Kvlividze, and M. Machavariani and E. Qipiani's story were published, as well as novels by the major representatives of 20th-century Georgian literature: M. Javakhishvili's *Givi Shaduri*, K. Gamsakhurdia's *The Right Hand of a Great Master*, and N. Dumbadze's *I See the Sun*.

Deeters, Assfalg, Warm, and other authors, contributing to *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, *Literaturen der Völker der Sowjetunion*, and *Brockhaus* seek to present Georgian literature in a novel, integral way, and depict portraits of its representatives. Popularisation of Georgian literature is Assfalg's purpose in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (1960). Deeters also contributed to the same *Lexikon* on Georgia (1963). Molitor, too, continued the study of the Georgian texts of the Gospel in his papers, completing the discussion of the *khanmeti* fragment of the Adishi Gospel, started by him in the 1950s. Assfalg, whose interest in Georgian literature was aroused by Tarkhnishvili, was the first to present in his *Georgische Handschriften* (1963) the manuscripts preserved in German libraries (The Prussian State Library of Berlin, the Lower Saxony State and University Library of Göttingen, the Library of Germany's Oriental Society of Halle, and the Library of the University of Leipzig), once again drawing the attention of the European scholarly community to Old Georgian manuscripts and rousing an interest in studying them.

Attempts were also made at reviewing the entire Georgian literature: Hohoff's general review in the *Atlantis* journal (1910), Deeters' noteworthy observations in his book *Armenisch und die kaukasischen Sprachen* ("Armenian and the Caucasian Languages"), and Assfalg's *Die Literaturen der Welt in ihrer mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferung* ("World Literatures in their Oral and Written Renderings").

In his work on Georgian literature, Assfalg notes that, although it was the last among Oriental Christian literatures to come within the scope of West-European scholarly research, it still holds a special place due to the fact that, along with a number of important church writings, from the 12th century secular literature that has no

match among oriental Christian literatures took shape within it. This five-page article contains information about Georgian writers. The author states from the outset that the Georgian alphabet is closely linked with the Armenian alphabet of Mesrop-Mashtotz. This view is opposed by Deeters in his book cited above. He commenced his extensive review of Georgian literature with an observation to the effect that oriental students and philologists are interested in early and late mediaeval Georgian literature rather than the new and most recent periods. In Deeters' 26-page review 19th-century Georgian literature is assigned 9 pages, while the period from 1922 only one page. He divides Georgian literature into four periods: 1. Old Georgian church literature, 5th-11th centuries; 2. Medieval poetry, 11th-13th centuries; 3. Renaissance, enlightenment, romantic literature, 16th to 19th centuries; 4. New Georgian literature. The author places different accents on all stages, producing a most detailed and well-grounded study, enriched with reading matter related to individual themes. It is to be regretted that the title of the book, *Armenisch und die kaukasischen Sprachen*, rendered difficult the identification of this work by those interested in Georgian literature.

In 1966-1968 papers by Wigger, Pätsch and Fähnrich dedicated to the 800th anniversary of Rustaveli were printed in such journals and collections as, *Bedi Kartlisa*, *Stimme der Orthodoxie*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, and the newspapers: *Sozialistische Universität*, *Volkswacht* and *Sovjetliteratur*.

The activity of the Caucasian Languages Centre of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena should be specially singled out. The Centre was founded in 1961 by Gertrud Pätsch (1910-1994).

A 20-page brochure was printed for the exhibition arranged in Hamburg by the State and University Library. Among other matters, the brochure contained brief contents of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, fragments of Huppert's translation and Arndt Wigger's paper: *Schota Rustaveli und seine Zeit* ("Shota Rustaveli and his Time").

The 1970-80s were marked by an abundance of materials on Georgian literature, more books being published in this period than

in all earlier years taken together. The bulk of publications falls to East Germany, with the difference that, unlike the former period, the political aspect is no longer crucial in the selection of works for publication. This large scope was determined by the broadened readership visiting Georgia frequently and requiring information about the literature of the country.

The German reader became acquainted for the first time with the Georgian short story. This was Ruth Neukomm's book *Georgische Erzähler der neueren Zeit* ("Georgian Short Stories of the New Times"), issued in Zurich in 1971. It contained 8 stories by 5 authors (M. Javakhishvili, K. Lortkipanidze, K. Gamsakhurdia, L. Gotua, and S. Chikovani).

The tradition laid down by Leist and Bleichsteiner was continued by a new anthology of lyrics, *Georgische Poesie aus 8 Jahrhunderten* ("Georgian Poetry of Eight Centuries"). Lyrics up to the 18th century was entered in it for the first time, representing 125 poems by 50 poets. Rustaveli is deliberately left out here. The impact of this book is indicated by the following words of one reviewer: "The rejection of the Europocentrism of our understanding is highly significant".

Seven years later another anthology was issued in Saarland, and writers' delegations were exchanged, this being another clear indication of the long-standing friendly relations between this German province and Georgia - i.e. Saarbrücken and Tbilisi. The material for the anthology, *Neue Poesie aus Georgien*, in which 15 Georgian poets, living at the time, were selected - similarly to the above-mentioned anthology - by the Georgian Union of Writers.

In 1970 poems of a Georgian poet came out in book form for the first time, viz. *Im Ornament der Platanen*, a collection of S. Chikovani's poems.

A new trend is also observable: translating anew of works already translated. This refers to Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's "Book of Wisdom and Lies" translated anew by Fähnrich. Simultaneous edition of Rustaveli's poem in two versions: *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, translated by Ruth Neukomm in Zurich, and Herman Buddensieg's translation of the poem (with the aid of M. Tsereteli's translation). The latter was published in Georgia.

Fairy-tales, children's literature, legends (the Amirani epic), historical novels: Grigol Abashidze's *Lasharela* and *The Great Night*, Aleksandre Ebanoidze's *Imeretian Wedding*, Revaz Japaridze's novel devoted to World War Two are published. Plays were printed and staged: in East Germany: *Chinchraka* and *Natsarkekia* by Nakhutsrishvili/Gamrekeli, *Before the Bullock Cart is Upset* and *Six Spinsters and One Man* by Otia Ioseliani, *The Bridge* by Aleksandre Chkhaidze; in Saarbrücken, West Germany: *The Stepmother* by David Kldiashvili and *The Road to the Sun* by Revaz Ebralidze

It is also notable of the '70s that German lyricists, jointly with the few Kartvelologists, study questions of Georgian literature. Reiner Kirsch writes about Vazha-Pshavela, Adolf Endler publishes a book, *Versuch über die georgische Poesie* ("An Attempt at Discussing Georgian Poetry"), Elke Erb reviews the works of Orbeliani, Grishashvili and Chikovani.

In 1973 Pätsch writes her essays on Vazha-Pshavela and other studies at the Jena Centre of Caucasian Languages: *Die Patristik und Georgien*, studies devoted to Rustaveli (1979) and Gamsakhurdia (1977), reviews on German-Georgian literary relations (1973), on the two German versions of *The Book of Wisdom and Lies* (1974). Fähnrich contributes to *Bedi Kartlisa*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität*, and *Sinn und Form* on M. Javakhishvili's literary language (1977), and on Georgian literature (1979), a paper *Die georgische Literatur und wir* ("The Georgian literature and we" (1977).

In 1971-77 Molitor continued his research into the Christian East, in particular Georgia, printing a whole cycle of studies on the Georgian translation of the New Testament in *Oriens Christianus*.

Many articles on Georgian writers and their works are entered in *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon* (1971) and *Lexikon fremdsprachiger Schriftsteller* (1977-79). In 1976 two theses were defended in the history of Georgian literature at the "multinational literature" section of Humboldt University, Berlin: by Silke Freinatis and Steffi Jünger. The latter wrote her thesis during her postgraduate course in Georgia (1978). It was the first thesis in German dealing with Georgian literature, entitled *Konstantine Gamsakhurdia und die Romane seiner ersten Schaffensperiode* (1912-1935). The author

discusses the period of Gamsakhurdia's studies at German universities and the influence of those years on his novels *The Smile of Dionysus* and *The Rape of the Moon*. In 1978 a third thesis was defended at Humboldt University on Georgian literature (by Marina Kujat).

The publication of Georgian literature in German continued in the '80s. Striking here is the special interest in the 20th-century Georgian novel. N. Dumbadze's *The Law of Eternity* (1983), O. Chiladze's *Everyone Who Finds Me* (1983) and *The Iron Theatre* (1988), and M. Javakhishvili's *Arsena Marabdeli* (1986) were translated and published. The print run of the latter novel exceeded that of any other Georgian book in German. The success is the more important that this novel, written in 1924, had not been translated into Russian.

In the '80s the following books were published in German for children: *A Sparrow in the Postman's Bag* by Guram Petriashvili (1989), *Collected Poems* by Moris Potskhishvili (1988), *Georgian Fairy-Tales* (1980), and *Collected Legends*. (1984). These editions are noteworthy from the additional viewpoint that the prefaces and afterwords pave the way for further research.

The first anthology of Georgian authors was edited in 1984 by Steffi Jünger, entitled *Der ferne weiße Gipfel* ("The Distant White Peak"). It contains 21 stories of writers of the present century. As noted in the press, the book was distinguished for its style and diversity of themes.

The findings of literary criticism of this period were published in the journals: *Georgica*, *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, *Freie Welt*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Humboldt-Universität, Sonntag*, and partly in individual collections or monographs. A trend of 20th-century research takes clear shape here: the deficit of knowledge of this period - pointed out by Deeters in 1963 - gradually lessens. Jünger studies the works of Gamsakhurdia, Chiladze and Dumbadze and questions of the publication of Georgian prose in 1947-1957. She writes afterwords to the editions of the translations of M. Javakhishvili's works, made on her initiative. Marina Kanke and Norita Maas write their theses on Georgian literature at Humboldt University in Berlin (1982). The authors show the points of contact of Nodar Dumbadze's works with the works of Chingiz Aitmatov

and Valentin Rasputin. In 1988 Karola Gnadit defended her thesis at the Potsdam Teachers Training Institute on *Zum Prosaschaffen des georgisch-sowjetischen Schriftstellers Nodar Dumbadse* ("On the Prose of the Georgian Soviet Writer Nodar Dumbadze"). As all these authors came to Georgian literature via Russian literature, they are interested in common points, especially the new and original - in what distinguishes Georgian literature from Russian and other literatures.

Fähnrich published the afterwords to his editions of collections of Georgian fairy-tales and legends, *Der Sieg von Bachtrioni* and *Georgische Märchen*. The fairy-tales are dealt with also by Persi in *Bedi Kartlisa*. R. Bielmeier writes an article, *Märchen aus dem Kaukasus*.

In the '80s Ruth Neukomm and Jolanda Marchev contributed many articles on Georgian literature to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, viz. on I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, Vazha-Pshavela and N. Baratashvili. The Swiss Kartvelological Centre is largely engaged in research into questions of 19th-century Georgian literature.

We must not be misled by the growth of the intensity of publication of translations of Georgian literature from the '70s to the early '90s (the latter period not being discussed here), for there still are rather numerous lacunae in the translation of Georgian literature. Texts of 5th to 9th centuries Georgian literature have not been translated fully, only a few of the 14th-18th centuries lyrical works have been translated, and of the 19th-century Georgian literature nothing is known to the German-speaking world but a few lyrical poems and several short stories. Although the 20th century is relatively better known to the German reader, here too there are enough gaps, especially in reference to the turn of the century.

The attitude to Georgian literature, found in some publications written under the title of "multinational Soviet literature", claiming to cover the diversity of the literatures of the Soviet peoples, is unfair and awkward. The book, *Multinationale Sowjetliteratur, Kulturrevolution, Menschenbild, weltliterarische Leistung 1917-1972* (1975) completely ignores Georgian literature; only one Georgian officer and one literary critic are mentioned. In another book entitled, *Einführung in die multinationale Sowjetliteratur*, Georgian literature is ignored, while all the

literatures from the eastern region of the Baltic Sea, viz. Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian are reviewed. Transcaucasia is represented only by Armenian literature, so that here Armenian represents Georgian and Azerbaijani. In the editors words, each literature in this book should be taken for an example of the literature of a definite region and period - an example of the process of its development and traditional features.

It is necessary to mention the translations of specimens of Georgian literature, published in Tbilisi and Moscow: Orbeliani's *Book of Wisdom and Lies*, poems of I. Chavchavadze and N. Baratashvili; short stories of Vazha-Pshavela, a collection of Georgian fairy-tales, as well as articles and books by Georgian Germanists in German on Georgian-German literary relations and on the works of Georgian and German writers, making a major contribution to the popularisation of Georgian literature in the German-speaking world and arousing the interest of European scholars. Regrettably, these editions have not been discussed in the present monograph, for research along these lines is beyond the scope and interest of the present book.

GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN FRENCH LITERARY CRITICISM

One of the consequences of the incorporation of Georgia into Russia was the enhanced role played by Russian literary criticism in the development of Georgian-French literary contacts. First reports on Georgian literature entered French-language studies from the Russian critical literature. Of special importance in this respect is a book of the Metropolitan of Kiev Evgeni Bolkhovitinov, issued in St. Petersburg in 1802. This book, entitled *Historical Depiction of Georgia in Her Political, Ecclesiastical and Educational State*, published anonymously, proved of major importance for foreigners. The book was translated into German immediately, while Malt-Brin's French review of the book was published under the title *Analyse du tableau historique, politique, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la Géorgie, écrit en russe par l'archimandrite Eugénius: "Annales des voyages", t.12, Paris, 1810*. The reviewer notes that, according to Eugénius, the Georgians have old church manuscripts that deserve the attention of scholars. The lively relations of Georgians with the Byzantine empire makes likely the existence of many important Greek manuscripts in this country. Ioane Petritsi is a well-known translator of Greek theological-philological works into Georgian. Prince Orbeliani is a well-known scholar of the 18th century, whose dictionary has survived. Lovers of Persian literature will also find many treasures in Georgian literature, for in the Golden Age (12th century) of this literature poets and historians translated celebrated works of Persian literature into Georgian. Outstanding among these translations is *Iosebzikhaniani*. The most familiar poem is the *Tamariani*, formed of several monotonous odes and a series of similes-epithets. The finest verses of the Georgians are the church hymns - *iambikos*. In this metre, Anton I composed his *Tsqobilsitqvaoba*, a series of historical odes on famous men of

Georgia. Of the romances the *Baramiani*, *Rostomiani*, *Darejaniani*, and *Visramiani* may be named. Malt-Brin speaks of the Georgian Bible as well. In his words, in the 18th century, King Archil worked out a new version of the Georgian Bible, largely translated from the Septuagint. The fact that Moses Khorenatsi already referred to it permits the assumption that it must have existed prior to the 5th century. From the viewpoint of Rustaveli Studies it is interesting that the two novelties connected with Bolkhovitinov's name, viz. the theories of the foreign provenance of the plot of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and of the tonicity of the Georgian verse, found reflection in Malt-Brin's review. Owing to the lack of knowledge of Georgian and incompetence in poetics, Bolkhovitinov failed to develop a correct view on Georgian versification. His ideas found their way into the French review, though not the entire information contained in Bolkhovitinov's book. At the same time there are serious errors in it: in reviewing the early period of Georgian literature, Bolkhovitinov focused attention only on texts translated from the Greek. He said nothing about the original hymnography and hagiography created in the same period and, after reviewing the old translated texts, he directly proceeded to discuss secular texts. Owing to this, the French reviewer had formed the impression that "Georgian original works date from the 12th century - Tamar's period". Thus, Malt-Brin's essay is a rather dull reflection of Bolkhovitinov's interesting work.

Discussion of Georgian literature continued in the *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Géorgie, suivies d'une relation d'un voyage en Perse en 1812, Hambourg 1816*. This anonymous book is today definitively believed to have been written by W. Freygang and his wife¹. The Freygangs supply the traditional evidence on David the Builder's sending twenty young men (including Ioane Petritsi) to Athens for study. The significance of Petritsi's translational work is accentuated in the book so as to link his activity with the flourishing of Georgian learning. Freygang relates this advance to the emergence of the "classic poems laudatory of Tamar". Thus, in the author's correct view, Petritsi's philosophy laid the foundation for the

¹ N. K. Orlovskaya, Questions of Georgia's Literary Contacts with the West. 1986, p. 158 (in Russian).

writing of Georgian classic works. 12th-century secular literature is qualified as "classic". The authors relate the subsequent revival of Georgian literature to Anton I's activity (the setting up of schools, writing of a grammar textbook). The authors of the book must have been familiar with Bolkhovitinov's work in Russian from which, in addition to other information, they copied word for word the unscientific hypotheses about the Georgian language. The Freygangs' book was written in a very attractive style, representing the diaries of a female traveller, with a wealth of personal experiences and emotions. Alongside this, the book discusses Georgian history and architecture with expertise. All this is skilfully combined with attractive narration, which made this journey popular throughout Europe. A full English translation of the book came out in 1823, and a German translation, in 1826². Its Danish, Dutch, Swedish translations were also published. Besides, the book of the Freygangs evoked response in the foreign press of the period.

Interest in Oriental Studies assumed the character of systematic research towards the end of the 18th century. The interest of the great French Kartvelologist Brosset in Georgian Studies falls to the period of the founding of the *Soci te Asiatique du Paris*, 1822. Interest in Rustvelology is noticeable in his very first Kartvelological studies. At the initial stage of his work Brosset, too, relied on Bolkhovitinov's work. Brosset published the first special study of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in 1830: *Recherches sur la po sie g orgienne, notice des deux manuscrits et extrait du roman de Tariel*. According to the researcher, the poem was written in the 12th century by Tamar's commander-in-chief Rustaveli, who is also the author of the *Tamariani*. Concerning Bolkhovitinov Brosset writes: "Evgenius appears to have erred in ascribing this work (i.e. the *Tamariani*) to Chakhrukhadze". In the researcher's view, Rustaveli wrote the eulogy of Tamar, hence he must be the author of the *Tamariani*, an eulogistic collection. In Bolkhovitinov's works the

² Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia to which are added the account of a journey into Persia in 1812 and an abridged history of Persia since the time of Nadir Shah, London 1823; Briefe  ber den Kaukasus und Georgien vom Jare 1812, aus dem Franz sischen der Frau von Freygang, geb. v. Kudrjaffsky.  bers. von Heinrich V. Struve, Wien 1826.

plot of the poem is considered to have been borrowed from Indian. The influence of this view is seen in the early period of Brosset's work. In 1828 the French scholar referred to Rustaveli as "the author of a Persian story"¹. Subsequently, under the influence of Teimuraz Bagrationi's conception, Brosset's view in connection with this question gradually changed in favour of the originality of the poem. In the 1841 edition Brosset pointed out that *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was an allegorical work depicting historical events and historical personages. A concrete example is cited: the analogy of the invitation of the son of Khvarazmshah as Nestan's bridegroom with the Khvarazmshah asking the hand of Tamar. The search for the historical-national interpretation of the poem primarily served the argumentation of the originality of the subject of the poem. "This Persian story..." in the poem was perceived by Brosset as a disguise. This view is basically shared in present-day Rustvelological literature. At the first stage of his research Brosset was familiar with two manuscripts of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, preserved at a library in Paris. Of these he recognised the extended redaction (with a continuation) as belonging to Rustaveli. This is why the scholar had formed the opinion of the poem being "intolerably long". In 1831, Chapter V of the *Recherches* conveys the content of the long redaction. The co-operation with Teimuraz Bagrationi here too proved decisive. Under the influence of the latter's consultations Brosset altered his view, and in 1834 he no longer considered Rustaveli the author of the continuations of the poem². The French scholar saw a difference in the characters of the personages of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, and he was the first to observe that the work was "a romance of characters"³. In his view, each main character is a literary embodiment of some concrete idea (friendship, love...). The posing of the question of the characters of the personages by Brosset was a major contribution to Rustaveli Studies. It should be noted specially that Brosset translated into

¹ "Etat actuel de la littérature géorgienne": *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, I, 1828, pp. 434-454.

² Notice littéraire sur quelques auteurs géorgiens: *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, XIV (1834), pp. 143-164, 232-250.

³ Analyse du roman géorgien Amiran-Daredjaniani: *Bull. Scient.*, t.III, 1838, col. 7-16, N1, émis le 14 octobre, 1837

French a fairly large part of the poem (*Recherches...* Chapter V; also: *Première histoire de Rostéwan, roi d'Arabie, traduite du roman géorgien intitulé - L'Homme à la peau de Tigre (Roustawel), suivie de quelques observations sur les dictionnaires géorgiens*).

The French Kartvelologist discussed the *Amirandarejaniani* in detail (*Analyse du roman géorgien Amiran-Daredjaniani*). Brosset conveyed the plot of the work in detail, translated the title of each chapter, and described the basic features of the master-and-serf relations described in it. He raised the question of the originality of the work - its derivation from Georgian life, and pointed to the compositional complexity of the romance; he believed the interconnecting of the chain of various events to be the main achievement of the author. Later studies did confirm a certain degree of compilation work done by the author of *Amirandarejaniani*. Brosset's original view on the attribution of two chapters (*The Story of Jimsher, the Son of Dilar* and *The Story of Jimsher's Son - Do not Kill Jimsher*), entered in the manuscripts, to the continuator, is today accepted. Brosset's *Notice littéraire sur quelques auteurs géorgiens*, printed in two parts, deals with the works of Georgian writers of the period of the Renaissance, viz. The *Omainiani*, *Baramgulijaniani*, and *Miriani*. Brosset translated the latter work into French, and published it with an extensive review: *Le Miriani ou histoire du roi Miri, conte géorgien*. Brosset devoted a study to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's Georgian Dictionary: *Notice sur le dictionnaire géorgien de Soukhan-Saba Orbeliani, récemment acquis par la bibliothèque royale de Paris*. The paper begins with an extensive biography of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, followed by a review of his Dictionary, with a study of the Georgian as well as foreign sources used in compiling the latter Dictionary. Brosset indicated 26 authors used by the Georgian lexicographer¹. Brosset's archive contains his manuscript translation of Orbeliani's Dictionary with extensive notes and commentaries.

Interesting information about Rustaveli is supplied by E. Stackelberg, a European traveller of the first half of the 19th century. He is the author of the commentaries on the pieces in the Album of

¹ **R. Dodashvili**, Marie Brosset: a Researcher into Georgian Literature, Tbilisi 1962 (in Georgian).

the Russian artist Gagarin¹. Stackelberg's commentaries contain a report on Rustaveli having fallen in love with a great female monarch. The author shares the view on the original provenance of the poem, but on a ground differing from that of Brosset. As Rustaveli could not express his feelings openly, he resorted to fiction and composed *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in which he described his sweet passion, but transferring the action elsewhere. The French author seems to develop the hypothesis on the love of Tamar and Rustaveli on the basis of broad oral traditions. His phrase "tradition says nothing about whether Queen Tamar guessed (Rustaveli's) analogy" would suggest that the folk stories "must have been the underlying traditions" of these views. Stackelberg points to his familiarity with individual parts of Brosset's translations. Stackelberg's report on Rustaveli's portrait having been seen in Jerusalem seems to have been borrowed from Brosset. Thus, these brief but noteworthy pieces of information about Rustaveli are suggestive of his fairly good knowledge of sources on Rustaveli.

M. de Villeneuve's book - *La Géorgie par M. de Villeneuve*, Paris, 1870 - is not marked by such competence. The author repeated the reports on Georgian literature, contained in the cited book, in his *Mtzhketh et Ibérie. Notice sur la Géorgie*. The author's assessment of Georgian literature is rather superficial. In his words, there exists in the Georgian language a very incomplete literature, but full of genuine flights; poetry remained for a long time the only literature of Georgia, which was seldom characterised by inspiration. Villeneuve's evidence is characterised by obvious contradictions. Thus, one wonders how poetry remained the only literature of the Georgians while Villeneuve speaks of the literary seat of Mount Athos, of Euthymius the Athonite and other "scholarly and educated" Georgians, the translations made by them of biblical books and the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. The genre characterisation of the "Tariel Romance", created in the 12th century, is also contradictory, called by Villeneuve at once a romance and an Iberian epos.

¹ Le Caucase pittoresque. Dessiné d'après nature par le prince G. Gagarine. Avec une introduction et un texte explicatif par le comte E. Stackelberg, Paris 1847.

Brief information about Rustaveli and his work are to be found in *Le Caucase et la Perse et la Turquie d'Asie d'après la relation de M. le baron de Tielmann, par le baron Ernouf, Paris 1876*. The author travelled on a diplomatic mission in "strange and difficult-of-access" places. On a visit to Telavi, after a feast the foreigner was shown, among "other curiosities", a good manuscript of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. In Tielmann's words, this was a chivalrous epopee - a 12th-century manuscript, illuminated with perfect miniatures. The traveller observes that "the poem is written according to the ancient taste of the Georgians". The French traveller E. Orsolle, the author of *Le Caucase et la Perse par E. Orsolle, Paris 1885*, agrees with Tielmann's view on the definition of the genre specificity of Rustaveli's poem. According to the author, the Golden Age of Georgia was marked by Rustaveli's poem (*The Panther's Skin*). At the same time Rustaveli's influence on Georgian literature of the subsequent period is stressed; the prose is linked to his authority. The author must have made use of written sources as well as personal contacts. Hence, it is worth noting that Orsolle speaks not only of old and classic poetry but he is familiar with poets of his period: Orbeliani, Eristavi, Baratov, and "especially Prince Chavchavadze" and his contemporary periodical editions, the *Droeba, Imedi, Iveria*.

The first encyclopaedic article on "Tariel" appeared in the *Petit Larousse: Tariel, P. Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire Universel, Paris (1885)*. The information in the cited encyclopaedia is incompetent and unexpected: "Tariel, a Georgian poem - one of the rare works known to us from this literature - must have been written in the 16th or 15th century. True, it is too long (8 thousand quatrains); notwithstanding several flaws, it still is a remarkable work. Particularly noteworthy is its style which is rich in diverse images and figurative sayings, so lavishly used by Oriental poets." In the first place the dating of the poem by the encyclopaedia is rather unexpected. It is hard to determine which source the authors of this information used. As shown by the materials reviewed above, even travellers did not err in dating the poem. The error is the more to be regretted that at the period in question (1885) Brosset's French-language publications were a thing of the past.

Towards the close of the 19th century Iona Meunargia's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into French evoked extended reviews by J. Mourier and A. Suttner. Mourier's view on *The Man in the Panther's Skin* merits special attention. Mourier lived and served in Georgia for a long time. In 1889-1902 a French magazine was issued under his editorship (*Le Caucase illustré*). I. Meunargia handed to him his translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* for editing. This was followed by Mourier's booklet on Rustaveli, issued in Tbilisi in 1886 and entitled *Chota Roustaveli, Notice par J. Mourier, officier de l'instruction publique*. Later the author published the same booklet in Paris and Brussels. He published Rustaveli's biography, based on a folklore source. Reviewing the poem, Mourier is enthusiastic about the greatness of its language and literary world. However, he is irritated by the "banality of the subject" and the "lack of ideas", as he puts it. The French author has reservations about the characters of the poem, focusing attention on the unethical behaviour of Nestan and Avtandil.

In 1886 another French translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was published. (However, as explained by the author, his work was not a translation but an imitation). The translator was Achas Borin (pennname of Count Alexander Bobrinski). The book was published in Paris along with other "Oriental Stories": *Achas Borin, Contes Orientaux: Daniel, La Peau de Léopard, L'Hospitalité, Paris 1886*. A year later his translation was issued in Tbilisi too. The work is prefaced with a fairly interesting introduction. The translation itself proved colourless but it is highly noteworthy, for, as is known, Meunargia's translation, done at the same period, has not survived. The title in the translation is traditionally represented as "the Leopard's Skin". An attempt is made at a historical interpretation of the poem. In Borin's view, "Tinatin embodies Queen Tamar" and, in general, the poem is dedicated to Tamar. Nevertheless, Borin quotes Rustaveli's words to the effect that "he had found a story written in Persian", accepting it uncritically. Thus, Borin does not deny the foreign provenance of the plot either, considering it to have been adapted very originally, so as to reflect Georgian life. The translator's view is significant: "Even if we notice some influence of Persian literature here, it is

seen only in the fantasy and colour which characterises the entire oriental poetry." It is interesting to note that Borin does not take the text of the poem uncritically; he has done some work of textual criticism, removing some spurious passages from the poem. Nevertheless, Borin's principles of textual study are highly subjective and unscholarly.

The early 20th century was marked by a very interesting and noteworthy work. This refers to A. Thalasso's book: *Anthologie de l'Amour Asiatique*. The book deals with "the love literature" of oriental countries, including Georgian literature - largely with Rustaveli to whom a separate chapter is devoted. According to Thalasso, original poems are known in Georgian literature, belonging to Rustaveli, Chakhrukhadze and Guramishvili. In his view, this literature is rich in love poetry - largely an imitation of Persian and Armenian poetry, for "Georgian poets are inspired by Armenian metrics" (cf. Brosset, *Recherches sur la poésie géorgienne...*, 1830). Thalasso clearly repeats Brosset's views in noting that "two Georgian prose romances: the *Amirandarejaniani* and *Visramiani* are written in the style of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* (cf. Brosset, *Recherches sur la poésie géorgienne...*, 1830). Thalasso relates the emergence of "love poetry" in the 12th century to the sending by David the Builder of young people to Athens for study. Thalasso (following Brosset's work just cited) names oriental-type metaphors as an indicator of the influence of Arabic-Persian poetry on its Georgian counterpart. Finally, the author appends a French translation of two "Rustaveli" quatrains. He considers the first of these quatrains to be an example of the *ghazal*, while the second is a *shairi*, so far unpublished but found in the continuation of *Tariel* (manuscript E), and attributed to Rustaveli. The author must be referring to one manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, used also by Brosset. In general, in discussing *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, the author of the *Anthologie* made use of the works of Bolkhovitinov and Brosset. Besides, he appears to have been influenced by an Armenian consultant, as seen in the constant repetition of the priority of Armenian over Georgian poetry. At the same time, Thalasso does not repeat Bolkhovitinov's view on the syllabic-tonic character of the Georgian verse. He considered Georgian as well as Armenian verse syllabic.

The well-known French traveller Baron de Baye was greatly interested in Georgian literature. He dedicated several books to his travels through Georgia, had contacts with Georgian writers (Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli), was closely acquainted with Georgian life, and translated examples of Georgian literature into French. Baron de Baye speaks affectionately of his friend Akaki Tsereteli in his book *En Imérétie*, considering him "an eloquent poet anointed with Supreme grace", expressing the sentiments of the Georgians. Baron de Baye presents Akaki's poems translated in prose: *Les nations différentes*, *Devant l'image*, *Souliko*, and *L'abeille*¹. He translated and published the Georgian legend *Beauty* (*La Beauté, légende géorgienne, traduite et publiée pour la première fois en français par le Baron de Baye*, Paris 1900). In his book *In Georgia* he dwells on Queen Tamar and the legends current on her in Georgia. Among them, the traveller relates a folklore tradition from the cycle on the relationship of Tamar and Rustaveli. Different versions of this tradition are well known in Georgian folkloristics². Most interesting assessment and copious material about Georgian literature is to be found in Baron de Baye's book: *Tiflis, Souvenirs d'une mission*. The traveller does justice to Ilia Chavchavadze's public activity, viz. the founding of the Bank of the Nobility, chairmanship of the Society for the Dissemination of Literacy and the publication of the most influential periodical *Iveria*. At the same time, the author assessed Chavchavadze's sharpest and most important tool - satire - with an unerring literary flair. According to the author "He (Chavchavadze) wrote humorous stories in prose, whose significance for Georgia is the same as Gogol's works are for Russia. And his poetry is profoundly Christian, patriotic and philosophical. Prior to Tolstoy, Ilia expressed analogous ideas on various themes; in one of them he laid bare the vices characteristic of the Georgians in a satirical manner".

Another French traveller, Duchesse de Rohan, also made brilliant use of her acquaintance of Georgia early in the 20th

¹ **D. Panchulidze**, Akaki Tsereteli in France, Tb. 1980 (in Georgian).

² **I. Megreliдзе**, Rustaveli and Georgian Folklore, Tb. 1950 (in Russian).

century: *Les Dévoilées du Caucase, Note de voyage, Paris, 1910*. The authoress was the wife of Duc de Rohan (father of the son-in-law of Ekaterine Dadiani). Thus, she made personal acquaintance of Georgia, studied Georgian literature and supplied much more information about it to the French reader than is found in the works of other travellers. De Rohan had a comprehensive idea of Georgian literature. She names the philosopher Ioane Petritsi, the orator Ioane Khakhuleli, the translator and scholar Giorgi the Athonite, Georgia's Golden Age poets: Chakhrukhadze and Shavteli. According to de Rohan, Mose Khoneli "was Tamar's historian, while Sargis Tmogveli - a great romancer". Interest attaches to the traveller's Rustvelological evidence. She is the only traveller to mention Rustaveli's name, Shota. Until then, apart from Brosset's later works, the poet's full name had not been recorded in French literary criticism. The author names 1190 as the exact date of the writing of the poem. De Rohan may be credited also with paying attention to the philosophical depth of the poem - especially its aphorisms. She continues her review of Old Georgian literature by noting Brosset's service to Kartvelology. Nikoloz Baratashvili and Giorgi Eristavi are considered versifiers of Georgian poetry. The following poets are also named: Aleksandre Chavchavadze, Erekle II (as the author of religious odes), the latter's daughters, Mariam and Ketevan (who had written elegies), Dimitri Tumanishvili - author of patriotic verses; Grigol Orbeliani, Sayatnova and, finally, Akaki Tsereteli who had completed 50 years in the service of poetry. De Rohan translated poems of Akaki Tsereteli, Ilia Chavchavadze and Rapiel Eristavi, appending them to her review. In particular, she translated Akaki's poem *A l'amour*, the introductory part of Chavchavadze's poem "Several Scenes or an Episode in the Life of an Outlaw", entitling it *Crépuscule dans la vallée d'Alasan*, and Rapiel Eristavi's *Le Pays Natale de Chewurzen*.

In 1909 Akaki Tsereteli was visited by Mme Toucas Massillon, correspondent of the *Les Nouvelles* newspaper. Her long article, entitled: "Akaki Tsereteli" was printed on 1 November 1909. An article on Akaki, *Le jubilé d'un grand poète*, was published in the *Action* newspaper; the poet's works are reviewed in *Mercure de France*, while in several issues of *Petit Republicain* the French

reader became acquainted with prose translations of the poem *Natela* and *Gamzrdeli*.

In his book *La Géorgie Libre. Son passé, son présent, son avenir* (Genève 1920), the author Emmanuel Kune discusses in detail the origin of the Georgian language and writing, as well as Rustaveli and his poem. Kune is familiar with fragments of the poem (in Brosset's translation), printed in the *Journal Asiatique*. He points out also that the poem has been translated into German, English, and Russian - into the latter language by Balmont. The author's attempt to use some facts of the poem in a political sense is unprecedented. Thus, he dwells at length on the Laz being Georgians. In support of this view he quotes *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in which, in his words, one of the three characters is Laz. Kune should be credited with correctly understanding the meaning of the suffix *-osan* in the Georgian title of the poem, defining the title of Rustaveli's work as "A man in the panther's skin".

In his *L'Eglise Géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (1910), Mikheil Tamarashvili, who had fundamental knowledge of Georgian literature, advanced somewhat controversial conclusions. According to him, Georgian literature acquired an independent original colour only after its development attained its apogee in the 12th century. Prior to that "it suffered the influence of the Persians, Arabs and Greeks".

The originality of Georgian literature is specially accentuated in *La Langue Géorgienne* by N. Marr and M. Brière, Paris 1931. According to the authors, Georgian literature did not limit itself to "ecclesiastical sciences" alone, as did some other oriental literatures. It developed along the secular path too, creating real masterpieces, resting on national inspiration".

In 1934 Professor J. Karst of Strassbourg University published his *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne*. Despite the title, in the first part of the work the author discusses theological literature, and in the second, middle and new literature; thus the work deals with the entire Georgian literature.

In 1957 M. Brière published a paper: *Lettres géorgiennes chrétiennes*. It is an excerpt translation of K. Kekelidze's *History of Georgian Literature*, vol. I. The author reviews the development of

the Georgian literary language and the inception of literature and the periods of Georgian ecclesiastical literature. In the subsection: "Original literature and Translators" six authors are discussed in detail: Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, Eprem Mtsire, Arsen Iqaltoeli, Ioane Petritsi and Anton the Catholicos. After reviewing their biographical data, the author lists their translations, classified in terms of genre. Only the floruit and the titles of works are presented for the other authors. The last, third chapter of the paper follows Kekelidze's principle in vol. I of his *History of Georgian Literature* in giving separate reviews of the genres of Old Georgian literature (bibliology, exegetics, dogmatics, polemics, hagiography, asceticism and mysticism, homiletics, canons, poetry, liturgies).

Attention of Europeans to medieval Georgian-Byzantine contacts and the participation of Georgians in the political and cultural life of Byzantium was drawn by the monograph *Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys d'Aréopagite* (1952) by the well-known Belgian Byzantinist Ernest Honigmann. This work gave rise in Europe to a highly important hypothesis in Medieval Studies, proclaiming the Georgian prince Peter the Iberian to have been the genuine author of the early medieval theological treatises known under the name of St. Dionysius the Areopagite. Critical discussion of this theory is today, too, a major theme both in Kartvelology and, generally, in European Medieval Studies.

A major contribution to the research into Georgian literature was made by Professor Gerard Garitte of the University of Louvain, whose studies formed a new stage in Kartvelology. A review of Garitte's works may be started with his *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange, Citta del Vaticano* (1947, *Studi e Testi*, vol. 27). The book contains the new Greek redaction of Agathangelus's work on the Christianisation of Armenia by Gregory the Illuminator. Numerous Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian and Syriac fragments and commentaries on them are also included¹. Two years later Garitte published a brief paper: *Sur un fragment géorgienne d'Agathange*. It is a publication of a text preserved at the Library of

¹ The present review of Garitte's work is based on M. Tarchnishvili's work - **M. Tarchnishvili** - A propos des travaux de philologie géorgienne de M. G. Garitte: *Le Muséon*, t. 68, 1955, pp. 360-384.

Cambridge, with a Latin translation. The text forms part of the history of the martyrdom of the Ripsimians, extant in the History of Gregory the Illuminator. According to the researcher, the Georgian version is a translation not of the Greek but of the Armenian text. The manuscript dates from the 11th century, presumably copied by Gregory-Prochorus. The Cambridge redaction, characterised by archaic language, must be earlier than the 9th century.

Garitte's papers on Agathangelus were followed by one more important study: *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae*. Alongside the *Narratio*, discovered by him, Garitte printed the work of Arsen the Catholicos *On the Separation of Kartli and Armenia*, as well as a Georgian list of Armenian catholicoi; both studies are provided with French translations. Garitte's paper *Version géorgienne de la Passion de St. Rocope par Eusèbe*, was of major importance. The text is supplied with a Latin translation. The Greek original is believed to have been lost. In the researcher's view, the Georgian translation is not later than the 7th century. At the same time, the Georgian text permits to determine the exact date of the saint. A collection of the Syriac, Latin and Georgian texts allows to visualise the text of the original indirectly.

More important is the Georgian evidence - identified by Garitte - on the death of John the Hesychast: *La mort de St. Jean l'Hesychaste d'après un texte géorgien inédit*. As is known, the Greek manuscripts containing *The Life of St. John*, written by St. Cyril of Scythopolis, give no date of the death of the saint. Now, there exists a Georgian version of the *Life*, published by Kekelidze in his *Monumenta hagiographica georgica*, 1918. The text ends with the story of the death of John the Hesychast, which is lacking in the Greek text. It is this story that Garitte published with a Latin translation and commentaries. In the researcher's view, this ending was added by Cyril of Scythopolis to the *Life* completed by himself in 557-58. The story of the death of the saint was added after his death, or after 8 January 559. The Georgian redaction of this *Life* must not date later than the 7th century.

Garitte's study *Un extrait géorgien de la Vie d'Etienne le Sabaitte* deals with the Georgian text of the "Life of Stephen of Saint Sabas". The researcher concludes against St. Stephen's kinship with John of Damascus (as was believed traditionally). He was

erroneously identified with *S. Etienne le Thaumaturge*. Accordingly, the researcher questions the date of John Damascene's death (747), which was based on the above erroneous identification and the chronology of St. Stephen's life.

Among Garitte's studies special importance attaches to his *Les lettres de Saint Antoine en géorgien*. It deals with two Sinaitic MSS containing the Georgian text of St. Antoine's letters: cod. 35, and cod. 25. In these MSS the text of the first seven letters is presented in full, the letters being authentic. Later Garitte published the Georgian text of all the seven letters, with a Latin translation and critical apparatus: *Lettres de Saint Antoine, version géorgienne et fragments coptes*. To date a complete collection of St. Antoine's letters is available in Georgian, Arabic and Latin. The Latin redaction, dating from *ca* the 15th century, comes from the lost Greek original. The Arabic version must have been translated from the Coptic and must precede the Latin at least by four centuries. The Coptic redaction itself predates the 11th century. The Sinaitic MSS containing the Georgian text are of a post-11th-century period. The translations must have been made before the 8th century. In Garitte's view, the Georgian translation is the oldest specimen of the hitherto known seven letters of St. Antoine.

Garitte's *La version géorgienne de la Vie de Sainte Marthe* must be considered a major study of the Georgian text of the *Life* of St. Martha. The *Life* of the mother of St. Symeon, the New St. Martha was written in Greek at the turn of the 7th century. Its translation is extant in three Georgian MSS: Iviron, géorgien 84; A-142 Institute of Manuscripts; Jerusalem, géorgien 156. Of these only the first contains the text in full form, the rest lacking the initial parts. Garitte prepared a critical edition with a translation of the *Life* of St. Martha according to these MSS. The colophon to the Iviron MS indicates that it was copied by Giorgi the Athonite at the request of Giorgi the Monk during the abbotship of Giorgi the Athonite (1042-1045). In Garitte's opinion, a certain David from the Black Mountain should be assumed as the translator of the *Life* rather than David Tbeli (10th century), according to Kekelidze's version.

Garitte is the author of an encyclopaedic review article on Georgian church literature. (*Dictionnaire de Spiritualité - 1967*). After a brief general review of church literature the author dwells

upon didactic-narrative, properly ascetic works and the Lives of the holy monks and ascetics. A list is presented of the ascetic-didactic literature translated into Georgian as well as original ones, with indications of their editions (in Georgian and foreign languages) and of the MSS containing these texts. Basic writings on ascetic literature were translated into Georgian before the close of the 10th century - prior to the epoch of the Athonites. Notably enough, Georgian translations have preserved oriental works unknown to Greek literature (St. Anthony's letters, some letters of Amona, of Arsenius and Macarius. Some Georgian homilies, ascribed to Ephraem the Syrian and John Chrysostom, are not found in Greek MSS; mention can also be made of the *Limonarion*, the Lives of Ilarion the Iberian and John Damascene, as well as the Lives of St. Ephraem the Syrian, Peter the Iberian and Symeon the Stylite the Old, all arriving via Syriac. And notwithstanding the loyalty of the Georgian church to the Greek Calcedonian orthodoxy, "Georgian culture retained its oriental and national character and individuality under pressure from Greek culture, thereby avoiding total Hellenization".

Garitte's paper *Une édition critique du psautier géorgien* deals with the Georgian edition of the Book of Psalms, prepared by Mzekala Shanidze. In her study, Shanidze makes no mention of one papyrus MS of the Book of Psalms discovered in St. Catherine's Monastery by A. Tsagareli among the Sinaitic MSS in 1883. The papyrus MS is datable to *ca* the 7th-8th centuries. Garitte pointed out that the cited MS, believed by M. Shanidze and K. Kekelidze to have been lost, is in fact preserved on Mount Sinai, being described in 1950 in Garitte's catalogue. Garitte's paper gives a description of this MS, with the text of Ioane Zosime's colophon included in it. Thus, the MS does not appear to be earlier than the 9th century. At the close of his paper Garitte gives a Latin translation of Giorgi the Hagiorite's note appended by him to his redaction of the Book of Psalms.

By 1958 Garitte produced a critical edition of Ioane Zosime's Georgian Calendar (*Sinai géorgien 34*), with a Latin translation of the Georgian text and commentaries. The researcher devoted a special study to the same calendar: *Une édition commentée du calendrier palestino-géorgien de Jean Zosime*.

According to the scholar, the year 956, which is believed to have been the date of the copying of the calendar, is related to the second part of the MS, which has no palaeographic relation to the part containing the calendar proper. Ioane Zosime's colophon shows that the calendar must have been written in the Monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem. From 973 Ioane Zosime was on Mount Sinai, i.e. the calendar was written by 975. The calendar contains over 1100 hagiographic liturgical pieces of information from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. It has preserved most valuable evidence on liturgical practice in Jerusalem, as well as hagiographic evidence from Greek synaxaries. Besides Palestinian and Byzantine festivals, the calendar presents some properly Georgian festivals: of Abo Tbileli, of Saint Nino, Saint Shushanik, etc. Garitte's work aimed at collating the Georgian Calendar with other sources, identification of saints, determination of the dates of the establishment of festivals and their significance, and so on. On the occasion of the issuing of Ioane Zosime's calendar as a separate book, in 1958, Garitte was awarded the highest, Franqui Prize, which was presented to him personally by the Belgian King.

Foreign Kartvelologists made a major contribution to the study of the Georgian versions of the Acts of the Apostles. Garitte laid the foundation of work along these lines by his highly important study *L'ancienne version géorgienne des actes des Apôtres*. After visiting Sinai and microfilming, Garitte issued the Georgian version of the Acts of the Apostles according to two manuscripts. The Georgian texts are supplied with an exact Latin translation and study in which the author makes the following conclusions: 1. The old version of the Acts was translated from the Armenian. 2. The extant MSS of the Armenian Vulgate date from the 13th century, but this Vulgate is not a pattern of the Georgian translation. 3. The Georgian text must derive from a lost old Armenian redaction, the latter appearing to depend on the Syriac version. 4. The Georgian translation, made from the Armenian, must have suffered revision according to the Greek text. In Garitte's observation, these assumptions warrant the conclusion that the story of the Acts is in every respect similar to that of the Georgian translation of the Gospel.

The special work on the Acts of the Apostles, commenced by Garitte, was continued by M.van Esbroeck by a review of the Georgian Acts of John the Evangelist: *Les formes géorgiennes des Acta Iohannis* (1975). The scholar identified three types of the Acts of John the Evangelist, publishing the redaction of one of them (the 1074 MS of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos), with a Latin translation: *Les Acta Iohannis traduits par Euthime l'Hagiorite*. Esbroeck studied one more redaction (published by Kekelidze in vol. I of the *Keimena*), concluding that the Georgian version emerges in its primary form, issuing from the branch that produced the Armenian forms. The version published by K. Kekelidze must have already been emended according to the Armenian pattern type. In order to clarify these relations Esbroeck published the Georgian version of the *Dormition*, with a Latin translation and a parallel version of Kekelidze's edition.

Esbroeck made a special study of the apocrypha of the Dormition of the Virgin (MS A-144) in his papers: *Nouveaux apocryphes de la Dormition conservés en Géorgien* and *Apocryphes géorgiens de la Dormition*. He collated two Georgian redactions of the apocryphal Dormition with the Greek and Ethiopic texts of the same apocrypha (P.V. Arras, CSCO, vol. pp. 342-343), concluding that the Ethiopic text should be considered an archetype for the Georgian and Greek redactions of the Dormition of the Virgin. The derivation of both Georgian apocrypha from one and the same Greek original may be hypothesised. However, neither can it be ruled out that one of the Georgian redactions (the one with the opening part missing) is directly related to some Semitic original. Esbroeck published the complete parallel texts of the Georgian and Ethiopic apocrypha.

Mikael Modrekili's brilliant hymnographic collection from Shatberdi was the object of Esbroeck's special study (*L'hymnaire de Michel Modrekili et son sanctoral*). Following the important studies by P. Ingoroqva (*Giorgi Merchule*, Tbilisi, 1983) and V. Gvakharia (*Hymns of Mikel Modrekili*, Tbilisi, 1978), Esbroeck was the first to study Modrekili's *Iadgari* in the full context of Georgian hymnographic collections, bringing to light essential details of their interrelationship and difference. He noted that Modrekili's calendar of hymns is rich in Georgian proper material too: John of Edessa,

Konstanti Kakhi, Gregory of Neocaesarea, Abo Tbileli. The scholar assumed that the collection must have contained hymns dedicated to Saint Nino and Euthymius the Athonite as well.

Esbroeck's paper, *Le Catholicos Antoine I-er et son "Martirika"*, was devoted by Esbroeck to the study of hymns dedicated to Georgian saints proper. It transpired that compilation of an hagiographic collection dedicated to Georgian saints alone was not only Anton I's idea. The priority of compiling such a collection belonged to Onopre Machutadze, a 17th century abbot of the Monastery of David Gareja. The work started by him was completed early in the 18th century by Gabriel Saginashvili. Later this work was continued by Besarion Orbelishvili. Part Two of Esbroeck's study deals with the identification of Anton I's sources, basing himself on M. Kavtaria's works as well¹. Esbroeck concludes that Anton was familiar with Italian sources too.

Esbroeck's study, *Euthyme l'Hagiorite: le traducteur et ses traductions*, constituting a novel assessment of the translation method of Euthymius the Athonite, should be considered his major work. Esbroeck opposes Kekelidze's view, according to which Euthymius "either added something to the original, or took something away from it, or freely altered passages, producing an absolutely new redaction"². Esbroeck reanalysed the Old Georgian translations studied by Kekelidze in order to determine Euthymius' method of translation (*The Small Nomocanon, The Life of Maximus the Confessor, The Small Synaxary, The Life of Ilarion the Georgian, Maximus the Confessor's Questions to Thalases, The Miracles of St. Mikel*) and Eprem Mtsire's well-known *Testament on Euthymius*. The researcher concluded that Euthymius did not translate exactly - word for word: he deleted or added not whole paragraphs or fragments taken from other works, but only words. Esbroeck believes that Euthymius used other redactions of the works named that are today lost, or must be brought to light. It may be noted here that Esbroeck published the text of Euthymius' translation

¹ **M. Kavtaria**, The life and activity of Besarion Orbelishvili, - *Bulletin of the Institute of Manuscripts*, vol. I, 1959 (in Georgian).

² **K. Kekelidze**, *Studies*, vol. I, 1956, pp. 188-189 (in Georgian).

of Maximus' *The Life of the Virgin*, with a complete French translation - CSCO, vol. 478/SI, t. 21; vol. 479/ SI, t. 22.

French Kartvelologists made a significant contribution to the study of the Georgian redactions of the Apophthegms. W. Bousset's fundamental work, *Apophthegmata Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums, Tübingen, 1923*, brought together the Greek and oriental MSS of the Apophthegms, with a comparative study of Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian apophthegms. However, the Georgian versions were omitted in the work. M. Dvali's two-volume monograph ("Old-Georgian Translations of Medieval Novellas", Tbilisi, vol. I, 1966, vol. II, 1974) was devoted to the Old-Georgian translations of apophthegmatic texts. In his *Les apophthegmes dans les versions orientales*, Esbroeck continued the study of Georgian Apophthegms in the context of other old redactions, paying special attention to the Slavonic and Armenian versions. One redaction of the latter version is translated into Georgian. The researcher specified the lists adduced in Dvali's edition and in some cases, details of identification with the Greek original.

Taking into account Esbroeck's above-discussed study, B. Outtier made an in-depth study of Euthymius' translation of the Apophthegmata in his paper: *Le modèle grec de la traduction géorgienne des apophthegmes par Euthyme*. In his opinion, the collection of Apophthegms translated by Euthymius does belong to a systematic collection, but to the particular redaction deriving from the alphabetic-anonymous type. In Euthymius' translation some apophthegms are rendered exactly, while in some the pattern is relatively altered.

In 1975 Outtier published the Georgian text of the hitherto unknown fragments of the Georgian *asomtavruli* ("uncial") lectionary (*Fragments oncieux du lectionnaire géorgien*). These 10th-century fragments are preserved in the Armenian Monastery of Lebanon. In it several days of fast differ from the well-known lectionaries. The Great Lectionary of Jerusalem had been edited by M. Tarchnishvili¹. The cited edition comprised all the Georgian

¹ Le Grand Lectionnaire d'Église de Jérusalem (5th-7th s.): T. I, CSCO, vol. 188-189/SI, t. 9-10; t. II, CSCO, vol. 204-205/SI, t. 13-14.

manuscripts available by that time. Besides the above four-leaf fragment of the Georgian lectionary found in the collections of the Armenian Monastery, Outtier added another 40 leaves of a 10th-century Georgian MS in *asomtavruli*, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (B.N. géorgien 5).

Foreign Kartvelologists made a significant contribution to the study of the Georgian version of the New Testament as well, in particular the Gospel. A list of studies published along these lines was compiled by D. Lang in his *Les études récentes sur le Nouveau Testament géorgien*. R. Blake edited the Adishi Gospels. The first two Gospels (Matthew and Mark) were printed in 1928 and 1933 (*Patrologia Orientalis*). Blake died in 1950, after publishing the Gospel according to John, while Brière completed the publication with Luke, in 1955. Along with the Adishi Gospel, Blake and Brière published variants of the Opiza and Tbeti Gospels. Outtier's study, *Deux anciens manuscrits de la recension Athonite des évangéles* was devoted to the Athonite redactions of the Georgian Four Gospels. I. Imnaishvili's work "The Two Last Redactions of the Georgian Four Gospels", published in Tbilisi in 1979, dealt with the Athonite redactions. According to this edition, the Euthymius redaction proper is known by two manuscripts. Outtier points out that one more manuscript is preserved on Mount Sinai: Sinai géorgien 16, which must contain Euthymius' translation as well. As indicated by Outtier, the reading matter: "Arrangement of the Gospel according to the Greek Model", entered along with the Gospel in some Georgian manuscripts, must be a work translated by Euthymius, and it must be added to the list of his translations.

Outtier extended his work on the manuscripts of the New Testament by drawing up an exhaustive repertoire, on the one hand, of the MSS containing Georgian translations of the New Testament (pre-Athonite redaction), and on the other, an analogous repertoire of the MSS available in Latin (*Essai de répertoire des manuscrits des vieilles versions géorgiennes du Nouveau Testament*). He studied manuscripts containing the oldest Georgian translation of the Gospel (pre-Athonite redactions), arriving at the conclusion that the old MSS of the New Testament form two basic redactions: the Adishi type and the so-called proto-Vulgate redaction. Mixed-type MSS may also be identified.

It is through her rich Christian cultural heritage that Georgia enters the spectrum of interests of scholars engaged in the study of Greek-Byzantine Christian culture. Hence, the spread of Christianity in Georgia should be considered one of the principal problems for both Georgian and foreign Kartvelologists. This was studied by P. Peeters (*Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie*). The researcher discussed all important problems connected with the dissemination of Christianity, offering a peculiar solution of each more or less important question. The question in his study is examined globally, consistently and comprehensively. Peeters considers legendary the view of the Georgian Church, according to which Christianity spread in Georgia through the preaching of the Apostles. In his view, the first seats of Christianity must have existed in the coastal towns of Abkhazia, as well as with the Svans. The fact that the religious vocabulary of the high-mountain Svans contains a large number of Greek terms and Graecisms, not to be found in Georgian, shows that they must have received the Christian religion directly from Greek or Hellenized missionaries. Significantly enough, the oldest Jerusalem typicon, extant in a Georgian redaction and published by Kekelidze, was preserved among the MSS of two churches in Svaneti. An older, palimpsest fragment of this typicon is also known, originally also preserved in Svaneti. According to Peeters, these facts give ground to assume that the Jerusalem liturgy was adopted in Svaneti and was later abolished in favour of the liturgical mode that gained currency in the united Georgian Church. The Laz officially adopted Christianity under Justinian. As to Southern Georgia, there - in Peeters' view - Christianity came from Armenia. Agathangelus already speaks of Gregory the Parthian's activity with regard to Georgia. An analysis of the evidence of Rufinus and Gelasius led Peeters to the belief that the flourishing of St. Nino's legend among the Georgians was due to Bakur's story, recorded by Rufinus and translated by Socrates. The latter redaction was used and supplemented by pseudo-Moses Khorenatsi. Thus, though the national literature on the conversion of their country was created among the Iberians, it was imported from abroad.

Peeters devoted significant studies to texts of the original Georgian hagiographic corpus, publishing their translations too. Special mention should be made of the *Life of Ilarion* the Georgian,

with a review and Latin translation of the text; the Passion of the proto-Martyr Razhden; *A History of Georgian Monasteries*, with Latin translations of the *Lives* of Ioane and Euthymius the Athonites, Giorgi the Hagiorite, Serapion of Zarzma and Grigol Khandzteli; also: studies on *The Passion of Michael of St. Sabas*; the Martyrdom of Abo (*Les Khazars dans la Passion de S. Abo de Tiflis*); the well-known study of the Passion of Shushanik, with a translation of the text (*S. Šoušanik, martyr en Arméno-Géorgie*), and others.

Especially significant among Peeters' Kartvelological studies is his study of the Latin translation of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (1931), in which the origin of this extremely popular mediaeval European romance is linked to the name of Euthymius the Athonite, and the derivation of the romance from the Georgian *Balavariani* is argued (*La Première traduction latine de "Barlaam et Joasaph" et son original grec*). It was on the basis of Peeters' cited study that the problem of the provenance of the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, posed in French literary criticism at the end of the 19th century in H. Zotenberg's monograph (*Notice sur livre de Barlaam et Joasaph*), was related to Georgian sources. Interest in this problem revived in French literary criticism in the 1950s in connection with the stand taken against Peeters by the German scholar F. Dölger in his monograph published in 1953. This monograph was followed by the reviews of F. Halkin (*Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 71, fasc. IV, 1953) and H. Grégoire (*EEBΣ*, 32, 1963), and P. Devot's philological-historical essay *Les origines du Barlaam et Joasaph grec*.

B. Martin-Hisard devoted a basic study to the *Lives of the Syrian Fathers* - another significant part of the Georgian original hagiographic corpus. She thereby continued the work commenced by Peeters along with research into the initial period of the spread of Christianity in Georgia, on the one hand, and supplemented the translations of Georgian hagiographic texts with French translations of the *Lives of the Syrian Fathers* (Abibos Nekreseli, David of Gareja, Ioane and his pupils), on the other. Her work was issued in three parts: "*Les treize saints Pères*". *Formation et évolution d'une tradition hagiographique géorgienne (VIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Martin-Hisard published also a French translation of the "Life of Ilarion the Georgian": *La pérégrination du moine géorgien Hilarion au IXe siècle*.

Martin-Hisard's study *Du Tao-K'larjeti à l'Athos* deals with an analysis of the political reality linking Tao-Klarjeti and the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos. A passage in the *Life of Ioane and Euthymius* tells of Ioane's desire to flee to *Spania* (Spain) to save his soul. Martin-Hisard draws attention to the fact that the theme of fleeing to another country occurs frequently in hagiographic texts, turning into a kind of *topos* for the Lives of saints (10th-12th centuries). The researcher believes that Grigol Khandzteli set up a vast monastic complex in Tao-Klarjeti, this making for a transition from anachoretic to monastic life. The latter form was shunned by monks owing to their calling. This must have been one reason for Ioane leaving the laura of the church of the Four Gospels. The same may be said of another episode: with the arrival of Tornike, the small community of Mount Athos became involved in secular relations; features of Klarjeti monasticism appeared in Iviron, causing the interest of the Bagrationis. The fact that Ioane failed to depart for Spain reflects the considerable pressure brought to bear on him by the socio-political system of the day.

Special interest attaches to Martin-Hisard's study: *Les Arabes en Géorgie occidentale au VIIIe s. Étude sur l'idéologie politique géorgienne*. On the one hand, she reviews the political ideology of Juansher's historical work in the 8th-9th centuries and, on the other, studies in what form it was used and altered in the 11th-12th centuries by the author of the *Martyrdom of David and Konstantine* to illustrate a new political point of view. In Martin-Hisard's view, in the 7th-9th centuries Juansher could extol Byzantium and the Georgian Khosroid kings, giving priority to Eastern Georgia over Western Georgia. The adaptation of Juansher's work by the hagiographer accorded with the ideology adopted in the 11th century: by substituting David and Konstantine for Archil and Miri the hagiographer showed that Western Georgia did not submit to the Arabs without fighting, and that it (Western Georgia) atoned for Byzantine heresy (admission of iconoclasm) and upheld the holy creed of Andrew the Apostle. These references to Byzantine heresies and the unswerving adherence by the Georgians to the true faith occur in Giorgi the Athonite's *Life* as well, being characteristic of the 11th-12th centuries. The author of the *Martyrdom of David and Konstantine* is not an anti-Byzantinist, but he does not present his

country's history as dependent on Byzantine history, but the other way round. Martin-Hisard appended French translations of both texts to her study: the relevant fragments of Juansher's *History of Vakhtang Gorgasali* and *The Martyrdom of David and Konstantine*.

The outstanding significance of Byzantine ascetic literary sources translated into Georgian for the reconstruction of the oldest originals of these works was highlighted in European literary criticism. In this respect note should be taken of a study written in French by the Belgian scholar J. Gribomont: *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de S. Basile* (1953). The author summarises the results of long research into Basil the Great's ascetic writings. Having studied one Georgian manuscript (Sin-35) of St. Basil's *Asceticon*, Gribomont demonstrated its major importance for the reconstruction of the original redaction of this corpus. Taking Gribomont's monograph into account, E. Khintibidze made a study of all Georgian redactions of St. Basil's *Asceticon*, establishing their place in Byzantine philology¹.

Rustaveli's well-known jubilees and the new translations of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, published in Paris by this time, were followed by a new wave of response. 1937 and 1964 were two significant dates causing the reanimation of foreign Rustvelology. The influence of G. Gvazava's views, expressed in the Foreword to the translation of the *Man in the Panther's Skin*, issued in Paris, on the views of the authors of studies written on the translation is obvious². Gvazava's view is repeated rather faithfully in D. Japaridze's encyclopaedic article³. The French writer and critic E. Jalou also responded to Gvazava-Paon's translation³. He sees the specificity of the Renaissance world view in the fact that the striving of the characters of West-European chivalry romances for the mystic

¹ **E. Khintibidze**, Georgian Redactions of Basil the Great's *Asceticon*, Tbilisi 1968 (in Georgian).

² **G. Gvazava**, Préface: Roustaveli et son oeuvre, dans - Chota Roustaveli, L'homme à la peau de Léopard, texte français de M. Gvazava et M-me Marsel-Paon, Paris 1938.

³ **D. Djaparidzé**, Littérature géorgienne; Histoire des littératures anciennes orientales et orales: *Encyclopédie de la pléiade*, Paris 1955.

⁴ Un poète géorgien: *Le Temps*, 17 July 1938.

source - the fantastic Grail - is replaced in Rustaveli with the quest for the embodied symbol (Nestan) of beauty and good .

S. Tsouladzé's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, was the most significant development in French Rustvelology in the 1960s. This poetic translation is pervaded with the views of Sh. Nutsubidze, the consultant of Tsouladze. The Rustaveli problems, researched by Nutsubidze in Georgian criticism, are further discussed by Tsouladze in his study, *Connaissance de Roustaveli* (Tbilissi 1966). Other French critics, in their comments, base themselves on Tsouladze, respectively coming under the influence of Nutsubidze's view. Thus, in the studies just cited, in dealing with the biographical issues of Rustaveli and the date of writing the poem, Tsouladze is guided by Nutsubidze's Russian-language monograph - *The Work of Rustaveli*, Tbilisi, 1958. The translator sees in the *Man in the Panther's Skin* "pantheistic trends inspired by Neoplatonism". The ground for this, in his view, is provided by the line: "O one God! Thou didst create the face of every form" (Wardrop's translation). In Tsouladze's translation the line assumed the form: "(Dieu) donna la forme à tout corps", cf. the Russian: "Образ тел во всей вселенной создал ты - единый бор"(Nutsubidze's translation). On the one hand, the precision of the translation is debatable, and on the other, the content of the translation leads one to believe that the poem speaks not of the creation of the world by God, but of God creating the face or form of the world, which is indeed a postulate of Pantheistic materialism. Again on the basis of Nutsubidze's ideas, Tsouladze, for the first time, argues the influence of Neoplatonic ideas on Rustaveli. The translator examines the quatrain: "This thing hidden...", interpreting the essence of ethical monism conveyed in it and pointing out that the "sage Divnos" is Dionysius the Areopagite; the curpus current under the same name must belong to the Georgian Prince Peter the Iberian.

Attention was drawn to the Rustavelian "This hidden thing..." by the critic R. Lacôte in an article published in 1965. In Lacôte's view, the idea of dualism is well expressed in the poem, which is understandable for the period when Neomanichaeism heresy

was already known; however, Rustaveli remained a strong adherent of the Areopagite.

Other articles were also devoted to Tsouladze's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin: M.Brion, A l'assaut des sommets* and *Max Pol Fouchet nous parle du barde Caucasien - Chota Roustavéli*. The available Georgian sources on the poem were extensively reviewed by N. Salia, with translations of excerpts, in her paper *Le poème médiévale géorgien - "Le Chevalier à la Peau de Tigre", son importance littéraire et scientifique*. The author based herself on the works of G. Tsereteli, K. Kekelidze, A. Baramidze, and especially Sh. Nutsubidze.

K. Salia presented a comprehensive review of the entire Georgian literature for the foreign reader (*Bedi Kartlisa*).

Georgian literature of the Soviet period is given comparatively less attention in French-language literary criticism. In this respect, special mention should be made of a monograph by the Belgian researcher Goldie Blankoff-Scarr (Brussels 1987) in which the works of Nodar Dumbadze and Chabua Amirejibi are studied through typological parallels with the literary heritage of Fazil Iskander and Chingiz Aitmatov.

Rosmarie Kieffer, a journalist from Luxembourg, wrote special articles on Georgian poetry. She reviewed the works of Murman Lebanidze, Ana Kalandadze, and Grigol Abashidze, translating their poems into French. Her study of the *Visramiani* is noteworthy, *Recontre avec la littérature géorgienne: Le roman de Vis et Ramin*. According to the researcher, the author of this important mediaeval work is unknown. She notes the significance of the *Visramiani* for mediaeval European literature.

Louis Aragon devoted a long article to Georgian literature in his book: *Littérature Soviétique*. He begins the review of Georgian literature with the 12th century. He discusses Rustaveli's poem by the Russian and French translations, then reviewing the writers of the so-called Renaissance period. He dwells in more detail on 19th-century literature. Here Aragon's partisan ideology becomes apparent, assessing Georgian writers from this position. Thus, his attempt to detect postulates of Marxist ideology in N. Baratashvili's poetry looks strained. According to Aragon, it is obvious from Baratashvili's poetry that aristocratic Georgia had outlived itself and

that if "the poet accords it (Georgian aristocracy) time in his poetry, it is to take leave of it". A separate chapter devoted to a review of Georgian literature of the 1860s, in particular of Ilia Chavchavadze, was given a rather scandalous title by Aragon: "Can One Love Ilia Chavchavadze?" Following in the footsteps of M. Toroshelidze, Chairman of the Union of Georgian Writers in the 1930s, Aragon notes that, though Ilia preached respect for the peasants to the gentry, he did not castigate serfdom as a system - as a social regime. In Aragon's view, Ilia was a reformer of the language and founder of realism, and notwithstanding his clearly defined reactionary views, he still may be considered a progressive figure. Aragon's ideas just cited correspond to the period of pressure of the communist ideology when negative assessment of national tendencies manifested in literature was a *must*. In his essay, Aragon reviewed 20th-century Georgian poets as well: Galaktion Tabidze, Sandro Shanshiashvili, Ioseb Grishashvili, the *Blue Horns* Neosymbolist group, and the Futurists.

Marcel Brion's paper, "*Megui*" - *roman de Grigol Robakidzé*, discusses Robakidze's *Megi*. The critic perceives the development of the Greek classical atmosphere in the novel: the action takes place in ancient Colchis - in Medea's fatherland - and in many respects Megi resembles Medea. The author of the paper notes that it is a dramatic climate reminiscent of ancient legends or Greek tragedies: man moves towards the fulfilment of his will without knowing whether he is nearing happiness or death. The French author notes that Colchis is not a bookish reminiscence to Robakidze - he had never ceased experiencing the Classical world in his being.

GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH LITERARY CRITICISM

Prior to the establishment of Georgian literature in English literary criticism, Colchian-Iberian, and subsequently Georgian, realities or themes entered English literature fragmentarily over a long historical period. Rather meagre, yet noteworthy material, is supplied in the works of 13th-century English chroniclers: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon and Matthaëus Parisiensis.

In the geographical part of the treatise "On the Properties of Things"¹ by Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*ca* 1190-1250) we find brief information about Iberia being a province in Asia, near the Pontus, neighbouring on Armenia, where herbs useful for concoctions grow. The author points out that he had used the evidence of the early mediaeval author Isidore of Seville. Bartholomaeus refers also to the Caucasus mountain and its etymology. According to him, *Caucasus* was the most widespread among the names of this mountain. Bartholomaeus' report on the medicinal herbs of Iberia is supplemented by other information of Roger Bacon (*ca* 1214-1292) who in his *Opus Majus*² describes the peoples conquered by the Mongols, saying that to the south of this Tartar province, across the sea of Pontus, there live the Iberians and the Georgians. The capital city is called *Tefelis*. As indicated in the specialist literature, the reference to the Iberians and Georgians as separate peoples stems from an error made by Plano Carpini³. Bacon's work is one of the first in English sources referring to the state of the Iberians and the

¹ **Bartholomaeus Anglicus**, De proprietatibus rerum. Apud A. Koburgen, Nurenbergi 1492.

² **Roger Bacon**, The Opus Majus, vol. I, Oxford-London 1897, pp.350-351.

³ **G. Kutalia**, Some reports of 13th-century English Chroniclers on Georgia. In: *Matsne* (Series of History), N2, 1981, pp.86-93 (in Georgian).

Georgians and its capital. Besides, in it there is an indication of the population there being Christian. Bacon mentions a Georgian church in Tbilisi, which, in the view of modern historians, was the monastery founded by the monks of the order of Saint Dominic, sent to Tbilisi by the Pope in 1240.

More information about the Christian church and its enemies is found in the *Great Chronicles* of Matthew of Paris (*ca* 1200-1259), a monk of the Benedictine monastery⁴. It contains a letter sent in 1232 to the Pope Gregory IX by Germanus II, Patriarch of Constantinople, in which Georgians are mentioned among the "many great peoples" and "the mighty". The Patriarch recalls the time when the Greeks and the Latins were united under a single faith and fought together against the "enemies of the Church". He expresses his hope that the wall erected between the Greek and Latin churches will fall and that they will again fight the common enemy jointly. Further, the Patriarch assured the Pope on there being people of the faith like that of the Greeks in the East too, and that they can do much good to Christendom. Among them he names the Ethiopians and Syrians. And he considers the Iberians, the Laz, the Alans, the Goths, the Khazars, the Russians, and the Bulgarians "still more important and powerful".

Even a century later the same problems filled Christians' minds: unification of the Greek and Latin churches and fighting the Saracens. This is confirmed by a letter sent in 1330 by the Catholic bishop Peter Gerald of Sebastopolis (former name of Sukhumi) to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops of England¹. Such are the documentary materials reflecting the knowledge of the English about Georgia and the objectives of the Catholic church.

Historical sources have preserved evidence on the appearance of the Goths in the Caucasus and the Black Sea area from the mid-3rd century A.D. As for their entry into Western Georgia, they mainly fought against the Romans established here. Thus, the Iberians viewed them as a sort of allies. The Goths, settled

⁴ **Matthaeus Parisiensis**, *Chronica Majora: Rolls Series*, N57, vol. III, London 1876, pp. 459-460.

¹ *Petri Episcopi Sebastopolitani Epistola ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos Angliae*. In: **J.B. Telfer**, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, in two volumes, vol.II, London 1876, pp.268-269.

in the Crimea and the Caucasus, fought against the Huns in the land of the Antae and Adyghe-Circassians. In the old Anglo-Saxon heroic epic of *Beowulf*, there is frequent reference to the word *Antish* for ornaments and arms of the Antae. According to Axel Olrik, the words *Atiches*, *Antikes* and *Antikai* must derive from *Antae*². Caucasian arms and scenes of the fight of the Goths in the Caucasus are reflected in the Anglo-Saxon epic. It has been suggested that the Angles and Saxons, migrating to Britain from Central Europe in the 5th-6th centuries, took with them reminiscences of the Caucasus and Caucasian arms, weaving them into the lines of the 7th-8th-centuries Anglo-Saxon poem of *Beowulf*³. Proceeding from the foregoing, it may be assumed that not only the Goths but the other Germanic tribes settling in Britain had some idea about the Iberians and Colchians.

It has been repeatedly noted in the scholarly literature that from the Middle Ages the countries of Western Europe may have become familiar with Georgia mainly through Classical sources. If this view is correct, the question arises as to the time of penetration into the British Isles of the specimens of Classical literature in which Colchis is mentioned. Before entering Britain the Colchian theme went through several stages - first it was reflected in Greek mythology, then suffering literary adaptation by Greek authors. These literary sources spread in England from the late Middle Ages. In order to form an approximate idea of the chronology of the entry into Britain of the Colchian theme reflected in literary monuments the present writer has studied the earliest editions of Classical texts in the British libraries - both the Greek originals and their Latin and English translations. On the basis of this bibliographical evidence it may be suggested that episodes of Georgian history, geography, life were known indirectly - through Classical literature - in England from the 16th century, with an awareness of contacts of the ancient Georgian world with its Greek counterpart.

² A. Olrik, *Ragnarök die Segen vom Weltuntergang*, Berlin und Leipzig 1922, S.475.

³ Sh. Revishvili, *Essays on German-Georgian Literary Contacts*, Tbilisi 1987, p.49 (in Georgian).

The availability of Latin and English translations of Greek texts must have determined the emergence of the Georgian theme in English literature from the 16th century. Philip Sidney's novel *Arcadia* dates from the 16th century. Its action takes place in a certain country of the East. Flangur, the son of the Iberian king, emerges as the main character of the Iberian plot, the prince being characterized as a brilliant warrior, brave person and tormented man in love. The Iberian royal court is also described in the work. Yet it is not an historical novel. Action in it is transferred to another geographical setting. The Iberian events described in it are directly linked to the pastoral, adventurous plot of the novel. The Iberian king Arbasis and the story of his fight and love are described in the play *King and Non-King* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (1611). This play presents a kind of blend of the historical and romantic. The Iberian theme was adapted in a specific way by Beaumont and Fletcher for the play *Cupid's Revenge*. However, in it the scene is laid not in Iberia but in some other country of the East. The English anonymous play *Andromana* was written in the 17th century. The above-cited works with the Georgian theme were used in writing it, giving an elegant description of the adventures of the Iberian prince.

The Georgian theme appeared in 17th century English fiction. In 1633 a book on Queen Ketevan was printed in Oxford. Its title contains an indication of it having been rendered from the Greek¹. Thus, like some other stories, the story of the courage of the Georgian queen entered English literature indirectly. The letter on Queen Ketevan's martyrdom, translated into English a few years after her death, is a significant fact in the history of English-Georgian literary contacts.

The 18th-century English author William Collins in *Oriental Eclogues* tells about Shah-Abbas falling in love with a Georgian shepherdess. From the historical point of view, this work too,

¹ A Letter Relating the Martyrdome of Ketaban, Mother of Teimurases Prince of the Georgians, with all A notable Imposture of the Iesuites upon that occasion. Sent from Gregorius Monke and Priest, Agent for the Patriarke of Antioch unto the most holy and learned Abbot Sophronius. Written first in Greek and now done in English. Oxford. Printed by John Lichfield, An.D. 1633.

similarly to its predecessors, containing the Georgian theme, is marked by lack of precision. However, the eclogue genre generally does not require historical or geographical precision. The oriental setting is shown in an highly artistic manner in the poem *Lalla Rooke* (1817) by Thomas Moore, one of the best representatives of English romanticism. The characters of the work belong to different nationalities, one being a Georgian girl singing to beauty and happiness at a festival of flowers in India. The author lavishes words of praise on her appearance, adding that she is as pretty as her country's girls at the time of their coming out of the Tbilisi bath. It transpires from the life and work of George Gordon Byron that he had some knowledge of Georgia and the Georgians. He was aware of the beauty of the country's nature, the beautiful appearance of Georgian ladies, and that, owing to the historical vicissitudes of the Georgians, many Georgian women found themselves outside their country.

Thus, the Georgian theme and Georgian characters are evidenced in the history of English literature from the 16th century. The authors seem to have had historical documents, but their works have no claim to being historical chronicles, for most are romanticised, pastoral-adventurous or bucolic pieces. This material has been studied in Georgian literary criticism in sufficient detail¹.

Georgian reality found reflection in English literature of the travel genre too. Travellers by sea or land to the countries of the East, halted in Georgia to gather information they were interested in. Some travellers made special visits to the Caucasus. At various times Georgia was visited by English travellers: Armstrong, Dwight, Telfer, Lyele, Mounsey, Oliphant, Alcock, Smith, Spencer, Curzon, Wolley, Porter, Freshfield, Jenkinson, Ussher, Roberts, and others. English travellers made records on Georgia already from the 16th century, but only a few of the 16th-18th centuries' records have come down to us. From the 19th century many English travellers tell about their impressions of Georgia. Both the contents and style of

¹ **N. Orlovskaya**, Georgia in the Literatures of Western Europe of the 17th-18th centuries, pp. 101-106 (in Russian); Questions of Georgia's Literary Contacts with the West, pp.7-40, 71-76 (in Russian); **I. Kenchoshvili**, A book in English on Queen Ketevan. In: *Mnatobi*, 1961, N1 (in Georgian); **I. Merabishvili**, Byron and Georgia. In: *Kartvelologist (Journal of Georgian Studies)*, N4, 1997.

their books differ according to the profession and interests of the travellers. Besides writing about Georgia, beginning with the 17th century books of various foreign travellers in which space is devoted to their travels in Georgia, were translated into English. These included the translations of the travels of A. Olearius, Evliya Effendi, Jacob Reineggs, John Chardin, P. Palas and others.

Numerous descriptions and reviews of English literature of the travel genre on Georgia are known, viz. the bibliographic indexes appended to the works of Oliver Wardrop¹ and Douglas Freshfield², and D. Barrett's Catalogue³, M. Polievktov's Reference Books⁴, N. Orlovskaya's Study⁵, and so on.

The Georgian world gradually entered the knowledge of the English. As David Marshall Lang aptly pointed out, the initial interest of Europeans in the Georgian world was based largely on the evidence of Classical writers or on interesting studies by missionaries or diplomats⁶. Georgian-English literary contacts were for centuries in the "embryonic" stage, developing in a random way. This was but natural, for these contacts were not determined by any objective: Georgia and Britain are not contiguous territorially, and there were no political and economic links between the two countries, i.e. factors were absent that would accelerate cultural contacts, which took place only when Georgia's political course altered. From the 19th century Georgian writers become directly involved in the European literary process. Admittedly, Georgian literature was introduced to Western Europe by Marie Brosset by a series of articles he started to publish in the 1830s in France. Translations of some of these articles were printed in the same

¹ **O. Wardrop**, *The Kingdom of Georgia, Travel in the Land of Women, Wine and Song*, London 1888.

² **D. Freshfield**, *The Exploration of the Caucasus*, London 1902.

³ **D. Barrett**, *Catalogue of the Wardrop Collection and of Other Georgian Books and Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973.

⁴ **M. Polievktov**, *European Travellers of the 13th-18th centuries across the Caucasus*. Tiflis 1935 (v.I), 1946(v.II). (In Russian).

⁵ **N.Orlovskaya**, *Questions of Georgia's Literary Contacts with the West*, pp.168-180.

⁶ **D.M. Lang**, *Georgian Studies in Oxford*. In: *Slavonic Papers*, vol. VI, 1955.

period in the *Asiatic Journal*. Lang links the beginning of Kartvelological activities in England with this period.

The first English scholar to become interested in translating Georgian literature was Solomon Caesar Malan (1812-1894), Honorary Doctor of Theology of Edinburgh University. The area of his scholarly interest involved the churches of Georgia and Armenia. In 1866 he published an English translation of Platon Ioseliani's *A Short History of the Georgian Church*, with significant notes. In 1867 S.C. Malan translated the *Sermons* of Gabriel Bishop of Imereti and, deciding to get personally acquainted with the author, he travelled to Georgia. His contribution has been appreciated by Georgian scholars: L. Taktakishvili-Urushadze, G. Sharadze, and others. Malan's son Arthur Noel Malan dedicated a book to his father's work, describing his journey and visit to Bishop Gabriel¹.

Chronologically, the next English scholar who made a serious contribution to the development of English Kartvelology was Professor of Slavistics Richard Morfill (1834-1909). After familiarization with Aleksandre Tsagareli's Russian-language works, he studied Georgian, travelled to Georgia, established contacts and corresponded with Georgian writers and public figures: I. Chavchavadze, I. Gogebashvili, M. Janashvili, A. Khakhanashvili, A. Tsagareli, I. Machabeli and others. Of English scholars, Morfill was the first to touch upon questions of the Georgian language and to make a general review of the history of the development of Georgian literature². He also published a number of reviews of the works of O. Wardrop, A. Tsagareli, M. Janashvili and A. Khakhanashvili and the translations of M. Wardrop and A. Leist. In these reviews he gave a scholarly analysis of the monuments of Georgian culture and literature and of their studies and translations. In Lang's words, Morfill's reviews by themselves are studies. Memoirs and interesting information about Morfill have been published in Georgia by I. Mansvetashvili and Sh. Gozalishvili. A

¹ **A. N. Malan**, Solomon Caesar Malan, D.D.: memorials of his life and writings, London 1897, pp 273-277.

² **W. Morfill**, The Language and Literature of Georgia. In: *The Academy*, 1888, N846.

scholarly assessment of his research into Kartvelology has been given by N. Orlovskaya.

A major contribution to the development of English Kartvelology, introduction and popularization of Georgian culture and literature in the English-speaking world was made by brother and sister Marjory (1869-1907) and Oliver (1864-1948) Wardrops. Their activities have been duly studied and appreciated by Georgian and English scholars. Marjory translated and edited Georgian folk tales, Ilia Chavchavadze's *The Hermit*. Her translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was published posthumously by her brother Oliver. *The Life of Saint Nino* was translated jointly by Marjory and Oliver. Oliver translated and edited Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's *Book of Wisdom and Lies*, *The Visramiani*, *The Law Code of Giorgi V*, and the description of the Georgian manuscripts of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, compiled by A. Tsagareli. *The Kingdom of Georgia. Travel in the Land of Women, Wine and Songs* is Oliver's original work. He also authored a study of the Georgian versions of the *Visramiani*. He compiled an English-Svanetian vocabulary. Marjory's manuscript Georgian-English glossaries are preserved in the Wardrop Collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Not long ago translations of several works of Ilia Chavchavadze, done by Marjory Wardrop, were discovered in the Wardrop collection, which were printed in 1987 in Tbilisi¹. During the stay of the Wardrops in Georgia the Georgian people presented them with extensive literature. Besides, they themselves purchased Georgian books which they later donated to the Bodleian Library to form the Wardrop Collection.

Research into Georgian ecclesiastical literature in England was actually started by the Armenist Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856-1924), a friend of the Wardrops. To this end he learned Georgian and his collaboration with the Wardrops resulted in numerous studies. It was with Conybeare's help that Oliver Wardrop edited his English translation of A. Tsagareli's description of the Georgian manuscripts preserved at the Monastery of the Cross near Jerusalem. Wardrop's translation of the *Life of Saint Nino* is supplied with Conybeare's translation of fragments of the History of

¹ I. Chavchavadze, Works, Tbilisi 1987.

Armenia by Moses Khorenatsi and of Juansher's Chronicle. Conybeare translated into Georgian Antiochus Strategus' *The Capture of Jerusalem - The Ravage of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614*, rendered into Georgian from the Arabic (London, 1910). In 1913 his description of Armenian and Georgian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum was issued in London. The Armenian part of the description was compiled by Conybeare, and the Georgian part by Wardrop. In 1915 the translation of the Georgian version of Jacob's Liturgy, done by Conybeare and Wardrop, was printed in Paris. After his visit to Georgia in 1888, Conybeare published a paper on the legends of *Barlaam and Josaphat* in Old Georgian and Armenian literature (London 1896); in 1897 he issued a study: *The Development of the Peshitta Version of the New Testament commented on by the old Armenian and Georgian Versions*; Conybeare extended his views in connection with the Georgian Bible in his study, *The Georgian Version of the New Testament* (Giesen, 1910).

Oliver Wardrop had also friendly ties and scholarly contacts with James Baddeley (1854-1940). His letters to Wardrop, in which he consulted the latter on Georgian questions, are significant for Kartvelology. These letters are preserved in the Wardrop collection of the Bodleian Library (Baddeley letters, MS Wardr. d. 29/2). Baddeley travelled in various regions of Europe and Asia as a representative of a British engineering firm. In 1900 he visited the Caucasus, resulting in his study, *The Rugged Flanks of Caucasus* (Oxford 1940). The book, edited with Wardrop's introduction, contains interesting material on archaeology, ethnography and folklore.

William Edward David Allen (1901-1973) was another English historian and philologist interested in Georgian Studies. In his fundamental *A History of the Georgian People*, one chapter is devoted to a review of Georgian literature. Allen, as well as other English authors, stresses Marie Brosset's contribution to the development of European Kartvelology, and the fact that Georgia entered British scholarship via Brosset's works. Allen travelled to Georgia several times, familiarizing himself personally with Georgian culture and Georgian intellectuals. In the introduction to his book he shows appreciation of his friends, Z. Avalishvili, N.

Marr, and J. Baddeley, who read his book in manuscript, and of A. Gugushvili for his help in the course of writing the book. Allen discusses Georgian literature against the background of Georgian history and in the context of world literature. Following the periodization accepted in Georgian literary criticism, he considers both ecclesiastical (especially the lives of saints) and secular literary texts. He also deals with I. Javakhishvili's palaeographic research. Georgian-Byzantine contacts on Mount Sinai and Mount Athos, the cultural activity of the monasteries of Palestine and Syria, and the development of Georgian prose and poetry. As to the origin of the Georgian alphabet, he believes that the Georgian script must have been created in the 4th century B.C., in the reign of Parnavaz. Thus, the Georgian literary process is discussed by Allen consistently and on a broader scale.

Special mention should be made of the joint effort of Allen and his friend Andro Gugushvili, a Georgian emigrant residing in England, in founding and editing the journal *Georgica* of Georgian Caucasian Studies. It was issued in London in 1935-1937. The journal dealt with questions of the history and ethnography of Caucasia and Georgia, the origin of the Georgian alphabet, Georgian manuscripts, Christian culture, the development of Caucasian Studies in England, and Old Georgian literary texts. In 1937 an entire volume of *Georgica* was devoted to the 750th anniversary of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*.

In addition to editorial and scholarly activity, A. Gugushvili taught Georgian to English students and scholars. In the preface to his translation of the *Amirandarejaniani*, Robert Stevenson thanks Gugushvili for his assistance in the understanding of the text. Gugushvili was secretary of the Georgian Historical Society, founded in England.

In speaking of Georgian emigrants who contributed to the development of Kartvelology in England one cannot bypass Eka Cherkesi (Ekaterine Cherkezishvili). She was the first to compile, in 1923, an unpublished catalogue of the Marjory Wardrop Collection, preserved in the Bodleian Library. In 1950 her Georgian-English Dictionary was printed at Oxford, with Oliver Wardrop's preface.

A major contribution to the study of key issues of Georgian literature was made by David M. Lang, an English literary critic,

historian, Professor of Caucasian Studies of London University, and Honorary Doctor of Tbilisi University. He is the author of numerous studies in which he describes the developmental stages of Georgian literature, traces the development of Georgian Studies in England, and sets forth his own views on controversial questions of literary criticism. His view on Euthymius the Athonite's authorship of the mediaeval romance *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is particularly noteworthy. Lang was the first to respond in 1953 to Dölger's study in which the latter argued John Damascene's authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. In his essay, *Euthymius the Georgian and the Barlaam and Ioasaph Romance*, Lang positively upheld Euthymius' authorship. On the long version of the *Balavariani*, discovered among the Jerusalem MSS, Lang wrote that this was a Georgian Christianization of a non-Christian text, and that the Tbilisi redaction, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, which must have been elaborated in the same century, was an abridgement of the long text. Later he published papers on the same topic. He made a scholarly study of the oriental redactions and metaphrases of the *Balavariani*. The findings of this study are summed up in his *Oriental Materials on the Georgian Balavariani*. Lang raised the scholarly study of Georgian ecclesiastical literature, commenced by Conybeare, to a new level. He published in English a collection of the lives and martyrdoms of Georgian saints, with a study. He enriched English translational literature with other translations of Georgian literary texts.

Mrs. Katharine Vivian, writer, translator and scholar, winner of the Marjory Wardrop Prize, Honorary Doctor of Tbilisi State University, attended Professor Lang's seminars in Georgian Studies at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of London University. As she recalls, she became interested in Georgian culture on reading Moris Bowra's *Inspiration and Poetry*. Georgian Studies becoming her main field of interest. She has translated the texts of Old Georgian Literature: *The Knight in Panther Skin* (1977); *The Book of Wisdom and Lies* (1982); and Georgian historical texts: the period of Lasha Giorgi of the *Kartlis Tskhovreba*. She translated also from the French K. Salia's *History of the Georgian Nation*. She lectures on Georgian culture and literature at Britain's scholarly centres, and often participates in international Kartvelological symposia. In discussing Georgian literature or some concrete

specimen, the researcher looks for both Eastern and Western elements in it. She seeks parallels of *The Knight in the Panther Skin* in the mediaeval West-European chivalry romance, viz. in Eschenbach's *Parzival* and in such outstanding texts of Oriental culture as Firdousi's *Shahname*, Nizami Ganjevi's *Leile wa Majnun*, and the ancient Indic epic *Ramayana*. In her study *Sufic Traces in Georgian Literature*, she views under 'sufism' a whole system of thought which has organically blended with the oriental civilization over the past twelve centuries and some reflection of which may be found in Western fiction as well. In discussing Georgian literature, the researcher is aware of the need of giving equal attention to traces of both Oriental and Western literary-philosophical traditions, determined by a variety of factors. Georgian culture has been under the influence of Oriental tradition since ancient times which, she believes, was due to the centuries-old domination of powerful Eastern states over Georgia and to the popularization of oriental culture by Georgian monarchs in their country. According to her, this process commenced in an early period. In particular, the subjects and motifs that found their way into Georgian folklore and became its organic part stem from the Oriental world, subsequently entering Georgian literary texts in a transformed way. The researcher considers the process of remelting and fusion of elements of Oriental culture in the Georgian national crucible, showing the development of Georgian literary thought in this aspect.

Professor Robert Stevenson, a literary critic and translator, is making a significant contribution to the study and translation of mediaeval Georgian culture. He researches Georgian secular literature (*The Man in the Panther's Skin* (1977), *Omainiani*, *Didmouraviani*, *Amirandarejaniani*). He translated *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and *Amirandarejaniani*. Stevenson's translation of the *Amirandarejaniani* (1958) was followed by scholarly polemic (D.M. Lang and J. Meredith-Owens, Sh. Nutsubidze, A. Baramidze, S. Serebryakov, M. Chikovani). The theory of the Persian provenance of *Amirandarejaniani* surfaced in the review of Lang and Meredith-Owens¹. In comparing the Persian *Qisai Hamsa* and Georgian

¹ **D. Lang** and **G. Meredith-Owens**, *Amirandarejaniani*. A Georgian romance and its English rendering. In: BSOAS, XXII, 3, 1959, pp. 454-490.

Amirandarejaniani they considered the influence of the Persian work on the Georgian possible, thereby supporting the earlier view of N. Marr and K. Kekelidze. Later, revising his theory, Marr rejected the theory of the Persian origin of the romance, while Kekelidze demonstrated the originality of the work on the basis of new evidence. Stevenson did not share the view on the Persian origin of the work. He supplemented his translation with a substantial study in which he considers the available studies of *Amirandarejaniani*, defines his own position and criticises the Z. Chichinadze Georgian edition. The translator notes with regret that the translation is based on the latter, as S. Kakabadze's edition was unavailable to him.

Stevenson's translation of the *Man in the Panther's Skin* was also followed by a polemic. In his critical articles, Z. Gamsakhurdia chided the translator for failing to preserve the specificity of Rustaveli's metaphor. The beauty of Rustaveli's metaphor lies in it being inimitable, while Stevenson lays it bare or decodes it, the researcher wrote. Gamsakhurdia also charged the translator with understanding some terms erroneously and wrong translation¹. In his reply to Gamsakhurdia's criticism, Stevenson² observed that in Gamsakhurdia's reviews which, according to the title, should have dealt with the translation, little is said about the translation, and that the author's purpose was to air his own conception of Rustaveli's theological and philosophical views in this form. As to the disregard in the translation for the laconism characteristic of the poem, in Stevenson's opinion, the poetic effect is often achieved by terse expression of an idea, and that translation of phrases consisting of several highly impressive syllables presents a formidable task for the translator of poetry. In the course of translation he always felt the need for expanding the literary images of the original in order to make the expression understandable to the reader. As to the wrong understanding and translation of terms, Stevenson observes that

¹ **Z. Gamsakhurdia**. Stevenson's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. In: *Matsne*, Series of language and literature, 1982, N2, pp.137-149, N4, pp.157-167 (in Georgian).

² **R. Stevenson**, Answer to the critique of the English translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, - *Matsne*, Series of language and literature, 1984, N2, pp.177-186 (in Georgian).

Gamsakhurdia's knowledge of English was inadequate to the task he had set himself. Stevenson's research in Kartvelology, his translations and polemic are discussed by N. Andronikashvili¹.

For years the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library at Oxford was headed by the late David Barrett (1914-1998). He was a student of mediaeval literature, translator, connoisseur and champion of Georgian culture and literature. He compiled a catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the rich Wardrop Collection and other Georgian books preserved in the Bodleian Library. He made a major contribution to the translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into Finnish. Deep insight into the text of the poem, knowledge of Georgian and Finnish enabled him to provide consultation to the Finnish translator Olavi Linnus. His study *Vepkhistqaosani: trying to make sense of the Prologue* was presented on Kartvelology Day in 1990 at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University. In 1991 Barrett read a paper, *Rustaveli and the non-Georgian reader*, at a Rustaveli Symposium, later printed in the materials of the symposium. Barrett's archive has preserved his interpreted English translation of Akaki Shanidze's *Georgian Grammar*, for the use of foreign students. Among his manuscripts there is a Georgian-English vocabulary of 4000 items, compiled by him for personal use.

Professor Donald Rayfield is engaged in translational and literary-critical work. He has translated and published the poems of Galaktion Tabidze, Vazha Pshavela's poems *Guest and Host*, *Aluda Ketelauri* and *Snake-Eater*, provided with the translator's study of Vazha-Pshavela's works. He is the author of a paper on the poetry of Galaktion Tabidze and Titsian Tabidze; he has analysed the works of I. Chavchavadze, G. Robakidze and P. Iashvili, has researched the works of the *Blue Horns*, and has made a comparative study of Pasternak, Rilke and Georgian poets. Becoming interested in Georgian folk poetry, he has found and studied the roots of folk poetry in Vazha-Pshavela's works and their development with the *Blue Horns*. The scholar often speaks on the BBC on Georgian

¹ N. Andronikashvili, Robert Stevenson's Kartvelological Research, Tbilisi 1988 (in Georgian).

culture, literature, and the present-day life of Georgia. Having visited Georgia many times, he has studied Georgian culture basically, researched Georgian manuscripts, archival and unpublished materials and produced a monograph *Georgian Literature. A History* (Oxford 1994). This study is a logical continuation of the line which began with Morfill's article, *The Georgian language and literature*, printed in 1888, followed up in the works of Oliver and Marjory Wardrop, Conybeare, Baddeley, and Allen, raised to a new stage in Lang's studies and acquiring modern sounding in the writings of Vivian, Barrett and Stevenson. Rayfield considers Georgian literary life from the 5th century to the present day. Besides a critical assessment of literary processes, Rayfield has entered some of his own translations in his book. We find noteworthy parallels and comparative analyses in the work (Shakespeare's and Vazha Pshavela's doctrine of nature; a comparison of Mikheil Javakhishvili's narrative style and devices with Stendhal, Maupassant and Zola, and so on). Translated literature is obviously part of original literature. Hence, Rayfield deemed it necessary to touch upon the Georgian translations of foreign literature. In his view, "the spring of literary life" began from the 1960s, for Georgian literature regained the courage it had in the 1920s.

The English bibliologist James Neville Birdsall has made a notable contribution to the philological study of Georgian ecclesiastical writings. His views on the provenance of Old Georgian translations of the Bible and on other major questions of Georgian theological literature are highly significant. His study of Euthymius the Athonite's translation of the text of John's *Revelation* and Andrew of Crete's commentary on the *Revelation* is an example of his research. As a result of a philological study of biblical texts he has suggested that the Georgian version must be a translation of an already lost Greek manuscript. The scholar has questioned the view alleging that the Georgian translation was influenced by the Syriac and Armenian versions and was not made directly from the Greek.

Georgian translators have also contributed to the translation of specimens of Georgian literature into English. In the first place mention should be made of the work of Venera Urushadze whose is

the so far only poetic translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*¹ and an anthology of Georgian poetry². English translations of 20th-century Georgian prose have been issued in book form as well as collections published in Moscow in the Soviet period. Georgian translators have translated into English short stories of Iakob Gogebashvili and Vazha-Pshavela, Georgian fairy-tales, etc. Georgian authors' critical studies of Georgian literature have been translated into English.

In dealing with English Kartvelology, reference must be made to the development of Rustvelology in Britain. Four translations of Rustaveli's poem have been made, three of these belonging to English translators. Being products of three different epochs, these translations obviously differ from one another. Wardrop's translation is distinguished for its scholarly precision. In Urushadze's translation, made in the 1960s, attention is focused on the melodics and poetic nicety. The latter two translations are an attempt at some modernization of the text. Vivian made a free translation, providing the modern reader with an easily comprehensible text. Stevenson, while precisely conveying the content of the text, tried to bring Rustaveli's world close to the reader's aesthetic taste. The translators have expressed their views on the key problems of their own translations as well as around Rustvelological problems in general.

English researchers are in a way innovators in regard to assessing *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in relation to the world literary process. Notwithstanding earlier attempts, they posed this problem on a broad scale (Oliver Wardrop, Morris Bowra, Robert Stevenson, Peter Dronke, David Lang, and Katharine Vivian). This is a modern level of Kartvelological research, one main problem of which is to define Rustaveli's place in the history of mediaeval literature. English Rustvelological thinking evinces an attempt at interpreting the poem by matching it to modern literary taste (Vivian, Barrett). This trend showed mainly in translation (Stevenson, Vivian). Some flaws or errors in English studies stem

¹ **Shota Rustaveli**, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. Translated from the Georgian by Venera Urushadze, Tbilisi 1968.

² *Anthology of Georgian Poetry*. Translated by Venera Urushadze, Tbilisi 1958.

from the views accepted in Rustvelological circles of that period. The English translators and researchers introduced Rustaveli to the English-speaking world, on the one hand, and proved intermediaries in rendering the poem in other languages, on the other.

Finally, collective events contribute much to the expansion of Kartvelological research. In the last decade numerous scholarly symposia or conferences have been held in which both English and Georgian scholars took part. Among these I would single out the international symposia held in Tbilisi. It should also be noted that since 1988 the Day of the Kartvelologist was held annually at the University of London, organized by the English ethnographer and writer Tamar Dragadze. At these meetings foreign and Georgian scholars share the latest findings in the field of Kartvelology.

ITALIAN-LANGUAGE KARTVELOLOGY AND GEORGIAN LITERATURE

The Georgian theme figured since early times in the literary traditions of the cultural peoples of the ancient world¹. The Apennine Peninsula formed no exception in this respect. The earliest reports on Colchis and Iberia are to be found in the works of Roman historians. Among them mention should be made of Appian of Alexandria, a writer of Greek extraction (*ca* 90-170), who moved to Rome and held the position of taxation lawyer under Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and Lucius Verus (161-169). Book XII of his monumental *History of Rome*², written by him in his old age, contains much noteworthy evidence on the Kingdoms of Kartli and Colchis, with a description of Pompey's fight against King Artag of Kartli. Interesting evidence on Colchis is to be found also in other books of the Roman History³.

The *Annals* of the well-known Roman historian Tacitus (55-116) gives a detailed description of the military relations of ancient Rome and Caucasian countries, the political and military alliances of the Iberians with Persia and Armenia, and the internal political situation of Iberia⁴, while *The History* focuses attention on some

¹ *Georgica*. The evidence of Byzantine writers on Georgia, I, Texts with a Georgian translation, edited with notes by **A. Gamqrelidze** and **S. Qaukhchishvili**, Tbilisi 1961, pp. 75-165 (in Georgian); Essays on Georgian History, 1, Tbilisi 1970, pp. 500-569 (in Georgian); **A. Giardina**, Roma e il Caucaso, in: Il Caucaso: cerniera fra culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia (secoli IV-XI), 20-26 aprile 1995, Settimane di studio de Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 43, Spoleto, 1996, pp. 85-141.

² **Appiani** *Historia Romana*, ex recensione L. Mendelssohni, Editio altera correctior curante P. Viereck, 2, BSGRT(Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Lipsiae), 1905.

³ **Appiani** *Historia Romana*, 3, Index nominum, Edidit J.E. Van Niejenhuis, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae, 1992, pp. 554, 551.

⁴ **Cornelii Taciti** *Libri qui Supersunt*, Ediderunt St. Borsák, K. Wellesley, 1:1, Ab excessus divi Augusti, Ed. St. Borsák, Leipzig 1989, pp. 99, 137-138, 147-149.

questions of relationship of Colchis, the Pontus, and the Roman Empire¹.

Tacitus' *History* was continued by Ammianus Marcellinus (330-395), a Latin-language historian born into a noble Greek family in Antioch. In his *History of Past Times*, in describing the struggle of Rome and Persia for the Caucasus, Marcellinus furnishes interesting evidence on the geopolitical situation of the Kingdoms of Iberia and Lazica². The geopolitical and ethnic situation of the Caucasus is discussed in Pliny's (23/24-79) *Natural History*³.

In the *History of Rome* by the Greek-language Roman historian Dio Cassius (155-235) much space is devoted to the campaigns of Crassus, Pompey and Caesar in the Caucasus and Asia Minor against the kings of Iberia and Albania: Parnavaz and Zober, and Pharnaces, the son of Mithradates of Pontus, as well as to Mithradates' relations with Rome and Armenia, and the visit of Parsman the Valiant to Rome⁴. Interesting evidence on the fighting qualities of the Colchians is to be found in Ioannes Lydus' (6th century) description of the struggle of the Colchians against the Persians and the Scythians⁵.

The customs and mores and life of the Georgian people are described by Venetian travellers and writers: Marco Polo, Caterino Zeno, Giosafat Barbaro, Ambrosio Contarini, as well as Dionigio

¹ **Cornelii Taciti** *Libri qui supersunt*, Ediderunt St. Borsák, K. Wellesley, 2:1, *Historiarum libri*, Ed. K. Wellesley, Leipzig 1989, Ed. G. Andersen, E. Köstermann, BSGRT, 1926-1930.

² **Ammiani Marcellini** *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, with an English translation by J. C. Rolfe, 1-3, LCL (The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London), 1963-1964, pp. 78, 84-86, 80-86, 308.

³ **Plinii Secundi** *Naturalis Historia*, with an English translation in ten volumes, 2, books III-IV, by H. Rackham, LCL, 1947, pp. 358-368.

⁴ **Dion Cassius**, *Historiae Romanae*, Livres 48 et 49, Texte établi, traduit et annoté par M-L. Freyburger et J.-M. Roddaz, CUF (Collection des Universités de France, Paris), 1994, p. 133; Dio's Roman History, with an English translation by E. Cary, on the basis of the version of H. B. Foster, in nine volumes, 3, LCL, 1969, pp. 98-104; 4, LCL, 1969, pp. 184-188; 7, LCL 175, 1981, pp. 252, 440; 8, LCL 176, 1982, pp. 16, 470; **N. Lomouri**, The Evidence of Dio Cassius on Georgia, Tbilisi 1966. (in Georgian).

⁵ **Ioannes Lydus**, *On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State*, Introduction, critical text, translation, commentary and indices by A.C. Bandy, Philadelphia 1983, pp. 186, 218.

Carli¹, Pietro della Valle, Cristoforo Castelli², Pietro Avitabile, Arcangelo Lamberti³, Paolo Maria di Faenza⁴, Giuseppe Giudice⁵, G. Pivatti, and others. Their works are more or less well known to the Georgian reader. Relatively unknown are the diaries of the Venetian diplomat and traveller Caterino Zeno (second half of the 14th century)⁶ in which some aspects of the life of the Georgian people are described. The work is based on the impressions of his journey on a diplomatic mission in 1417-1473 to Tabriz via Georgia, Armenia, and the Black sea littoral countries and his return to Venice.

The Diaries of the Venetian merchant Giosaphat Barbaro (1413-1494) contain noteworthy information about the life, culture and historical-political situation of Georgia and other countries. His commercial travels took him to Cyprus, Gulbedin, the Crimea and the Lower Dnieper area, Constantinople, Trabzon, Mingrelia, the Northern Caucasus and the Caspian region, then to Tbilisi. In describing individual regions of Georgia, Barbaro touches on the Georgian cuisine, as well as other characteristic aspects of Georgian life⁷.

¹ Le quattro parti del mondo, Bassano 1687; B. Giorgadze, Towards the Text and translation of Dioniggio Carli's *Relazione*, Materials for the History of Georgia and the Caucasus, 29, 1951, pp. 155-182 (in Georgian).

² C. Castelli, *Da Palermo alla Georgia*, a cura di S. Pedone, Palermo 1987; **Don Cristoforo di Castelli**, Evidence and an album on Georgia. Text deciphered, translated into Georgian and supplied with a study and comments by B. Giorgadze, Tbilisi 1976.

³ A. Lamberti, *Relatione della Colchida, hoggi della Mengrellia, nella quale sitratta dell'origine, costumi e cose naturali di quei paesi*. 2nd edition, Napoli 1654; **Idem**, *Colchide sacra*, Napoli 1657.

⁴ P.-M. di Faenza, *Sincera relazione dé regni della Georgia*, Napoli 1621.

⁵ Don Giudice Milanese, *Letters on Georgia*, 17th cent. Italian text translated, with an introduction and notes by B. Giorgadze, Tbilisi 1964 (in Georgian).

⁶ G. B. Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice 1563-1606. In three volumes, with an introduction by R. A. Skelton, and an analysis of the content by G. B. Parks, 1967-1970, pp. 219-229.

⁷ I Viaggi in Persia degli Ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini, A cura di L. Lockart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, M.F. Tiepolo, Roma 1973, pp. 90-91, 101-102, 155-156; R. Almagia, Barboro Giosafat. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 6, Roma 1964, pp. 106-109; G. Berchet, *La republica di Venezia e la Persia*, Torino 1865, pp. 116-125; N. Di Lenna, Giosafat Barbaro (1413-94) e i suoi

A long Relation of Ambrogio Contarini, ambassador of the Venetian Republic, contains wealthy material on Georgia, especially Georgian hospitality. With a view to organizing an anti-Turkish coalition, the Venetian ambassador visited Burgundy, Germany, Poland, Russia, the Crimea, arrived in Poti, travelled through Mingrelia and Eastern Georgia, whence – via Armenia – he visited Tabriz¹, presenting a report on the impressions of his journey to the Doge of Venice.

The expansion of Italian-Georgian cultural contacts resulted in the casting of Georgian type and the printing of the first Georgian books in 1629, and of the first Georgian scholarly grammar in 1643², as well as the writing of a grammar by anonymous authors in the 18th century³.

Against the background of such rich historico-cultural legacy the neglect of Georgia by Italian researchers throughout the 18th-19th centuries seems illogical. As to the 20th century, the Georgian theme does reenter the sphere of their interests, yet evidence on Georgia is scarce and many Kartvelological problems are often treated erroneously. Apart from L. Magarotto's study of Vazha-Pshavela⁴, there is no monographic study of any Georgian writer, evidence on these writers being limited to bibliographic data. It should also be noted that essays on Georgian literature largely occur

viaggi nella regione russa (1436-51) e nella Persia (1474-78), Estratto dal Nuovo Archivio Veneto, Nuova serie, 28, Venezia 1914; **P. Zurla**, Di Marco Polo degli altri viaggiatori veneziani, 2, Venezia 1818, pp. 205-209.

¹ I Viaggi in Persia degli Ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini, cit., pp. 184-209; **M. Milanesi**, Contarini, Ambrogio. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 28, Roma 1983, pp. 97-100; see also: **N. Di Lenna**, Ambrogio Contarini politico e viaggiatore veneziano del sec. XV, Padova 1921; **P. Donazzolo**, I viaggiatori veneti minori, Roma, pp. 50-52; **G. Viventa**, Viaggio in Oriente di due veneziani del Quattrocento: Giosafat Barbaro e Ambrogio Contarini. In: *Economia e storia*, 21, Roma 1974, pp. 525-531.

² **F. M. Maggio**, Syntagmaton Linguarum orientalium quae in Georgiae regionibus audiuntur, Romae 1643.

³ **M. E. Teza**, Di una grammatica inedita della lingua georgiana, scritta dal un cappuccino d'Italia. In: *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto, di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 53, Serie VII, t. VI, Venezia 1894-1895, pp. 25-39.

⁴ **L. Magarotto**, Mito e poesia: Važa-Pšavela, L'uomo che mangiò carne di serpente e altri poemetti, A cura di L. Magarotto e G. Scarcia, Pasian di Prato, 1996, pp. 11-57.

in the form of articles in encyclopaedias, references, and histories of world regional literatures. The paucity of Georgian writers translated into Italian is also striking. The only translations are: Nikoloz Baratashvili's *Merani* by E. Mariano and Shalva Beridze; Iliia Chavchavadze's *On the Gallows*, Paolo Iashvili's *The First Word*, Titsian Tabidze's *A Landslide Poem*, Galaktion Tabidze's poems by Magarotto, Vazha-Pshavela's poems by Magarotto, Goderdzi Chokheli's *The Black Aragvi* by A. Banzato; Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* by Shalva Beridze; and again *The Man in the Panther's Skin* by Mario Picchi and Paola Angioletti (in unrhymed verse). Notably enough, Georgian literary texts are translated not by professional Italian translators but literary critics, linguists and specialists in other fields.

The entire developmental process of Georgian literature is shown in the special subtitle "Literature" authored by Professor Gerhard Deeters of the University of Lipsiae in the article *Georgia*, vol. 16 of the fundamental Encyclopaedia published by the Giovanni Treccani Institute of the Enciclopedia Italiana¹. The researcher uses the works of Korneli Kekelidze, Vakhtang Kotetishvili and Aleksandre Khakhanashvili. The article ends with a fairly comprehensive bibliography of editions of texts of Georgian literature.

According to Deeters, Georgian literature, as well as that of neighbouring Armenia, emerged in the period of Christianization, for several centuries being composed only of Church writings. Apart from a few fragments, the oldest manuscripts date from the 9th century. However, in his view, the Georgians must have translated individual books of the Bible as far back as the 5th century – probably from the Armenian. Initially translations were made only from the Syriac and Armenian. Later translations were made intensively from the Greek as well. As a result the Georgian translations have preserved the works of many holy fathers (e.g. Hippolytus of Rome) whose Greek originals have not survived. As a result of the fruitful translation work of Euthymius and Giorgi the

¹ G. Deeters, Georgia, Letteratura. In: *EI Treccani* (Enciclopedia Italiana. Di scienze, lettere ed arti, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, fondata da Giovanni Treccani, Roma), 16, 1932, pp. 644-645.

Athonites, and Eprem Mtsire, the 11th-12th centuries Georgian society familiarized itself with the works of Aristotle and Neoplatonic writings. The volume of translated literature much exceeds original works, the bulk of which is represented by hagiography and hymnography. *The Passion of Shushanik* is the oldest work, describing a fact of martyrdom in 472. The work must have been authored by Iakob, the priest of the martyr. The researcher notes that Giorgi Merchule's *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli* (10th century) is the most important work of Old Georgian literature. Note should be taken of the 11th-century historian Leonti Mroveli's redaction of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* ("History of Georgia") which was continued to the 18th century.

In Deeters' view, a new period in the history of Georgian literature commenced with a brilliant chivalrous culture, the unification of Georgia and her political consolidation. Secular literature comes to the fore, imaginatively absorbing Christian and Islamic elements. Eulogistic poetry, written in artificially ornate language develops, e.g. addressed to David the Builder¹ and Queen Tamar. Georgian redactions of Persian epic works are elaborated: the *Amirandarejaniani*, *Visramiani*. A large part of *Shahname* was translated in verse. The only work free from Persian influence is *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Its author – Shota Rustaveli – lived in *ca* 1200. The poem is composed in a 16-syllable metre, with end rhyme; its language is flexible and full of imagery. Fantastic narration ranges from Arabia to China, involving two couples whose fate is harmoniously interlinked. *The Man in the Panther's Skin* came to be a national poem of the Georgians.

The researcher notes that the Mongol invasion was followed by a long decline of Georgian literature, which was overcome only in the reigns of Teimuraz I, Archil and Vakhtang VI. The latter king supervised the textual edition of *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, issued the Georgian Law Code, and printed the first Georgian books. Vakhtang's contemporary and associate, Prince Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani compiled a Georgian dictionary which has not lost its significance to the present day; he wrote a collection of fables and

¹ Like other Italian authors, and probably under N. Marr's influence, the researcher considers Shavteli's *Abdulmesiani* to have been devoted to David the Builder.

parables, *A Book of Wisdom and Lies*. The most well-known lyric poets of the 18th century are David Guramishvili and Besarion Gabashvili, the latter displaying virtuosity in adopting Persian poetic measures.

Early in the 19th century Georgian literature comes under the influence of Russian and European literatures, marking a new stage in its history. The Princes, Aleksandre Chavchavadze and Grigol Orbeliani introduce the themes of wine, love and sentience. Byron's influence is felt in Nikoloz Baratashvili's melancholic lyric poetry. Giorgi Eristavi makes the first step from romanticism to realism, creating the Georgian drama. Later, Ilia Chavchavadze set forth the principles of new Georgian prose. His *Do You Call that a Man?!* and *The Beggar's Story* describe the life under serfdom. Akaki Tsereteli wrote lyrics and prose. Aleksandre Qazbegi and Vazha-Pshavela depict the still primitive customs of the mountains. David Kldiashvili is a humorous prose writer, Shio Aragvispireli, a pessimist describing peasant life, while Egnate Ninoshvili – a workers' poet¹. During World War One the group of *Blue Horns* is distinguished, led by Paolo Iashvili and Titsian Tabidze. Grigol Robakidze is the greatest *Blue Horns* writer of contemporaneity, expressing the deepest mystery of the Oriental spirit.

Under the heading "The Georgian Language"² of the same article, Professor Carlo Tagliavini of the University of Budapest gives a brief review of questions of the typology, grammar and dialects of the Georgian language. Then he touches upon the Georgian alphabet. Although the author refers to I. Javakhishvili's *Georgian Palaeography* (1926), his interpretation of many questions is clearly erroneous. Thus, e.g. he notes that the Georgian alphabet is of two kinds: *khutsuri* ("ecclesiastical") and *mkhedruli* ("knightly"), and that the former is related to Armenian³, furthermore, according to the Armenian historiographic tradition, it was created by Mesrop, while according to the Georgian tradition, the *mkhedruli* is earlier

¹ The researcher does not seem to have a deep insight into Egnate Ninoshvili's works.

² C. Tagliavini, Georgia, Lingua. In: EI Treccani, 16, 1932, 643-644.

³ The same view is advanced in other articles in Treccani's Encyclopedia, e.g. U. Faldati, Armenia, Alfabeto. In: EI Treccani, 4, 1929, p. 431.

than *khutsuri*, and was allegedly created by Parnavaz, the first king of the Georgians.

In volume two of *A History of World Literature* by the well-known Italian literary historian Giacomo Prampolini, Georgian literature is given under a separate heading¹. In the author's view, the literature in question must have originated within Christianity. In discussing the Georgian alphabet, the researcher suggests that both alphabets – *khutsuri* and *mkhedruli* – must stem from Aramaic-Pahlavi; *khutsuri* must have originally been connected with Armenian. In his view, the Georgian Bible was translated from the Armenian in the 5th-6th centuries and subsequently edited by Euthymius the Athonite. The article gives a brief review of the literary legacy of Giorgi the Hagiorite, Eprem Mtsire, Ioane Shavteli, Arsen Vachedze, Ioane Zosime, Ioane Minchkhi, Ioane Bolneli, David Tbeli, Iakob the Priest, Giorgi Merchule, Stepane Mtbevari, and Catholicos Arsen II. Special mention is made of Iakob the Priest's *The Passion of Shushanik*, the first Georgian literary text coming down to us, and the literary legacy of the Monophysite Peter the Iberian, the great Bishop of Mayuma. Named among original hagiographic texts are: *The Life of St. Nino*, *The Martyrdom of the Children of Kola*, *The Life of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers*, and *The Passion of Abo Tbileli*. Other church and secular historiographic writings are also listed.

Prampolini considers Queen Tamar's period the Golden Age; he names the works of David the Builder, mentions Grigol Chakhrukhadze's eulogistic poetry, Ioane Shavteli's *Abdulmesiani*, dedicated to David the Builder; he notes that Mose Khoneli's *Amirandarejaniani* and Sargis Tmogveli's Georgian translation of *Visramiani* establish the principles of chivalrous poetry, attaining its climax in Shota or Ashot Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Tamar's age was followed by a long period of decline, overcome only in the 18th century. The missionary activity of the Theatine monks in Akhaltsikhe is considered a factor facilitating the advance of Georgian literature. It is noted that in the reign of Vakhtang VI the text of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* underwent scholarly editing and masterpieces of the period were written: David Guramishvili's poem

¹ G. Prampolini, *Storia della letteratura universale*, 2, Torino 1949, pp. 509-527.

*Guramiani*¹, the poetic homilies of Catholicos Anton I, and Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's works.

The following are considered important 19th century writers in the article: Aleksandre Chavchavadze, Grigol Orbeliani, Giorgi Eristavi, Nikoloz Baratashvili and Vakhtang Orbeliani. It is noted that the revival of Georgian literary thought is linked with the name of Ilia Chavchavadze, the founding of various magazines, the development of oratorical art, poetical lyrics and satire. In the researcher's view, Akaki Tsereteli, Rapiel Eristavi, Aleksandre Qazbegi, and Ivane Machabeli were major figures. Nature is depicted by the poets Luka, Niko and Tedo Razikashvili. The author names also Dimitri Qipiani, Lavrenti Ardaziani, Grigol Rcheulishvili, Giorgi Tsereteli, Niko Lomouri, Ekaterine Gabashvili, Egnate Ninoshvili, David Kldiashvili, Mikheil Gurgenidze, the *Imedi* ("Hope") Group – Grigol Volski, Dominika Mdivani, Grigol Abashidze, and Lenin's collaborators – Irodion Evdoshvili and Dutu Megreli. The author stresses Vazha-Pshavela's *Snake-Eater* and Pasternak's translations of Georgian writers, the poetry of Valerian Gaprindashvili, Giorgi Leonidze, and Kolau Nadiradze. He characterizes the poets Nikolo Mitsishvili and Paolo Iashvili as eulogists of Lenin and Stalin.

Prampolini reviews Georgian folklore as well. Without specific reference, he observes that several folk verses as well as *The Fairy-tale of the Golden-tufted Boy* have been translated into Italian. In connection with the legend of Amirani, he emphasizes that in Mingrelian folklore Amirani is called Polimete, and in Svan Promethe. In the author's view, *Amirandarejaniani* is a text elaborated according to the literary style of the mediaeval chivalrous romance of the Amirani legend.

Notwithstanding some factual slips, Mikheil Tarkhnishvili's article *Georgia*² in vol. 6 of the "Catholic Encyclopedia" is doubtless noteworthy. In it a separate chapter is devoted to questions of the development of Georgian literature. In the author's opinion, the introduction of Georgian writing should be assumed to have taken

¹ An error: the name of the Collection of Guramishvili's work is *Davitiani*.

² **M. Tarchnishvili**, Georgia. Letteratura. In: *EC* (Enciclopedia Cattolica, Firenze) 6, 1951, pp. 64-79.

place several centuries prior to Christianization. The oldest Georgian inscription of the Bolnisi church is dated not earlier than the 5th century. In Tarkhnishvili's view, the inception of literature must be related to the early period of Christianization. Prior to the 11th century it was limited only to the church theme, later acquiring secular character too and remaining the only secular literature in the mediaeval Christian East. Specimens of 5th-7th cent. Georgian literary tradition are: the inscriptions on the Bolnisi and Mtskheta churches, Tsqisi fortress, *The Passion of Shushanik*, whose Armenian translation is the result of a tendentious elaboration of the Georgian text, and *The Passion of Evstate of Mtskheta* (6th cent.). Among the most important writers of the 6th-7th centuries, Tarchnishvili names Ioane Bolneli, Kyrion I the Catholicos (noting that Armenian translations of the Epistles have come down to us), Evagrius of Pontus (noting that, according to Sozomen, the latter must have been a Georgian), and the Georgian biographer of Peter the Iberian. In the context of the period, Tarchnishvili points to *The Martyrdom of Abibos of Nekresi*. He notes that *The Martyrdom of the Children of Kola*, *The Martyrdom of Abo Tbileli*, Leonti Mroveli's historical work, the anonymous *Moktsevai Kartlisai* ("The Conversion of Georgia"), date from the 8th century. The oldest part of the latter work must have been written, in the author's view, by Grigol the Deacon, a 6th-century writer. *The Life of Nino* has come down to us in different redactions.

It is noted in the article that the 9th-12th centuries were the Golden Age of Georgian literature. Many literary texts were translated in the cited period from Syriac, Armenian, Greek, and Arabic, and original hymnography reached its zenith. Works were written by Ioane Mtbevari, Ezra, Iovane Kurdanai, Pilipe, David Tbeli, Ioane Minchkhi, Ioane Zosime, especially those of Mikael Modrekili, a monk from Oshki. National hagiography was also rich. The author names *The Martyrdom of King Archil*, Giorgi Merchule's *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli*, Stepane Mtbevari's *The Life of Gobron*, *The Life of the Syrian Fathers* by Arsen I and Arsen II. He discusses the literary school on Mount Athos, mentions Abbot Iovane of Ivron, who, in the author's view, jointly with Tornike Eristavi, defeated Bardas Sclerus and founded the Monastery of the Portaitissa Virgin. In Tarkhnishvili's opinion, the greatest

churchman of the period was Ioane's son Euthymius the Athonite who rendered more than eighty writings of various genres from the Greek into Georgian. He translated the *Wisdom of Balahvar* from the Georgian into Greek. Giorgi, the other great Athonite, wrote *The Life of Ioane and Euthymius*; edited the books of The New Testament, as well as many writings on church law, liturgics, dogmatics and hagiography. The monk Eprem Mtsire, flourishing on the Miraculous or Black Mountain, translated the philosophical writings of John Damascene, Dionysius the Areopagite and Palladius of Hellenopolis. In the same period the Iqalto and Gelati theological academies were founded in Georgia, with the direct participation of David the Builder. At his invitation, Arsen Iqaltoeli, Ioane Petritsi, Theophilus the Hieromonk and Ioane Tarichisdze arrived here. Arsen and Ioane were well versed in the thoughts of Michael Psellus and Eprem Mtsire. Arsen wrote the *Dogmaticon*, while Ioane flourished at the Gelati Academy in the fields of theology, rhetoric, liturgics and astronomy. He considered Greek philosophy to be a servant of Theology, seeking thereby to prove the existence of God and of the dogma of the Trinity, and to overcome Manichaeism and Epicureanism. He also translated such works as Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, Aristotle's *Topica* and *Perihermeneia*, and Nemesios of Emesa's *On Human Nature*. Ioane Petritsi was patronized by King David the Builder, the author of the *Songs of Repentance*. The researcher reviews Georgian historiographic sources, dating Juansher's Chronicle to the end of the 9th century, and *The Chronicle of Abkhazian Kings* to the 10-11th centuries. He lists historical-eulogistic works dedicated to Giorgi II, David the Builder, Giorgi III and Queen Tamar, as well as the apocryphal, liturgical and patristic texts whose originals have not survived but are extant in Georgian translations.

The author of the article observes that, following the Mongol domination, first the influence of Persian literature and, then of Latin missionaries, is felt in Georgia's cultural life. The first publications by S. Paolini and N. Irbach belong to the period of renaissance. Important is the editorial work done by Vakhtang VI towards amending the text of *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, his edition of the Georgian Law Code, and the new redaction of *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, made by his son Vakhushti. Of the extant sources on church law mention

should be made of the Decree of the Ruis-Urbnisi Council (1103), the canonical decree of 1263, and the decisions of Malakia, the Catholicos of Kartli, Evdemon, the Catholicos of Abkhazia, and of Grigol Samtavneli – all entered in Vakhtang's Code.

The author reviews the activities of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, noting his diplomatic mission to Pope Clement XI and to the Court of the French King Louis XIV. He names Orbeliani's works, such as the Catholic Catechism, Concordance to the Bible, the *Georgian Dictionary*, *The Journey to Europe*. The paper highlights the personality of Catholicos Anton I, his cooperation with the catholic missionaries, and rhetorical, philosophical and theological treatises in which Anton sought to adjust Georgian philosophy to that of Fr. Baumeister. In connection with the literature of the 19th-20th centuries Tarkhnishvili notes that Georgian literature of the period following the loss of independence in 1801 retained its national spirit.

The heading "Biblical Redactions" in the article deserves special attention¹, for it is one of the first attempts at a systematization of the Georgian translations of the Scriptures. The author notes that biblical books had been rendered in Georgian way back in the 5th century, while in the 6th century the Georgian monks of the Monastery of St. Sabas offered up prayers in their native tongue. The scholar singles out three Georgian redactions of the New Testament: the *khanmeti*, the St. Sabas, and the Athonite. He considers the first as stemming from the Syriac and evolved via Armenian, ascribing to it the fragments of the 6th century Georgian translation of the Bible and the 897 Adishi Four Gospels. He dates the so-called pre-Athonite redaction to the 6th-7th centuries. In this redaction the Georgian text is adjusted according to the Greek text (the Opiza, Gareji, Parkhali and Tbeti Four Gospels are listed, as well as the redactions of the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Letters of Mount Sinai. The author notes that the later, so-called Athonite redaction, worked out in Iviron in the 10th-11th centuries, became established as the canonical version of the Georgian Church. In connection with the Georgian translation of the Old Testament the researcher notes that it was made in the 5th-6th centuries, textually

¹ **M. Tarchnishvili**, Georgia. Letteratura, pp. 75-76.

being close to the Armenian version. The article presents the views of R. Blake and A. Baumstark on the Georgian redactions of the Bible. According to Blake, the oldest Georgian redaction of the New Testament is the so-called Caesarean recension, while Baumstark affines it with Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and the Old Testament with Lucian's Greek redaction. Tarkhnishvili refrains from stating his stand on this matter.

An article, entitled *Georgian Literature*¹, by Giorgio Castellino, Professor of Assyriology and Oriental Archaeology of the La Sapienza University of Rome, in Volume One of the *History of Oriental Literatures*, printed under the aegis of the Italian National Commission of *UNESCO* and under the direction of Oscar Botto, a well-known Hinduist and Professor of the State University of Turin, is devoted to Georgian literature. In a brief introduction, the author tells the reader about Georgia's geographical situation, time and conditions of Christianization, gives a brief review of the origin of the Georgian alphabet, noting that the problem may be considered resolved, as it is clear that the two Georgian alphabets one – *mkhedruli* – derives from Pahlavi or Zend-Avestan alphabet, while the *nuskha-khutsuri* should be considered, if not from Armenian, at least as created under the influence of Armenian during the Christianization of Georgia. Indeed, the author notes, the *nuskhuri* was used in church writings, and the *mkhedruli* in secular.

The scholar shares Kekelidze's theory on the development and periodization, highlighting in this context the Georgian-Armenian church unity, the activity of Catholicos Kyrion, and the establishment of the national spirit in hagiography and hymnography. The researcher cites the evidence in Iakob the Priest's *The Passion of Shushanik* and in Juansher's *The Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali* on the existence of Georgian translations of biblical books in the 5th century. The 897 Adishi code is the first Georgian Four Gospels whose text is – redactionally – a *haemeti* one. The author considers the Jruchi and Parkhali Gospels to be versions of Adishi

¹ **G. R. Castellino**, Letteratura georgiana, in: *Storia della letteratura d'Oriente*, diretta da O. Botto, sotto il patrocinio della Commissione nazionale italiana dell'UNESCO, 1, Milano 1969, pp. 447-468, 471.

provenance. Neither does he overlook the fact that the 978 Athonite Code is the first integral Bible.

The researcher touches also upon the origin of the Georgian Bible. In his view, Although Georgian scholars do not share the theory of the Armenian provenance of the Georgian Bible¹, it appears logical for two reasons: firstly, Christianity came to Georgia from Armenia, and secondly, the oldest Georgian translations of the Bible are textually and redactionally identical to the Armenian text. The later Athonite redactions, including those of the 10th-11th centuries, were translated from the Septuagint, done in order to dissociate them from the earlier Armenian redactions.

In Castellino's view, 980-1250 was the period of the influence of Byzantine literature on its Georgian counterpart. Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, Eprem Mtsire, Arsen Iqaltoeli, Ioane Petritsi, and others brought Georgian literary thought close to Byzantine through their translated and original works. The article lists major translations from the Greek, and the translation of the Georgian *Balavariani* from the Arabic is dated to the 7th-8th centuries. It is hard to speak of Georgian-Latin literary contacts in this period, though direct contacts with Rome are beyond doubt, as attested by the correspondence of Kyrion and Gregory the Great in 601, the two-year visit of Ilarion the Georgian to Rome in the 9th century, the meetings of Georgian and Latin monks at Iviron, and so on.

The article reviews the literature of the 11th-12th centuries: *Tamariani*, *Abdulmesiani*, Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*; the poet's folklore biography is narrated, as well as a synopsis of the poem; the problem of the origin of the plot is discussed, Chubinashvili's view, according to which there is nothing borrowed in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is criticised. In the author's opinion, in terms of its metre and literary style Rustaveli comes close to Ariosto and Tasso, his moral and ethical creed being marked by consistency.

Further, Castellino points to the long period of decline following the Mongol rule. This was superseded by national-cultural

¹ The researcher refers to *Two old redactions of the Georgian Four Gospels according to three Shatberdi MSS*, ed. by A. Shanidze, Tbilisi 1945.

revival in the 17th century, epic poetry and lyrics coming to the fore. Teimuraz I translated Nizami's *Leilmajnuniani* and wrote original works: an elegy on Ketevan Bagrationi martyred in Shiraz in 1624, *A Comparison of the Spring and the Autumn*, *On the Palace of Gremi*. Of King Archil's works the author names *A Dialogue of Teimuraz and Rustaveli*, *Georgian Morals* and a long poem, *Archiliani*¹. Ioseb Tpileli dedicated the poem *Didmouraviani* to Giorgi Saakadze. Vakhtang VI's literary activity was significant, Georgian-Latin literary-cultural contacts, Prince David Guramishvili's *Guramiani*, Anton I's works, the poetry of Besarion Gabashvili, and others.

Notable among the romantic poets are Nikoloz Baratashvili and the sentimentalist Grigol Orbeliani. The realistic school was introduced into Georgian literature first by Giorgi Eristavi and then, Ilia Chavchavadze, parting with the past and inculcating Western liberal ideas. Ilia founded the *Sakartvelos Moambe* magazine, himself becoming a literary master of the period. The brothers Razikashvili wrote folk poetry. The author notes the activity of the *Blue Horns*, led by Paolo Iashvili and Titsian Tabidze. Notable among the literary works of the last period is Grigol Robakidze's *The Snake Slough*.

Giuseppe Furlani's article *The Literature of the Christian East* in volume 2 of the monumental *Cultures of the East*, published by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, devotes a paragraph to Georgian literature². In discussing the Georgian alphabet, the author repeats that the *khutsuri* really derives from Armenian. In Furlani's view, the shaping of Georgian literary tradition was linked to the Christianization of Kartli, the Bible translated from the Armenian in the 5th century being the oldest

¹ The collection of Archil's works, *Archiliani*, is erroneously taken by the author for a long poem.

² **G. Furlani**, Letteratura dell'oriente cristiano, Letteratura georgiana. In: *Le civiltà dell'oriente. Storia, letteratura, religioni, filosofia, scienze e arte*, Sotto la direzione di G. Tucci, redazione a cura dell' Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo oriente, redattore A. Gargano, II. Letteratura, Firenze-Roma 1970, pp. 224-227.

³ **S.v.**, Georgia. Lingua e letteratura. In: *EE Garzanti* (Enciclopedia Europea, Milano), 5, 1977, pp. 312-313.

literary text. Then the author discusses the translational activity and original writings of Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, the rich literary works of Eprem Mtsire, the Georgian translations of Aristotelian, Neoplatonic and extensive hagiographic literature, the activities of Arsen Iqaltoeli and Petritsi. He points to the 12th-century eulogistic poems, the chivalrous romances and Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, noting its language and literary merits.

Furlani speaks of the period of Mongol domination and the decline of Georgian literature. A revival of the moribund literary thought became feasible only in the 16th century, which was connected with the activity of the king-poets, and primarily Vakhtang VI. Mention is made of the Italian-Georgian Dictionary of S. Paolini and N. Irbach, Sulkhani-Saba Orbeliani's *A Book of Wisdom and Lies*, and the lyrical poets: David Guramishvili and Besarion Gabashvili. The author stresses Anton I's educational reform and versatile literary activity. According to Furlani, in the 19th century Georgian literature opened up to the influence of Persian and Western literatures. During World War One the *Blue Horns* group was active. Grigol Robakidze is the greatest writer of contemporaneity, who is primarily known for his fantastic novel *The Snake Slough*.

The unsigned article, *Georgia*, in volume 5 of the "European Encyclopedia"¹, prepared by *Garzanti* Publishers, repeats the view on the two Georgian alphabets and on the derivation of the *khutsuri* from the Armenian. The author mentions Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, the Gelati Academy, Arsen Iqaltoeli, Ioane Petritsi, Ioane Tarichisdze, Leonti Mroveli, Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, the Italian-Georgian Dictionary printed in Rome, David Guramishvili, Besarion Gabashvili, Anton I, the romantic poets: Aleksandre Chavchavadze Grigol Orbeliani and Nikoloz Baratashvili, as well as Ilia Chavchavadze, the *Blue Horners*, led by Paolo Iashvili and Titsian Tabidze, and Grigol Robakidze.

Since the 1980s Luigi Magarotto has been systematically publishing articles in Italy on Georgian culture, often correcting

¹ S.v., Georgia. Lingua e letteratura. In: *EE Garzanti* (Enciclopedia Europea, Milano), 5, 1977, pp. 312-313.

some errors in Italian encyclopaedic articles on Kartvelological issues. Thus, in the article *Georgia* in volume 9 of the Italian Encyclopedia issued by *Utet* Publishers Magarotto is the author of the chapter on Georgian literature¹ in which the earlier erroneous view put forward by other researchers on the interrelationship of the *nuskhuri* and *mkhedruli* is corrected, the chronology of the shaping of the *asomtavruli*, *nuskhuri* and *mkhedruli* is outlined. The fact is stressed that the literary perfection of *The Passion of Shushanik* points to the existence of pre-Christian Georgian literature. The problems of the redactions of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* are correctly stated. The activity of the Gelati and Iqalto academies is discussed. The *Amirandarejaniani* and the works of Shavteli and Chakhrukhadze are reviewed. Rustaveli is considered a great poet of the Renaissance. The poetry of Vakhtang VI is discussed, as well as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's *Dictionary of the Georgian Language* and *The Book of Wisdom and Lies*, David Guramishvili's *Davitiani*, Mamuka Baratashvili's *Chashniki*, *ashugh* poetry and the works of Sayatnova and Besiki, the poetry of the romantics: Aleksandre Chavchavadze, Grigol Orbeliani and Nikoloz Baratashvili, the periodicals: *Tsiskari*, *Iveria*, *Moambe*, the works of Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli and Giorgi Eristavi. Special attention is given to Vazha-Pshavela's *Aluda Ketelauri*, *The Guest and Host* and *The Snake Eater*. Of the Georgian writers of the 20th century the researcher names David Kldiashvili, Shio Aragvispireli, the *Blue Horns* group: Grigol Robakidze, Titsian Tabidze, Paolo Iashvili, Valerian Gaprindashvili and Kolau Nadiradze. He notes the initial link of Giorgi Leonidze and Simon Chikovani with symbolism and futurism. The personality of Galaktion Tabidze is specially singled out. Among writers of the Soviet period listed are: Irakli Abashidze, Ana Kalandadze, Givi Gegechkori, Emzar Kvitaishvili, Nodar Dumbadze, Revaz Inanishvili and Chabua Amirejibi.

In his article "*The Man in the Panther's Skin*. An Introduction to Georgian Literature"² Magarotto synthetically

¹ **L. Magarotto**, Georgiana. Lingua e letteratura. In: *GDE* (Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico, Torino), 9, 1987, pp. 179-181.

² **L. Magarotto**, Il cavaliere dalla pelle di pantera. Introduzione alla letteratura georgiana. In: *L'umana avventura*, Estate 1921, pp. 58-61.

outlines the general trends of the development of Georgian literature. He discusses two different views on the origins of Georgian literature. According to one view, the origin of literature in Georgia is linked to the entry of Christianity from Syria. According to the other view, literature existed in Georgia prior to the Christianization of the country. However, the researcher notes at once that had this been the case, the Georgian alphabet would be different.

The author discusses the antecedents that paved the way for Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, in particular, he reviews the rich theological literature, the works translated from the Georgian into Greek, including the *Balavariani*, with which later Europe became acquainted in Greek. Shota Rustaveli (ca 1160-1210) was born in Meskheta; he was a great statesman, was in love with Tamar, took the monastic vows and died in Jerusalem. The scholar draws thematic parallels of Rustaveli's poem with other works of world literature. He notes that travel genre is attested already in the Gilgamesh epic cycle, its function being to approach the death and life mystery. The purpose of the travel of Siegfried – the hero of the *Nibelungenlied* – is attainment of a buried treasure – or power. The motif of travel recurs in the Grail cycle of Chrétien de Troyes. Rustaveli's characters too go in search of mystery but, unlike others, they find what they are looking for. Rustaveli's characters have parallels in late mediaeval European literature as well, e.g. in *Tristan and Iseult* and the works of the courtly poets: the Provençal Bertran de Born, Bernard de Ventadorn, and the German Wolfram von Eschenbach, as well as in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (the episode of Paolo and Francesca). Parallels are felt stronger with Persian literature, with which Georgian has manifold literary contacts. Important in this respect is the *Visramiani*, *Tristan and Iseult* being its European variant, as well as Nizami's *Khosrau u Shirin* and *Leyla wa Majnun*. All this attests to the closeness of Rustaveli's poem to world literary thought. Finally, the works of Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli and Konstantine Gamsakhurdia are passed under review. Chabua Amirejibi's *Data Tutashkhia* is considered to be an attempt at a critical analysis of contemporaneity and a search for new moral principles.

Magarotto is also the author of the article *Georgia. Literature* in the 5th supplementary volume of the *Treccani Italian Encyclopedia*¹. It analyses Georgian literature of the period following the October Revolution, which is considered one of the most progressive Soviet literatures in the 1970s-1980s. The author names: Irakli Abashidze, Grigol Abashidze, Chabua Amirejibi, Ana Kalandadze, Nodar Dumbadze, Revaz Inanishvili, Mukhran Machavariani, Shota Nishnianidze. Tamaz Chiladze is singled out as a poet, prose-writer, playwright, and literary critic. The researcher reviews Otar Chiladze's works, noting that he began as a poet but attained mastery in prose with *რჩხი* novels.

Short articles devoted to Georgia are also to be found in volume 8 of *Grolier's Italian Encyclopedia*².

One part of essays on Georgian literature, published in Italian, is devoted to separate problems of the history of Georgian literature.

One of the key questions of Georgian literature is discussed in the article of the well-known Italian orientalist and erudite Aurelio Palmieri, entitled *The Official Christianization of the Iberians*, which appeared in two issues of the journal *Oriens Christianus* of 1902³. The study analyses the Georgian-Armenian sources on The Conversion of Georgia, Coptic, Arabic-language and Ethiopic synaxaries.

The author analyses Eprem Mtsire's conception of the Christianization of Kartli and the journey of Eustathius the Bishop of Antioch to Georgia, the evidence of Anton I, according to which,

¹ **L. Magarotto**, Georgia. Letteratura. In: *El Treccani*, Appendice V (1979-1992), 1992, pp. 395-396.

² **S. v.** Georgia, in: *Enciclopedia Italiana Grolier*, 8, Milano 1987, p. 141.

³ **A. Palmieri**, La conversione ufficiale degli Iberi al cristianesimo. In: *OC (Oriens Christianus, Roma)*, 2, 1902, pp. 130-150; 3, 1903, pp. 148-172. The question of the Christianization of Kartli is dealt with in the article by the same author as well as by B. Majorana: **A. Palmieri**, La Chiesa georgiana e le sue origini, 1, *B* (Bessarione, Pubblicazione periodica di studi orientali, Roma), 59-60, Roma, 1900, pp. 433-457; 2 *B* 62, Roma 1901, pp. 218-228; 3, *B* 63, Roma 1901, pp. 398-403; 4, *B* 65, Roma 1902, pp. 188-204; 5, *B*, 67, Roma 1902, pp. 333-343; *Ibid.*, La Chiesa georgiana e le sue origini (addizioni), 1, *B*, 76, Roma 1904, pp. 17-25; 2, *B*, 77, Roma 1904, pp. 117-124; **B. Majorana**, Cenni sulla storia della Chiesa in Georgia: *L'umana avventura*, Estate 1991, pp. 25-35.

Eustathius enlightened the Iberians with his own hand¹. Nevertheless, in the scholar's view, Eustathius cannot be considered the illuminator of Kartli, as rightly noted by Brosset, touching upon Giorgi the Athonite's debate with the Patriarch of Antioch.

The journal *Bessarione, a Periodical of the East*, sponsored and founded by Cardinal Niccolo Marini, which was issued in Rome in 1896-1923, devoted many interesting articles to the Christian East, particularly Georgian history, literature and cultural questions. The articles on Georgia are authored by Aurelio Palmieri. One of his first articles on questions of the Old Georgian redactions of the Bible are printed in four issues of the journal².

In the researcher's opinion, Georgian literature was born under an evil star. In the introduction to the article the author tells briefly the history of Georgia's centuries-old struggle against Islam, arguing the need of studying the history of the Georgian Church.

In Palmieri's view, although A. Tsagareli, A. Khakhanashvili, T. Zhordania, E. Taqaishvili, I. Javakhishvili and N. Marr published the most important texts of Georgian literature, this literature is not yet fully appreciated. The researcher draws the reader's attention only to the oldest manuscripts of Georgian biblical texts, discussing them in detail on the basis of the Kartvelological literature of the second half of the 19th century.

The next section of the article deals with A. Khakhanashvili's periodization of Georgian literature, in which two periods are identified: preparatory (5th-10th centuries) and classical (10th-12th centuries). The researcher notes the paucity of documents of the preparatory period. These are largely represented by inscriptions on the Jvari church in Mtskheta, coins of Sassanian times, and undated Georgian manuscripts. The first literary texts are of church character. The social and literary life was nourished by Christian ideals. Monastic life took deep roots in Georgia. Following a brief description of monastic life, the researcher observes that monasteries, particularly those abroad, were unique seats of

¹ P. Langlois, Notice sur le convent ibérien du mont Athos. In: *Journal Asiatique*, VI série, t. IX, Paris 1867, p. 332.

² A. Palmieri, Le versioni georgiane della Bibbia, 1, *B*, 74, Roma 1903, pp. 259-268; 2, *B*, 75, Roma 1903, pp. 322-327; 3, *B*, 76, Roma 1903, pp. 72-77; *B*, 77, Roma 1904, pp. 189-194.

Georgian culture. According to literary tradition, not supported by *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, Mirian had a monastery built in Jerusalem, while Peter the Iberian had one built on the bank of the Jordan. Georgian colonies were set up on the Black Mountain, Saint Sabas, and from the 8th century, on Mount Athos. In Georgia monasteries functioned in Tbeti, Sapara, Opiza, Gelati, Martvili, Iqalto and Gremi. The most important colonies were in Syria and on Mount Sinai, Jerusalem and Mount Athos. Major calligraphic schools took shape here whose manuscripts, copied in the 7th century, have survived.

Then Palmieri touches upon the oldest evidence on the translation of the Gospel into Old Georgian. He points out that very few names of translators of biblical books are known prior to Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites. The researcher cites the marginal note of Zakaria Gabashvili, a well-known 18th-century figure, listing the names of the first translators of the Bible into Georgian: Anton, Saba, David and Stepanoz. Palmieri discusses the scholarly literature in the marginal note¹, indicating that Gabashvili probably relied on the well-known work of the 16th-century Georgian writer Bagrat Mukhranbatoni: *The Story of the Faith of the Godless Ismaelites*. Palmieri gives an Italian translation of this evidence according to A. Tsagareli².

Such is, in the main, the content of Palmieri's study. Although towards the close of section four of his paper he promises the reader a continuation of the paper, he never published such a continuation in the journal. Instead, he published short studies dealing with questions of Georgian literary tradition, e.g. on Marr's important discovery on Mount Sinai and in Palestine³, as well as on literary problems related to the lives of Georgian saints⁴.

Some questions of the development of Georgian literature are discussed in the articles on the saints of the Georgian church,

¹ Reference to **P. Ioseliani**, *A Description of Ancient Tiflis*, Tbilisi 1866, pp. 153-156 (in Russian); **A. Tsagareli**, *Evidence...*, pp. 61-62; **T. Zhordania**, *Chronicles*, etc., Tbilisi 1893, pp. 224-225 (in Georgian).

² Reference to **Tsagareli**, *Works*, 1, p. 230.

³ **A. Palmieri**, *Da Constantinopoli: Le scoperte importanti del Marr nei monasteri del Sinai e della Palestina*. In: *B*, 77, Roma 1904, pp. 195-197.

⁴ **Idem**, *I santi georgiani*, *B*, 73, Roma 1903, pp. 132-141.

published in the 12-volume "Library of the Saints", prepared by the *Citta Nuova* Press.

In his article, *Nino (Nouné, Theognosta, a Christian)*¹, J.M. Sauget, a scriptor² of the Vatican Apostolic Library, mainly relies on Peeters' study, "The first period of the propagation of Christianity in Georgia according to hagiographic sources". He reviews the works of Rufinus, Gelasius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoretus of Cyprus, Gelasius of Cyzicus and Theophanes, noting that the name Nino first occurs in Moses Khorenatsi (8th century) in the *Nouné* form, and that it was adopted from here into the Georgian tradition, *The Conversion of Georgia* and *The Life of Nino*. In addition to Rufinus' work, the latter contains six stories by fantastic authors.

The article *Susanna* by Paolo Ananian³, Vice Rector of the Mechitarist College in Rome, contains a tendentious treatment of the historical and literary problems of *The Passion of Shushanik*. The saint's story is conveyed briefly, Varsken is declared to have been a ruler of Armenia's Georgia (*Georgia armena*), and there is no reference to the Georgian redactions of the work.

The article, *Eustace of Mtskheta*⁴ by R. Janin, member of the French Institute of Byzantinists in Paris, is fully based on the review of the well-known hagiologist H. Delehaye on Ivane Javakhishvili's German translation of *The Martyrdom of Eustace of Mtskheta*⁵. Janin concurs with Delehaye's view according to which, *The Martyrdom of Eustace of Ancyra* must have been written under the influence of *The Martyrdom of Eustace of Mtskheta*.

Maria Vittoria Brandi's article, *Abo of Tiflis*⁶ narrates the story of the martyr, the author of the work is indicated, the time and

¹ **J.-M. Sauget**, Nino (Nouné, Theognosta, Cristiana). In: *BS* (Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Roma), 9, 1967, pp. 1018-1021.

² 'writer' - a senior researcher in the Vatican Library.

³ **P. Ananian**, Susanna. In: *BS*, 12, 1969, p. 76.

⁴ **R. Janin**, Eustazio di Mzcheta. In: *BS*, 5, 1964, p. 299.

⁵ **H. Delehaye**, Recensione a: Dschawachoff, Das Martyrium des heiligen Eustathius von Mzcheta: Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin 1901, pp. 875-902. In: *AB* (Analecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles), 23, 1904, pp. 359-60.

⁶ **M. V. Brandi**, Abo di Tiflis. In: *BS*, 1, 1961, pp. 85-87.

conditions of writing it as well as some literary peculiarities are discussed.

In J. M. Sauget's article *Grigol of Khandzta*¹ reference is made to the *Life's* only manuscript of the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, published by Marr, and to Peeters' Latin translation. In Sauget's view, the role of Grigol and his disciples is exaggerated in the *Life*. Furthermore, historical reality, described in the work, is often overshadowed by fantastic elements. Hence, it should be assumed that the final redactor of the *Life of Grigol of Khandzta* adapted his work on the basis of the *Life of Gregory the Thaumaturge*. Sauget underlines the fact that the Synaxary of the Georgian church makes no mention of Grigol.

In his article, *Euthymius the Hagiorite and His Father Ioane*², V. Grumel, a well-known researcher of Byzantine chronology and member of the French Institute of Byzantinists, briefly narrates the content of Giorgi the Athonite's *Life of Ioane and Euthymius*, noting the literary and stylistic merits of Euthymius' translations from the Greek and their significance for Georgian culture. The author discusses the *Balavariani* too. In his view, the attribution of this work to Euthymius by Giorgi the Hagiorite caused a polemic because it had traditionally been ascribed to John of Damascus.

In Janin's article³, devoted to Giorgi the Athonite, the author indicates 13th-century Greek and Latin translations of three chapters of the Georgian redaction of the saint's *Life*, discovered by Hofmann⁴.

In his brief monograph, *Rustaveli and His Georgian Poem (themes, analysis, bibliography)*⁵, Professor Shalva Beridze, member of the Chair of Oriental Studies of the University of Naples, discusses the epoch of Tamar and Rustaveli's folklore biography,

¹ **J. M. Sauget**, Gregorio di Khandztha. In: *BS*, 7, 1966, pp. 179-180.

² **V. Grumel**, Eutimio l'Agiorita e Giovanni, suo padre. In: *BS* 5, 1964, pp. 335-339.

³ **R. Janin**, Giorgio l'Agiorita. In: *BS* 6, 1965, pp. 531-532.

⁴ *Thesaurus Fidei, Miscellanea G. Galbiati, III (Fontes Ambrosianus), XXVII*, Milano 1951, pp. 249-262.

⁵ **Sc. Bérizé**, *Rustaveli e il suo poema georgiano (Argomento, Analisi, Bibliografia)*, Napoli 1939.

noting that the poet received his education at Athens and Byzantium, and that he was Tamar's *mechurchletukhutsesi* ("Chief Treasurer"). The author recounts the content of the poem in brief, translates one quatrain of Nestan's letter in verse, considers the poem a chivalrous romance, singles out friendship and valour as the main themes, and discusses the questions of the typology of the poem. He notes that Rustavelian literary images occur in Eastern and Western literatures – from Saadi to Rumi and from Pascal to Byron. Thus in 10th-century Indian, Chinese and Iranian literatures the slaying of a lion has the symbolic meaning of defeating the Satan. Following in the wake of A. Leist and O. Wardrop, Beridze pronounces Rustaveli an Oriental Dante.

Notable among recent studies is Mario Picchi's introduction to the translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*¹, made jointly with P. Angioletti. The author observes that for the world community, after Stalin, Shota Rustaveli is the most known personality among the Georgians. He came a century earlier than Dante. On the question of the plot having been borrowed, the researcher concurs with O. Wardrop, concluding that, even if the subject was borrowed, the literary merit of the poem will not suffer in any way. Therefore, in his view, the question in connection with Rustaveli is posed in the same way as in connection with Shakespeare. In his world view, the poet is Christian, though Persian, Arabic and Areopagitic Neoplatonic motifs are clearly felt. The researcher focuses on the theme of friendship, the euphoniousness of verse and some theoretical questions of metrics.

Encyclopedic articles by J. Smith, L. Magarotto and others are also devoted to Rustaveli².

Magarotto's extensive study, *The History and Theory of Georgian Avant-gardism of 1915-1924*¹ sheds light on the literary

¹ **Sc. Rustaveli**, Il Cavaliere con la pelle di pantera, traduzione di P. Angioletti, a cura di M. Picchi, Caltanissetta-Roma 1991.

² S.v. Rustaveli Šota o Ašot Rustaveli. In: *EE Garzanti* 9, 1979, p. 1107; S. v. Rustaveli Šota. In: *EG Mondadori* (Enciclopedia generale Mondadori, Milano), 10, 1986, p. 595; **J. P. Smith**, Rustaveli Sciotha. In: *DA Bompiani* (Dizionario Bompiani degli Autori, Milano), 4, 1987, p. 1983; **L. Magarotto**, Il cavaliere della pelle di pantera. In: *DC* (Dizionario dei Capolavori, Torino), 1, 1987; **Idem**, Rustaveli Šota. In: *GDE*, 17, 1990, p. 941.

Tbilisi of the 1920s; the images of the *kinto* and *qarachogheli* are distinguished and their role in the life of the capital is shown. Against this background the author discusses Ioseb Grishashvili's poem *Farewell to Old Tbilisi* and his study: *The Literary Bohemia of Old Tbilisi*. Magarotto discusses Sergey Yesenin, Vladimir Mayakovski and the Russian poets' attitude to Georgia, analyses the translations into Russian from the Georgian by Nikolay Zabolotski and Boris Pasternak, touches upon Viktor Shklovsky, conveys the story of the establishment of the Order of the *Blue Horns*, the biography of Paolo Iashvili, gives an analysis of Titsian Tabidze's poem *From the Book: a Chaldean City*, as well as of the poetry of Valerian Gaprindashvili, Grigol Robakidze, and Giorgi Leonidze, and the translations of their works, reviews the magazines of the *Blue Horns: The Dreaming Gazelles* and Sandro Tsirekidze's *The Archer*; passes under review the works of Grigol Robakidze, Paolo Iashvili, Titsian Tabidze and Lado Gudiashvili in the Soviet period, discusses Georgian futurism, the magazine *H₂SO₄* and the circumstances of its foundation, the works of Vladimir Mayakovsky and the early poetry of Simon Chikovani, differentiates futurism, constructivism and Dadaism, and quotes his own translation of one poem each of Niogol Chachava and Zhango Ghoghoberidze.

Besides the work just discussed, Magarotto has published articles on the *Balavariani*, Georgian futurism, the works of Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ilia Chavchavadze, Vazha Pshavela, Galaktion Tabidze, and Simon Chikovani, in which he conveys the points of view of Georgian scholars and, gives a correct interpretation of individual questions of Georgian literature. He also is the author of encyclopedic-referential articles on Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, David Guramishvili, Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha Pshavela, Titsian Tabidze, Galaktion Tabidze, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Irakli Abashidze, Grigol Abashidze Nodar Dumbadze, Revaz Inanishvili, Otar and Tamaz Chiladze,

¹ **L. Magarotto**, Storia e teoria dell'avanguardia georgiana (1915-1924). In: L'avanguardia a Tiflis, pp. 45-98; see also **Idem**, I manifesti della rivista *Cisperi Q'anc'ebi*. In: *BK* (Bedi Kartlisa, Paris), 42, 1984, pp 361-367; **Idem**, Il futurismo in Georgia. In: *EO* (Europa Orientalis, Roma), 10, 1991, pp. 429-436.

Anna Kalandadze¹, as well as reviews on some Kartvelological studies².

J. Smith's short articles of bibliographic character are devoted to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ilia Chavchavadze and Aleksandre Qazbegi - all printed in various encyclopedic editions³. Analogous, unsigned works are published on Aleksandre Chavchavadze, Nikoloz Baratashvili, and Ilia Chavchavdze⁴. Reviews are published in Georgia and abroad⁵. Some Georgian writers are mentioned briefly in volume 6 of the General Encyclopedia issued by *Mondadori* Publishers.

¹ See references to the respective papers in the bibliographic part of the monograph.

² **L. Magarotto**, Recensione a: D. Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia. A History*, Oxford 1994. In: *EO*, 1996, n. 1; **Idem**, Recensione a : G. Bebutov, *Bez sroki davnosti. Stat'i i očerki*, Tbilisi 1979. In: *ACF* (Annali di Ca'Foscari, Venezia), 19:3, 1980; **Idem**, Recensione a: G. Goletiani, *Gruzinskaja leksika v russkom jazyke*, Tbilisi 1972. In: *RSO* (Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Roma), 50, 1976; **Idem**, Recensione a: L. Gudiašvili, *Mogonebebis C'igni*, Tbilisi 1979. In: *ACF* 19:3, 1980; **Idem**, Recensione a: K. Tuite, *An Anthology of Georgian Folk Poetry. Ia mtazeda: kartuli xalxuri p'oeziis antologia*, London and Toronto 1994. In: *ACF* 34:3, 1995; **Idem**, Recensione a: Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *La Sagesse du Menzogne, Traduzione dal georgiano e introduzione di G. Buacidze, illustrazioni di L. Gudiašvili*, Tbilisi 1978. In: *Oriente Moderno*, Roma, Anno LVIII, n. 11, 1978.

³ See references to the respective papers in the bibliographic part of the monograph.

⁴ See references to the respective papers in the bibliographic part of the monograph.

⁵ **Guidi. I**, Recensione a N.Marr, *The Christening of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians and Alans by St. Gregory*. In: *OC* 5, 1905, pp. 332-333; **M. Bastiaensen**, Recensione a: Majd os-Saltane: *K'alak' Tbilisis agtsera* (= Descrizione della citta di Tbilisi), preparazione all'edizione del testo, traduzione [georgiana] e commento a cura di Maia Mamatsašvili, Tbilisi, 1971, pp. 116. In: *RSO* XLVII, 1973, pp. 134-135; **G. Chourgaia, V. Poggi**, Recensione a: Elguja Khintibidze, *Medieval and Renaissance Trends in Rustaveli's "Vepkhistqaosani"*, Tbilisi, 1993, p. 320. In: *OCP* (Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Roma), 61, 1995, pp. 652-654; **V. Pisani**, Sulla "Introduzione allo studio della lingue caucasiche" di Adolfo Dirr. In: *RSO* XIV, 1934, pp. 36-59.

GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN EUROPEAN TRANSLATIONS

Of the languages of Western Europe texts of Georgian literature have been mainly translated into German, French, English and Italian. Translation of Georgian literature commenced in the 19th century, the process being most prolific in German.

Georgia's especially close contacts with German-speaking countries was due to several factors: 1. Being a constituent part of the Soviet Union, after World War Two Georgia, together with East Germany, found herself in the so-called socialist camp. This made possible intensive cooperation between Georgia and the German Democratic Republic; 2. In the 1970s the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, established friendly relations with Saarbrücken, the capital of Saarland; 3. In the 19th-20th centuries persons of Georgian extraction and their European colleagues became interested in the study of the Georgian world and engaged in active translation work and publishing largely in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

Of the above-listed four principal languages *The Man in the Panther's Skin* by the great Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli was translated into German for the first time and printed in Dresden in 1889. The translation was made by Arthur Leist, a champion of Georgian culture. Later his translation was reprinted twice: in 1890 and 1903.

The Man in the Panther's Skin claimed the attention of German writers and translators both in the 19th and 20th centuries. Besides Leist, the following persons worked at various times on rendering Rustaveli's poetic genius in German: Bertha and Arthur Suttner (the 1880s; the translation is lost); Hugo Huppert (1955, Berlin); Martin Remané (fragments published in Berlin in 1947); Maya Pritwiz (Tbilisi, 1941-45; the translation not published); Hermann Buddensieg (1970-71, Berlin; 1976, Tbilisi); Ruth Neukomm (1974, Zurich); Nikoloz Janelidze and Lidia Pepe-Gedevanishvili (1984).

It is interesting to note that the French literary world presents a different picture. All the complete translations of the poem, published in French were made by non-French translators: in 1884 the poem was translated into French by Iona Meunargia (the translation is considered lost); in 1885, Tbilisi, Count A. Bobrinski's translation (under the pseudonym A. Borin); in 1938, Paris, Giorgi Gvazava's translation (in coauthorship with Marcel Paon); in 1964, Paris, Sergi Tsouladze's translation; in 1977, Tbilisi, translation by E. Orbeliani and S. Iordanishvili; in 1989, Moscow, translation by Gaston Bouatchidze; the French translator Rene Lafon translated only fragments of the poem (*Bedi Kartlisa*, v. 22-24, 1966). A prose translation of Rustaveli's poem was made by Brosset in 1828, but the translation was not published.

In 1900 Leist published a collection, *Georgische Dichter*, featuring the following 18th-19th-century writers: D. Guramishvili, A. Chavchavadze, V. Orbeliani, G. Orbeliani, N. Baratashvili, M. Gurieli, L. Razikashvili, I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, D. Megreli and I. Evdoshvili, and a few more less known authors.

Two original texts of Old Georgian ecclesiastical literature: *The Martyrdom of Evstate of Mtskheta* and Ioane Sabanisdze's *The Martyrdom of Abo Tbileli* were translated into German early in the 20th century.

The post-World War II period was particularly fruitful in this respect. Translations of mediaeval and 19th-century Georgian authors were issued in Berlin: Shota Rustaveli, Teimuraz I, Sulkhana-Saba Orbeliani, Vakhtang VI, A. Chavchavadze, G. Orbeliani, N. Baratashvili, I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, and others.

In the same period the works of almost all prominent modern Georgian writers were translated. Although all works of Georgian writers were not rendered in German, the best ones were made available to the German reader: poems, novels and short stories of G. Tabidze, M. Javakhishvili, K. Gamsakhurdia, P. Iashvili, T. Tabidze, Ch. Amirejibi, N. Dumbadze, M. Lebanidze and others were published in Berlin, Weimar, Leipzig and Jena.

Around the same time, translations of the works of the Georgian writers came out in Munich, Vienna and Zurich: A. Abasheli, K. Gamsakhurdia, M. Javakhishvili, I. Davitashvili, V. Gorgadze, L. Gotua, S. Gugunava, G. Leonidze, N. Lortkipanidze,

V. Gaprindashvili, K. Lortkipanidze, N. Dumbadze, and A. Mashashvili.

In 1978 a collection came out in Saarbrücken, featuring the poems of the following Georgian poets: G. Abashidze, I. Abashidze, P. Khalvashi, G. Dzneldze, G. Gegechkori, A. Kalandadze, M. Lebanidze, M. Machavariani, Sh. Nishnianidze, I. Noneshvili, M. Potskhishvili, T. Tchanturia, O. Chelidze, and O. Chiladze.

Old Georgian original hagiography has been translated more or less fully into Latin. Early in the 20th century Paul Peeters published Latin translations with notes in French. *The Life of Ioane and Ekvtime*, *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli*, *The Life of Serapion Zarzveli*, *The Passion of Shushanik*, and other major texts of original Georgian hagiography. In the 1980s many major texts of Byzantine church writings were translated from the Georgian into French, as well as several works of Georgian original theological literature. The works of 19th-century Georgian classics: N. Baratashvili, I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, and Vazha-Pshavela were translated into French at various times. There are relatively few translations of modern writers. In the 1950s Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's *The Right Hand of a Great Master* and Konstantine Lortkipanidze's *The Dawn of Kolkheti* were translated into French.

The translation of specimens of Georgian literature into English began in the 1860s, the first translations being *The Sermons of Bishop Gabriel* and Platon Ioseliani's *A Brief History of the Georgian Church*. Various church and secular texts were translated towards the end of the 19th century. The English translators brother and sister Wardrop and S. S. Malan flourished at this time. In the 20th century Georgian literature was translated by D. Lang, K. Vivian, R. Stevenson, D. Rayfield and others. In 1956 Lang published a collection of condensed translations of the martyrdoms and lives of Georgian saints, as well as both versions of the *Balavariani* into English. There are few English translations of modern authors. Of well-known Georgian writers only Galaktion Tabidze may be mentioned, whose ten poems in D. Rayfield's translation were issued in Tbilisi in 1975. His translation of Vazha Pshavela's *Aluda Ketelauri* (London 1983) should also be mentioned.

Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was translated into Italian twice. 19th-century Georgian literature is represented by N. Baratashvili's *The Steed*, I. Chavchavadze's short story *On the Gallows* and Vazha Pshavela's poems. Of 20th-century Georgian literature, individual poems of Galaktion Tabidze, Paolo Iashvili, Titsian Tabidze, Zh. Ghoghoberidze, and N. Chachava have been translated.

A general review of translations of works of Georgian literature shows that of Georgian writers, apart from Rustaveli, the martyrdoms and lives of saints are translated rather intensively, as well as the *Visramiani* and Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's *A Book of Wisdom and Lies*.

The translation of modern authors into German is of more systematic character.

European translations of Georgian literary texts, done at various periods, differ in literary style and purpose. To form a general idea of the diversity of these translations I shall discuss several of the English translations.

The greatest interest in European literature is evinced with regard to the unique monument of Georgian literature - Shota Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. It has been translated into almost all cultural languages of the world. Several translations of the poem have been made into French, Italian, German and English. Over the past century the poem seems to have been seen from different angles and assessed by different poetic criteria, as is evidenced by the recurrent interest of European translators in the poem.

Notably enough, each new translation of the poem takes account of the taste and poetic mood of contemporary European society. Thus, the French scholarly press welcomed new French poetic translations of Rustaveli, observing that, whereas in the 19th century a prose translation of such broad-range epic poetry was acceptable, this is hardly permissible for French literary taste of the second half of the present century (Bernard Outtier).

Application of various criteria to Rustaveli's poem is seen also in the interrelationship of the translations of the poem in different European languages. I shall try to discuss this with reference to the material of the English translations.

The first translation of the poem was made by Marjory Scott Wardrop who got interested in the Georgian world on reading her brother Oliver's book *The Kingdom of Georgia*.

We learn about Marjory's work on the translation from her brother's Preface to the first English edition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, noting that his sister had spent very much time on translating the poem. She started the translation in Kent (England) in 1891, completing the first draft on November 1, 1898 at Kerch. Later she amended the translation many times, continuing work on the translation till December 1909. However, She was never satisfied with the outcome, never considering it flawless. She estimated that at least ten more years were needed for the translation to assume its final shape. In Oliver Wardrop's view, the translator's aim was to render the work as literally as possible: "The English translation endeavours to present the author's ideas and expressions with such fidelity that it may be of use to those who wish to read the original"¹.

Marjory's translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* was issued several times. The first editor was Oliver Wardrop (London, 1912). The second in Moscow in 1938 by G. Orbeliani and S. Iordanishvili, with additions and amendments. In 1966 it was printed in Tbilisi in connection with the Rustaveli anniversary, with Oliver Wardrop's Introduction and 17th-century illustrations by Mamuka Tavakarashvili. In the same year the 1912 edition was reprinted in London. In 1977 it was issued in Moscow by Progress publishers, with illustrations by I. Toidze.

Vakhtang Eristavi also worked on a poetic translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, using a four-foot choree. The translation was not completed. In the opinion of G. Gachechiladze, the choree fully corresponds to the *high shairi*, which is used in English poetry and accepted by the English reader, being used by Edgar Poe in his *The Raven*, by Longfellow in his *Song of Hiawatha*, and so on².

¹ **O. Wardrop**, Preface to the English translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. (p.XIII of the 1912 English edition).

² **G. Gachechiladze**, A new English translation of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. In: *Literaturuli Sakartvelo*, 21 October, 1966 (in Georgian).

After Marjory Wardrop, for a long period there were no more attempts to translate Rustaveli's poem. In the 1960s the Georgian scholar and translator Venera Urushadze attempted a poetic translation of the poem. Working long on the original, she chose the appropriate metre. It is the metre that presents the greatest difficulty in translating this poem into a foreign language. Urushadze used the hexameter as "the most appropriate metre to render the elevated style and spirit of Rustaveli's poem"¹. Her translation was first published in Tbilisi in 1968. It was reprinted in 1971, 1979 and 1986.

In 1977 two new English translations came out: one by Katharine Vivian and the other by Robert Stevenson.

In the Introduction to Vivian's translation, Aleksandre Baramidze notes that this is not an exact, word for word translation, but an attempt to convey the content of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* with a view to its popularisation in the English-speaking world. In 1995 a second edition of the translation was issued by Adolf Hakkert in Amsterdam.

As far back as 1960, the well-known Kartvelologist Robert Stevenson published a paper entitled: *Towards Translating Rustaveli* in which he again posed the question of how should *The Man in the Panther's Skin* be translated, in prose or verse. He categorically rejects the view that it is possible to translate Rustaveli's poem in verse. He believes that the translator in verse will always follow a path that will allow to justify his work. A prose translation, however, "may of course sacrifice the entire beauty of form, instead it is capable of preserving the identity of the *shairi* wherever desirable, at the same time the content be preserved so as to justify his intention"².

A comparative study of the translations of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* shows that the translators face serious difficulties in rendering Weltanschauung statements and specific terms; finding exact dictionary equivalents is not enough here, for it sometimes places the translator in an awkward position. It is necessary to render

¹ **V. Urushadze**, Towards translating *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into English. In: *Literaturuli Sakartvelo*, 22 January, 1965 (in Georgian).

² **R. Stevenson**, Towards translating Rustaveli. In: "Rustaveli in World Literature", vol.I, p. 379 (in Georgian).

in English the connotation of one or another lexical unit. Actually, the translator of the poem becomes its commentator as well. A thorough knowledge of the latest research findings in Rustaveli Studies is of major importance in producing a high level translation. Of no less importance is the translator's insight, for on many occasions this quality is decisive in finding a skilful equivalent of a term of ambiguous meaning.

Translators of Rustaveli approach the rendering of *Weltanschauung* concepts in various ways. In comparison with all other translators, Wardrop adheres closest to the principle of precision. She a) seeks to choose the most precise polysemantic equivalent in English; b) adheres to Rustaveli's principle of "uttering a long discourse in few words"; c) takes into consideration the achievements of Rustavelology of her time and the prevalent view, without following the latter slavishly; d) often refers to the Bible in selecting the terminology. At the same time, some passages in her translation are interpreted in a specific way. There are cases of an erroneous understanding of the original text. The principle of precision, which distinguishes Wardrop's translation from the others, occasionally renders the English phrase controversial.

The specificity of Urushadze's translation lies in the translator's free treatment of the text, occasionally going beyond the poetic licence.

The latest two translations of Rustaveli are worth mentioning separately. The translators, Stevenson and Vivian, generally evince a somewhat simplified approach to translation. Nevertheless, more often than not they convey the sense of the original precisely. Another feature of these translations is their endeavour to render the text acceptable to the modern reader, preserving at the same time the colour and spirit of the original. At the same time the translators neglect difficult terms and statements, paying more attention to the plot and showing less interest in selecting precise equivalents for the terms.

Unlike the other translators, Wardrop tries to find exact equivalents to Rustaveli's metaphors in English. She avoids commenting them. Hence her metaphoric images may not be acceptable to the modern reader. Urushadze often shows unusual skill in rendering complex metaphors, occasionally fully or partially

rejecting metaphoric images. Stevenson prefers the method of commenting upon metaphors. From the poetic point of view this of course further impoverishes the translation. In this respect, Vivian treats the text more freely, frequently ignoring metaphors. It should be noted here that although Stevenson's English version sounds modern, he has chosen the right intonation. Vivian's translation is done in a peculiar style, the translator trying to make Rustaveli comprehensible and acceptable to the modern English reader.

The English reader may get the feel of the musical side of Rustaveli's language only through Urushadze's translation. To be sure, from this point of view, the translation is a far cry from the original. It should be said, however, that the translator succeeds in preserving at least one element of Rustaveli's musical language, viz. rhythm.

The study of the English translations of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* has shown that the translation of the poem develops through a translation from the formal principle of equivalence to that of dynamic equivalence. In the three translations made after Wardrop the principle of dynamic equivalence is increasingly gaining ground. This is especially felt in the last - Vivan's - translation, in which the translator's position is apparent in the very title: "a free rendering in prose". Nevertheless, it cannot be asserted that this or that translation has been done from beginning to end by adherence to some one principle. This is due to the poem not belonging to works easy to translate. Wardrop translated according to the principle of formal equivalence. Her precision goes to the length of her trying to choose - conformably to the neologisms of Rustaveli's poem - not equivalents containing their content, but almost identical expressions. Of course there are cases of deliberate rejection of the formal equivalence principle.

Wardrop's influence on Urushadze is considerable. At the same time, she tries to render the poem in verse, this pointing to the importance she attached to the formal side of the poem. However, being aware of the difficulties connected with the translation of Rustaveli's poem, she goes beyond the frame of formal equivalence and seeks to take the modern reader's interest into account.

Dynamic equivalents occur in large numbers in Stevenson's translation. He is so mindful of the educational level of the reader

that occasionally he ascribes to Rustaveli's characters features of European knights familiar to the reader.

Unlike Urushadze and Stevenson, Vivian goes farther in establishing a dynamic relationship between the text of the poem and the reader. This is especially clear in translating metaphors, which are often left out in her translation. There are passages in which the translator conveys the content of several quatrains in two sentences or changes a dialogue to indirect speech, the latter being, in her view, more advantageous to modern English.

Thus, the English translations of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* develop not along the path of their gradual simplification but conformably to a new aesthetic position, viz. bringing to the fore the reader's interests, modern norms and the translator's individual attitude to the text in hand.

Among the genres of church writings in Georgian literature hagiography is the richest. It is in this genre that the Georgians showed great originality by creating quite a few highly-literary works reflecting the martyrdoms and lives of saints. Georgian original hagiography is represented in English more or less fully. The collection *The Lives and Legends of Georgian Saints*, edited by David Lang, contains ten lives and martyrdoms.

The title of the book shows that we are dealing not only with a literary translation but with the translator's interpretation as well. The translations are made according to the principle of dynamic equivalence. Each text begins with a discussion of literary and theoretical questions: data on the author, when the work was written, what problems are posed in it, etc. The sequence of the texts does not follow the chronological principle. In the Introduction Lang writes: "Our aim here is to give readers in the West an impression of the history and ideals of the Georgian Church as revealed in the Lives of the Saints"¹. Thus, *The Life of St. Nino* is considered by Lang the most important work, hence its entry by him as the first text under the title, *St. Nino and the Conversion of Georgia*. Then follows an extract from Rufinus, entitled "On the Conversion of the Iberian People, brought about by a captive woman". Then comes a

¹ **D. M. Lang**, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints*, London 1956, p. 12.

translation of *The Life of St. Nino* - "from the Georgian Life of Saint Nino".

A scrutiny of the English text has shown that Lang's work clearly goes beyond the frame of a translation done on a popular level. Here are a few features: a) it is not an adapted translation; b) despite differences, it is basically adequate to the corresponding passages of the original; c) from a definite point of view, Lang's work is a peculiar redaction of this extremely interesting text.

In the principal part Lang bases his translation on Leonti Mroveli's redaction of *Nino's Life*, adopting as subtitle the title of the same redaction: "The Conversion of the King Mirian and of all Georgia with him, by our holy and blessed Mother, the Apostle Nino".

A collation of the original and the translation has shown that Lang condenses the translation not only at the expense of separate phrases but of a number of episodes as well: a) the most important part of Nino's biography is the story of her descent. Lang writes: "Once the process of elaboration and embroidering had begun, there was no limit to the fantasy of Nino's later pious biographers. This saintly woman, originally described as a simple slave girl, is now transformed into a niece of the Patriarch Juvenal of Jerusalem (who lived a full century after Nino's time) or in other variants into a Roman Princess"¹.

The view expressed here on the questionable kinship of Nino and Patriarch Juvenal does not prevent Lang from translating with considerable precision that part of the text which deals with the Patriarch Juvenal and Nino's childhood.

Speaking of the exaggeration of Nino's descent by her biographers, Lang says nothing about Zabulon's link with the story of the Conversion of the Franks, though he clearly considers the story to have been compiled to embroider the text. Perhaps that is why, he abstains from preserving the text in a translation meant for the Western reader.

One of the most interesting episodes: "The Ten Commandments" is not reflected in the translation. Lang seems to

¹ D. M. Lang, Op. cit., p. 14.

have considered this passage, too, to be a hagiographic cliché introduced for the purpose of embellishment.

Many of the miracles performed by St. Nino are not reflected in the translation: the healing of the Persian Prince, the fall of the Armazi and Zadeni mountains and the flood, turning into a symbol of the defeat of faithlessness in Kartli; the healing of the blind Jew; the healing of the youth Amazasp; the healing of the King's son; the raising of the dead youth; the granting of children to the childless.

It may be concluded from the foregoing that the translator avoids the passages which he does not consider an organic part of the text, on the one hand, and the series of miracles characteristic of hagiographic texts, on the other.

The question of reflecting symbolic images is worth noting. Lang takes care in translating symbolic images. Practically all symbols found in the Georgian text are retained in the English translation and adequate images are chosen with great precision.

The translation deliberately calls Nino a slave rather than a captive. At the same time, in translating the excerpt from Rufinus he speaks of a "captive woman", using the attribute in the title too. As to the use of the symbol of 'queen' in relation to Nino, the translator does this only at the end of the text. However, in the Georgian redactions Nino is already referred to as queen at her arrival in Kartli.

As noted above, Lang's translation is a kind of redaction of *Nino's Life*, being based on the four Georgian redactions but differing from them at the same time.

Lang's attitude to the oldest hagiographic text, *The Passion of St. Shushanik* is more cautious. His translation of the text is done with maximal precision. Yet, several points claim attention. Like all other texts, this translation is also adapted, mostly monologues and dialogues being omitted. Thus, Shushanik's prayer and the conversation of Iakob and Shushanik are omitted, Varsken's and Iakob's dialogues with the guard are also omitted; Jojik's dialogue with Shushanik and the blessing of Jojik and his family are abridged; and Shushanik's healing of a leprous woman is omitted. The omission of some passages leads to the loss of important details. Regrettably, there are such instances in Lang's translation. Some details pointing to Shushanik's astonishing fear of God and her

steadfastness are omitted. Without such details in the translation the reader will naturally find it difficult to gain a correct perception of the main character's image.

The Life of Grigol Khandzteli has the following title in the translation: "Gregory of Khandzta and Georgia's National Revival". From the outset this title shows how important it is for the translator to explain the essence of the work to the reader. A few points are noteworthy in the translation: 1) The portrait of the main character is not clearly defined by Lang's translation. The translator has omitted not only Grigol's spiritual experience, which naturally introduces some traits into the character's portrait, but such passages that give a direct description of the extraordinary personality. 2) The translator arranges the episodes selected not according to the original but according to his own judgement. 3) It is not clear from the translation that Grigol founded a large brotherhood, for the names of only some members of the brotherhood are mentioned.

The translation leaves out such personages as Febronia, Zenon, Epipane, and Matoi - all close companions of Grigol Khandzteli. The translator does not deem it necessary to reflect such major passages as Adarnerse's love, the story of Gabriel Dapanchuli and his family, the council of Javakheti, etc.

An analysis of Lang's translation of Georgian Lives of Saints and Martyrdoms from the viewpoint of content brings out many peculiarities. It should be noted, however, that the selected episodes are rendered with fair precision, while his free treatment of the composition of the texts is dictated by the aim of making the text maximally easy and understandable for the English reader.

Thus, in referring to translations of Georgian works into Western languages and in familiarising ourselves with Old Georgian literature it should be borne in mind that more often than not these translations are not exact correspondences of the originals. This is accounted for by the differing objectives of the translators. However, they largely meet the purpose set: acquainting the Western reader with Georgian literature and helping him to gain a general impression.

PART THREE

TOWARDS THE SCHOLARLY VALUE OF THE RESEARCH INTO GEORGIAN LITERATURE IN EUROPE

The chronological review of the research into Georgian literature in Europe, given in Part One of the present monograph, highlights two points. Firstly, European scholarship was rather late in paying attention to Georgian literature. This was noted by European Kartvelologists themselves. Thus, in 1951 Paul Peeters wrote that Western scholarship had long since left Georgian literature in the mesh of "scandalous oblivion"¹. The second point, clearly emerging from the cited review, is that over the past two centuries scholarly research into Georgian literary history was not a fortuitous and fragmentary activity for European scholars. It is a sphere of philological research that expands from generation to generation, the process being continuous. It is hard to overestimate this scholarly activity, for it primarily lies in the popularisation of Georgian literature, culture and, in general, the Georgian phenomenon. Beginning with European travellers, Theatine and Capuchin missionaries of the first half of the 16th century and ending with modern German and English Kartvelologists who publish special monographs on Georgian literature², European intellectuals have shown Georgian literature to be an inalienable part of European civilisation. This activity of Europeans was not due only to an exotic interest, nor was its outcome charity work alone, done for the benefit of the Georgian nation, expressed in the

¹ **P. Peeters**, *Recherches d'histoire et la philologie orientale*, t. I, Bruxelles 1951.

² **H.Fähnrich**, *Georgische Literatur*, Aachen. Shaker 1993. **D. Rayfield**, *The Literature of Georgia. A History*, Oxford 1994.

popularisation of Georgian literature. The activity of European Kartvelologists was directed primarily towards expanding Europe's literary horizon. Familiarisation with Georgian literature brought to Europe new problems and themes, a peculiar world of literary thinking, original literary types - close to Europeans, on the one hand, and rich in oriental emotionality, on the other. It is due to the high literary value of the centuries-old Georgian literature that numerous specimens of this literature have been translated into German, English and French. Suffice it to say that Georgian original hagiography has been translated into European languages (mainly by Paul Peeters and David Lang respectively into Latin and English). On the initiative of the Orthodox Church, Georgian original hagiographic texts have been adapted and translated into other European languages as well. Thus, in 1986, a collection, "Georgia's Saints" (Part One) was issued by the Parakliton Holy Monastery Press¹. It was compiled by Archimandrite Timotheos on the basis of Russian synaxaries. The volume contains sections on the saints of the Georgian Church: the Apostle-like Nino, Saint Shushanik, St. Ioane Zedazneli, St. Ketevan the Martyr. Several unique sources of theological literature, translated into or adapted in the Middle Ages in Georgian from Greek and Arabic (*The Wisdom of Balahvar*, *The Life of Iodasaph*, *The Capture of Jerusalem*, and the works of Hippolytus of Rome, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Maximus the Confessor, the Letters of Anthony the Great, etc.), sources of Georgian secular literature (*Amirandarejaniani*, *Visramiani*, *The Book of Wisdom and Lies*), 19th-century Georgian literature (Iliā Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha-Pshavela, Aleksandre Qazbegi), many works of 20th-century Georgian authors (largely into German). As for the acme of Georgian literature - Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* - it has been translated into almost all languages of Europe, many of them boasting several translations.

Special mention should be made of the translation of specimens of Georgian folklore into European languages and of the popularity these translations gained. Furthermore, Georgian fairy-

¹ +Arqim. TimojḂdou, <Agēoi tḂc Gewrgēac. +EkdḂseic ēer.,c MonḂc ParaklḂtou >WrwpḂc AttikḂc, 1986.

tales claimed early attention by their parallels with the mythos and folklore of European peoples. Thus in 1880 A. Tsagareli published a Russian translation of a Megrelian fairy-tale ("Sanartia tale") in St. Petersburg¹. Later M. Wardrop entered her English translation of the cited fairy-tale in her collection of Georgian folk tales². The Megrelian tale soon attracted the attention of European scholars. At the end of the 19th century two essays were published in Berlin: by Wolfgang Golther³ and Wladislaus Nehring⁴. The object of their discussion was the resemblance of the "Sanartia tale" with the *Nibelungenlied*. Thus, two motifs were discovered in the heroic adventures of Sanartia, which follow more or less exactly the episodes of Siegfried's heroic feats. The conclusions differed: Golther believed that the Georgian tale was of later origin and was based on Siegfried's adventures. Nehring did not rule out the migrant character of the subjects and more remote relations of Sanartia's adventurous episodes with the *Nibelungenlied*.

The main output of the Kartvelological work of Europeans is the scholarly significance of their research. It is hard to identify and discuss all the problems tackled by European researchers in the course of study of Georgian literature. I shall pay attention to a few points.

1. European scholarly research has highlighted the unique significance of Georgian theological writings for the study of mediaeval Christian culture in general, and for Byzantine Studies, in particular. The significance of Georgian theological writings for modern philological science may be stated thus: Georgian translations have preserved such specimens of Byzantine literature whose Greek originals are believed to be lost. Moreover, there are cases of the Georgian translations preserving works of Byzantine authors unknown by Greek sources. Georgian translations of Byzantine writings preserve the old redactions of the respective works. The point is that part of Byzantine writings was used in

¹ **A. Tsagareli**, Mingrelian Studies, St. Petersburg 1880, pp. 38-46 (in Russian).

² Georgian Folk Tales. Translated by M. Wardrop, London 1894.

³ **W. Golther**, Ein mingrelisches Siegfriedsmärchen. In: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte. N.F.13, 1899, S.46-50.

⁴ **W. Nehring**, Anklänge an das Nibelungenlied im mingrelischen Märchen? In: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte, N.F.13, 1899, S. 399-401.

church and monastic practice. Hence, the original redactions of these works were gradually modified over the centuries in line with the changes taking place in church and monastic practice. It was these amended and updated redactions that were copied and disseminated in the form of Greek manuscripts. Thus, many Byzantine works are preserved in Greek manuscripts only in later redactions, whereas Georgian manuscripts have largely preserved the redactions of these works of the time of their translation into Georgian. Georgian scribes rarely made any correction in the already translated works of the Church Fathers. This is why sources of Byzantine theological writings are more often than not preserved in Georgian translations in the old, original redactions, while Greek manuscripts provide later redactions of these works. This fact is highly important for the modern philological science which primarily seeks to establish the original, authentic form of mediaeval writings. The scholarly value of Georgian theological literature was brought to light in Korneli Kekelidze's works¹. This was also attended by work of foreign scholars and, which is most important, the introduction of the achievements of Georgian scholarship into European scholarly literature and their testing at European level of Byzantine studies. From this point of view attention should be focused on the following facts:

Interest in Old Georgian theological literature, in particular in translated Christian writings, is seen at the turn of the 20th century in the works of the Englishman F. Conybeare and the German A. Harnack. Fragments of *The Commentary on the Song of Songs* by Hippolytus of Rome, considered to have been lost in Byzantine Studies but discovered in Old Georgian MSS, were translated by N. Bonwetsch into German and M. Brière into French. The work of the Belgian P. Peeters and American R. Blake enhanced interest in research along these lines. M. Tarkhnishvili, J. Assfalg and G. Peradze translated into German and English the principal works of K. Kekelidze in which the significance of Old Georgian

¹ **K.Kekelidze**, Foreign authors in Old Georgian literature. In: *Studies*, V, Tbilisi 1957, pp. 3-114; *idem.*, Georgian translated hagiography, *Studies*, V, pp. 115-211; *Keimena*, vol.I (ed. by K. Kekelidze), Tbilisi 1918; *Keimena*, vol. II (ed. by K. Kekelidze), Tbilisi 1946.

translated literature for Byzantine Studies is shown most comprehensively. This created a firm foundation for a further development of European Kartvelology, on which the work of I. Molitor, G. Garitte, N. Birdsall, M. van Esbroeck, B. Outtier and other foreign Kartvelologists rests in their study of Old Georgian translated theological writings in relation to the Greek originals and in context with other mediaeval translations of these works.

In this respect, special mention should be made of the publication of the Georgian texts and Latin translations of unique specimens of Old Georgian Church literature in well-known series of Christian literature, viz. Robert Blake's publication of parts of Old Georgian biblical texts in the 1950s-1960s in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris. The foundation of a series of Georgian Christian literature (*Scriptores Iberici*) under the well-known *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain, Belgium) acquired major importance. Between 1950 and 1993, M. Tarkhnishvili, G. Garitte, M. van Esbroeck, J.-P. Mahé, and Ts. Kurtsikidze published in this series Georgian texts (with Latin or French translations) on Old Georgian liturgics, the *Typicon* of Grigol Bakurianisdze, the Jerusalem Great Lectionary, the Letters of St. Anthony, the *Life of Symeon Stylite*, the Capture of Jerusalem (*La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*), the *Life of St. Martha*, the Writings of Epiphanius of Cyprus, the Treatises of Hippolytus of Rome on David and Goliath, on the *Song of Songs*, on the Antichrist, the Cave of Treasures (*La Caverne des Trésors*), and *The Life of the Virgin* by Maximus the Confessor.

II. Over its fifteen-century history Georgian literature has made its contribution to the literary process of the neighbouring countries. Especially important from this viewpoint are Byzantine-Georgian literary contacts, for throughout the Middle Ages the Georgian world had close contacts with Byzantium, the latter setting the fashion to the world process of Christian thought in the early Middle Ages. Hence, the contribution of the Georgian world to the process of the formation and development of Byzantine literature points to the role of the Georgian world in European civilisation. From this point of view, the contribution of European Kartvelologists to the formation and argumentation of most important theories and hypotheses is very considerable.

1. In the first place, reference should be made to the problem of the origin of the Greek redaction of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, a masterpiece of mediaeval European literature. As noted above, according to one basic theory, current in Byzantinism, the work must have been translated from the Georgian into Greek by Euthymius the Athonite. This view was first advanced by the English scholar Frederick Conybeare. In 1896 he delivered a lecture on the theme: *The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend in Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures*, publishing it the same year.¹ He largely used the fragments of the *Wisdom of Balahvar*, translated by N. Marr into Russian, comparing them with the Armenian text. Concluding that the Georgian material is archaic, he adds that the work was translated from the Georgian into Greek by the Georgian monk Euthymius, flourishing in Greece. The work thence spread to Europe. Conybeare was the first to advance - albeit without scholarly argumentation - a view which subsequently turned into one of the principal theories on this cardinal issue in Byzantine Studies. At the same time it should be noted that the cited work of Conybeare stirred scholarly interest in the problem of the authorship of the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. This was followed by Marr's review on Conybeare's paper, later developing into a special study². The theory of the Georgian provenance of the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* via Georgian is argued most of all by European Kartvelologists. Invaluable in this respect was the paper published in the *Analecta Bollandiana* in 1931 by the Belgian Kartvelologist P. Peeters. It was only after this study that the cited theory gained a foothold in European Mediaeval Studies. The contribution of European scholars, D. Lang, F. Halkin, R. Blake, H. Musurillo, P. Devos, H. Grégoire and others is also very substantial at the second stage of the argumentation of this theory (following F. Dölger's study).

2. Another major problem of Byzantine-Georgian philology - known as that of the identification of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite with Peter the Iberian - was discussed by the European

¹ **F.C. Conybeare**, *The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend in the Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures*. In: *Folklore*, VII, June 1896, pp. 101-142.

² **N. Marr**, *Armenian-Georgian materials for the history of the "Edifying Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph"* In: *ZVORAO*, vol. XI, 1899, pp. 49-78 (in Russian).

mediaevalist Ernest Honigmann. In 1942 the Georgian scholar Shalva Nutsubidze, in his paper: *The mystery of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*¹ and in 1952 the Belgian scholar Ernest Honigmann, in his monograph *Peter the Iberian and the Works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*² independently of each other arrived at the same conclusion: The mysterious author of the so-called Areopagitic works which played a very important role in the development of philosophical thought - first in the Middle Ages and then in the period of the Renaissance, was the Georgian Prince Peter the Iberian, the well-known anchorite and Holy Father of the Byzantine Empire in the 5th century. This hypothesis is called the Nutsubidze-Honigmann hypothesis in Georgian scholarly circles, while in European scholarship it is known under the name of the Honigmann hypothesis.

The following are the basic arguments of this hypothesis: a) the Areopagitic works (*On the Divine Names, On the Heavenly Hierarchy, On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, On Mystical Theology*, and ten epistles) were not written by the Apostle Dionysius the Areopagite (pupil of Paul). They were composed in the second half of the 5th century, in the floruit of Peter the Iberian; b) these books became initially popular in the circle of Syrian Monophysites whose spiritual leader was Peter the Iberian; c) by his intelligence and erudition, as well as by the theological problems within the scope of his interests, Peter the Iberian clearly resembles the mysterious author of the Areopagitic corpus; d) in his writings, Dionysius the Areopagite often relies on his spiritual teacher Hierotheos. Peter the Iberian's teacher John the Laz led an hermitic life together with the former. John died on 4 October 465. This date, as ascertained by Honigmann, was - according to the tradition of the Syrian church - the day of the remembrance of Hierotheos, the teacher of Dionysius the Areopagite. Hence Hierotheos is identified with John the Laz, this giving ground for the identification of Dionysius the Areopagite with Peter the Iberian.

¹ **Sh.Nutsubidze**, The mystery of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. In: *enimkis moambe*, XIV, 1942 (in Russian).

² **E.Honigmann**, Pierre l' Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite, Bruxelles 1952.

Whereas European Byzantinists initially hailed this hypothesis as a great discovery, later they took a more sceptical view of it. The study by the German scholar Hieronymus Engberding gave rise to this scepticism.¹ He shifted the accent to the split between the Eastern and Western Christian churches, drawing attention to the fact that according to this theory, Peter the Iberian emerges as the author of the holy Areopagitic books. Now, this proved absolutely unacceptable to the world Chalcedonian creed. The fact seems also symptomatic that Rene Roques, the chief opponent of this theory in the 1960s, is particularly critical of Honigmann's thesis on the presence of several Monophysite statements in the Areopagitic corpus.²

In the present stage of research into this problem scholars adhering to the position of the traditional church tend to look for facts that would allow to bring the Areopagitic writings closer to the epoch of the Apostle Dionysius the Areopagite³. On the other hand, Kartvelologists draw attention to fresh facts that bring Peter the Iberian's sphere of interests close to the mysterious author of the Areopagitics⁴. In this context the European Kartvelologist Michel van Esbroeck's conclusion is noteworthy, according to which, towards the end of his life Peter the Iberian may have altered his religious stand in favour of the Chalcedonian creed, hence his thoughts were brought together in the form of the Areopagitic corpus under the authoritative name of the apostle - mainly in Orthodox rather than Monophysite circles.⁵

¹ **H. Engberding**, Kann Petrus der Iberer mit Dionysius Areopagita identifiziert werden? In: *Oriens Christianus*, Bd. 38, 1954, S. 68-95.

² **R. Roques**, Structures théologiques, Paris 1962.

³ **E. Chelidze**, One Source Concerning St. Dionysius the Areopagite. In: Questions of the History of the Georgian Church, Ecclesiastical Literature and Christian Art, Tbilisi 1998, pp. 419-425 (in Georgian).

⁴ **E. Khintibidze**, A New Argument toward the Identification of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite with Peter the Iberian. In: *Fifteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference*, Massachusetts at Amherst 1989.

⁵ **M. van Esbroeck**, Pierre l'Ibère et Denys l'Aréopagite. In: *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium in Kartvelian Studies*, Tbilisi 1993, pp. 169-177; Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite: *Honigmann's thesis revisited*. In: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, v. 59, Roma 1993, pp. 217-227.

III. Special mention should be made of the contribution of European Kartvelology to the study of Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and to the assignment of its proper place in the process of world literary thought. It should be noted from the start that it was not easy for European literary criticism to recognise *The Man in the Panther's Skin* as a masterpiece of world literature. This had its objective reasons. Rustaveli's name was in general unknown to Europe until the 19th century. His poem became more or less known to European literary criticism from the end of the 19th century (following the translations of Arthur Leist and Marjory Wardrop). Naturally enough, a translation fails to give an idea of the high literary skill and poetic world - most specific to Rustaveli's poetry. It also proved difficult for literary criticism to perceive in a mediaeval romance, composed against the background of oriental traditions, the mediaeval-Christian and Renaissance universal ideas that make for the uniqueness of Rustaveli's thought. That is why an underestimation of Rustaveli's poetic genius is obvious in the writings of some European literary critics. Occasionally this is not only felt but also the main idea of some essays devoted to *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Thus, e.g. in 1886, J. Mourier, a public education officer, published an essay on Rustaveli and his poem, first in Tbilisi, then in Paris in 1887, and in Brussels in 1910¹. Mourier's essay is devoid of scholarly value. It begins with Rustaveli's biography based on hearsay stories, ending with an equally gossipy rumour on the manuscripts of the poem having been thrown into the Mtkvari (Kura). But the important point is that the author does not conceal his negative attitude to the content and moral world of the poem. He wonders why the Georgians are so fond of Rustaveli and why they are trying to translate it into French - only to convince the French in the groundlessness of praising *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Mourier is irritated by the types of the poem: Tariel's derangement, Avtandil's "coldness and wile", Nestan's "perfidy", Patman's easy virtue. The author does not like

¹ Chota Roustaveli, Notice par **Mourier**, officier de l'instruction publique, Tiflis 1886; Chota Roustaveli, poète géorgien du XII^e siècle. Notice par **J. Mourier**, officier de l'instruction publique: *Journal Asiatique*, 1887, IX. **J. Mourier**, Chota Roustaveli, poète géorgien du XII^e siècle. 3^e édition, Bruxelles 1910.

the hyperbolised tone and oriental style of development of the subject. Thus, Mourier's views are subjective views formed by a European reader upon familiarisation with the content of *The Man in the Panther's Skin!* against the background of the 19th-century European novel. Mourier fails to view the poem from the position of a researcher-philologist; he does not consider mediaeval problems, is not familiar with the oriental poetic style, and so on. However, the first impression of the European reader upon acquainting himself with the content of the poem - until these impressions rose to the study of the poem according to the principle of historicism - could naturally not differ much from the impression just cited.

Mourier's views are not an absolute exception. Albeit more restrained, yet sceptical attitude to the lofty ideological and literary world of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is discernible in European literary criticism. The German scholar, J. Scherr was one of the first to enter an overview of Georgian culture into a course of the history of world literature¹. He mentions Rustaveli as a poet of Tamar's Royal Court. He created a romantic epic which, in Scherr's words, "should of course not be measured by a high standard".

Such comments on the Main idea or individual passages of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* cannot be explained as an unfavourable attitude to Rustaveli's work, as demonstrated by Oliver Wardrop, a great admirer of Rustaveli and the Georgian phenomenon, who - together with his sister Marjory - recorded his boundless esteem for *The Man in the Panther's Skin* with his entire literary and political activity. And in the draft of the speech he was invited to deliver at a special meeting at Sorbonne, organized in 1938 to mark the 750th anniversary of Rustaveli's poem, he wrote: "More than fifty years ago, on Saturday 19 February 1887, I saw the poet's portrait in the Monastery of the Holy Rood, near Jerusalem, little knowing how great a part he would play in my life, ignorant that I was to spend more time in reading his epic than I have given to

¹ **J. Scherr**, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, Stuttgart 1899, Teil 1, S. 92-102.

any other poem and that one of my kin would devote her life bringing his work to the knowledge of English readers”¹.

In his Preface – written in high literary taste and brilliant knowledge of the poem – to the first edition of Marjory’s rendering of the epic *Oliver* states that there are at least two points wherein he (Rustaveli) might seem likely to lack the approval of British readers: “his hyperbolic descriptions of grief at separation, and his hackneyed astronomic similes for human beauty.”² However, the English critic notes that such emotional excesses find parallels in Western, particularly English literature as late as the eighteenth century. The researcher observes that several incidents in the poem are repugnant, namely Avtandil’s murder of the Chachnagir, his intrigue with Patman, and Tariel’s assassination of the son of Khvarazmsha, though, he believes, “they are necessary to the working out of the plot”³. Two points are significant in Wardrop’s highly interesting observation: he judges from the position of his contemporary British readers, and Rustaveli’s hyperbolic style is in general characteristic of old literature.

Other foreign researchers do not explain their comments on Rustaveli’s work. The German researcher F. Bork⁴ - like the Frenchman Mourier - assesses *The Man in the Panther's Skin* from the position of his contemporary literary style. He disapproves of the idealisation of the characters of the poem instead of taking them from real life. In his opinion, Rustaveli is not a reasoning poet, hence one must not look for profound ideas in the poem.

Before long there occurred a change in the attitude of European researchers in their attitude to Rustaveli. Changes are noticeable even within the writings of an individual researcher. Thus, the well-known Kartvelologist G. Deeters gradually gained an insight into the literary and ideological world of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. In 1937, in discussing Sh. Nutsubidze's monograph

¹ Wardrop MS. d.39 in the Bodleian Library; see D. M. Lang, *Georgian Studies in Oxford*. – Oxford Slavonic Papers, VI, 1955, p. 136.

² **The Man in the Panther's Skin**, A close rendering from the Georgian attempted by Marjory Scott Wardrop, London, 1912, p. VII.

³ **Idem**, p. VIII.

⁴ **F. Bork**, *Das georgische Volk*, Leipzig 1915.

*On Rustaveli's Weltanschauung*¹, Deeters perceives the greatness of Rustaveli's poetry, but he prefers to be moderate in assessing it, and is against referring to it alongside the greatest representatives of world literature, in particular Dante. In his view the form of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and its expressive side is very high, the poem's ideological world falls short. This view - though in somewhat modified form - was repeated by the researcher in 1958 in discussing Hugo Huppert's German translation of Rustaveli's poem². In his last essay on Georgian literature³, published in 1963, he already speaks of the national epic or Rustaveli's poem - without the above reservations.

European Kartvelology did succeed in gaining a proper insight into Rustaveli's great poetic art, and its correct interpretation and appraisal. It is noteworthy that in European Kartvelology the foreign translators of Rustaveli's poem were the first to perceive Rustaveli's high poetic world and to give a correct assessment of his considerable ideological and literary work. This was done by those who studied the poem in the original and attempted to render it in their own native language. In this respect highly important was the contribution made by Marrie Brosset, the first European student of Rustaveli's poem. As noted above, the French Kartvelologist made a scholarly study of Rustavelological problems, considering *The Man in the Panther's Skin* one of the best works of European literature. The work of Bertha and Arthur Suttner on the translation of the text of Rustaveli's poem was followed by Arthur Suttner's essay "A Foreigner's View on *The Man in the Panther's Skin*"⁴. The researcher considers Rustaveli the initiator of the romance genre in Europe. In the Foreword to the first edition of his translation of the poem into German, Arthur Leist (Dresden 1889) draws a parallel with Rustaveli's contemporary European chivalrous epic, viz. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, noting that Rustaveli is

¹ **G. Deeters**, Nuzubidze, Schalva, Rust'welis msoplmkhedvelobisatwis. In: *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1937, 8/9, S. 544-548.

² **G. Deeters**, Rustaweli Schota, Der Recke im Tigerfell, Altgeorgisches Poem. Deutsche Nachdichtung von Hugo Huppert. Berlin 1955. In: *Orientalisches Literaturzeitung*, 1958, 1/2, S. 57-60.

³ **G. Deeters**, Armenisch und die Kaukasischen Sprachen, S. 129-155.

⁴ *Kavkaz* newspaper, N265, 266, 277, 1884.

relatively more free from the religious constraints. Marjory Wardrop, the first translator of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into English, also had a clear conception of the greatness of Rustaveli's poetry. It should be noted that she, together with her brother Oliver, inspired the Russian poet Konstantin Balmont with the universal ideals of Rustaveli's poetry so as to have him make a brilliant translation of the poem, supplementing it with a remarkable study, *The Great Italians and Rustaveli* in which scholarly parallels were drawn for the first time between Rustaveli's work and the great representatives of the Italian Renaissance¹.

Both the depth of the ideological and content aspect of the poem and its highly artistic skill are duly appreciated in A. Baumgartner's two-volume *History of World Literature* (1897)². In his *Literature of the Christian East*³ A. Baumstark states clearly that Rustaveli has no equal in the Christian literature of the entire East. The German researcher R. Miller-Budnitskaya attempts to discuss Rustaveli's work against the background of the world literary process. In her study, *Shota Rustaveli - A Georgian Dante*, she declares the epoch of Rustaveli that of the Georgian Renaissance⁴. R. Bleichsteiner considers *The Man in the Panther's Skin* not only a masterpiece of Georgian literature but also a great phenomenon in world literature⁵. Hugo Huppert, the translator of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* into German, calls Rustaveli a classic of the Early Renaissance period⁶.

The English literary historian Morris Bowra marked a new stage in European Kartvelology with regard to the study of

¹ **K. Balmont**, *The Great Italians and Rustaveli*. In: **Shota Rustaveli**. *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, a Georgian poem of the 12th century, Paris 1933, ppXXIII-XXV (in Russian).

² **A. Baumgartner**, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, Bd. 1 Freiburg 1897, S. 256-268.

³ **A. Baumstark**, *Die georgische Literatur*. In: *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, Bd, 2, Berlin 1911.

⁴ **R. Miller-Budnitskaya**, *Shota Rustaveli - a Georgian Dante*. In: *Literaturnyi sovremennik*, 1937, N12, pp. 238-249 (in Russian). The German version of this paper: *Schota Rustaweli - Der Dichter der georgischen Renaissance*. In: *Internationale Literatur*, Deutsche Blätter, 1 Heft. 1938, Moskau, S. 86-100.

⁵ **R. Bleichsteiner**, *Georgien gestern und heute*, Wien 1950.

⁶ **H. Huppert**, *Rustaweli und sein Poem*. Geleitwort des Übersetzers. In: *Schota Rustaweli, Der Recke im Tigerfell*, Berlin 1955, S. 5-35.

Rustaveli's work. He studied Rustaveli in the context of Eastern and Western literatures - against the background of masterpieces of world literature¹. In this he continued and specified K. Karst's earlier attempts who looked for parallels of Rustaveli in the works of Ariosto and Tasso, Dante, Bonaventura, and Wolfram von Eschenbach². In his paper Stevenson accentuated Rustaveli's originality, largely in relation to Ariosto³.

The status of the research into *The Man in the Panther's Skin* in Georgia finds consistent reflection in foreign Rustvelological literature. Thus, for example, Bowra's study of Rustaveli's poem is based on Sh. Nutsubidze's view, who saw in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* Neoplatonic trends and pantheistic elements. The discussion of Rustvelological problems in French literary criticism in connection with S. Tsouladze's translation of the poem (Paris, 1966) and his study *Connaissance de Roustaveli* (1966) published in Tbilisi, was mainly based on Nutsubidze's views⁴. The new tendencies arising in Georgian Rustvelological literature in the 1960s appeared in foreign literature on Rustaveli in the late '70s, viz. the relation of the roots of Rustaveli's Weltanschauung to the development of 12th-century scholastic thought. References to Christian and Islamic culture, on the one hand, and to theological and classical thought, on the other, were noticed. This novel stand is seen well in Cyril Toumanoff's Introduction to Teimuraz Bagrationi's booklet on Shota Rustaveli published in New York in 1968⁵.

A new trend seems to be developing in modern Western literary criticism, viz. Rustaveli's poetry is discussed not only by foreign scholars interested in Georgian literature but, in general, by researchers interested in the European literary process. Notable in this respect is G. K. Beynen's paper on *Shota Rustaveli and the*

¹ **M. Bowra**, *Inspiration and Poetry*, London 1955, pp. 45-67.

² **K. Karst**, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne*, Paris 1934.

³ **R. Stevenson**, Rust'aveli and Ariosto. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, vol. VI-VII, 1959, pp. 26-28.

⁴ **Sh. Nutsubidze**, *The Work of Rustaveli*, Tbilisi 1958 (In Russian).

⁵ **C. Toumanoff**, Introduction. In: Teimuraz Bagrationi, *Shota Rustaveli, a man in his time and eight hundred years later*, New York 1968, pp. 5-23.

*Structure of Courtly Love*¹, presented at the Eighth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Belfast 1995. In Beynen's view, the courtly love structure of Rustaveli's poem, which, in his words, "is undoubtedly a masterpiece"², corresponds to the highest stage of development of courtly literature.

The assessment of Rustaveli's work continues in an ascending line in the latest European literary criticism. In this respect Donald Rayfield's *The Literature of Georgia. A History* (Oxford, 1994) merits special notice. In general, this book is one of the best attempts at conceptualising and discussing the centuries-old process of Georgian literature by a foreigner. Many sections of the monograph are interesting from various points of view. Superb among them is the review of Georgian church lyrics or hymnography. Along with an original treatment of the rich Georgian church poetry, the author presents his own poetic translation of the best examples of Georgian original hymnography. The English author's discussion of the problems of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* is fairly comprehensive, covering the subject of the poem, the theoretical views presented in the Prologue, the nuances of the author's Weltanschauung and religious stance, and the literary sources. He notes also that "Rustaveli's outspokenly fresh ideas set him apart from his sources", and so on. At the same time, it is symptomatic that Rayfield, too, continues the tendency, characteristic of European literary criticism, to separate *The Man in the Panther's Skin* from the recognised masterpieces of world literature. The author speaks of "the eccentricities of plotting and thinking and the specifically personal and national traits of this eclectic work", concluding that "*The Knight in the Panther's Skin* is first and foremost a national, rather than an international masterpiece, for it lacks the driving conviction on the human predicament that informs Dante or Shakespeare. Yet Rustaveli's poem is for Georgians what Dante's *Divina Commedia* is for Italians"³. It is hard to contradict the English Kartvelologist's

¹ **G. Koolemans Beynen**, Shota Rustaveli and the Structure of Courtly Love. In: *The Court and Cultural Diversity*. Cambridge (USA) 1997, pp. 239-248.

² *Ibidem*, p. 239.

³ **D. Rayfield**, *The Literature of Georgia. A History*, p. 81.

statement on the eclecticism of Rustaveli's poem and the eccentricities of its plotting, or to accept it, for the researcher does not discuss and argue his views. On another plane, Rayfield's view on *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* not being an international masterpiece because "it lacks the driving conviction on the human predicament that informs Dante and Shakespeare" is an original idea which, I believe, calls for a comment. The question may be asked whether it is right to turn the philosophical thesis of human predicament, valid per se, into a cornerstone of universal literary thought and to reduce the highest criterion of assessing the literary creations of all epochs, religious positions and philosophical orientations to the presence or absence of this thesis? Does not a search for such a position in a literary work of all times stem from our subjective attitudes to the world's literary masterpieces? Or is it not, at best, an assessment of the thinking of past epochs from the standpoint of our contemporary epoch? Can mankind's striving to unravel the mystery of being/non-being be reduced to this single thesis? Can optimism, struggle against adversity, striving to salvage life, beauty and love be excluded from the highest ideals of human existence? A negative answer to these questions would seem to come from a subjective factor, being unacceptable from the viewpoint of the wide spectrum of the multi-faceted human existence. Neither would it be right to fail to notice human predicament in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and to reduce the entire philosophical credo of the poem to blind optimism. In Rustaveli's poem the traditional ideal - the eternity of the good and graceful Creator, the belief in the immortality of the soul and its merger with the infinite deity in the other world - blends harmoniously, without contradictions, with the perception of the reality value of this world, conviction of the beauty of the human world, and trust in human reason¹. This harmony is not eclecticism but a manifestation of the world view of a definite period in European civilisation - of a world view that may be most optimal from the position of human predicament. Yet, I think the European Kartvelologist's thesis on *The Man in the Panther's Skin* being "first

¹ See **E. Khintibidze**, *The Mediaeval and the Renaissance Trends in The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Tbilisi 1993, pp. 8-22 (in Georgian).

and foremost a national, rather than an international masterpiece" is correct from a definite point of view. The point is that beginning with the second half of the 13th century the cutting-off of Georgia from the mainline of the process of European civilisation closed Rustaveli's lofty poetic and ideological Weltanschauung in the circumscribed Georgian world. Unlike Dante and Shakespeare, Rustaveli did not influence the development of European thought over the centuries. Georgian social, philosophical and literary thought proper drew on *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. In this respect Rustaveli's poem is indeed a national literary masterpiece.

IV. The centuries-old Georgian literary process was seen in the true perspective in European literary criticism. European researchers identified the main trends of Georgian literature both in the early period and in the 19th and 20th centuries. Two principal directions are shown to dominate, one creating a rich Christian church literature in the wake of Byzantine literature and the other - secular literature on the pattern of oriental literature. It is also demonstrated - largely by literary historians of the second half of the 20th century - that Rustaveli combines these two literary trends. The advent of European literary trends into the Georgian literary process of the 18th and the 19th centuries is perceived. The diversity of 20th-century Georgian literature is noticed correctly, especially in German literary criticism, as highlighted above in the section: "Study of Georgian Literature in German-speaking Countries".

Attention to Georgian literature in European literary criticism was first drawn largely by Armenists. This made for the discussion of Georgian literature mainly with Armenian literature or in the same context. The entry of G. Deeters' good monographic study of Georgian literature in a book entitled: *Armenisch und die kaukasischen Sprachen* (1963) seems to have been a crude vestige of this outmoded tradition. This imperfect conception of the typological character of Georgian literature was correctly noted by O. Hanser in pointing to the originality of these two literatures with respect to each other. He observes that these two peoples have different languages, characters and literatures, this difference taking shape in

the 12th century, with the formation of Georgian secular literature, which is alien to the Armenian world¹.

It has been noted in European literary criticism that the relation of Georgian literature to its Persian counterpart in the 16th-18th centuries was not literary influence in the sense of imitation. Persian literature is a source of great poetic inspiration for its Georgian counterpart - roughly the same as it was for Goethe. Similarly to Goethe, who gave German verse form to specimens of Persian poetry in his *West-East Divan*, Georgian poets rendered in their own language the high poetic world of Firdousi and Nizami².

Highly important typological parallels of Georgian literature with European literature have been identified in European literary criticism (A. Endler, R. Miller-Budnitskaya).

In his book *Two Narratives on Georgia*, published in Germany in 1976, Endler perceives typological parallels with European literature in the work of the 18th-century Georgian poet David Guramishvili, namely with the 15th-century French poet François Villon and the 18th-century German lyric poet Johan Christian Günter.

European literary critics detect interesting parallels between the mythos thinking of Vazha-Pshavela and the spirit of German and Scandinavian epic poems. Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied*, who drinks the dragon's blood, is shown in parallel with Vazha-Pshavela's snake-eating Mindia. Note is taken of the monumentality of Vazha-Pshavela's poetic scenes, with parallels to be found in the Gilgamesh epic and Homer's *Iliad*³.

V. The review of Georgian literature - both by Georgian and foreign researchers - was from the beginning characterised by one specificity: emphasis was shifted to mediaeval Georgian literature or old Georgian literature, according to the periodization adopted in Georgian terminology. This is understandable, for it was in the Middle Ages that the great literature was created that is an inseparable part of European civilisation, contributing to the shaping

¹ O. Hanser, *Weltgeschichte der Literatur*, Bd. 2. Leipzig 1910, S. 466-469.

² A. Bartels, *Einführung in die Weltliteratur*, Bd. 3, München 1913, S. 95.

³ R. Miller-Budnitskaya, Vazha-Pshavela. In: *Zvezda*, 1937, N5, pp. 147-161; "Kleines Literaturisches Lexikon", Bd. 1, Bern und München 1968, S. 630.

of this civilisation, and on the other hand, being of definite value for the study of mediaeval and Renaissance thought. However, old Georgian literature - to be sure, is the longest and most important part of Georgian mediaeval literature, yet it still is only a part of it. In the 19th century a literature of other trends and directions came into being, called new Georgian literature. By its specificity 20th century Georgian literature is also identified and called in traditional terminology the newest Georgian literature. 19th century European researchers studied Georgian literature largely through the consultation and help of Georgian intellectuals of the period. Hence in reviews of Georgian literature of the period, albeit sketchily and in passing, there still was reference to Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Rapiel Eristavi, Grigol Orbeliani, Nikoloz Baratashvili and others, i.e. 19th century Georgian literature. The attitude of European researchers to Georgian literature had some hindering modes. The new generation of European researchers into Georgian literature had not inherited research into the newest Georgian literature. Along with this, Soviet ideology, which was hostile to its European counterpart, stood between Europe and Georgia. European culture and scholarship was pronounced to be a superstructure of the capitalist system, while Soviet culture, including Georgian was considered socialist. This not only rendered difficult the study of the modern Georgian literary process by European researchers but it helped create a peculiar, sour and non-sympathetic attitude among European intellectuals to 20th-century Georgian literature as part of the literature of the Soviet peoples. To the credit of European Kartvelologists, it must be said that they tackled these obstacles successfully, turning the study of the newest Georgian literature into one line of European literary criticism.

Interest in 20th-century Georgian literature in Europe arose on familiarisation with Grigol Robakidze's work. An outstanding representative of 20th-century Georgian literature, he had emigrated to Germany where he attracted the attention of European intellectuals by his novel *The Snake Slough*, translated into German and published three times, with Stefan Zweig's introduction. The edition, attended by advertisements and reviews, won great success. In 1932 Robakidze published his *Caucasian Novellas* and *Megi, a Georgian Woman*. The translation of other specimens of 20th-

century Georgian literature began in the late 1940s. The newest Georgian literature - both prose and poetry - was translated intensively from the 1970s. (See the section above: "Study of Georgian Literature in German-speaking Countries").

Scholarly research into 20th-century Georgian literature in Europe commenced later. Initially Western literary criticism showed interest in the works of Georgian symbolists and the life and work of the *Blue Horns*. This interest had some political colouring, for in the late 30s Georgian symbolists (Paolo Iashvili, Titsian Tabidze, Valerian Gaprindashvili), fell victim to the political repressions of the Soviet Cheka ("Secret Police"). Attention to this fact gradually grew, through the effort of the Georgian immigration. Research into the works of the Georgian *Blue Horns* was raised to the highest level by the Italian Kartvelologist Luigi Magarotto. Georgian avant-gardism, futurism, the political manifesto of the *Blue Horns* - these are the topics whose treatment at the seminar of Iranian, Uralo-Altaic and Caucasian Studies of the University of Venice has exceeded in depth their study in Georgia proper.¹

One important novelty, brought by European Kartvelologists to the treatment of the Georgian literary process is, on the one hand, the study of this literature in the context of Soviet literature: parallels of individual passages, themes and images of 20th-century Georgian literature with the literary works of outstanding representatives of Soviet literature, and on the other, the study of vast literary canvases of this period by drawing typological parallels with European literature. Especially prominent in this respect are the studies of the Belgian Kartvelologist Goldi Blankoff-Scarr and the German Kartvelologist Steffi Chotiwari-Jünger².

¹ See "L' avanguardia a Tiflis (a cura di L. Magarotto, M. Marzaduzi, G. Pagani Cesa), Venezia 1982. **L. Magarotto**, Avanguardia e classicismo nelle poesie di G. T'abidze. In: *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, Venezia 1978, n 3, pp. 17-37; Avanguardia e Folklore. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, Paris 1982, XL, pp. 344-352; Il Manifesti della rivista *Cisperi Q'anc'ebi*. In: *Bedi Kartlisa*, Paris 1984, XLII, pp. 361-367; Il futurismo in Georgia. In: *Europa Orientalis*, 1991, X, 429-436.

² **S. Chotiwari-Jünger**, Bilden der alten Kolchis. In: *Georgica*, H.4, Jena -Tbilisi 1981, S. 27-28; "Arsena aus Marabda" und "Stepan Razin". In: *Georgica*, H.8, Jena-Tbilisi 1985, S. 30-33.

Goldi Blankoff-Scarr's monograph, *Four Great Writers of the Multinational Soviet Literature: Chingiz Aitmatov, Nodar Dumbadze, Chabua Amirejibi, Fazil Iskander* (Brussels 1987) brings to the fore new problems, new themes, and new nuances. Interesting parallels are noticed in the prose of Chingiz Aitmatov and Nodar Dumbadze: similarity in the writers' biographies, detection of autobiographical elements in their works, similar statement of questions, and similar logic of facts. The researcher finds new motifs and nuances in the works of the Georgian writers: mythological basis and astral symbolism. Philosophical significance and moral plan are important both with Dumbadze and Amirejibi. However, the tone of their works is not didactic. An interesting implication is noticed in Amirejibi's *Data Tutashkhia*: evil is not destroyed - it must be reincarnated into good.

Chotiwari-Jünger transfers parallels of 20th-century Georgian prose from the single cycle of Soviet literature to the level of European literature as well. The researcher notes the close link of 20th-century Georgian prose with the overall process of Soviet literature, without overlooking the specificity apparent in individual specimens of Georgian literature. Of significance in this respect are the parallels of M. Javakhishvili's *Arsena Marabdeli* with A. Chapigin's *Stepan Razin*, and the specific historicism of O. Chiladze's novels *A Man Was Walking along the Road* and *Everyone Who Finds Me*. These novels are written on historical themes, but they are not historical novels (this tendency occurs in other specimens of Soviet literature as well)¹. Chotiwari-Jünger broadens the cycle of parallels of Georgian literature with sources of Soviet literature: M. Javakhishvili's *Kvachi Kvachantiradze* and Ilf and Petrov's *Ostap Bender*, N. Dumbadze's *Law of Eternity* and Ch. Aitmatov's *And the Day Was Longer than Life*, Dumbadze's *I Can See the Sun* and Aitmatov's *Early Seagulls*. As just noted, Chotiwari-Jünger looks for parallels of 20th-century Georgian prose in European literature too: the aristocratic background of the love

¹ **S.Chotiwari-Jünger**, Nachwort. In: M. Dshawachischwili, *Das fürstliche Leben des Kwatschi K.*, Berlin 1986; Sozialphilosophische Aussage und künstlerische Besonderheiten in N. Dumbadzes "Das Gesetz der Ewigkeit". In: *Georgica*, H. 6, Jena-Tbilisi 1983.

drama of Tarash Emkhvari and Tamar Sharvashidze and the tragedy of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. M. Javakhishvili's *Kvachi Kvachantiradze* and Thomas Mann's *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull*.¹

Thus, at the turn of the 1990s the study of Georgian literature in Europe is at an absolutely new threshold. Today the subject of European Kartvelology is no longer popularisation of Georgian literature or reviewing it. European researchers study problems of Georgian literature, pose new questions and advance new theories.

Kartvelological research in Europe did not follow a planned course, being in some way haphazard. As the foregoing review has shown, interest in Georgian literature was caused by various interests in different circles of European intellectuals. At one time it aimed at continuing missionary work, at another it stemmed from interests of Byzantine or Armenian studies. Occasionally this literature was the object of curiosity of Europeans carried away by the exoticism of Asian countries, and sometimes it formed the sphere of political and ideological interests of Sovietologists. Thus, research into Georgian literature was not only work done for scholarly pursuits alone. And when the interest of researchers was indeed scholarly, it was rarely Kartvelological proper. Georgian literature served as supplementary material to other disciplines. Under the circumstances, European research into Georgian literature is not always competent or exempt from serious errors. Furthermore, some European scholars, doing research into their immediate subject with more or less precise scholarly competence, evinces a dilettantish attitude to the Georgian material that has come within the sphere of their interest (corresponding to the level of treatment of these problems in their contemporary European literature). In such cases it is not only the concrete error committed that is deplorable but predominantly the impact such work has on research in the subsequent period. The point is that a scholar competent in his own field through his authority lends weight to an incompetent view expressed in Kartvelology. Thus, for example in 1887 the French

¹ **S.Chotiwari-Jünger**, Die Gestaltung tragischer Schicksale in K. Gamsachurdias Roman "Die Entführung des Mondes." In: *Georgica*, H. 5, Jena-Tbilisi 1982, S. 49-54; Nachwort. In: M. Dshawachischwili...

Byzantinist H. Zotenberg engaged in serious research into the authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Having studied 16 lemmata of the Greek manuscripts on the creation of the work, he questioned the extant traditional view stemming from the Greek and Latin editions according to which John of Damascus was considered the author of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. In one of the Greek MSS studied he found an indication on Euthymius the Athonite having translated this work into Greek. Through his incompetence in the field of Kartvelology, the scholar brushed aside this evidence, believing it to have been a forgery of the Georgian monks on Mount Athos. Zotenberg's arguments were as follows: How could Euthymius have created through translation such a brilliant specimen of Byzantine hagiography early in the 11th century? By this time Georgian literature could hardly have existed, hence how could *Barlaam and Ioasaph* have come into being? Besides, how could the Georgian monk Euthymius have known such Greek as to create a masterpiece of Byzantine literature? Zotenberg's arguments are beneath criticism, for by the early 11th century Georgian literature boasted a history of six centuries; a brilliant rich and original hagiography and hymnography had already been created in this language; major writings in all spheres of theology had been translated into Georgian not only from the Greek but from languages of the Christian East as well; *The Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph*, translated from the Arabic, in two different redactions at that, existed in Georgian in the 10th century. Neither was the charge brought against Euthymius regarding the knowledge of the Greek language based on fact. Euthymius had perfect command of Greek. Moreover, according to his hagiographer, he learned Greek in Constantinople or he had been taken to the Imperial Court in Constantinople for education in such early age that he forgot Georgian and spoke only Greek. Further, he never left Greece since. The ignorance of Georgian sources was pointed out by such eminent philologists as V. Rosen¹ and N. Marr². However, a view once established in Byzantine studies, despite its

¹ See: *Zapiski vost. otd. russkogo arkheol. obshch.*, v. 3, issue 1, St. Petersburg 1887.

² See: *Zapiski vost. otd. russkogo arkheol. obshch.*, v. 3, issue 1, St. Petersburg 1888.

gross incompetence, has almost to the present day influenced researchers in the field.

Thus, many erroneous views have been expressed and taken root in European literary criticism with regard to Georgian literature. Some of these views may be accidental, but part of them have taken shape in scholarly circles with reputation and standing. Hence, I believe it necessary to single out several critical views expressed in European literary criticism and dwell on them in some detail.

1. In the first place the views expressed in European scholarly literature on Georgian-Armenian literary contacts call for observation and assessment.

The origin of Kartvelology in Western countries is closely linked with Armenian studies. J. A. Saint-Martin, a well-known Armenist and one of the founders of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris, is credited with arousing interest in the young Marie Brosset in Georgian literature and indicating Kartvelological problems to him in the *Société Asiatique*. The well-known English researcher of Georgian literature Frederick Conybeare was an Armenist. That the inception and development of Armenology in Europe chronologically preceded the commencement of Kartvelology was quite natural. The Armenian diaspora was strong enough in Europe and generally worldwide. Armenistics as a scientific discipline arose in the Armenian diaspora. The rich Armenian historical and church literature soon found a patron in Europe - largely in the shape of wealthy Armenian merchants and the Armenian church. Old Armenian historical works were published early, their significance becoming apparent not only for Armenian history and Armenian Christianity but generally for Byzantine and Oriental studies as well. Armenian sources naturally led European researchers to the Georgian world too. On the other hand, mediaeval Armenian sources may in some cases not be objective with regard to the Georgian world. This was due to the split between the Armenian and Georgian churches and the polemic between them that lasted for centuries, developing into cultural competition. In the 5th century the Chalcedonian and Monophysite Christological polemic split the Christian world in two. The Monophysite East gradually yielded its positions. The Monophysite union was for some time maintained by the churches of Armenia, Kartli (Iberia) and Ethiopia, and the

Christian community of Persia. This was facilitated by the policy of the Persian Royal Court, directed against the Byzantine Empire. Early in the 7th century the Kartlian church finally left the Monophysitic bloc. Kyrion, the Catholicos of Kartli, established contacts with the Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Byzantine Emperor, granting more freedom and gradually, priority to the Chalcedonian faction existing in Kartli. By doing this Kyrion initiated an absolutely new era in Georgia's political and church history: Kartli, which was politically in the sphere of Iran's influence, was thereby taken out of Iran's control and it became linked to the West - Byzantium and Rome; Georgian Christianity was set on the road of development of the world Christian thought, and the two divided Georgian churches - those of Kartli and Egrisi - were united. Kyrion called on the Armenian church to take an analogous step, which was followed by a polemic between Kyrion and the Armenian church. The polemic continued, shifting to the Persian Royal Court. The church council, convened in Persia, naturally supported Armenian Christianity. Some two decades later the Byzantine-Persian wars started, and after the conclusion of a peace treaty the Georgian church firmly adhered to world Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, Armenia remaining on positions of Monophysite Christology. This happened in the first half of the 7th century. The polemic between the Georgian and Armenian churches did not end - on the contrary, it grew bitterer, developing into mutual denunciation and, occasionally, slander. This ecclesiastical confrontation was followed by cultural rivalry, at times attended by falsification of historical facts - especially after a large part of Armenia joined the Georgian state in the early 12th century. This enhanced the interest of Armenian historians to assert their contribution to the Georgian state and culture. This historical process resulted in the Georgian and Armenian historical sources occasionally being tendentious with regard to each other and unreliable.

It was impossible to anticipate this at the first stage of European Oriental Studies. Armenian historical sources were accepted at face value by European Armenian studies too, and hence, by European Kartvelology as well. This was compounded by the fact that at the initial stage of their work European researchers

had informants on questions of the Georgian language and literature. Sometimes Armenians served as their advisers (as noted above, G. Adler and F. Alter had informants). Naturally enough, Armenian informants supplied European researchers with information about the Georgian language, culture and history available to them by Armenian sources in whose authenticity they had no doubt. In his *Anthologie de l'Amour Asiatique*¹, the French researcher Adolf Thalasso speaks of the influence of Armenian poetry on Georgian classic poetry(?!). In the section on Armenian poetry, the author makes special reference to his close friend in Paris - the Armenian poet Arshag Tchobanian.

Another nuance should be borne in mind. As already noted, the treatment of some questions in European Kartvelological literature was based on Armenian sources. Such solution of problems posed gradually developed into a tradition. Georgian sources brought to light later, or the stand of Georgian scholars towards correcting the state of affairs were readily explained as tendentiousness of the above Georgian-Armenian polemic.

Be that as it may, I believe a few errors have been made by European researchers in connection with Georgian-Armenian cultural-literary contacts, which seem to stand in need of comment.

1. Occasionally, curious reports or views on questions of our present interest may be found in European scholarly literature. Thus, for example, one may come across a statement to the effect that the Georgian language is derived from or is similar to Armenian,² or that Georgian literature is part of Armenian literature,³ Georgian poetry stems from Armenian, and Georgian metrics resembles Armenian.⁴ I do not think it worth looking for the origins of these casual ideas. As is known, Georgian does not belong to the Indo-European family of languages, while Armenian does. Nor can one speak about any serious contacts of Georgian poetry with Armenian. Beginning with the 12th century a brilliant secular poetry was

¹ **A. Thalasso**, *Anthologie de l'Amour Asiatique*, Paris 1907, pp. 201-204.

² [**F. et V. Freygangs**], *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Géorgie...*, Hamburg 1816, p.110.

³ **P. Wiegler**, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, Wien 1914, S.127.

⁴ **A. Thalasso**, *Anthologie de l'Amour Asiatique*.

created in Georgian whose like is generally absent in Mediaeval Armenia.

2. Of the erroneous conceptions in the sphere of Armenian-Georgian literary relations, current in European scholarly literature, the problem of the origin of the Georgian alphabet stands most in need of comment and interpretation.

The theory on the origin of the Georgian alphabet from Armenian is based on an Armenian historical source: Koryun's work *The Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz*. The latter was the enlightener of the Armenians. He is credited with the creation of the Armenian alphabet early in the 5th century. According to Koryun, after creating the Armenian alphabet Mesrop went to Iberia and Albania, creating alphabets for the peoples of these countries. *The Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz*, being an important historical source, early claimed the attention of Armenists. Then it entered the sphere of palaeographers' interests, and from the inception of Kartvelology in Europe Mesrop-Mashtotz was proclaimed the creator of the Georgian alphabet. This theory was shared in Georgia too, viz. it occurs in the first, 1923, edition of K. Kekelidze's *History of Georgian Literature*. This story naturally recurs not only in the narratives of European travellers about Georgia but also in European Kartvelological literature, and generally, in histories of literature.¹

At the present level of Kartvelology the theory of the Armenian provenance of the Georgian alphabet is considered a past stage. Scholarly examination and rejection of this theory began with Ivane Javakhishvili's monograph, *Georgian Palaeography* (1926). Today the evidence found in Koryun's work is rejected on the basis of the following arguments:

a) Koryun's evidence on the origin of the Georgian alphabet is unknown to Georgian historical writings and Georgian sources. Furthermore, by tradition, documented in the *Life of the Kings* of the 11th-century Georgian annalist Leonti Mroveli, the Georgian alphabet was created in the 3rd century B.C., in the reign of King

¹ See e.g.: **A. Baumgartner**, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, S.256; **A. Baumstark**, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, Bd. 2, S. 99-110; **G. Prampolini**, *La Letteratura Georgiana*. In: *Storia della letteratura universale*, II, Torino 1949, pp.506-527; **J. Assfalg**, *Die Literaturen der Welt in ihrer mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferung*, Zurich 1964, S.139-143.

Parnavaz. Archaeological excavations conducted in the 1980s point to the acceptance of this version of the creation of the Georgian alphabet in Georgia as far back as the 6th century. A column discovered in Eastern Georgia has the Georgian alphabet carved on it, with the indication of the date, 284 B.C., coinciding with the reign of Parnavaz in Kartli and probably pointing to the time of creation of the alphabet.

b) Koryun's evidence on the creation of the Georgian alphabet is not supported by Armenian historical literature. Thus, nothing is said about the creation of the Georgian alphabet by Mashtots in Armenian historical sources that are based on the *Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz* and narrate about Mesrop's activities: Lazarus (or pseudo-Lazarus) Parpetsi, The Anonymous Chronographer (7th cent.), Ukhtanes (10th cent.).

c) The report on the origin of the Georgian alphabet occurs only in the last chapter of the *Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz*. The principal part of the work describes Mesrop-Mashtotz as the creator of the Armenian alphabet. Hence, the last chapter of *The Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz* may be a later supplement to Koryun's work, reflective of the Armenian-Georgian ecclesiastical polemic and rivalry (the oldest manuscript of the Armenian text of *The Life of Mesrop-Mashtotz* dates from the 13th century).

d) Besides similarity, the Georgian and Armenian alphabets manifest essential differences as well, expressed both in the sequence of the letters (the alphabetic type of two different periods is seen in the order of the two alphabets) as well as in the graphic system of the letters¹.

e) To date pre-Cristian Georgian inscriptions have come to light, in particular, several fragments of a Georgian inscription recently discovered on the Nekresi city site. According to a tentative assumption of the discoverer (L. Chilashvili), the fragments may be dated to the 2nd century A.D.²

¹ For a detailed discussion of the present status of the study of the problem of the origin of the Georgian alphabet see: **E. Khintibidze**, *Georgian-Byzantine Literary Contacts*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 74-89.

² **L. Chilashvili**, A Pre-Christian Georgian Inscription (from Nekresi). In: *The Kartvelologist (Bulletin of Georgian Studies)*, N 7, 2000.

3. The next important question, also standing in need of comment of the same type, is the relation of the Georgian biblical texts to their Armenian counterparts. F. Alter was the first foreign researcher to touch upon the question of the oldest translation of the Georgian Bible. In his well-known monograph on Georgian literature, published in Vienna in 1798, he compared the Georgian biblical text with the Armenian, Greek and Slavonic texts. Alter concluded that the Georgian Bible was translated from the Greek Septuagint and then amended according to the Slavonic text. It should be noted here that the scholar must have had the 1743 Moscow edition of the Georgian Bible, which was indeed amended according to the Slavonic text in the process of preparation for printing. The provenance of the Georgian Bible from the Greek Septuagint was supported by Brosset in the 1820s¹. Much has been said since then around the Georgian Bible. European researchers, I. Molitor, N. Birdsall, and others work successfully on these problems. The view has gradually gained ground in Western encyclopaedic and referential literature according to which the Georgian Bible must have derived from its Armenian counterpart. This is the stand taken by A. Baumstark in his essay *Georgian Literature*², published in 1911, and generally in histories of world literatures and encyclopaedias³. The dependence of the Georgian Bible on the Septuagint was questioned in the specialist literature too. It is indicated that only a trace of the Septuagint is felt in the Georgian Bible because the latter was originally translated from the Armenian.

The thesis of the derivation of the Georgian Bible from the Armenian took shape in the 19th century (A. Tsagareli, D. Bakradze). An attempt at a scholarly argumentation of this view belongs to N. Marr⁴. The main thrust of this argumentation is the

¹ **M. Brosset**, Notice sur la Bible géorgienne, imprimée à Moscou en 1742: *Nouv. Journal Asiatique*, 1828, t. II, pp. 42-50.

² **A. Baumstark**, Die georgische Literatur.

³ **G. Deeters**, Letteratura Georgiana. In: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, t. XVI, Roma, 1932, p. 644; **G.R. Castellino**, Letteratura Georgiana: Storia Della Letteratura D' Oriente, Milano 1969, pp. 447-448.

⁴ **N. Marr**, Notes on the texts of Scripture in the old translations of the Armenians and Georgians. In: *Khristianskii vostok*, v, II, v, III, v. IV (in Russian).

presence in the Georgian Bible of Armenian forms of proper names, Armenian words and phrases, and Armenian textual variants. Subsequent observation of the Georgian biblical texts puts in doubt the above conclusion. The point is that Armenian words are occasionally found in the Georgian when they are absent in corresponding paragraphs of the Armenian Bible. In general, the bulk of Armenisms in the Georgian biblical texts falls to words of common usage in Armenian and Georgian, or on Armenisms established in that period in the Georgian language. Alongside this numerous Graecisms are observable in Georgian. Resolution of the problem calls for an in-depth philological analysis. The oldest redactions of the Georgian, Armenian, Syriac and Greek biblical texts should first be established and then collated. The research should involve each biblical book separately, for biblical books were not translated into Georgian all at one time, nor could they have all been translated from a single language. Such study of Old Georgian biblical texts has been started by the collaborators of the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. The texts studied to date point to the derivation of the Georgian and Armenian biblical texts from various redactions, viz. the Georgian text is largely inclined to Lucian's redaction, and the Armenian to that of Origen.

The Armenian trace is indeed noticeable in Georgian biblical books, but the time of this trace has to be determined. Some researchers follow a rather simplified road of reasoning: after the Georgian-Armenian ecclesiastical split Georgians would not amend biblical texts according to the Armenian, hence the Armenian trace is original. But is the period of the Georgian-Armenian church union (the beginning of the 6th century) the stage of the creation of Georgian biblical texts? Should it not be assumed that by this time the Georgian biblical texts had already been translated and that bringing them close to Armenian occurred later? This is suggested by the following: a) biblical texts in Georgian existed early in the 5th century. This is attested both by Georgian and foreign sources: Leonti Mroveli's *The Life of the Kings*, John Rufus' *The Life of Peter the Iberian*; b) following the rapprochement of the Georgian and Russian churches, Georgian biblical texts were amended according to the Slavonic Bible (18th century). Following the

establishment of relations of the Georgian church with its Byzantine counterpart (7th-11th centuries), the Georgian biblical texts were repeatedly amended and specified according to the Greek original. In the period of the Armenian-Georgian church unity the available Georgian biblical texts are likely to have been redacted according to the Armenian; c) modern philological research into the Georgian *Mravaltavis* ('Ascetic and homiletic collections') and other liturgical materials points to their derivation from early, occasionally 3rd-century, Jerusalem redactions. The original redactions of the Georgian biblical texts cannot have been confined to the period of the Georgian-Armenian church unity; d) the view of mediaeval Georgian churchmen on this issue should also be taken into consideration. A clear answer to this is provided by Giorgi Mtsire, a well-known 11th-century Georgian hagiographer and author of *The Life of Giorgi the Hagiorite*. He points out unequivocally that originally the Georgian biblical books (The Scriptures), as well as the Christian faith, were true and right and connected with the Greek: "Thus, although from the beginning we had true and genuine Scriptures and faith, but our country was far away from the land of Greece. And among us were sown... the seeds of the Armenians... and we had some books translated by them. For such reasons God's grace looked upon our people and raised for us a new Chrysostom - our Holy Father Euthymius. And like a thirteenth Apostle he cleansed our country of the above-mentioned weeds with many translations of the Holy Scriptures"¹; e) among the extant manuscripts specimens of the oldest stage (first half of the 5th century) of Georgian translated theological literature have been brought to light (viz. by Severian of Gabala's *Hexaemeron*). As demonstrated by a special study, the cited translation made from the Greek is absolutely free from Armenisms from the lexicoterminological point of view². Terminology and language constructions, common with Armenian, become established in old

¹ **Giorgi Mtsire**, *The Life of Giorgi the Hagiorite*. In: *Sources of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*. Book II, Tbilisi 1967, pp 123-124 (in Georgian).

² **E. Chelidze**, *Old Georgian Theological Terminology*, I, Tbilisi 1996 (in Georgian).

Georgian literary language in the subsequent stage (second half of the 5th century).¹

Thus, the Armenian trace, found in some books of the Georgian Bible, is not necessarily accountable for by translation from the Armenian. More probably it may be indicative of the rapprochement of the Georgian and Armenian biblical texts, or the amendment of the Georgian text according to the Armenian, being connected with the period of the Armenian-Georgian church unity.

4) The evidence of some European authors on the common saint of the Georgian and the Armenian churches, Shushanik, and the first Georgian original hagiographic work: Iakob the Priest's *The Passion of Shushanik*, call for some comment.

Volume XII of *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* contains Paolo Ananyan's article on St. Shushanik.² The author refers to the saint only by her name established in the Armenian Church - Suzana. The fact is disregarded that Shushanik is not only a saint of the Armenian church but of the Georgian church as well. Nor is her feast day according to the Georgian church calendar indicated. There is no mention of the Georgian hagiographic work *The Passion of St. Shushanik*.

More important is the erroneous view expressed by the well-known Kartvelologist Paul Peeters on the relationship of the Georgian and Armenian redactions in his study *Saint Shushanik, an Armenian-Georgian Martyr*, published with a Latin translation of the Georgian text³. In the researcher's view, the extant text of *The Passion of Shushanik* does not belong to St. Shushanik's contemporary Iakob. The following is his conception of the origin of the Armenian and Georgian redactions of this hagiographic work: in order to prove that Shushanik was a Georgian saint after the Georgian-Armenian ecclesiastical split (7th century), the Georgians wrote an hagiographic work, *The Passion of Shushanik*, which was

¹ Hence, the view is obviously wrong according to which initially Georgians translated not from the Greek but from Syriac and Armenian (see e. g. **G.Deeters**, Georgia. Letteratura. In: EI Treccani, 16,1932, pp 644-645).

² *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XII, Roma 1969, p.76.

³ **P. Peeters**, S. Šoušanik, martyre en Arméno-Géorgie. In: "*Analecta Bollandiana*", t. 53, 1935, fasc. 1-2, pp. 5-48; fasc. 3-4, pp. 245-307 (in Georgian).

soon lost. That is why it failed to be reflected in old liturgical texts. In response to this the Armenians too wrote *The Passion of Shushanik* (using the Georgian work) in order to prove the Armenian origin of Shushanik. The Armenian redaction gained currency. It was even abridged for use in church, giving rise to an abridged Armenian redaction which was translated into Georgian in *ca* 940. After this, in order to offset the short redaction translated from the Armenian, the Georgians wrote *The Passion of Shushanik*, surviving under the name of Iakob. This reasoning is built on a misunderstanding. *The Passion of Shushanik* is known to old Georgian liturgical, historical and literary works¹. The interrelationship of the Georgian and Armenian redactions of *The Passion* have been studied in Georgian scholarship textually and in the area of historical and ecclesiastical relations². It has been established that the extant long redaction of *The Passion* was written by St. Shushanik's priest Iakob in 475-484. On this basis, after the Armenian-Georgian ecclesiastical split, the Armenian long redaction of the *Passion* was written in Armenian, which was later followed by a short synaxarial redaction. The latter was translated into Georgian. The precedence of the long Georgian redaction is proved by the following: a) In contrast to the Armenian, the Georgian has preserved chronological, geographical and everyday life details whose later inclusion in a text translated from the Armenian was not likely, while their deletion in translating from the Georgian into Armenian is admissible. b) In comparison with the Georgian, the Armenian redaction contains more extended polemic with the Georgian church and assertion of Shushanik's Armenian origin, reflecting the situation following the Armenian-Georgian split. The Georgian redaction shows no sign of polemic with the Armenian church. On the contrary, the Armenian descent of Shushanik is clearly indicated, reflecting the situation of Armenian-Georgian church unity. c) By its style and composition the Georgian redaction corresponds to the early stage (4th-6th cent.) of the development of

¹ **K. Kekelidze**, *History of Georgian Literature*, v.I, p. 120 (in Georgian).

² See **Iakob Tsurtaveli**, *The Passion of St. Shushanik* (Georgian and Armenian texts edited with a study, versions, vocabulary and indexes by **Ilia Abuladze**), Tbilisi 1938 (in Georgian).

Byzantine hagiography¹, while the Armenian redaction, deleting daily life details and including long prayers, shows signs of later-stage hagiographic style.

II. In discussing Georgian literature errors occur in European literary criticism, part of which doubtless calls for correction.

In the first place it should be noted that in histories of world literature issued at the turn of the 20th century the type of Georgian literature is in general interpreted wrongly. In J. Scherr's *Illustrated History of World Literature* Georgian literature is considered in the chapter devoted to Turkish literature². Incidentally, Armenian literature too is discussed in the same chapter. As indicated above, in one history of world literature Georgian literature is considered to be part of Armenian literature (P. Wiegler). These odd cases, beyond criticism today, may be accounted for. In the former case, the author must have used old and wrong evidence on the political geography of Asia Minor, so as to consider Georgia and Armenia regions of Turkey. In the latter case the author must have been under the influence of erroneous views formed at the initial stage of interest in Georgia arising in the circle of Armenists.

Popular reviews of Georgian literature are known in Europe, containing gross errors not only in reviewing the literary process and in interpreting individual problems. Such in the first place is F. N. Fink's "Modern Culture" in whose section "Oriental Literatures" we find a review of Georgian literature³. Being fairly popular, the book was reprinted in 1925 and it was used by many interested in Georgian literature. Unfortunately, the author had very meagre information about Georgian writers and wrong conception of the Georgian literary process and, which is most important, he committed hard-to-explain factual errors. He names works of Georgian literature of the 12th-16th centuries whose titles are unknown to Georgian literature at all⁴.

Another typical shortcoming occurs in reviews of Georgian literature by foreign researchers. This refers to the study of modern

¹ E. Khintibidze, *Georgian-Byzantine Literary Contacts*, pp. 89-100.

² J. Scherr, *Georgische Literatur*. In: *Illustrierte Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, I, Stuttgart 1899, S. 92-102.

³ F. N. Fink, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, t.1, S. 299-311.

⁴ See K. Kekelidze, *History of Georgian Literature*, vol.I, p. 26 (in Georgian).

Georgian writers, with various tendencies coming to the fore. At times the foreign researcher selects Georgian writers for study according to his own liking, occasionally stemming from personal acquaintance rather than the literary value of the writer's production. There are cases of foreign researchers coming under the influence of a review of Georgian literature of the Soviet period written under the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which was a rather common occurrence in both Russian and Georgian histories of literature and encyclopaedias. There is one more point to be borne in mind. More often than not, researchers of Soviet Georgian literature were advised in writing their reviews by the secretariats or relevant departments of the Union of Writers of the Soviet Union or Georgia's Union of Writers. These consultations were often tendentious. In sum, in many a review of 20th-century Georgian literature, found in European encyclopaedias and scholarly literature, Georgian writers are not represented according to the literary value of their work. At any rate, in reviewing Georgian poetry, the accents are often misplaced to the extent that in some histories of literature and encyclopaedias in which the works of many modern poets are reviewed, and others named, there is no mention of Galaktion Tabidze, the greatest representative of 20th-century Georgian poetry. This is the case with the Italian Encyclopaedia in which the article on Georgian literature is authored by the well-known Kartvelologist G. Deeters¹; G. Prampolini's *Universal History of Literature*², G. Castellino's *History of Oriental Literature*³, etc.

III. European Kartvelological literature has one more peculiar flaw. The achievements of Georgian scholarship are reflected in it with great difficulty and considerable delay. This is unfortunate for the additional reason that the centuries-old Georgian literature in general, and some periods in particular, viz. Georgian theological writings, Rustaveli's *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and some other representatives of Georgian literature, have been studied in Georgian literary criticism at a fairly high scholarly level. As seen above, due to its inconsistent development, European Kartvelology

¹ G. Deeters, Georgia. Letterature. In: EI, 16, pp. 644-645.

² G. Prampolini, Storia della letteratura universale, II, Torino 1949, pp. 509-527.

³ G. Castellino, Storia della letteratura d'Oriente, I, Milano 1969, pp. 447-468.

falls far behind the level of Georgian scholarship proper. Nevertheless, in considering key problems of Georgian literature European scholarship does not base itself properly on Kartvelology. There are many reasons for this, among which some are objective: the language barrier, unavailability of scholarly literature. However, subjective reasons are more important: occasionally foreign scholars do not trust Georgian scholars inwardly - on the one hand, doubting their competence as alumni or collaborators of the Soviet scholarly school, and, on the other, for their tendentiousness, as Georgians, in their attitude to Kartvelological problems. These subjective factors are not groundless. In different countries and periods scholarship has had, with more or less intensity, fellow-travelling charlatans and dilettantes, the Soviet period probably forming a fertile soil for this. Patriotic tendentiousness too is characteristic of all branches of science and scholarship, particularly branches of national trend. Neither are Georgian scholars immune from this malady. However, it is impermissible to ascribe the former or latter shortcoming to all Georgian scholars. Georgian scholarship has always had and still has a highly professional elite of impeccable scholarly ethics, whose competence and objectivity should not be questioned. European Kartvelology does acknowledge and refer to this elite of Georgian scholars, but this is done with considerable delay. The situation is more difficult in European non-Kartvelological literature in which some Kartvelological problems are discussed. This too has its justification. The points of contact of mediaeval Georgian literature and, generally, culture, with Byzantine and European culture is still the object of future study. Scholarly research into these questions commenced several decades ago. The belated interest of European scholarship in Georgian sources, and a certain distrust of Georgian sources, the reasons of which were indicated above, created a reactive mistrust in Georgian scholarship with regard to its European counterpart. This led to the contacts between European and Georgian scholars on problems common to Kartvelology and Byzantine Studies to start with a polemic¹. Unfortunately, it was

¹ Deeters' polemic with Nutsbidze over questions of Rustaveli's world view: **G. Deeters, Nutsbidze Sch.** Rust'welis msoplmkhedwelobisatwis. In: *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1937, 8/9, S. 544-548; and the polemic of Nutsbidze and

against the background of this polemic that Nutsbidze presented European scholarship with the crucial problems of Kartvelology: the identification of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite with Peter the Iberian, the authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, and problems of the Georgian Renaissance. European scholarship naturally did not place trust in Nutsbidze, a scholar of great erudition, deep insight and broad range, on the one hand, and a researcher of polemic style, weak philological argumentation and lover of volatile hypotheses. And, which is most deplorable, mistrust towards Nutsbidze's method of research was extended to the problems posed by him and to the entire Kartvelological science. This too is one of the reasons of a certain scepticism apparent in Byzantine Studies over the past decades towards the research of Georgian scholars. This is clearly noticeable in the new hypotheses put forward in Byzantine Studies in the 1980s on the authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Unfortunately, in this case, the above-cited reasons of distrust for Kartvelological research hampers not only the research into problems of Georgian literature in Europe but also the solution of one crucial problem, and generally the level of European mediaeval studies. Hence, attention should be focused on this question.

In 1988 Alexander Kazhdan's paper was published in Amsterdam on the authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*¹, advancing a new hypothesis on the identity of the author of this Greek romance highly popular in mediaeval Europe. Calling his assumption a "shadowy hypothesis", the researcher does not try to argue it. Therefore, it could have been overlooked and left to rest as one among the many other "shadowy hypotheses" on this issue. However, the new hypothesis has superseded two scientifically argued views of Peeters² and Dölger¹, taking their place in the newly

Dölger over questions of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*: **Sh. Nutsbidze**, Towards the Origin of the Greek Romance *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, Tbilisi 1956 (in Russian); **F. Dölger** (review of Nutsbidze's book). In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, B. 50, 1957, S. 519.

¹ **A. Kazhdan**, Where, when and by whom was the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* not written. In: Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. WIRTH zum 60. vol. II, 1988, p. 1187-1209.

² **P. Peeters**, La premiere traduction latine de *Barlaam et Joasaph* et son original grec. In: *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XLIX, fasc. III et IV, 1931.

published three-volume Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium², whose editor-in-chief is Kazhdan himself. On the other hand, Kazhdan's paper is a typical example of the polemic tone of a Georgian researcher (in the present case, of Simon Qaukhchishvili) occasionally irritating a foreign scholar³, throwing him into another extreme of dismissing the entire Kartvelological literature on the issue with simple notes. As a result, with his methodology, the European researcher finds himself almost a century behind in the study of the problem. I shall discuss the question in some detail.

Several, methodologically distinct stages are identifiable in Byzantinism and Kartvelology in the history of the authorship of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. At the initial stage, an attempt was made to determine the author of the work according to its lemma. Thus, this Byzantine romance starts with the statement to the effect that it is an edifying story about Barlaam and Ioasaph, brought to the Holy City from the inner country of Ethiopia by the honourable and respected John, a monk of the Monastery of St. Sabas. The attempt to determine the author of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* started from the identification of the John named in the lemma in 13th-century Greek and Latin manuscripts (John of Sinai, John of Tabennisi, John of Damascus). The version of John of Damascus' authorship triumphs, and the first Latin and Greek editions of the work establish John of Damascus as the author of the work. This method of research was adopted in the first scholarly study (H. Zotenberg, 1887, Paris), written on this subject. Rejecting John Damascene's authorship, Zotenberg expressed the view that a 7th-century unknown monk John of St. Sabas must have been the author of the work. The next stage of research into the problem commenced with P. Peeters' paper (*Analecta Bollandiana*, 1931). Accent was shifted not to the identification of the John named in the lemma (in the opinion of researchers, one should not look for the author of the work in this John but the narrator of the story who had returned from the East, or the person who brought the book) but to the critical consideration of

¹ F. Dölger, *Der Griechische Barlaam-Roman ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos*, 1953.

² The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, I, New York, Oxford 1991, p. 256.

³ A. Kazhdan, *op. cit.*, p. 1187.

the extant oldest Greek, Latin and Georgian reports on the origin of this work; the study of the tradition of the Greek manuscripts of the work; the trace of the work in mediaeval literature, and the establishment of the names of the saints, Barlaam and Ioasaph in the calendar of the Greek church and in the synaxaries. Such research resulted in the acknowledgement of the Georgian monk Euthymius the Athonite as the author of the work. A new dimension to the study of the problem was introduced by F. Dölger (1953). Undertaking a study of the sources of the Greek text of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, he ascertained that, with its polemic and dogmatic passages, the work rests extensively on Byzantine theology - predominantly on John Damascene. This was followed again by the pronouncement of John Damascene as the author. The subsequent stage in the study of the problem was marked by a collation of the Greek, Georgian and Arabic redactions of *BI* with one another. The point is that these three languages have preserved three interconnected versions of *BI*, and such collation has shown the Greek redaction of *BI* to be a paraphrase of the Georgian version, while, for its part, the Georgian redaction is based on the Arabic text¹, this again tilting the scale in favour of Euthymius the Athonite.

To revert to Kazhdan's above-cited paper, whose author, bypassing the entire scholarly literature on this subject, again attempted to identify the John named in the lemma of the work. In his view, it was a 9th-century unknown monk, John of St. Sabas, who may be the monk John - a person of Leontius' *Life of Stephen of St. Sabas*, the narrator of interesting stories in the monastery². By his methodology, the researcher remains at the 19th-century level. The mediaeval copyists were more consistent in their perspicacity in considering the "John bringer of the story", mentioned in the lemma, as the author of the work, identifying him with well-known Byzantine writers named John (John of Sinai, John of Damascus). Now, the modern researcher-Byzantinist chose for the author of the work not some known writer John but a certain monk John who may

¹ **D. Gimaret**, *Le Livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsf selon la version arabe ismaélienne*, Genève-Paris 1971; **E. Khintibidze**, *Concerning the Relationship of the Georgian and Greek Versions of *Barlaam and Ioasaph**, Paris 1976.

² **A. Kazhdan**, *op. cit.*, p. 1206.

not be a writer or even an historical person, for he is only a character of an hagiographic work. More interesting for our present topic is that the disregard of Kartvelological scholarly literature is one cause of this step backward in Byzantinism.

Kartvelology is one important field of the modern Humanities. One part of problems considered in it is closely linked with Byzantinism, general linguistics, Oriental Studies, European Renaissance culture, art study and, generally, many important spheres of European civilisation. Hence, disregard of the achievements of Kartvelological science in general points to a low, non-modern level of research. European researchers have made a significant contribution to the creation of this high level of Kartvelology, which, I believe, has been shown well in the present monograph with the example of the study of Georgian literature in Europe.

In the present monograph European research into Georgian literature is largely restricted to the early 1990s. Nevertheless, I believe it should be noted that it was precisely since the cited period that interest in Georgia has grown, her culture and, particularly, literature. The break-up of the former Soviet Union, the grave political processes occurring in the Caucasus, the gaining of independence by Georgia, the development of the country along the path of European democracy aroused the interest of broader strata of European society in Georgia. The country's past, its history and culture turned into a sphere of a more thorough study. As noted above, European Kartvelologists publish special monographs on Georgian literature. General features of this literature are being brought to light and assessed by foreigner's eyes. To be more concrete about Kartvelological research into Georgian literature I shall dwell on the paper by the English Kartvelologist Donald Rayfield: *Strengths and Weaknesses of Georgian Literature* published in Amsterdam in 1997¹.

Donald Rayfield is a connoisseur of Georgian literature. A sometime student of Tbilisi State University, he is at present Professor of Russian and Georgian Studies at the University of London. As noted above, in 1994 he published a monograph at

¹ In *Georgica*, 2 (Amsterdam), June, 1997, pp. 3-9.

Oxford: *The Literature of Georgia*. The paper cited above, is designed to give the European reader a compact idea about the centuries-old Georgian literature, outlining the general features of this literature from his own standpoint.

Prof. Rayfield devotes enthusiastic lines to the strength and splendour of Georgian literature: "Nobody would deny the strength or the splendour of Georgian literature. The very fact that it has survived, and sometimes flourished, for some fifteen hundred years is extraordinary. Still more extraordinary has been its capacity to resurrect after regular cataclysms". Rayfield looks for common features in the diversity of the rich factual material reflecting the literary life of Georgia that could be raised to the rank of peculiarities of the entire literary process. The author's statement to the effect that "A culture, however, has the defects of its virtues", and as seen from the title of the paper, he feels it necessary to talk of "the weaknesses and the miseries as well as the wealth and splendour, to understand a phenomenon as strange as Georgian literature".

Among such features the English Kartvelologist singles out one, viz. that "it is a hyperbolic literature, which tends to exaggerate, to go beyond the limits of the expressible, of the intelligible, of genres, even sometimes of good taste". The researcher considers the high musicality of the Georgian language as the basis of this manifestation. According to him, the rich morphology of the Georgian language, its polysyllabic flow almost automatically gives rise to rhyme. "The dangers lie in the fact that such a language allows a poet to stop thinking - a dangerous temptation, since the language can take a writer further than he can see". He calls this "hyperbolic in sounds and words", which in his words, "is the dowry which any Georgian poet enjoys". On the other hand, in his view, "the wealth and anarchy in the lexicon is tempting for a writer: he (rarely she) can improvise. There are many lines even in Rustaveli... or in the poems of King Teimuraz I which, one feels, are inspired not by a thought but by an attractive word or rhyme, even though the thread of the poet's thought is broken, seems to leave a poet free from responsibility for his utterance".

The sacredness of language - contemplation of the mystic in it - is, in the researcher's view, a characteristic of Georgian literary

thinking. To demonstrate this, he refers to a well-known hymn of Ioane Zosime, commenting it thus: "...it seems to dispense with human intelligence and even printing. This is linked to the lack of interest that Georgian writers have had in precision or control, and their tendency to say things whose consequences they do not foresee".

The foreign Kartvelologist does not see hyperbolism as a characteristic phenomenon of Georgian literature only in the absolutization of the language factor. It is significant in this respect that, in his view, Old Georgian secular literature differs from its Persian counterpart by its own specific hyperbolical character. The researcher is aware that Georgian literature displayed the ability of adopting the influences of great empires that sought to engulf it. In his view, owing to its subjection to Byzantine culture, the 5th-11th centuries Georgian literature forgot and rejected its Caucasian environment. To prove this view the researcher refers to the fact that very little is said in Georgian literary pieces of this period about Georgian landscapes. The situation changed from the second half of the eleventh century, when Georgian culture was free from pressure, but, in the researcher's words, "the self-representation remains the same: it takes on only superficially different forms. The landscapes and hunting and battle scenes which we find so enthusiastically described in *Amirandarejaniani* or *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* are now Iranian, instead of Greek. If it were not for the peculiarly Georgian hyperbole in the emotions of the heroes or the strangeness of the narrative, so careless of time and plausibility, we might even suppose these epic narratives to be translations from some lost Persian manuscripts".

The reader will find many enthusiastic passages with regard to Georgian literature in this highly important essay by D. Rayfield, as well as some very interesting observations regarding literary facts or individual authors. Here I shall limit myself to this general feature of Georgian literature, seen by the foreign Kartvelologist.

No matter how peculiar the above-cited view may seem to us, it is doubtless noteworthy - in the first place because it is a feature seen by a foreigner. Furthermore, it is a foreign historian of literature who has good knowledge of Georgian literature and has a very favourable attitude to it. It should be assumed a priori that we,

Georgians, view our national literature with a different eye that has a deep insight into some of its details but is so accustomed to others as to overlook them. Hence an outside eye often sees better.

On the other hand, the remarks quoted above clearly call for commenting by a researcher of Georgian literature.

To begin with, why are the Georgian landscapes not reflected more vividly in 5th-11th centuries Georgian literature? Georgian literature of the cited period is church or Christian literature. The ideal of the Christian faith is the other world. In this world only spiritual elevation of the saint and rejection of the outer reality meet with approval. That is why the entire Christian culture pays lesser attention to nature and environment. It forms only a faint background to highlight the saint's spiritual light, and the more blurred and mute this background is the more brilliant is the light emanating from the saint's spiritual world. Georgian church literature, too, as a good example of mediaeval Christian culture, is faithful to this ideal.

Neither are there nature landscapes so frequently in *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* as to ascribe them to the influence of Persian literature. I would think it is the other way round. There are so few passages devoted to the description of nature in Rustaveli's poem as to prompt the question: Does the poet's restraint not stem from the tradition of Medieval church literature?

Ioane Zosime's *Eulogy of the Georgian Language* is indeed a unique case throughout the entire church literature, with only a couple of remote and atypical parallels. Should the explanation of this phenomenon be sought in "...the lack of interest that Georgian writers have had in precision or control, and their tendency to say things whose consequences they do not foresee"? The fact should be borne in mind that the Eastern Christian world characteristically pronounced the parity of national languages with, and occasionally their precedence over, the Greek language. Shouldn't we rather pay attention to the fact that after the 8th century the national period commences in Georgian literature, manifested in political opposition to the Arab conquerors, church polemic with Armenian Monophysitism, and cultural rivalry with the Byzantines (Ioane Sabanisdze, *The Life of St. Nino*, Georgian hymnographers...). Georgian national thought tries to assert itself by creating a national

Christian tradition, developing a conception on the Georgian royal dynasty being a continuation of biblical kings, freeing itself of the church influence of neighbouring countries, and so on. This period witnessed the development of original Georgian hagiography - an unprecedented rise of national hymnography. A continuation of this national self-assertion is visible in 12th-century Georgian social thought as well. Let us recall the messianic conception: the Georgian State is a defender of the Christian world; Tamar is the messiah - equal to the Son of God and the Father Himself (*Tamariani*). How should we account for all this? *By dispensing with human intelligence and by the tendency of authors to say things whose consequences they do not foresee?* Perhaps we should concentrate on the fact that mediaeval literature, and thinking in general, is highly symbolic, that the words and phrases of medieval authors are not always to be taken in their straightforward, simple meaning. And when it is difficult to give a detailed explanation of this phenomenon, would it not be better to make a mere statement of the fact that this is a period characterised by the assertion and rise of Georgian national self-consciousness. It should also be borne in mind that this is the spirit of a definite epoch rather than a general characteristic of Georgian poets or Georgian thinking. Another period was soon to arrive that would revise this trend of thought. Already in the last quarter of the 10th century Ioane the Athonite noted that "There was a great dearth of books in the land of Kartli", and he set his son a lifetime task of translating books from the Greek¹. In the mid-11th century, in his work, Giorgi Mtsire has the Patriarch of Antioch address Giorgi the Athonite in the following words: "Though you are a Georgian by descent, with all other knowledge you are a Greek"². Thus, Georgian writers were well aware of the erudition of the Byzantines and of the greatness of Greek culture and literature, and called on their own people to imitate and adopt it. The conclusion is that periods alternate in

¹**Giorgi the Hagiorite**, The Life of Ioane and Euthymius. In: *Sources of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*, II, p. 61 (in Georgian).

²**Giorgi Mtsire**, The Life of Giorgi the Hagiorite, In: *Sources...* II, p. 151 (in Georgian).

Georgian literature that differ in the style of thinking, attitude to national phenomena, and so on.

I find the foreign Kartvelologist's reasoning, proceeding from the musical nature of the language, on Georgian poets making a fetish of rhymed poetry, or '...hyperbole in sounds and words...' highly interesting. I wish the researcher had indicated, in Rustaveli, in particular, the lines that "... are inspired not by a thought but by an attractive word or rhyme, and the ambiguous result, even though the thread of the poet's thought is broken...". In discussing Rustaveli's poetry it would seem better to indicate the specific line whose meaning is unclear to the particular researcher (and maybe to other scholars too) rather than to say it lacks sense, for Rustaveli is a poet, many shades of whose vocabulary, tropes, and outlook are so far unknown. There seems to be a more important point. With its sound, rhyme, rhythm, trope speech poetry occasionally does go beyond the natural, established meaning. The literary-expressive devices of verse and musicalness occasionally carry a different meaning and mood and, hence in a broad sense, a different idea, not contained in the ordinary meaning of the words of the relevant line. It should also be noted that there are poets, literary critics, and readers, who prefer such poetry to that of reason, viz. narrative, sententious, philosophical, etc. poetry. But the existence of such poetry is also a fact and raising the question of which is better is unacceptable to genuine literary criticism.

More challenging is the researcher's view with regard to the *Amirandarejaniani* and *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, viz. "If it were not for the peculiarly Georgian hyperbole in the emotions of the heroes or the strangeness of the narrative... we might even suppose these epic narratives to be translations from some lost Persian manuscripts". One proposition in this statement stands out with its positive and affirmative form: hyperbolization is the specific feature of classical Georgian secular epic poetry that distinguishes it from Persian poetry.

I personally would find it difficult to share this thesis. Although hyperbolization is indeed an essential feature of Rustaveli's literary style, it is hard to say that in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* it qualitatively or quantitatively exceeds the Persian literary tradition. True, Tariel's bodily strength and military art is

hyperbolized in the poem, yet there is nothing unusual here against the background of the Persian epic. Suffice it to recall Rostom in Firdousi's *Shah-nameh*. The emotional world of the characters of Rustaveli's poem is also hyperbolized: Tariel's love starts with his fainting, the knights separated from their loved ones shed streams of blood-mingled tears. Many analogues can be found in the mediaeval oriental epic. Suffice it to recall the emotions of the lovers in *Vis o Ramin* by Fakhr ud-Din Gurgani, an 11th-century Iranian poet. Here are the hyperbolic images with which Vis conveys the flow of tears from her eyes in her letter to Ramin: "O tearful clouds of spring come and learn from me to weep. But if but once ye rain like my tears the earth will be laid waste. Such a stream of tears ever pours from me, and yet I am ashamed that I have not so many as I would... When sometimes I pour forth blood and sometimes water"¹. Nestan too writes letters to Tariel. The rich literary images of these missives are inspired by hyperbolic speech: "For pen I have my form, a pen steeped in gall; for paper I glue thy heart even to my heart". But is the hyperbolization in these words of a level alien to Persian literature? Note the level of hyperbolization of the relevant idea in Ramin's second letter to Vis: "If I had the seven heavens for paper, if I had all the stars as scribes, if the air of night were ink, if the letters (of the alphabet) were as numerous as leaves, sands, and fishes... by thy sun, not even then could I write half I desire"². The feast and joys of the characters of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* and of the entire Oriental epic are hyperbolized. In this respect, the hyperbolization of Avtandil's song, I believe, reaches the climax: "When the knight's song was heard, the beasts came to listen; by reason of the sweetness of his voice even the stones came forth from the water". Ramin's song, too, is presented by Gurgani in hyperbolic images. However, at first sight, the hyperbole would seem to be more moderate: "Ramin himself was such a good harper that when he took his harp and played even the birds were hushed for pleasure"³. But this is only at first sight, for this would-be

¹ *Visramiani*. Translated by Oliver Wardrop, London 1914, p. 275.

² *Visramiani*, p. 257.

³ *Visramiani*, Edited by A. Gvakharia and M. Todua, Tbilisi 1962, p.130 (in Georgian).

moderation is due to the Georgian translator's originality. As ascertained by N.Marr, the respective passage in the Persian original is conveyed in the same hyperbolic form as resorted to by Rustaveli: "When ever and anon Ramin played the harp, stones would have come to the surface of water in very joy!"¹.

Thus, hyperbolization is one characteristic feature of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, as well as of Georgian secular literature of the classical period (and not in general of the entire Georgian literature). However, I do not think one should look in it for the specificity that distinguishes Georgian literature from its other counterparts, in particular, Persian. And D. Rayfield is well aware of this, as he notes elsewhere: "the noble knights of *Amirandarejaniani* or of Rustaveli's *Knight in a Panther's Skin* are imbued with an implausibly hyperbolic spirit of mediaeval chivalry - very similar to the sentiments of courtly poetry in France, Germany or Iran at that period".

In the view of the English Kartvelologist, it is hyperbolization that must be considered the feature responsible for the weaknesses and miseries of such an astonishing phenomenon as Georgian literature, for "...it is a hyperbolic literature, which tends to exaggerate, to go beyond the limits of the expressible, of the intelligible, of genres, even sometimes of good taste". At the same time, what we today may call "going beyond the limits... of good taste" was the soul and heart of mediaeval oriental literature. The aesthetic style of the time, and the author's as well as the reader's taste viewed hyperbolization as the cornerstone of the art of the beautiful. It does not seem justified to criticise the aesthetic style of past epochs from the standpoint of the modern reader's taste. Moreover, this attitude should not turn into a principle of literary criticism. Literary taste or aesthetic style is changeable, developing variously in different geographical or political areas and complex shades of different religious or national literatures. From a single vantage point the aesthetic style of a different period, setting, religious or national unity is often incomprehensible and at times even unacceptable. Suffice it to recall the age-related variability of

¹ *Vis and Ramin*. Translated from the Persian of Fakhr ud-Din Gurgani by George Morrison. New York and London 1972, p. 146.

literary taste within European civilisation alone. The Sentimental literary trend prevailing some two centuries ago is unacceptable to a part of modern Western readers.

Each literary work should, I believe, be evaluated by a literary critic according to the principle of historicism - in the spirit of the period it was created, analysing it in terms of how it accords with the traditional position of its age and what novelty, if any, it contributes to the same traditional style of thought.

The main conclusion from a consideration of this extremely interesting paper by D. Rayfield (and more so of his major book published at Oxford in 1994) is that European Kartvelologists of the end of the 20th century study Georgian literature from an absolutely independent and novel point of view. This study is carried on not with the sole purpose of introducing Georgian literature to the European reader and for its popularisation. Georgian literature is being discussed as one highly interesting sphere of European civilisation, its specific features are being brought to light and its philosophical and aesthetic positions researched. The objective is set of supplying the European reader with highly-aesthetic translations of the best examples of this literature. And this is the beginning of a new stage in European Kartvelology.

Today European students of Georgian literature are facing fresh tasks. European Kartvelology has gone beyond the stage at which only research was conducted into Georgian literature. European Kartvelology should now define the place of Georgian literature in the process of development of European theological, philological and literary thought; all gains of the Kartvelological science have to be assessed along these lines, accents must be on cardinal questions of Georgian culture in separating tendentious sources from non-tendentious ones; differentiating scholarly and patriotic-dilettantish reasoning on questions of Georgian literature, thereby highlighting the contribution of genuine Georgian scholarship to the study of one important sphere.

Georgian literature contains significant material for the study of European civilisation. This conclusion is arrived at on the basis of the religious, literary and historical works brought to light to date by

Georgian sources. At the same time it may be assumed a priori that mediaeval Georgian literature has not been brought to light fully. The tough history of Georgia in the early and late Middle Ages, and later, in the new period, destroyed Georgia's material culture. We judge about old Georgian literature and, generally, culture, on the basis of the remnants that have survived the vicissitudes on Georgian soil over time. It should also be presumed that over the centuries-old political, economic and cultural contacts of the Georgian people with its great neighbouring states: Persia, Arabia, Byzantium, Turkey and Russia Georgian literary pieces must have left Georgian borders. Great libraries of the world and centres of culture are little studied or almost unstudied from this point of view - both in the East and in the West. Georgian material should be sought not only in the form of Georgian-language books but in the shape of reports on Georgia and Georgian literature found in foreign-language sources. Launching large-scale work of this kind is the task of European Kartvelology.

PART FOUR

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Der in die Grube geworfene König / Der Arme und ein Topf
Butter / Der Erbauer des Dorfes / Der König und der Arzt / Der
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