

MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR AND GEORGIA

THE NAME OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR is closely linked with Georgia: after the church father was exiled from Byzantium in 662 with two of his disciples, he spent his last days in Lazica, Western Georgia, and died there. Despite the abundant literature devoted to Maximus, because of the language barrier international scholarly circles have been largely unaware of the Old Georgian translations of his works (tenth-twelfth centuries) and the local Georgian ethnographic and folklore materials. However, these sources provide invaluable data for the study of Maximus' literary heritage and his activity, particularly the final period of his life after his deportation, as well as for research into cultural relations between Georgia and Byzantium. This volume therefore gathers the results of decades of research, most of which appears for the first time in English translation. The articles concentrate on the Georgian sources, creating a collection that will be of value not only for those studying Maximus' life and literary legacy but also for those who are interested in Georgian culture and history in general.

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TAMILA MGALOBlishvili
& LELA KHOPERIA



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*In memory of
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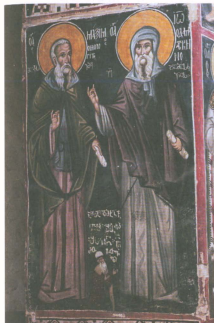
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St Maximus the Confessor, St John the Damascene and Shota Rustaveli in a sixteenth-century fresco from the eleventh-century Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem (photo by D. Tskhadadze)

Acknowledgements

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**Tamila Mgaloblishvili
& Lela Khoperia**
Tbilisi, 2009

Foreword

The name of the great church father St Maximus the Confessor is closely associated with Georgia. He was deported from Byzantium in the year 662 for his rejection of Monothelism and spent the last months of his life in Georgia, in the mountainous province of Lechkhumi in historical Lazica, where the memory of this 'holy old man' is still alive.

In spite of the popularity of St Maximus' name in Georgia, it was only in the tenth century that Euthymius the Athonite began translating his works into Georgian. This fact might indicate the influence of Byzantium, where the interest towards this church father started to intensify again from the ninth century onwards. Due to the language barrier, however, wider scholarly circles outside Georgia are still less acquainted with the Old Georgian translations of Maximus' works, the majority of which were translated during the tenth and twelfth centuries in different literary schools. These translations are significant both for research of the processes of the development of Georgian culture, the literary interrelations between Georgia and Byzantium, and the study of Maximus' heritage *per se*. Of particular importance are those Georgian translations that have preserved the lost Greek recensions of his works.

In spite of the abundant scholarly literature about Maximus available today, the scant details we have of the last period of his life after his deportation to Western Georgia (Lazica), his death and the place of his eternal rest are still open to conjecture. In this respect, valuable information could be obtained through collating the Georgian versions of Maximus' *Life* with Greek, Latin and Syriac versions, examining the commemorations of this holy father in the various liturgical collections. Research on the Georgian toponyms and holy sites associated with Maximus in this mountainous province as well as the rich Georgian ethnographic materials associated with his name also provide interesting data.

The materials of the 1914 archaeological expedition to Lechkhumi, headed by Nikoloz (Niko) Marr should also to be taken into

consideration. The expedition's aim was to trace the sacred sites associated with Maximus' name in this province of Georgia. Unfortunately, owing to unknown reasons, the expedition was interrupted after only two weeks and most of the excavation materials were subsequently lost, although what has survived is extremely significant.

The topic of Maximus the Confessor and Georgia, therefore, is both a fascinating and important one that requires a complex strategy of research. With this in mind, it was almost a decade ago that a group of researchers, headed by Michel van Esbroeck and myself, gathered in Georgia at the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts. Sadly, in November 2003, Michel passed away unexpectedly and, as a result, the Centre for the Exploration of Georgian Antiquities took up the challenge.

During the same period, with the blessing of Ilia II, Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia, the St Maximus International Centre, headed by Stephane, Bishop of Tsageri and Lentekhi, was founded at the Georgian Patriarchate in Tbilisi. In 2005 and 2007 the centre organized two international conferences dedicated to Maximus the Confessor.

This collection presents the work of scholars of the Centre for the Exploration of Georgian Antiquities as well as that of researchers from the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi State University and other scholarly institutions. The papers in this volume cover a wide range of subjects related to the Georgian sources on the life and literary legacy of Maximus.

In my opinion, this collection will be of interest not only for those who study in Maximus the Confessor's life and works but also for those, who are interested in Georgian culture and history in general.

Tamila Mgaloblishvili

მეფილისი
თეოდორე-სტეფანე

Introduction
**GEORGIA IN THE TIMES OF
 ST MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR**

Tamila Mgaloblishvili

Here I would like to give a short overview of the historical-cultural context where St Maximus and his disciples found themselves after their exile to Lazica and also to outline briefly how this context was created in Georgia in the course of the centuries.

The foundation of Georgian culture was laid by the tribes—mainly of Kartvelian (Georgian) origin—inhabiting the territory some millennia ago. Statehood in Georgia emerged in the first millennium BC and by the eighth-seventh century BC its first state, the kingdom of Colchis in Western Georgia, was established by the Kartvelian tribes of the Colchians, the direct ancestors of today's Megrelians and Laz/Chan peoples.

Another state, the kingdom of Kartli or Iberia, was founded in Eastern Georgia at the turn of the fourth-third centuries BC. As early as the reign of the first Iberian king Parnavaz (fourth-third centuries BC), the Kartvelian tribes were already starting the process of uniting into a single state. During the early Hellenistic age, the kingdom of Kartli comprised the whole territory of Eastern Georgia (Kartli, Kakheti, Samtskhe, Javakheti, Kola, Artani, Klarjeti) and a substantial portion of Western Georgia, i.e. historical Colchis (Egrisi, Apkhazeti [Abasgia], Argveti, Achara). The state spread from the Caucasus to the upper Araxes valley and from the Egristsqali river (= modern Ghalidzga) to Rustavi-Telavi. The creation of a single united state provided a stimulus not only to the foundation of a common ethnocultural system, but also to the emergence of Georgian civilization proper.¹

1. The written sources and archaeological evidence on the foundations of Georgian civilization show that on the territory of present-day Georgia statehood and civilization were created by the Kartvelian tribes. Any non-Kartvelian tribes who were included in

Before declaring Christianity the state religion in the first half of the fourth century, the Georgians had passed a long road of historical development and had understandably been exposed to the influence of the outer world, alien cultures and religious systems. The Kartvelian tribes, after all, dwelt within the sphere of the mythical and religious ideas widespread in the Aegean world and Near East.

As the ancient Georgian and foreign sources indicate, prior to the state adoption of Christianity, other religions such as paganism, Mazdaism, Judaism, Manichaenism and Christianity itself had been prevalent in Georgia.² Furthermore, we have a wealth of evidence indicating that the pre-Christian religious traditions did not disappear immediately after the dominance of the new religion. Indeed, this religious diversity corresponded exactly to the general situation existing around the region during this period. It is interesting to note that the data provided in narrative sources entirely tally with the findings yielded by archaeological excavations.³

At the beginning of the fourth century the two Georgian kingdoms—Kartli (Iberia of the Graeco-Latin sources) and Egrisi (Lazica of the Greek and Latin sources, the successor to the old kingdom of Colchis)—independently of each other declared Christianity to be the official religion of their states.⁴ Georgia continued afterwards to maintain close links not only with Christian but also non-Christian countries. However, over the centuries the region became a perpetual arena for the clash of various political and religious interests. The struggle of different religions and confessions, which to some extent reflected the political interests of these opposing forces, did not stop

the structure of the state became an integral part of this civilization. Additionally a single ethno-cultural system is attested to by the study of religious beliefs and traditions of the Kartvelian tribes; see Lordkipanidze, O., *Georgian Civilization: Whence Does Its History Start?* Tbilisi, 1993, pp 1-32 [in Georgian]. The united Georgian kingdom of Sakartvelo (Georgia) was created by the end of the tenth century. Before this, entities in eastern and western parts of Georgia had been independent political bodies. However, there were certain historical periods when these parts had united in a single realm. This was the case under the kings Parnavaz (turn of the fourth-third centuries BC), Vakhtang Gorgasali (second half of the fifth century), and the erismtavari (presiding prince) Stepanoz (see D. Muskhelishvili, *Main Issues of the Historical Geography of Georgia*, 2 vols. Tbilisi, 1977-1980; and D. Muskhelishvili (ed), *Historical Atlas of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2003 [in Georgian]).

2. Tsereteli, G., *Iberia in the Third Century (AD) Persian Sources*, 1964 (archive material) [in Georgian]; Mgaloblishvili, T., *The Klarjeti Polycephalon*, Tbilisi, 1991, pp 170-72 [in Georgian].
3. Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, p170; Mgaloblishvili, T., & Gagoshidze, I., 'The Jewish Diaspora and Early Christianity in Georgia,' *Iberica-Caucasica*, vol. 1 (*Ancient Christianity in the Caucasus*), London, 1998, pp 35-58, 201-208.
4. Lomouri, N., 'Western Georgia: Egrisi in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', *Studies in Georgian History*, vol.2, Tbilisi, 1979, pp 170-88; Muskhelishvili, D., *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, Tbilisi, 2003, p127; p138, note 146 [in Georgian].

even after the Christian religion had gained victory. Quite understandably such a situation exercised a strong influence not only on Georgian Christianity but also history and culture.

Throughout the centuries the survival of Georgian statehood depended greatly on a prudent diplomatic policy first with the Achaemenids and then with the empires of Hellenistic Rome, Byzantium and the Sassanids. Together with each change of the political situation it was often necessary to revise not only the country's political orientation but also its religious policy. In this connection, in my opinion, it is the edges of both the fifth-sixth and seventh centuries that are the most interesting. It is to the latter period that Maximus the Confessor's deportation to Lazica belongs.

According to the ancient written sources, during the fourth-fifth centuries the church of Kartli was subordinated to the Patriarch of Antioch hierarchically—Antioch was the mother church of Kartli.⁵ However, at the end of the fifth century during the reign of King Vakhtang Gorgasali, the Georgian church was thoroughly reorganized. The foundation of the semi-independence of the church of Kartli was established, in which clergymen of every status was represented, twelve bishoprics were founded and a catholicos was placed at the head of the church. It was during this period that the church services started to become national, and the local liturgy took its foundations from the liturgical practice of the Jerusalem Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶

5. See: Khakhanashvili, A., (ed.), *Manuscript from the Year 1074 with Agapae from the Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos*, Tbilisi, 1901, pp 32-316 [in Georgian]; Ephrem Mtsire (Bregadze, T. [ed.]), *Information on the Reason for Georgia's Conversion: In Which Books It Is Mentioned*, Tbilisi, 1959 [in Georgian]; *Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 1971, p36 [in Georgian]; Quakhchishvili, S., *Life of Georgia*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1955, pp 197-8 [in Georgian]; Tarchnishvili M., 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der kirchlichen Autokephalie Georgiens, Kyrios, 5, 1940-41, pp 177-93 (= *Le Muséon* vol. 73, 1960, pp 107-26); Kekelidze, K., *History of Georgian Literature*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1960, p252 [in Georgian]; idem, 'Canonical Order in Old Georgia', *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1957, pp 327-28 [in Georgian]; Javakhishvili I., *History of the Georgian Nation*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1979, pp 318-20 [in Georgian]; *Journals and Minutes of the Synodal Office*, vol. III, 1907, Journal no. 5, i, xii, 1906 [in Russian]; Djobadze, W., 'Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes', *CSCO*, vol. 372, Louvain 1976, pp 63-85; Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, pp 160-76; Mamulia G., *The Georgian Church in the Fifth-Sixth Centuries*, Tbilisi, 1992, pp 68-90 [in Georgian]; Muskhelishvili, *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, pp 26-28; Lominadze B., 'The Georgian Patriarchate and Its Autocephaly', *Collection of Theological Works*, Tbilisi, 1983 [in Georgian]; Lominadze, B., 'Administrative Organization of the Georgian Church in the Fifth Century', *Issues of the Feudal Epoch in Georgia*, vol. 7, Tbilisi, 1999, p15 [in Georgian]; Esbroeck, M. van, 'Von welcher Kirche hängt die georgische Kirche geschichtlich ab?', in: *Mitteilungen der Berliner Georgischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 5, 1996, pp 1-12.
6. See Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, pp 164-90.

Like Mirian, the first Christian king of Georgia (fourth century), Vakhtang Gorgasali also connected his political as well as religious orientation to Byzantium. During this period, the Christological problem caused a fierce struggle in Byzantium and in Kartli, just as in Byzantium, three trends were actively represented by the Chalcedonians, the followers of Zeno's Henoticon, and the Monophysites.⁷

In such controversial times Byzantium sought to overcome religious difficulties through compromising decisions, so characteristic of the empire. It was a way of getting out of a situation that was tense from both political and religious viewpoints, while at the same time it was an attempt to preserve the empire's borders. Such a policy resulted in the official recognition of Zeno's Henoticon in the year 482.⁸

It appears that during this period the situation was also highly complicated in Kartli both politically and religiously.⁹ As the written sources point out, Vakhtang Gorgasali, in his fight for the consolidation and independence of Kartli, assigned a prime role to the religious reconciliation of the state. This striving by Vakhtang for the consolidation of the state and for the peaceful coexistence of various religious trends was clearly at the core of his policy. This is why he subordinated the Georgian Church to the royal will, banished the 'Pillar of the Diophysites', i.e. the uncompromising Bishop Michael of Kartli, gained a higher degree of independence for the Georgian church and appointed Bishop Petre—who more corresponded to the religious course chosen by the king—as head of the Church, as Catholicos of Kartli.¹⁰

Despite the diversity of religions, over the centuries the religious course of the Georgian Church was primarily Chalcedonian, unlike the

neighbouring Christian countries of Armenia and Caucasian Albania, although the confessional unity of these countries (Kartli, Armenia, Albania) was confirmed at the church Synod of Dvin (506) when the council supported the 'Henoticon'.

Shortly afterwards, there arose yet another confrontation between Byzantium and Iran where the Byzantine imperial religious course became Chalcedonian while Persia supported the Monophysites. Logically, such an ideological situation would have its greatest impact on the churches of the Christian countries of the Caucasus: the signs indicating discord among them over their religious beliefs emerged as early as the beginning of the latter half of the sixth century. In the years 604-609 lively correspondence over religious issues between the heads of the Georgian and Armenian churches ended with the disruption of relations between them, and it was only in the 720s that two confessional camps were finally formed in the Caucasus, one Chalcedonian (in Kartli and Egrisi), the other Monophysite (in Armenia and Albania).¹¹

With regard to Western Georgia, i.e. Egrisi (Lazica), as noted above, Georgian scholars based on the recent archaeological evidences voice the opinion that here as well Christianity was declared the official religion in the fourth century. Beginning from approximately the sixth century, the church of Egrisi (Lazica) was headed by the metropolitan, whose See was in Phasis—hierarchically he was subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Aside from the ancient Colchian culture in Egrisi, the influence of the Hellenic and Roman cultures was also great and therefore it must have been a plausible reason for close relations with Constantinople. Evidently, this was also the reason why, unlike Kartli, the Greek language was given preference when celebrating the liturgy in Egrisi.¹²

7. Cf. Esbroeck, M. van, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1975, p300; see also: Metreveli, E., 'A New Work on the Georgian Polycephalon', *Matsne (Language and Literature Series)*, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1976, p81 [in Georgian]; Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, p188.

8. Meyendorff, J., *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church in 450-680 AD*, New York, 1989, pp 106, 194-202; Cf. Tarchnishvili, M., 'Die Estenhung und Entwicklung der Kirschnlinhen Autokephalie Georgiens', *Kyrios*, 5, 1940/41, pp 177-93 (= *Le Muséon*, vol. 73, 1960, pp 107-26); Toumanoff, C., 'Caucasia and Byzantium', *Tradition*, vol. 27, 1971, pp 167-69; Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, p300; Metreveli, 'A New Work on the Georgian Polycephalon'; Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, p188; Muskhelishvili, *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, pp 178-81; Mamulia G., *The Church of Kartli in the Fifth-Sixth Centuries*, Tbilisi, 1992, p25.

9. See: Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, pp 299-300; Mgaloblishvili, *Klarjeti Polycephalon*, pp 185-88.

10. *Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1963, pp 30-45 [in Georgian]; Mgaloblishvili, 'Early Christian Kartli', in *Issues of the History of the Georgian*

Church: Georgian Theological Literature and Christian Art, Tbilisi, 1998, pp 238-44 [in Georgian].

11. See: Alexidze, Z., *A Book of Epistles*, Tbilisi, 1968, pp 167-262 [in Georgian]; Alexidze Z., 'Materials on the History of the Synod of Dvin, 506', *Matsne (Archaeology, Ethnography and Art History Series)*, vol. 3, 1973, pp 145-67 [in Georgian]; Alexidze, Z., 'On the Religious Situation in the Caucasus in the Sixth Century', *Matsne (History, Archaeology and Art History Series)*, vol. 1, 1974, pp 103-10 [in Georgian]; Alexidze, Z., 'The Caucasus and the Christian East between the Fourth and Sixth Oecumenical Councils', *Works of Tbilisi State University*, vol. 241, Tbilisi, 1983, pp 213-18 [in Georgian]; Muskhelishvili, D., *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, Tbilisi, 2003, pp 139-308 [in Georgian]; Thomson, R., 'The Origins of Caucasian Civilization: The Christian Component, Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change', in R.G. Suny (ed.), *Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, Ann Arbor, 1996, pp 25-43. Cf. Garsoian, N., 'Iran and Caucasia, Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change', in *Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, Ann Arbor, 1983, pp 7-23.

12. For more on this, see: Qaukhchishvili, S., *Georgia, Data from Byzantine Authors on*

I think the information provided by the Armenian sources on the unity of the churches of Egrisi and Kartli at the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries deserves special attention. According to these sources, Cyrion, Catholicos of Kartli, was Archbishop of Egrisi and the Metropolitan of Lazica at the same time.¹³ Evaluation of the ancient texts provides sufficient grounds for the reliability of the Armenian sources on this. It is noteworthy that analogous information has also been preserved in the Georgian sources in later times.¹⁴

During this period, as was the case earlier, Kartli was characterized by a deep religious diversity. Of the bishoprics present in Kartli some were Chalcedonian, others Monophysite or Nestorian. Quite understandably, it was necessary to work out a single religious policy in order to consolidate the church and the state and, as the written sources indicate, the individual who not only became the author of this policy but who also put it in practice was Catholicos Cyrion.¹⁵

However paradoxical it may seem, Cyrion, the most ardent participant in the split between the Georgians and Armenians, tried to achieve a peaceful coexistence of the Nestorians and Monophysites with the Georgian Orthodox Church—the attempt was based on the political interests of the state of Kartli. He not only pursued a policy of tolerance for other confessions but even made efforts to bring them closer to the Chalcedonians. This is attested by the historical sources, where his relationship both with Nestorians and Monophysites is clearly indicated.¹⁶

However, despite his tolerant policy in religious matters, Cyrion was politically utterly uncompromising: politically speaking the Persian orientation was quite unacceptable to Kartli and Cyrion openly demonstrated his pro-Byzantine attitude. As a result, he had to flee

Georgia, vol. 4, part 2, Tbilisi, 1952, pp 128, 130, 139, 141. Lomouri, N., 'Western Georgia: Egrisi in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', pp 170-88; idem, 'Western Georgia: Egrisi (Lazica) in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', *Studies in Georgian History*, vol. 2, pp 122-40 [in Russian]; bibliography presented in the book: Muskhelishvili, *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, pp 100-28, 250-54. Cf. Goiladze, V., *At the Foundations of the Georgian Church*, Tbilisi, 1991, p119 [in Georgian]; Pichkhadze, M., 'The Declaration of Christianity as the State Religion in Western Georgia According to the Records of Agathangelos', *Works of Tbilisi State University*, vol. 338, pp 32-37 [in Georgian].

13. Alexidze, Z., *A Book of Epistles*, Tbilisi, 1968, pp 167-75 pp [in Georgian];

14. See: Alexidze Z., *A Book of Epistles*, pp 167-75; Qaukhchishvili, S. (ed.), *Life of Georgia*, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1973, p120, note 2 [in Georgian].

15. Ibid., pp 214-44.

16. Ibid., pp 167-272.

Kartli under the pressure of the Persians and seek refuge in Egrisi, which was subordinated to him hierarchically and represented a staunch ally of Byzantium.

In comparatively recent times, an interesting hypothesis has been proposed, according to which Catholicos Cyrion and Metropolitan Cyrus of Phasis, who was active in Phasis at the same period, must be one and the same person.¹⁷ This hypothesis has caused controversy, although in my opinion it seems quite plausible and several arguments speak in its favour.

In this period, when relations between Persia and Byzantium were extremely tense, it was of a paramount interest to the latter to strengthen its influence in its eastern provinces. The only way to achieve the incorporation of these provinces must have been the new religious policy of Emperor Heraclius I. The essence of this policy was to establish religious peace and tolerance in the eastern territories. This, quite understandably, implied the declaration of Monothelitism as the official religion. Cyrus of Phasis was a loyal supporter of Heraclius' religious policy. As a reward for his devotion, Heraclius appointed Cyrus Patriarch of Alexandria and gave him the post of Ruler of Egypt.¹⁸

If Catholicos Cyrion and Cyrus of Phasis are one and the same person, then the history of Monothelitism in Georgia should be viewed from a new angle. Maximus the Confessor was an uncompromising opponent of the Monothelites who was expelled from Byzantium because of his faith and exiled to Lazica, the Land of Barbarians situated at the furthest frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. Owing to the influence of Cyrus of Phasis, the Lazica of this period may have been perceived as a foothold of the Monothelites: thus Maximus the Confessor was deported not only to the Land of Barbarians but, quite possibly, a territory that was hostile to him.

In this period, however, Lazica was not a barbarian country in the modern sense of the word. This was a Christian country, and yet the ordinary people there were ignorant of the essence of the complex political and religious processes which, logically, must have found their expression also in Western Georgia, which in this period

17. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 244-72.

18. For more on this, see the complete bibliography in: Muskhelishvili, *Georgia in the Fourth-Eighth Centuries*, pp 268-342.

was a vassal of Byzantium. In reality, only the secular and ecclesiastic elite of Georgia were actively engaged in these processes. Thus punished and exiled, Maximus was acknowledged by the local inhabitants to be a saintly old man because of his virtues, and his memory is still preserved in this province.

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MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR: LIFE AND WORKS IN THE GEORGIAN TRADITION

Lela Khoperia

Maximus the Confessor is considered to be one of the most significant Byzantine theologians. He contributed greatly both to the unfolding of Christological doctrine and the development of different branches of ecclesiastical literature. His literary legacy is surprisingly multi-faceted and diversified; he enriched Christian exegesis and asceticism as well as exercised great influence on the theology and mysticism of the following period. As S. Averintsev puts it: "He was an original philosopher and theologian, who embodied in himself Origenes' boldness of thought, Gregory of Nyssa's refinement of reasoning and Pseudo-Dionysius' systematization scale."¹

In Georgia, Maximus was extremely popular and the increase of interest in his works began with the translations of Euthymius the Athonite (second half of the tenth to the first third of the eleventh centuries, father-superior of the Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos) who rendered into Georgian the greater part of Maximus' writings. In the twelfth century translating his works was continued by the Gelati literary school (Western Georgia), while in the tenth-twelfth centuries three biographical documents about Maximus, i.e. three different recensions of his *Life*, were also translated.

This article aims to present a general review of Georgian sources related to Maximus. I shall also seek to demonstrate the importance of research in the Georgian translations for the study of Maximus' life and works, and to define the basic issues and trends of research that have arisen when studying these Georgian sources. As already stated, Maximus was introduced into Georgian literature by Euthymius the

1. *Culture of Byzantium*, vol. 2, Moscow, 1989, p36 [in Russian].

Athonite's translations. In itself this is interesting because despite Maximus' special links with Georgia (towards the end of his life he was exiled to Western Georgia where he died) not a single work of his had ever been translated into Georgian before Euthymius, although Georgian translations of the works of many other Byzantine Church Fathers had been made before then.

To some extent, embarking on the intensive translation of Maximus' writings into Georgian at the end of the tenth century is indicative of the processes going on in Byzantine culture in general. This was the period of the ruling Macedonian dynasty, which lasted from the second half of the ninth till mid-eleventh century, and is often called the Macedonian Renaissance. It is characterized by the upheaval of spiritual and intellectual life, which manifested itself in various spheres of culture.² It was during this period that interest in Maximus' literary heritage also started to increase in Byzantium, which is attested by different sources: Maximus' writings were read with great interest and highly appreciated by the patriarch Photius (ninth century);³ Anna Comnenos and her mother Empress Irine (eleventh century),⁴ Isaac Sebastocrator,⁵ brother of Basileus Alexios II Comnenos; and manuscripts containing Maximus' works were actively copied in different scriptoria of Byzantium (numerous Greek manuscripts of this epoch, containing Maximus' writings have come down to this day).⁶ In the same period (presumably in the tenth century) the Greek *Life of St Maximus* was composed on the basis of the earlier sources.⁷ It is noteworthy that from the ninth century the translation was also started of Maximus' works into Latin—the authors of the ninth-century Latin translations are John Scotus Erigena and Anastasius Bibliothecarius.⁸

2. *Culture of Byzantium*, pp 11-59; 129-55; 617-35.

3. See: Photius, *Bibliothèque* (ed. R. Henry), vol. 3 ["codices" 186-222], Paris, 1962, pp 74-89.

4. See: Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, Moscow, 1965, p174 [in Russian].

5. See: Steel, C., 'Un admirateur de S. Maxime à la cour des Comnènes: Isaac le Sebastocrator', *Actes de Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, ed. F. Heinze & Ch. Schönborn, Freiburg, 1982, pp 365-73.

6. The interest of the Byzantines in Maximus during the eleventh-twelfth centuries is also manifested by their compiling the great *Corpus Maximianus*, containing all the available works of the Confessor. On this corpus and its codices see: Laga, C., & Steel, C. (eds.), *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I. Quaestiones I-LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (CCSG, vol. 7), Turnhout, 1980, pp xlii-lvi.

7. W. Lackner, 'Zu Quellen und datierung der Maximosvita', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 85, 1967, pp 285-316. See also: B. Neil & P. Allen, (eds.), *The life of Maximus the Confessor, Recension 3*, *Early Christian Studies*, vol. 6, St Paul, 2003, pp 5-8, 22-26.

8. On the ninth-century Latin translations of Maximus' works, see C. Laga & C. Steel (eds.), *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I*, pp xci-xcviii; see also P. Allen & B. Neil (eds.), *Scripta Saeculi VII Vitam Maximi Confessoris Illustrantia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 39), Turnhout & Leuven,

Therefore Maximus' introduction into Georgian ecclesiastic literature on the one hand must reflect this great increase of interest towards Maximus in Byzantium (as the cultural-literary processes taking place in Byzantium very quickly found a response in Georgian reality), while on the other it must have been conditioned by the cultural processes going on inside Georgia itself, which stimulated the intensive introduction of new literary genres and new authors into Georgian literature.⁹

Many works by Maximus that were translated by Euthymius the Athonite have survived to this day. These are: his most significant exegetical work *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*;¹⁰ the polemical work *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*;¹¹ several collections of ascetic 'Chapters', excerpted from different works of Maximus;¹² an exegetical collection *Interpretations of Some Passages of the Gospel Selected from St Maximus' Writings*.¹³ The composition of these collections calls for a special targeted study, i.e. it needs to be determined whether these collections

1999, pp xxiv-xli; E. Dekkers, 'Maxime le Confesseur dans la tradition latine', *After Chalcedon, Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, Leuven (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18), 1985, pp 83-97; S. Petrides, 'Traites liturgiques de saint Maxime et de saint Germain traduits par Anastase le Bibliothecaire', *Revue d'Orient Chrétien*, vol. 10, 1905, pp 289-313, 350-64.

9. In the second half of the tenth century a new period of Georgian culture began. This was characterised by an increasing orientation towards Constantinople, in contradistinction with the previous epoch when Georgia maintained close cultural relations with the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, and with Palestine in particular. Georgian men of letters strove to adopt the cultural achievements of Constantinople and to raise the level of Georgian literature as high as that of the centre of the Byzantine Empire. Many works of various branches of ecclesiastic literature were translated and many Byzantine authors, including Maximus, were introduced into Georgian literature.

10. CPG 7688—henceforth the abbreviation CPG is used to refer to the number assigned to the text in: M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vols. 1-5, *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout, 1974-87; M. Geerard & J. Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum, Supplementum*, *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout, 1998. For the Greek text, see: J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca*, vol. 90, col. 244-785. For the critical edition, see: C. Laga & C. Steel (eds.), *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium vol. 1, Quaestiones I-LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (CCSG, vol. 7), Turnhout-Leuven, 1980. vol. 2, *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (CCSG, vol. 22), Turnhout-Leuven, 1990. For the Georgian translation, see the manuscripts S396, Q34, H1663, S421 (all four kept in Tbilisi at the National Centre of Manuscripts, the former K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts), and so on.

11. CPG 7698; PG 91, col. 288-353. For the critical text see Fr Doucet's unpublished dissertation: M. Doucet, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, Thèse présentée en vue de l'obtention du grade de (Ph.D) Philosophie Doctor, Université de Montréal, Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1972. For the Georgian translation see the manuscripts S396, Q34, H1663, S421, among others.

12. See manuscripts Q 34, H 1663, A 57, A146, S 1350, S 1595 (kept at the National Centre of Manuscripts) amongst others. See also K. Kekelidze, 'Foreign Authors in Georgian Literature', *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 5, Tbilisi, 1957, pp 96-99 [in Georgian].

13. See manuscripts A 128, A72, A1064 (kept at the National Centre of Manuscripts) amongst others. See also Kekelidze, 'Foreign Authors in Georgian Literature', p98.

were compiled by Euthymius himself in imitation of the numerous Greek florilegia of Maximus' writings (which is quite probable if we take into account the specific characteristics of Euthymius' translation-editorial method), or whether in the Byzantine literary tradition there already existed the florilegia of a similar content which Euthymius simply translated into Georgian.¹⁴

Euthymius also translated the exegetical work *The Explanation of Difficult Passages from Gregory of Nazianzus* 'Oratio in Nativitatem' by Our Father St Maximus the Confessor, also known as the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, which is a part of Maximus' well-known *Ambiguorum Liber*.¹⁵ In the Georgian manuscript tradition this translation is attested in the collections of Gregory of Nazianzus.¹⁶

The study of the translations in question is interesting from different viewpoints. In many cases these translations significantly deviate from the extant Greek sources and represent a new, edited, compiled or excerpted recensions. As it is stated in the present-day scholarly literature, such a free attitude towards Greek models and such reshaping of the works under translation was characteristic of Euthymius' translation method, its basic goal being to adjust the translations to the spiritual demands of the Georgian audience contemporary with Euthymius.

One very interesting example of this free attitude to the Greek source and the adaptation of Maximus' complex theological reasoning to the intellectual capacities of the common reader, unversed in theology, is Euthymius' translation of Maximus' most significant anti-Monothelite work, *Dispute with Pyrrhus*. The text in the translation is edited to such a level that in reality it has become a new simplified redaction of the work aimed at the less highly educated, intellectually immature audience.

It should be noted that *Dispute with Pyrrhus* is the first piece of anti-Monothelite writing in Georgian literature. It is a rather complicated

work in which Christological dogmas are well founded by means of logical argumentation. Therefore, when translating this qualitatively new, alien and, moreover, highly complicated work for his contemporary unprepared Georgian reader, Euthymius simplified it, relieving it of sophisticated theological-philosophical reasonings and also of historical narrations that are of secondary importance to the main theme of the work. Instead he focused his attention on the central problem of the work, namely the refutation of Monothelitism and substantiation of the two wills and two energies of Christ, thereby providing a translation that is a somewhat simplified resumé of the text yet comprehensive and concise, and that concentrates on the key problems of the work.

By means of different literary modes Euthymius changes the main tone of the work (which is a strict academic theological dispute, aimed at establishing the truth by means of logical reasoning) and intensifies the pious intonations, resorts to a didactic way of explaining that seeks to fortify the reader's faith and to dissuade him from any heretical ideas; he transforms and simplifies the complicated logical reasoning of Maximus in various ways, often neglecting the dialectical methods of logical argumentation and resorting to simplified paraphrase, grasping essential points and conveying them in a clear comprehensible form, accentuating the most important statements, occasionally expanding the text with his own commentary and arguments, and thus leading and edifying the readers, making it easy for them to comprehend such a complex work.¹⁷

Another interesting example of revising the source text is Euthymius' translation of Maximus' exegetical work *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, in which complicated passages from the Scripture are interpreted. In Euthymius' translation Maximus' text is compiled with several other sources and thus a completely new recension is composed.¹⁸

It should be noted that after Euthymius, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* and *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* as well as *Ambiguorum Liber* were a century later translated in the Gelati literary school according to completely different principles of translation. Collating two translations of one and the same work provides extremely interesting material on the development

14. On the Byzantine literary tradition of compiling florilegia from Maximus the Confessor's works, see: P. Van Deun, 'Les citations de Maxime le Confesseur dans le florilège palamite de l'Atheniensis, Bibliothèque Nationale 2583', *Byzantion*, vol. 57, fasc. 1, 1987, pp 127-57.

15. CPG 7705; PG 91, col. 1061-1417; see also the Latin translation in: E. Jeuneau, (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem iuxta Iohannis Scotti Eriugena latinam interpretationem* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 18), Turnhout, Leuven, 1988.

16. A Georgian version has been published, see: *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera, Versio Iberica III*, eds. H. Metreveli & K. Bezarachvili, Ts. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikichvili, Th. Othkhmezhouri, M. Raphava (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 45, *Corpus Nazianzenum* 12), Turnhout-Leuven, 2001, pp 121-219. For more details on this translation see T. Othkhmezhouri's article in this volume: 'Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua ad Iohannem* in the Georgian Translation Tradition', p73.

17. For more details on the Georgian translations of *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, see L. Khoperia, 'Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of *Dispute with Pyrrhus*', *Religia*, vol. 1-2-3, Tbilisi, 1996, pp 82-101; idem., *The Old Georgian Translations of Maximus the Confessor's Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (unpublished PhD thesis), Tbilisi, 1998—this also includes the critically established texts of both Georgian translations of the *Dispute with Pyrrhus*.

18. At present the translation is being studied by Ani Chantladze who is preparing a critical edition of the text. See her article 'Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* of Maximus the Confessor' in this volume, p49.

of Georgian translation theory, the cultural processes going on in Georgia, and the spiritual interests and requirements of various epochs.

Here it is also worth mentioning one more translation by Euthymius, the *Life of the Virgin*.¹⁹ In the Georgian tradition this is attributed to Maximus, but the Greek original of this work is lost and there is also no mention of this work in the Byzantine literary tradition—thus it has come to this day only in the Georgian translation. Michel van Esbroeck, on the basis of a detailed textual analysis, concludes that this is one of the earliest works of Maximus,²⁰ although other scholars have voiced a different opinion regarding the text's authenticity.²¹

As mentioned above, after Euthymius translators from the Gelati literary school continued to study and translate into Georgian Maximus' literary heritage. The Gelati translations are made according to quite different translating principles and goals. The Gelati school is distinguished as a separate, independent branch of the Georgian Hellenophilic literary-intellectual trend as a school that introduced a strongly pronounced and distinctive translating method and style.

The Gelati school or academy was founded in Western Georgia by the Georgian King David the Builder at the turn of the twelfth century. Here he gathered renowned Georgian men of letters who were active both in Georgia and beyond its frontiers; many of them had been educated in Constantinople. They brought to Gelati the ideas and tendencies characterizing the advanced cultural world of Byzantium at that time. According to the scholarly literature, this school was characterized by a boldly manifested interest in theological and philosophical literature. In the wake of the intellectual processes going on in Constantinople, in Gelati likewise they began studying and translating classical philosophical works and Neoplatonics. Great attention was paid to the use of Aristotle's logic in substantiating Christian doctrine, as well as to philosophical and Biblical exegesis.²²

Translations of Maximus the Confessor's writings made in the Gelati

19. CPG, 7712.

20. See M.-J. van Esbroeck (ed./trans.), *Maxime le Confesseur: Vie de la Vierge, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 478, Scriptores Iberici, t. 21 (Georgian text) & vol. 479, Scriptores Iberici, t. 22 (French translation), Leuven, 1986.

21. See E. M. Toniolo, 'L'Akathistos nella Vita di Maria di Massimo il Confessore', in I.M. Calabuig (ed.), *Virgo liber verb, Miscellanea di studi in onore di p. Giuseppe M. Besutti, o.s.m.* Roma, 1991, pp 209-28. For a discussion on authenticity see also J.-C. Larchet, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580-662): Initiations aux Pères de l'Eglise*, Paris, 2003, pp 102-103.

22. For more details about the Gelati Literary School and its activities, see: D. Melikishvili, 'The Gelati Monastic-Literary School (Academy)', *Kutaisi University Bulletin*, vol. 1, 1993, pp 6-24; vol. 2, 1993, pp 5-25 [in Georgian]. For more details on the spiritual interests and translating methods elaborated in the Gelati Academy see also: D. Melikishvili, *Gelati Literary School (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries) and the Ways of the Formation of Georgian*

literary school also reveal an interest in the theological-philosophical aspects of his literary heritage, in applying dialectical argumentation to support the Christian dogmas. For instance, on the margins of one of the Gelati manuscripts containing translations of Maximus' works there are excited inscriptions—such as "enjoy it" and "beautiful"—made by the translator or the scribe marking those passages containing Maximus' complicated theological reasonings and logical argumentation.

Unlike Euthymius' translations, translations of Maximus' works made by the Gelati school are intended for the highly educated reader, well-versed in theology. These are most precise word-for-word translations, reflecting all the characteristic features of the Greek sources, all the nuances of Maximus' thinking and the subtleties of his argumentation. Great importance is attached to the exact rendering of special theological-philosophical terms. Among the several Gelati translations of Maximus that have come down to us is a collection of his works that has survived in a unique manuscript, K 14.²³

Except for the translations preserved in K 14, four other translations of Maximus from the Gelati school have also survived: *200 Chapters on Theology and Incarnation (Capita theologica et oeconomica)*,²⁴ *The Four Centuries on Charity (Capita de caritate)*,²⁵ and *15 Chapters (Capita XV)*²⁶ are preserved in the thirteenth-century manuscript A-39²⁷ (as well as in several other manuscripts of a later date), and the fourth translation, being an anonymous translation of Maximus' famous *Ambiguorum Liber* (CPG 7605),²⁸ is preserved fragmentarily only in one manuscript, the twelfth-thirteenth-century manuscript A-52.²⁹

Philosophical Language (Terminology), doctorate dissertation, Tbilisi, 1988 [in Georgian]; idem., 'The Gelati School and Some Observations on the Development of the Georgian Scholarly Language', *Works of Tbilisi State University*, vol. 267 (series: Linguistics, vol. 10), Tbilisi, 1986, pp 213-45 [in Georgian]; idem. 'General Principles of Terminological Word Derivation and the Systematization of Philosophical Terms in the Gelati School', *Issues of Stylistics of Georgian literary language*, vol. 10, Tbilisi, 1993 [in Georgian].

23. Preserved in the Kutaisi State Historical-Ethnographical Museum, Georgia.

24. CPG 7694; PG 90, 1084-1173.

25. CPG 7693; PG 90, 960-1080. For the critical edition of the text see: A., Ceresa-Gastaldo (ed.), *Massimo Confessore: Capitoli sulla carita*, Rome, 1963.

26. CPG 7695; PG 90, 1177-1185.

27. The manuscript is preserved in Tbilisi at the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia. See the detailed description of the manuscript in: *Description of Georgian Manuscripts, of the (A) collection of the former Ecclesiastic Museum*, vol. I. Compiled and prepared for publication by T. Bregadze, M. Kavtaria & L. Kutateladze, edited by E. Metreveli, Tbilisi, 1973 [in Georgian].

28. CPG 7705, PG 91, 1032-1417. The translation has not been studied so far, and it has not been determined yet whether this Georgian manuscript contains the translation of *Ambigua I* or *Ambigua II*.

29. The manuscript is preserved in Tbilisi at the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia. See *Description of Georgian Manuscripts, of the (A) collection*.

These four have not been studied in detail so far and hence I shall not touch upon them. But I would like to dwell more in detail on the Gelati collection preserved in manuscript K 14. Thorough study has yielded extremely interesting results from the manuscript that once belonged to Gelati monastery—it is now preserved in the Kutaisi State Historical-Ethnographic Museum. Though it bears no date, on the basis of the paleographic features it may be dated to the twelfth century.

As previously pointed out, K 14 contains Gelati translations of Maximus' writings, namely the exegetical work *Quaestiones ad Thallassium*,³⁰ the anti-Monothelite polemical work *Dispute with Pyrrhus*³¹ (these two works were earlier translated by Euthymius the Athonite); the exegetical work *On Our Father (Expositio Orationis Dominicae)*,³² dogmatic-polemical treatises directed mainly against Monophysites and Monothelites;³³ and Maximus' epistles addressed to different persons³⁴—these epistles also contain explanations of a number of dogmatic issues and most are veritable theological treatises.³⁵ Since this collection unites the translations of Maximus' exegetical and dogmatic-polemical works, this fact indicates once more the intellectual interests of the Gelati literary school. It also should be noted that the translations included in K-14 are attested only in that manuscript, making it a unique example.

The author of the translations is unknown. Tradition attributes them to the twelfth-century Georgian writer Patriarch Nikoloz Gulaberisdze. Unfortunately, there also exist no written sources that might refer to Nikoloz's translating activities in general or his being the author of this translation in particular (only one original work has come down to us that belongs undoubtedly to him).³⁶ Nor does manuscript K 14 contain

30. CPG 7688; for the editions of the Greek text, see note 10.

31. CPG 7698; for the editions of the Greek text, see note 11.

32. CPG 7691; PG 90, 872-909.

33. *Opuscula theologica et polemica* (CPG 7697). The Gelati collection contains the greater part of these treatises, i.e. opuscula 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 and a fragment of op. 8. For a complete list of these Greek treatises with the reference to relevant scholarly literature, see: M. L. Gatti, *Massimo il Confessore: Saggio di bibliografia generale*, Milan, 1987, pp 68-77. The critical text of the treatises is being prepared for publication by B. Markesinis.

34. *Epistulae XLV* (CPG 7699). The Gelati collection contains the following epistles: ep. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19. For a complete list of the extant Greek epistles with the reference to the relevant scholarly literature, see: Gatti, *Massimo il Confessore*, pp 47-60. The critical text of the epistles is being prepared for publication by B. Markesinis.

35. For a detailed description of manuscript K 14, see: L. Khoperia & A. Chantladze, 'The Gelati Collection of Maximus the Confessor and its Greek Source (An Episode from the History of the Interrelation between the Georgian and Greek Literary Centres)', *Mravtavi*, vol. 21, Tbilisi, 2005, pp 63-79 [in Georgian].

36. K. Kekelidze indicates Nikoloz Gulaberisdze as the author of the above translations, for which see: K. Kekelidze, 'Foreign Authors in Georgian Literature', p96; idem., *A History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980, p332 [in Georgian].

any information as to who its translator was, therefore the problem is left open-ended. It can only be stated with certitude that the translator was a representative of the Gelati literary school, which is evident from the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of the translations.

As previously mentioned, a particular translation method had been developed in the Gelati school that was aimed at the most precise translation, accuracy and exactitude in rendering the special terms, seeking to reproduce the original with maximum precision not only in content, but also in terms of formal elements, to reflect in the translation every individual detail and characteristic of the Greek source. The translations of Maximus' works included in Gelati collection K 14 are by the same method, being highly accurate word for word translations, with the principles of formal equivalence observed as best as possible. The unit of translation is always the individual word and not a single word is omitted or added. The translator strives to render each Greek word by its closest formal equivalent (formed only by means of Georgian roots and word-forming affixes). The ideal of formal equivalence is extended to syntax and word order as well. Observing these principles results in several characteristic features of the translation, such as abundance and variety of neologisms, complex word order and often unusual sentence structure, the presence of all sorts of lexical and syntactic calques and so on.³⁷

It should be noted that such a translation method makes it easier to determine the interrelation between the Georgian translations and Greek originals, since even an insignificant deviation from the Greek source could not be attributed to the translator, and their origin should be looked for in the Greek manuscript that served as a model for the translation in question.

From this viewpoint, collation of the Gelati collection with the

Unfortunately Kekelidze does not point out on which data he made his conclusions. He may have used the information provided in Z. Chichinadze's book *Georgian Literature in the Twelfth Century*, where Nikoloz Gulaberisdze is named as the translator of Maximus the Confessor's works (Z. Chichinadze, *Georgian Literature in the Twelfth Century*, Tbilisi, 1887, pp 26-27, in Georgian); though neither does Chichinadze refer to the sources. Besides, in Chichinadze's work there are many errors and inaccuracies which question the reliability of the information about Nikoloz Gulaberisdze as well.

37. On the main characteristics of the Georgian translations, included in manuscript K 14, see Khoperia, L., 'The Linguistic and Stylistic Characteristics of the Translations Preserved in the Gelati Collection of Maximus the Confessor (K 14)', *Journal of the Gelati Academy of Sciences*, Tbilisi, 2006, vol. 4 [in Georgian]; idem., 'Word Formation and the Principles of Word Rendering in Georgian Translations Preserved in Gelati Collection K14', *Journal of the Gelati Academy of Sciences*, Tbilisi, 2006, vols. 7 & 8 [in Georgian].

relevant Greek sources leads us to some interesting conclusions.³⁸ A comparative study of the Georgian collection and extant Greek sources reveals that the Georgian translations included in the Gelati collection are textually the closest to the twelfth-century Greek manuscript *Coislianus* 90.³⁹ The content and order of the works of K 14 is similar to that of *Coislianus* 90 with one exception: *Coislianus* 90 contains Maximus' *Ambiguorum Liber* (Amb. Thom. f. 141v-147r; Amb. Io. f. 147r-218v.; in the manuscript Coisl. 90 this work has survived with lacunae). This text is not attested in the corresponding place within K 14.⁴⁰ K 14 does not contain the last five texts of *Coislianus* 90 either, but since the Georgian manuscript is incomplete at the end (the last folios are missing) it is difficult to conjecture whether K 14 originally contained the mentioned five texts or not.⁴¹ Except for these divergences, the content and the order of the works are the same as of *Coislianus* 90.

At present *Coislianus* 90 is preserved in Paris. According to the colophons it once belonged to the Lavra of Athanasius on Mount Athos⁴² and it must also have passed through the hands of Georgians, which is corroborated by the Georgian pagination of the manuscript and a Georgian note (f. 145) made in angular script (*nuskhuri*).

A thorough comparative study of these Georgian and Greek manuscripts reveals a quite unusual and interesting picture: the first half of the Gelati collection directly follows the first half of Greek manuscript *Coislianus* 90 reflecting its every variant reading;⁴³ the second part of K 14, despite its great closeness to *Coislianus* 90, points to the existence of another Greek model for the translation. In a number of cases the readings of the second half of the Gelati manuscript differ from the text of *Coislianus* 90 and concur with the readings of other Greek

manuscripts; though it is impossible to distinguish one Greek manuscript, which is most frequently followed by the translations of the second half of K 14, sometimes it is one manuscript, sometimes another. Moreover, in some places the Georgian translations contain readings that are not attested in any extant Greek manuscripts. These differences are not large-scale, merely at word or phrase level. Evidently such divergences also proceed from a Greek source and could not be ascribed to the translator, who never introduced such changes into the text on his own due to his principles of translation.

Therefore, on the basis of a structural-textual analysis of the Georgian and Greek manuscripts in question it may be conjectured that the immediate source of the first half of the Gelati collection was the first half of the manuscript *Coislianus* 90. As to the second half of the Georgian collection, some other Greek manuscript of the same family, very close to *Coislianus* 90 both textually and compositionally, should serve as its model although it has not come down to this day.

This hypothesis is also supported by the following: as stated above, manuscript *Coislianus* 90 has a Georgian pagination and a Georgian colophon. It is precisely the first part of the Greek manuscript (ff 1-144) that is provided with a Georgian pagination (this part should be the immediate source of the Gelati collection). On the upper margin of 145r, where the Georgian pagination ends, there is a Georgian note made in *nuskhuri* script, which could be paleographically dated to the twelfth century („ათრვაჲეგი რვეული მე, დ(ა)ნ(ი)ელ, წ(ა)ვ(ი)გ(ა)ნე და ათ(ო)რმეგი აქა არს"—“I, Daniel, took 18 cahiers and 12 are here”).

It follows therefore that some Georgian, living and working on Mount Athos, took away the first half of the manuscript, i.e. 18 cahiers (144 folios) from the Lavra of Athanasius, where *Coislianus* 90 belonged at the time. He left the second part of the manuscript there and on the first leaf of the second part (145r) he made an inscription indicating the number of cahiers there were taken and those that were left. Most probably the manuscript was taken to the Georgian monastery of Iviron, which at that period (twelfth century) was a significant and influential cultural centre on Mount Athos and which maintained close relations with the Lavra of Athanasius. Here, in the Iviron monastery, the first half of the Greek manuscript was either used directly as the model for the Georgian translation or a copy of it was made. Afterwards, due to certain reasons, Georgians seemed to have been unable to obtain the

38. These conclusions are based on a scrupulous textological study carried out by Ani Chantladze and Lela Khoperia, the results being presented in detail in their article “The Gelati Collection of Maximus the Confessor and its Greek Source”, pp 63-79.

39. The description of the manuscript is by R. Devreesse—*Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, vol. 2, *Le fonds Coisl.*, Paris, 1954, pp 78-79.

40. As mentioned previously, two Georgian translations of this work have come down to this day—that of Euthymius the Athonite (who translated only Amb. Io., see note 16) and the Gelati translation preserved fragmentarily in manuscript A-52 (this translation has not been thoroughly studied yet, and it is difficult to determine whether it was translated by the same translator, who translated the Gelati collection, or by someone else—for more, see: E. Chelidze, *Old Georgian Theological Terminology*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1996, p389 [in Georgian]).

41. The last text, which has survived fragmentarily, in the Gelati collection is *Ad Catholicos per Siciliam constitutos* (according to the description of *Coislianus* 90 no 8k, ff 249r-253r), the text is defective where some leaves are missing at the beginning and at the end.

42. For the description of the manuscript see: Devreesse, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, pp 78-79.

43. Whenever the readings of *Coislianus* 90 differ from the readings of other Greek manuscripts, the Georgian translation always reflects readings of *Coislianus* 90.

second half of *Coislianus* 90,⁴⁴ and so another Greek manuscript of the same family close to *Coislianus* 90 both textually and compositionally was used as the model for the translations included in the second half of the Georgian collection. (However, of the extant Greek manuscripts none can be pointed out as the immediate model of the second half of Georgian collection. As noted above, the variant readings show an affinity sometimes to one, sometimes to another Greek manuscript.)

We might surmise that this Greek manuscript which served as a model for the second half of the Gelati collection either did not include the work *Ambiguorum liber* and that is why its translation is not attested in the Gelati collection,⁴⁵ or that this work was not translated deliberately, because its Hellenophilic Georgian translation, which has survived fragmentarily in manuscript A52 (see above), already existed by that time.

There is one more detail that should be paid special attention to: according to the Georgian inscription, Georgians took 18 cahiers of the manuscript *Coisl.* 90 from the Lavra of Athanasius, leaving the other 12 cahiers there. It follows therefore that at that time manuscript *Coislianus* 90 consisted of only 30 cahiers (i.e. 240 leaves of the manuscript). Now manuscript *Coislianus* 90 is far more extended. As stated in the description by Devreesse, the manuscript has been restored in the fourteenth century and its last part (ff 256-283) is composed of these later restored leaves.⁴⁶ But the survived original twelfth-century part is still larger than the 30 cahiers (i.e. 240 leaves)—at present it contains 256 leaves and presumably was even larger originally (as the text of the epistle breaks off in the middle on the folio 256).⁴⁷ So it could be supposed that by the time Georgians took the first part of this Greek manuscript it had not been copied to the end. This also explains the fact why the manuscript was not bound and consisted of separate cahiers, which made it possible to take

44. We may surmise that the Georgian scribe or translator was obliged to leave Iviron monastery and move to some other place (taking with him a partly copied or partly translated manuscript), where he used another Greek manuscript as a model (there are several such cases in the history of Georgian literature, attested by the colophons of Georgian manuscripts). Of course this may not be the only possible explanation: we also may surmise that the second half of *Coislianus* 90 was inaccessible to Georgians due to some other reason.

45. As mentioned above, the second half of *Coislianus* 90, which was not taken by Georgians from the Lavra of Athanasius, starts with the text of *Ambiguorum Liber*. The Georgian note is attested in the manuscript where the text of *Ambiguorum Liber* starts (the text of *Ambiguorum Liber* starts on f. 141v and the Georgian inscription is on f. 145r). The Georgian manuscript is not damaged or defective here; it simply does not contain a translation of the above work.

46. See Devreesse, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs*, p79.

47. Ibid.

several of them. Perhaps for the same reason some other manuscript was used as a source for the second part of the Georgian collection.

In itself the fact that the first part of the Greek manuscript, which was in the process of being copied at that time in the Lavra of Athanasius, was taken by the Georgians to Iviron Monastery to be translated or to be copied, once more refers to the close cultural relations between these two literary centres. There are a good number of facts bearing witness to such interrelations. For example, Euthymius the Athonite, when he was superior of the Iviron monastery during the years 1005-1019, donated a collection of Greek manuscripts to the library of the Lavra of Athanasius. These intensive contacts continued after Euthymius as well.⁴⁸ The fact of borrowing by Georgians of the first part of the Greek manuscript which was in the process of being copied is yet another indication of the lively literary activities taking place at Iviron Monastery during this period.

A question then arises as to where the translations included in the Gelati collection were made. As it has been said above, undoubtedly the translations were made in keeping with the principles elaborated at the Gelati literary school. It may be supposed that a copy of *Coislianus* 90 was made at Iviron Monastery (to be more exact, a copy of its first part, while the second part according to the above logic would have been copied from another original), the copy was then sent to Gelati monastery, where the Georgian translation was made. (There is no doubt that the literary schools of Mount Athos and Gelati maintained close cultural contacts—both were seats of literature that boasted of rich libraries and therefore there was an intensive exchange of manuscripts between them.) We cannot rule out, however, the possibility that the translations in question were made at Iviron Monastery itself, where the first part of *Coislianus* 90 was brought from the Lavra of Athanasius (bearing in mind that when translating the second part another manuscript was used as the original), but the translation was made by a follower of the translating principles of the Gelati school.

Here we cannot help mentioning the conjecture that has turned into a tradition, that Nikoloz Gulaberisdze was the author of the translations included in the Gelati collection. This outstanding man of letters and religious figure, after retiring on his own will from the position of Catholicos of Georgia in 1178, went to Mount Athos and stayed there at

48. See E. Metreveli, *Studies in the History of the Cultural-Educational Centre of Mount Athos*, Tbilisi, 1996, pp 140-41 [in Georgian].

Iviron Monastery for approximately five years, from 1178 until 1183 when he left for the Jerusalem Holy Cross Monastery.⁴⁹

On Mount Athos, Nikoloz together with Paul, the Father Superior of Iviron Monastery, did his best to rebuild and revive the fire-damaged Georgian monastery. Father Paul paid special attention to the literary activities in the monastery, particularly the completion and enriching of the library, actively supported by Nikoloz.⁵⁰ On the basis of the evidence provided in the Book of Agapae (memorial book) of the monastery Elene Metreveli notes that:

Nikoloz Gulaberisdze ... went to Mount Athos not only to take Queen Tamar's and his own donations there but also to actively engage himself in the activities for the renovation and restoration of Iviron Monastery. Nikoloz also started to take care of the monastery book repository, to enrich it with new manuscripts. He began participating in the translation activities and took great care of the monastery scriptorium.⁵¹

Might it be surmised that at this period of his life, when on Mount Athos, Nikoloz Gulaberisdze translated Maximus the Confessor's works, in keeping with the Hellenophilic translation method (namely, the principles of the Gelati literary school) which was a dominating translating trend among the Georgian men of letters of that period and which doubtless numbered Nikoloz as one of its followers as a prominent scholar and thinker of those days.

All this is but conjecture which can neither be proved nor denied with any certitude due to the lack of direct evidence. Nevertheless, whoever may have been the translator of Maximus' Gelati collection preserved in K 14, the history of its creation is another proof of the lively cultural-literary interrelations maintained among the different Georgian and Greek literary centres, especially between Iviron Monastery and the Lavra of Athanasius on Mount Athos on the one hand and the monasteries of Gelati and Iviron on the other.

49. Based on the study of extant sources Elene Metreveli supposed that after resigning from the position of Catholicos of Georgia, Nikoloz Gulaberisdze was planning to visit the holy sites of Jerusalem, but at that time there was a great fire in the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos, so Nikoloz went first to Mount Athos taking his own and Queen Tamar's donations to help the monastery; subsequently, presumably in the year 1183, he left Mount Athos for Jerusalem (see E. Metreveli, *The Book of Agapae of the Georgian Monastery on Mount Athos*, Tbilisi, 1998, pp 100-106, in Georgian).

50. Metreveli, *The Book of Agapae of the Georgian Monastery on Mount Athos*, p97.

51. *Ibid.*, p129.

Now let us return to our main subject, the Georgian translations of Maximus the Confessor's works. Aside from Euthymius' translations and those pertaining to the Gelati school, different manuscripts of a later period (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries) contain excerpts from different works by Maximus. The identity of their translators, the time of their translation as well as their attribution to Maximus calls for further research.

When studying the available Georgian sources on Maximus, it is the biographical documents that emerge as an independent and significant direction of research. If we take into consideration that a number of issues of his life remain vague or have been unanswered so far, the data provided in the Georgian sources acquire still greater significance. Their importance is further enhanced by the fact that the last year of Maximus' life is closely linked with Georgia. In the year 662, because of his rejection of Monothelitism, this father of the church and his two disciples, the monk Anastasius and Anastasius Apocrisarius, were exiled to Western Georgia (to Lazica, as is mentioned in the Greek sources), where Maximus spent the last days of his life and died. As tradition has it he is buried in Georgia, and in the township of Tsageri in Lechkhumi district, there still stands a church called Maximus' Monastery which is believed to be his burial place.⁵² A rich local folklore tradition is also associated with his name; this tradition was still alive in this mountainous part of Georgia in the first half of the twentieth century.⁵³

52. Schemaris, where according to the Greek sources Maximus died, is identified with Muri fortress situated in Lechkhumi district, near the town of Tsageri (Western Georgia). See: K. Kekelidze, 'Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor', *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 7, Tbilisi, 1961, pp 32-33 [in Russian]; A. Brilliantov, 'On the Place of Death and Interment of Maximus the Confessor', *Khristsianskij Vostok*, vol. 6, 1917, pp 47-62 [in Russian]; S. Qaukhchishvili, *Georgica: Scriptorum Byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia*, vol. 4, part 1, Tbilisi, 1941, p56 [in Georgian]. At the turn of the twentieth century Kekelidze wrote: "Muri Fortress is situated on a mountain near Tsageri, the monastery is located at the foot of the mountain. In fact the monastery does not exist any longer, only its ruins remain, on which there stands a small half-ruined church dedicated to Maximus. The church must have been built at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although it has been repaired recently, it is unfit for church services. There is no doubt this must be the monastery mentioned as Arsen's monastery in Maximus' *Life*; it has been called 'Maximus' Monastery' since Maximus the Confessor was buried there." See: Kekelidze, 'Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor', p32. It should also be noted that now this church stands restored and services are celebrated in it.

53. For the Georgian folklore tradition related to Maximus, see: K. Kekelidze, 'Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor', pp 33-34; E. Kavtaradze, *David Qipshidze: Life and Work*, Tbilisi, 1992, pp 82, 151-161 [in Georgian]; M. Chikovani, 'Maximus the Confessor in Seventh-Eighth-Century Georgian Legends', *Issues of the Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi, 1971, pp 62-91 [in Georgian]; G. Carr-Harris, 'The Folklorization of Maximus the Confessor', *Matsne (Language and Literature Series)*, 1980, vol. 30, pp 64-77 [in Georgian]. See also the articles by Kavtaradze, Chikovani, Carr-Harris and Surguladze in this volume.

Three Georgian biographical documents about Maximus have come down to this day: Maximus' extended *Life*⁵⁴ translated by Euthymius the Athonite (at the junction of the tenth and eleventh centuries), the synaxarian *Life*⁵⁵ translated by George the Athonite and included in his Great Synaxarion (eleventh century) and John Xiphilinos' metaphrastic *Commemoration*⁵⁶ translated at the Gelati literary school (twelfth century). All three documents are interesting and are of great relevance to the subject under discussion. Here I shall make concise reference to each of these sources.

It should be noted that the information on Maximus is preserved in Greek, Latin and Syriac sources. The principal documents for his biography are the Greek—the Latin sources were translated from the Greek in the ninth century and do not contain any different information though in some cases they help us to reconstruct the lost or incomplete Greek documents.⁵⁷ As for the Syriac biography it contains information quite opposite to the Graeco-Latin tradition about the origin and early years of Maximus, as well as on separate episodes of his life.⁵⁸

54. Published by K. Kekelidze on the basis of three manuscripts, see K. Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena* vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1918, pp 60-103 [in Georgian]. I am now preparing a complete critical edition of the above text according to all the available manuscripts.

55. This is preserved in the Great Synaxarion translated by George the Athonite (eleventh century). The critical text of the above translation was prepared for publication by Manana Dolakidze of the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia. She kindly allowed me to work on the text before its publication for which I would like to express my sincere gratitude. At present the text (without apparatus criticus) is published in: *The Calendar of the Georgian Church*, Tbilisi, 2003, pp 174-75 [in Georgian].

56. The text is preserved in a sole surviving manuscript, K-1 of the Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum; see: *A Description of the Manuscripts of the Kutaisi Historical Museum*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1953 [in Georgian]. The text has been published by K. Kekelidze in 'The Georgian version of Theodosius of Gangra's *Commemoration* and Its Scientific Significance', *Studies*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 1955, pp 289-310 [in Georgian].

57. For publications of the extant Greek and Latin biographical documents on Maximus see: PG 90, col. 68-222; Allen & Neil, *Scripta Saeculi VII*; Neil & Allen (eds.), *The Life of Maximus the Confessor, Recension 3*; M. Muretov (ed./trans.), *The Life of St Maximus the Confessor, Bogoslovski Vestnik*, 1913-1914, pp 1-171 [in Russian]; S. Epifanovich, *Materials for the Study of the Life and Works of Maximus the Confessor*, Kiev, 1917, pp 1-25 [in Russian]. For the distribution of various recensions of *Vita Maximi* in the Greek manuscripts and bibliography of their publications, see: M. L. Gatti, *Massimo il Confessore: Saggio di bibliografia*; and also F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (troisième édition mis à jour et considérablement augmentée), vol. 2, Bruxelles 1957, pp 105-107, no. 1231-1236 d.

58. The Syriac Life is published by S. Brock: 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 9, 1973, pp 299-346. In the scholarly literature it is noted that the Syriac Life, whose author is the Monothelite George of Reschaina (a former disciple of Sophron of Jerusalem, who subsequently took the side of the Monothelites), was created as a historical-biographical pamphlet although many scholars maintain that the text in question, as a source contemporary with Maximus, should be taken into account when studying his biography because, despite the biased attitude, authentic information about Maximus' origin and childhood may come forward. See I. H. Dalmis, 'La Vie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur reconsidérée?' *Studia Patristica*, vol.

Against the background of the two opposing traditions, study of the Georgian sources proves to be highly revealing. From the very outset it should be noted that all the three Georgian *Lives* of Maximus are undoubtedly translated from Greek originals and support the Graeco-Latin tradition and not the Syriac tradition, and yet the Georgian sources also provide useful information on separate moments of Maximus' biography which are not attested in the extant Greek sources. Furthermore, the Georgian sources are also valuable for the study of Greek textual tradition of the *Vita Maximi*.

The extended *Life of Maximus* shows that its translator Euthymius the Athonite has interpolated into it extensive passages from other, easily identifiable sources such as Maximus' *Dispute with Pyrrhus* and *Expositio Fidei* by Michael the Synkellos and others. The character of these interpolations fully conforms to Euthymius' method of translation and purposes, which are quite explicitly seen also in his other translations. Besides, based on a comparative study of the translation and all the extant biographical documents on Maximus, as well as several other related sources such as the Chronicle of Theophanes, it is possible to conclude that from the extant Greek recensions of *Vita Maximi* Euthymius' translation is closest to the so-called fourth recension (*recensio Mosquensis*).⁵⁹ However the significant divergences between these two versions enable us to surmise that the Georgian translation was not translated directly from the *recensio Mosquensis* either, but that it has preserved an unknown Greek recension of Maximus' Life, which could be identified as an independent, fifth recension of the *Vita*.

Analysis of the peculiarities of this fifth recension demonstrates that at some points it may reveal a greater affinity to the hypothesized Greek archetype of *Vita Maximi* than any other extant recension. Besides, Euthymius' translation contains details of separate incidents that are unknown elsewhere, e.g. the narration about Maximus' first visit to Rome, and the minutes of the Monothelite council held in

17, part I, 1982, pp 26-30; idem, 'Maxime le Confesseur', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 10, fasc. 66-67, col. 836-847, Paris, 1978; S. Brock, *An Early Syriac Life*, p346; J.-M. Garrigues, 'Le martyre de Saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Revue Thomiste*, vol. 26, 1976, pp 181-189; A. Sidorov, *The Works of Maximus the Confessor*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1993, pp 38-44 [in Russian]; C. Boudignon, 'Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain?' *Philomathestatos: Etudes de Patristique Grecque et textes Byzantins offerts à Jacques Noret à l'Occasion de ses 65 ans* (B. Janssens, B. Roosen & O. van Deun [eds.], = *OLA* 137, Leuven, 2004, pp 11-43).

59. The fourth recension (BHG 1233m) was published first by M. Muretov in 1913-1914 (M. Muretov [ed./trans.], 'Life of S. Maximus the Confessor', pp 1-171), and afterwards by Epifanovich (*Materials to Serve for the Study*, pp 1-10), based on the manuscript of the Moscow Synodal Library N380.

Constantinople in 662, where Maximus and his disciple were tried. These are likely to have been taken by Euthymius from the now lost source of his translation.⁶⁰

The Georgian synaxarian *Life* of Maximus the Confessor is preserved in the 'Great Synaxarion' translated by George the Athonite in the years 1042–1044. This translation also does not follow any of the extant Greek sources exactly. The first part of the text narrating the events that took place before Maximus' leaving for Chrisopolis Monastery follows most closely the epitomised *Life of Maximus* (BHG 1236)⁶¹ and the recension of the *Vita* preserved in the ninth-century Synaxarion from the Patmos Library (manuscript no. 266).⁶² These two Greek recensions almost completely coincide in their initial part although some passages of the Georgian translation deviate from both Greek recensions and instead follow the Greek synaxarian *Life* preserved in the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*.⁶³ Separate data attested in George's translation also reveal traces of influence from the *Recensio Mosquensis* (BHG 1233m).⁶⁴

We may presume that while translating, George either used several Greek sources or else he availed himself of some contaminated Greek recension which has never come down to this day. Whichever may be the case, it is clear that George also based himself on the extended Georgian *Life* translated by Euthymius, especially in the last part of the text, which narrates Maximus' exile to Georgia and his death. It should be mentioned that Georgian synaxarian *Vita* also contains interesting data for research on Maximus' liturgical commemorations and for the localization of the toponyms in Western Georgia associated with his name.⁶⁵

As for the third biographical document preserved in Georgian—the *Description of the Deeds and Martyrdom of Holy Maximus the Confessor*, his

*Disciple Anastasius and Pope Martinus*⁶⁶—this belongs to the Byzantine author from the second half of the eleventh century, John Xiphilinos, nephew and namesake of Patriarch of Constantinople John VIII Xiphilinos. The text has survived only in the Georgian translation (its Greek original unfortunately has been lost) and it is included in the Georgian translation of the metaphrastic *Menologion* of Xiphilinos.⁶⁷

The translation was made during the twelfth century in keeping with the particular translation method developed in the Gelati school. This method, as already described aimed at the greatest precision in translation, enables us to restore the lost Greek original of Xiphilinos' text with reasonable exactitude. His text is actually Maximus' metaphrastic *Life*, although considerable space in it is occupied by the description of punishment and tribulations in exile of Maximus' disciple Anastasius, as well as those of Pope Martin I and his companions, Theodore and Euprepius.

On the basis of the collation of the text in question with the extant earlier premetaphrastic sources, it is possible to conclude that Xiphilinos took several different sources to create this metaphrastic redaction—the basic sources are *Hypomnesticon*⁶⁸ and *Vita Maximi* (BHG 1234), while he also used the *Chronicle of Theophanes*⁶⁹ and *Dispute with Pyrrhus*.⁷⁰ Pieces of information may also have been borrowed from the other documents pertaining to the life of Maximus (*Acta*), namely from *Relatio Motionis* (BHG 1231) and *Disputatio Byziae* (BHG 1233),⁷¹ and the Greek *Life* of Pope Martin I or his *Second Letter to Theodore Spoudaeus*⁷² was probably also used. Xiphilinos, however, reworks these sources in a completely different manner, resorting to different literary methods. The metaphrastic *Life* does not contain any unknown information about

60. For more details about this Georgian version of *Vita Maximi* see: L. Khoperia, 'Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of *The Life of Maximus the Confessor* and Its Interconnection with the Greek Sources', *Mravaltavi*, vol. 21, Tbilisi, 2005, pp 52–62 [in Georgian]; idem., 'Old Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor's Life', *Le Museon*, t. 116, fasc. 3–4, Louvain-la Neuve, 2003, pp 395–414.

61. Published by Epifanovich, based on the Vienna codex: hist. gr. 14(45) ff. 117–119 (Epifanovich, S., *Materials to Serve for the Study*, pp 21–22). See also: F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, pp 106–107; idem., 'Un nouveau menologe grec de Janvier dans un manuscrit de Glasgow', *AB*, vol. 75, 1957, pp 66–71.

62. Published by A. Dmitrievski: *A Description of Liturgical Manuscripts Preserved in the Libraries of the Orthodox East*, vol. 1, Typica, part 1, Kiev, 1895, p103 [in Russian].

63. H. Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice sirmondiano, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Bruxelles, 1902, col. 409–410, 887–888.

64. See note 59.

65. On this Georgian translation see also: Khoperia, L., 'Old Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor's Life', pp 395–414.

66. The translation is preserved in the sole Georgian manuscript K1 (kept in the Kutaisi Historical Ethnographic Museum). The text is published in: K. Kekelidze, 'The Georgian version of Theodosius of Gangra's *Commemoration*', pp 289–310.

67. John Xiphilinos is known from Greek sources as the author of a collection of 53 homilies for Sundays and of reworked excerpts from the Roman History of Dion Cassius. Georgian translation of the twelfth century has preserved one more major work by Xiphilinos, his hagiographic collection of saints' lives forming a menologion, which completes and continues the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes (Xiphilinos paraphrased the lives for the period from February through August). The Greek source of this metaphrastic menologion has been lost.

68. A critical edition of the text: P. Allen & B. Neil (eds), *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions, Documents from Exile*, Oxford Early Christian Texts, Oxford, 2002.

69. C. de Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963–1965).

70. See note 11.

71. For a critical edition of these two texts see: Allen & Neil, *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions*, pp 48–74; 76–119.

72. See P. Peeters, 'Une Vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I', *AB* 51, 1933, pp 225–262.

Maximus distinct from other sources, while it provides valuable material both for determining the interrelation of various Greek sources on Maximus and Pope Martin and for studying the characteristic features of Xiphilinos' metaphrastic reworking method.

Study of the biographical documents on Maximus is also closely associated with his liturgical commemorations and the transfer of his relics to Constantinople. In the Greek and Georgian liturgical traditions the commemoration feasts for St Maximus are fixed on August 13 and January 21; in some liturgical collections these are also set on August 19 and 26, and September 20 (the latter is celebrated together with commemoration of Pope Martin). In the Greek liturgical tradition August 13 is considered to be the day when Maximus' relics were transferred to Constantinople, while January 21 is the day of his death. According to the Georgian sources Maximus' relics were never taken to Constantinople and they are still in Tsageri, while the Georgian synaxarian *Life* (translated by George the Athonite)⁷³ lists January 13 as the day of Maximus' death and January 21 as the day when his tongue and right arm were cut off in Constantinople.

It should be noted that here the Greek tradition contradicts itself. In Maximus' Greek *Life* August 13 is the day of his death, while in the liturgical tradition somehow this becomes the memorial day for the transfer of his relics from Lazica to Constantinople, whereas January 21 is considered to be the feast of his dormition.⁷⁴ Not a single Greek source, except the liturgical collections, mentions transferring Maximus' relics to Constantinople, nor do the liturgical collections indicate when the transfer may have taken place. It seems that even in the Greek tradition this might have emerged later.

73. The Great Synaxarion was translated by George the Athonite in the years 1040-1044 based on several Greek sources: the main source was the typikon of the Great Church, i.e. St Sophia's typikon, but as proved in the scholarly literature George also used other sources such as the typikon of the Studite Monastery and Athanasius Athonite's *Diptychos*; see K. Kekelidze, *Georgian Liturgical Monuments in the National Book Repositories and their Scholarly Significance*, Tbilisi, 1907, pp 487-502 [in Russian].

74. As Makarios, hieromonk of Simonos Petra, notes, the Greek ecclesiastic calendar commemorates St Maximus on January 21, "perhaps in order to include the Confessor in the series of the great Doctors of the Church, commemorated during January"—*Le Synaxaire, Vie des Saints de l'Eglise Orthodoxe* (adaptation française par Macaire, moine de Simonos-Petras), vol. 2: *Décembre, Janvier*, Thessaloniki, 1988, p468, note 1. Voordeckers voices the opinion that commemoration date of August 13 became of secondary importance at a later date due to its coincidence with the octave of the Feast of the Transfiguration, which is why the commemoration of Maximus was shifted to January 21. See E. Voordeckers, 'L'iconographie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur dans l'art des églises de rite byzantin', in: A. Schoors & P. van Deun (eds.), *Philobistôr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60)*, Leuven, 1994, pp 340-41.

In the most ancient Greek manuscripts containing the Typikon of the Great Church such information has not been attested so far. For instance in manuscript no. 266 of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (Patmaicus 266), which is the earliest of the surviving redactions (end of ninth-beginning of tenth centuries) of the typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople, Maximus' commemoration feast is set on August 13—and on August 26 as well but there is no mention of him on January 21. There is no information about transferring his relics to Constantinople either.⁷⁵ In manuscript no. 40 of the Library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate (cod. Hagiau Stauru, containing the typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople dated to the middle of the tenth century, or the junction of the tenth and eleventh centuries),⁷⁶ there is no mention of transferring Maximus' relics as well (in this manuscript commemorations for Maximus are attested on August 13 and 19).⁷⁷

The eleventh-twelfth-century Greek liturgical manuscripts already contain mentions of the transfer of Maximus' relics to Constantinople⁷⁸ but there is no information as to when this may have occurred.⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that in the Arabic Christian sources, translated directly from the Greek in the eleventh century, the feast of Maximus' dormition is

75. Published in: A. Dmitrievski, *A Description of Liturgical Manuscripts*; for the commemoration of Maximus, see: op. cit, p103. For more on this manuscript see also: S. I. Mateos (ed./trans.), *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise, Ms. Sainte-Croix n 40, Xe siècle*, vol. 1, *Les cycle des douze mois, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 165, Roma 1962, pp viii-xviii.

76. It is mentioned in the scholarly literature that this manuscript is a new stage in the development of the Constantinople Typikon and, in comparison with the Patmos manuscript, contains more developed material. The text is published in: Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise, Ms. sainte-Croix n 40, Xe siècle*, vol. 1. Mateos places the manuscript in the middle of the tenth century (see *ibid*, pp xviii-xix), but Grumel dates it by the end of the tenth and the turn of the eleventh centuries (see V. Grumel, 'Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise [Ste Sophie de Constantinople] d'après le manuscrit de Ste Croix', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 85, 1/2, Bruxelles, 1967, pp 45-57).

77. It is noteworthy that this manuscript mentions the transfer of Gregory of Nazianzus' relics, which occurred some time around the year 950, but there is no information about transferring those of Maximus—see S. I. Mateos (ed./trans.), *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise: Ms. Sainte-Croix*, n40, p xviii.

78. See H. Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, col. 887. It should be also mentioned that in the menologion of Basil II there is no mention of St Maximus on January 21, although his commemoration is attested on August 13 as a day of transferring his relics (see PG 117, col. 581). But because August is covered by the second semester, contained in the manuscript of Grotta-Ferrata (only the first semester is contained in Vt. Gr 1613, which is referred to as a Menologium of Basil proper), this information about transferring his relics could be of a slightly later date than the period of Basil II (whose menologion dates back to the junction of the tenth-eleventh centuries, more probably the early eleventh century—see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, pp 1341-42; for more on Basil's menologion see also: H. Delehaye, 'Synaxaire de Sirmont', *AB*, vol. 14, Bruxelles, 1895, pp 404-406).

79. For instance, Archbishop Sergius writes, "It is unknown as to why Maximus' commemoration day was fixed on January 21" (see *A Complete Menologion of the East by the*

fixed on the January 21, while the feast of transferring his relics from Lazica to Constantinople is set on August 13, and this tradition continues up to this day in the Antiochian calendars, synaxaria and Menologia.⁸⁰

Thus—since there is no mention of the transfer of Maximus' relics in the ninth-tenth-century Greek sources and we have this information already in the eleventh-twelfth century Greek liturgical collections—if the transfer took place then it could have happened only during the first half of the eleventh century. But if this really happened, it is unbelievable that George the Athonite (1009-1065), being a prominent man of letters and religious figure active on Mount Athos, would have been unaware of it, and that he would not have reflected this fact in the synaxarion composed by him on the basis of Greek sources (mainly on the basis of the Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople).⁸¹

Consequently, based on the results of the analysis of Greek sources, the Georgian tradition according to which the transfer never occurred seems the more plausible. The emergence in the Greek liturgical tradition of the transference of Maximus' relics to Constantinople may have been associated with the general growth of interest in Maximus over the tenth-eleventh centuries.

It is noteworthy that as late as the eighteenth century it was still believed in Georgia that Maximus was buried there. For instance Prince Vakhushhti Bagrationi notes that St Maximus' Monastery is near Tsageri and that Maximus was buried there.⁸² As mentioned above, local folklore indicates the same tradition. Attempts to determine the place of his interment were made already at the turn of the twentieth century by means of the archaeological excavations started in Tsageri, but due to some unknown reasons the excavations were never completed.⁸³

And, finally, I should like to note that in the Georgian sources the

Archbishop Sergius, vol. 1-2, Vladimir, 1901, vol. 2, part 2, p32; in Russian); Demetrius of Rostov writes that, according to the Great Synaxarion of Constantinople, "the feast of Maximus' dormition is observed on January 21, but the day of transferring his relics is August 13, although when and during the reign of which king these relics of Maximus were transferred is unknown to us" (see: *The Book of the Lives of the Saints by Demetrius, Mitropolit of Rostov, the Month of August*, Moscow, Synodal Press, 1845, p97, in Russian).

80. See: Fr Elia Khalifeh, 'St Maximus the Confessor in Syriac, Garshuni and Arabic', paper presented at the Second International Conference on Maximus the Confessor, Tbilisi, October 10-11, 2007.

81. See also note 73.

82. Prince Vakhushhti, *Description of the Kingdom of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 1941, p149 [in Georgian].

83. The Muri archaeological expedition, organized at the initiative of A. Brilliantov, a professor at the St Petersburg Theological Academy, worked from June 25 to July 30 with the participation of D. Qipshidze, N. Tikhonov, E. Mikeladze and N. Marr.

beatification of Maximus and the consequent institution of his commemoration days is associated with the Sixth Oecumenical Council. This is to be found in the extended *Life of Maximus* by Euthymius as well as in the title of the florilegium translated or compiled by Euthymius, i.e. *Teachings of Our Holy Father Maximus the Confessor that was glorified at the Sixth Council*.⁸⁴ The same information is repeated by George the Athonite in the synaxarian *Life* translated by him.

In reality, however, the information is incorrect since at the Sixth Oecumenical Council Maximus was never beatified, nor was the day of his commemoration instituted.⁸⁵ Despite the fact that it was Maximus the Confessor's doctrine upon which the dogmatic resolutions and the symbol of faith of the Council were mainly based, there was almost no mention of him at the Council (his name appeared only once or twice in a negative context via the Monothelite patriarch Macarios of Antioch).⁸⁶ This fact, being interesting in itself, calls for further reflection. It is also noteworthy that although Maximus was barely mentioned at the Council, the synodal epistle of Sophron of Jerusalem, another adversary of the Monothelite heresy, was declared to be orthodox at the same Council and Sophron's name was entered in the diptichs.⁸⁷ The reason for such a neglect of Maximus' name in contradistinction with Sophron of Jerusalem may have been due to his having been tried for political charges, for treason to the Empire and Caesar. As P. Allen and B. Neil write:

Maximus was not mentioned at the Sixth Oecumenical Council, probably to spare imperial embarrassment over his recent condemnation and martyrdom. Nevertheless, the doctrine which he and Pope Martin had worked tirelessly to promote, ultimately at the

Detailed information about the expedition is provided in Qipshidze's field journal (see E. Kavtaradze, *David Qipshidze, Life and Work*, pp 151-161 [in Georgian]; see also E. Kavtaradze's article in this volume, p151.

84. Preserved in manuscripts A 57, A 166 (from the collection of the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia) amongst others.

85. See: *Les conciles oecumeniques*, vol. 2, *Les Decrets*, Paris, 1994, pp 273-91; Riedinger, R. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, series II, vol. 2: *Consilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, Berlin, 1990-1992; see also: F. X. Murphy & P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III* (publiée sous la direction de Gervais Dumeige, SJ), Paris, 1974, pp 189-219; C.-J. Hefele & H. Leclercq, *Histoire de Conciles*, vol. 3, part 1, Paris, 1909, pp 473-512; *Fonti, Fascicolo IX. Discipline Generale antique* (Ile-IXe s.) par P.-P. Joannou, vol. 1, part 1, *Les canons des conciles oecumeniques* (édition critique du texte grec, version latine et traduction française, Roma) 1962, pp 98-242.

86. See: J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 11, Paris 1901, col 357 (actio VIII).

87. Hefele & Leclercq, *Histoire de Conciles*, vol. 3, part 1, p502 (Session XIII, March 28).

88. P. Allen & B. Neil (eds.) *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, p30.

cost of their lives, was finally vindicated.⁸⁸

It seems that Maximus was beatified at a later date, obviously before the end of the eighth century, because at the Eighth Oecumenical Council (year 787) he is already mentioned as a 'Holy Confessor', who is praised in all churches (*Sanctus confessor Maximus*;⁸⁹ *Sanctae memoriae Maximus*;⁹⁰ *Maximus memorandus, cuius laus in omnibus est ecclesiis*);⁹¹ and in the ninth-century liturgical collections which are available to us, his commemoration feasts are already attested.⁹²

The fact that Euthymius inserted into his translation the information about Maximus' beatification at the Sixth Oecumenical Council could have reflected his contemporary Greek tradition (i.e. the junction of the tenth-eleventh centuries) and the growth of interest in Maximus in that period as well as the deep reverence held for him in Georgia.⁹³

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89. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*, Graz, 1960, vol. 13, Actio IV, 37DE; 38D.

90. Ibid., Actio IV, 37E; 38E.

91. Ibid., Actio VI, 361D; 362D.

92. For example, Patmos library manuscript No 266 (9th c.); see: Dmitrievski, A., *Description of the Liturgical Manuscripts*, p103. Maximus' commemoration on both dates (August 13 and January 21) is also attested in the Georgian manuscript from the tenth century—Sin. 34 (from Mt Sinai), containing the calendar of the Palestine-Georgian saints (text published in: G. Garitte, *Le Calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, Bruxelles, 1958, pp 45, 84)

93. As Brigitta Schrade indicates, this reverence to Maximus is also attested by the fact that he is depicted in the Lashtkhveri church (in Upper Svaneti, northwestern Georgia) dressed as a hierarch (see Brigitta Schrade's article in this volume, p227).

EUTHYMIUS THE ATHONITE'S TRANSLATION OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S QUAESTIONES AD THALASSIUM

Ani Chantladze

Quaestiones ad Thalassium is one of the most significant works by Maximus the Confessor, written circa 637-640. As is clear from the title, the work is exegetical and consists of 65 questions and answers as well as an introduction and foreword to the scholia. Scholars maintain different opinions as to whether the foreword belongs to Maximus; some suggest that its author was in reality one of Maximus' followers. But, factually, in almost all the manuscripts and critical editions there is to be found a foreword to the scholia.

Quaestiones ad Thalassium has been translated twice into Georgian: by Euthymius the Athonite in the tenth century, and by an anonymous translator working in the Gelati literary school in the twelfth century. The Gelati translation is preserved in manuscript *Gelati 14*, which is the corpus of Maximus' work; like the original¹ it contains questions and answers, and it is typical of a translation of this period by being very close to the Greek in both composition and text. Its original is thought to be the *Coislinianus 90* manuscript.²

However, far more complex and interesting is Euthymius' translation. His version dates to the tenth-eleventh centuries and is

1. Laga C., & Steel, C., (eds.), *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, vol. 1, *Quaestiones I-IV una cum Latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (= CCSG 7), Turnhout-Leuven, 1980; vol. 2, *Quaestiones LV-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (= CCSG 22), Turnhout-Leuven, 1990.
2. For further details see: Khoperia L., & Chantladze, A., 'The Gelati Collection of Maximus the Confessor and Its Greek Source (An Episode from the History of the Interrelations between Georgian and Greek Literary Centres)', *Mravaltavi*, vol. 21, Tbilisi, 2005, pp 63-79 [in Georgian].

preserved in the eleventh-century manuscripts Q-34, H-1663, S-396, S-4213 (kept in the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia), and also in a few later ones such as the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries manuscripts Q-35, Q-848, A-636 (kept in the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia), *Kutaisi-185* (kept in the Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum).

The language itself is a comparatively free translating style characteristic of Euthymius, which, as we shall see below, makes it difficult to identify the Greek original.³ The text has not been studied in detail up to now and it appears that its attribution to Maximus came about as the result of the title mentioning Maximus as an author of the text and the fact that the first question and answer belongs to Maximus' opus. In fact it is a compilation of different works belonging to Maximus the Confessor and Anastasius of Sinai, comprising 100 questions and answers that cover a number of issues that are of significance to the history of Georgian and Byzantine literature.

K. Kekelidze studied this work and dedicated a special article to one of its sections, Question 29,⁴ arguing that Euthymius' translation was "an original redaction"⁵ of *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* and therefore Euthymius included material absent from the original, which will be dealt with in detail below. Another scholar to examine a separate section, Question 66, was Michel van Esbroeck. In his opinion, Euthymius' translation preserves a previously unknown redaction of *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* in which there are Maximus' questions and answers not found in the Greek versions. As van Esbroeck notes, the Georgian translation contains 27 questions from QT-65 and 17 questions from *Quaestiones et Dubia* (QD), leaving 66 questions that seem to have been preserved only in the Georgian translation.⁶ Unfortunately, van Esbroeck did not find the source of these additional questions and considered them to be an unknown part of Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* preserved only in Georgian translation.

I have tried to determine the structure of Euthymius' translation. At this stage, the composition of the text may be divided provisionally as follows:

3. In this article the Georgian text is taken from manuscript Q-34. This manuscript will be used as the basis for the critical edition of the text.
4. Kekelidze, K., 'Issues of the Classification and Geographical Distribution of Peoples in Old Georgian Literature', *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1956 [in Georgian].
5. Ibid., p169.
6. Van Esbroeck, J. M., 'La question du "Ad Thalassium" Georgien', *Analecta Lovaniensia* 60, Philophistor, Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistiker, Leuven, 1994.

1. Anastasius of Sinai's *Questions and Answers* (*Interrogationes et Responsiones de diversis propositae* [IR]).
2. Maximus' questions to Thalasses (*Quaestiones ad Thalassium* [QT]).
3. Maximus' *Quaestiones et Dubia* (QD).
4. Questions and Answers, whose Greek source and author are so far unidentified.

The text begins with Maximus' introduction to the questions and answers and does not contain the foreword to the scholia. The introduction is followed by the first question and answer of Maximus' work, as in the Greek original.

The questions that follow, 2 to 56, are part of Anastasius of Sinai's work *Interrogationes et Responsiones de diversis capitibus a diversis propositae* (IR). Anastasius is a rather mysterious figure who fought against both Muslims and Monophysites and is known also as the author of the well-known Ὁδηγος. Anastasius is often confused with other Anastasii who were active during the same period and it is frequently difficult to differentiate who is the author of the work.⁷ The question of Anastasius' work *Interrogationes et Responsiones* is no less complicated.

The first to publish the Greek text of Anastasius' work was Gretzer.⁸ This edition included 161 questions and answers, some of which are *Quaestiones extra ordinem*. As M. Richard⁹ noted, the oldest manuscript of the redaction used in Gretzer's edition dates to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, and in this redaction are combined two more ancient collections out of which the older consists of 103 questions and answers and the original of which has been preserved in two collections dating to the ninth-tenth centuries: *Mosqu. graec.* 265, and Ms Wolfenbuttel, Bibl. Hersong-August 4240 (*Guden graec.* 53). On the basis of these collections Richard reconstructed the seventh-century original text, but unfortunately he did not manage to publish it—the critical text of the work was published after his death in 2006 by Joseph Munitiz.¹⁰

7. Haldon, J., 'The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: a Key Source for the History of Seventeenth-century East-Mediterranean Society and Belief', *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, eds. A. Cameron & L.I. Conrad, New Jersey, 1994, pp 107-147.
8. Ibid., p118.
9. Richard, M., 'Les veritables "Questions et responses" l'Anastase le Sinaite', *M. Richard, Opera Minora*, vol. 3, no. 64.
10. Richard, M., & Munitiz, A., (eds.), *Anastasio Sinaitae, Quaestiones et responsiones (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, vol. 59)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006.

The second collection, which must have been used by the eleventh-twelfth-century editor, consisted of 88 questions and answers. We know several copies of this collection and it dates to circa ninth century. The association of this collection with the name of Anastasius is explained by the fact that the editor used Anastasius' 26 questions and answers.¹¹ It was this collection that Gretzer used as the basis for his edition. Together with the 88 questions he edited the greater part—66 questions—of the other redaction as well.¹²

Which redaction does the Georgian translation represent? As shown above, the Georgian manuscript includes only part of this work and it may represent the 88-question version, published in PG, since questions 1-24, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42 and their answers are from the 88-question collection and are present in the original collection, based on information from Munitiz—without access to the critical text, I was unable to collate the texts in greater detail.

When researching in the Georgian text there is the impression that the Georgian text has preserved some layers, which may be used in pointing out the strata in the Greek text of Anastasius' work. The numeration of the Georgian version does not strictly follow that of Migne's edition. There are cases when one question of the Greek text is represented as two in the Georgian text, or the Georgian text is shorter. It is difficult to assert whether these changes were made by the translator or whether they stem from the Greek original.

The table below shows the correspondence of the questions of Anastasius' part of Euthymius' translation:

Georgian Text	Ερωτ. και αποκρ.	Georgian Text	Ερωτ. και αποκρ.
კითხვა 2 (Q. 2)	Ερ. α (1)	კითხვა 22 (Q. 22)	Ερ. ιθ (19)
კითხვა 3 (Q. 3)	Ερ. β (2)	კითხვა 23 (Q. 23)	Ερ. κ (20)
კითხვა 4 (Q. 4)	Ερ. γ (3)	კითხვა 24 (Q. 24)	Ερ. κα (21)
კითხვა 5 (Q. 5)	Ερ. δ (4)	კითხვა 25 (Q. 25)	Ερ. κβ (22)
კითხვა 6 (Q. 6)	Ερ. ε (5)	კითხვა 26 (Q. 26)	Ερ. κγ (23)
კითხვა 7 (Q. 7)	Ερ. ς (6)	კითხვა 27 (Q. 27)	Ερ. κδ (24)
კითხვა 8 (Q. 8)	Ερ. ζ (7)	კითხვა 28 (Q. 28)	Ερ. κζ (27)
კითხვა 9 (Q. 9)	Ερ. η (8)	კითხვა 29 (Q. 29)	Ερ. κη (col 557, 7th line) (28)

11. Bibikov, M., 'From the Answers to the Questions of Anastasius of Sinai—to the Selected Works of Sviatoslav 1073', *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East: Materials of the International Conference*, (editors-in-chief D. E. Afinogenov & A. V. Muraviov, Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and others), Indrik, 1996, pp 127-158 [in Russian].

12. Migne, J.P., PG, t.89.

კითხვა 10 (Q. 10)	Ερ. θ (9)	კითხვა 30 (Q. 30)	Ερ. κθ (29)
კითხვა 11 (Q. 11)	Ερ. ι (10)	კითხვა 31 (Q. 31)	Ερ. λ (30)
კითხვა 12 (Q. 12)	Ερ. ια (11)	კითხვა 58 (Q. 58)	Ερ. λδ (34)
კითხვა 13 (Q. 13)	Ερ. ιβ (12)	კითხვა 59 (Q. 59)	Ερ. λζ (37)
კითხვა 14 (Q. 14)	Ερ. ιγ (13)	კითხვა 60 (Q. 60)	Ερ. λθ (39)
კითხვა 15 (Q. 15)	Ερ. ιδ (14)	კითხვა 61 (Q. 61)	Ερ. μ (40)
კითხვა 16 (Q. 16)	Ερ. ιε (15)	კითხვა 62 (Q. 62)	Ερ. μβ (42)
კითხვა 17 (Q. 17)	Ερ. ις (16)	კითხვა 63 (Q. 63)	Ερ. μγ (Mai) ¹³
კითხვა 18 (Q. 18)	Ερ. ιζ (17)	კითხვა 64 (Q. 64)	Ερ. με-μς (Mai) ¹⁴
კითხვა 19 (Q. 19)	Ερ. ιη (18)	კითხვა 65 (Q. 65)	Ερ. μζ-μη (Mai) ¹⁵
კითხვა 20 (Q. 20)	Ερ. ιη (18)	კითხვა 66 (Q. 66)	Ερ. ξδ
კითხვა 21 (Q. 21)	Ερ. ιη (18)		

Thus the ιη (18) question of the Greek text is divided into three in the Georgian: კითხვა 19 (Question 19), კითხვა 20 (Question 20) and კითხვა 21 (Question 21). The Georgian translation itself offers an interesting fact which I would like to dwell upon. The Georgian text contains three questions and answers (questions 63, 64 and 65), which are explanations of Solomon's proverbs (30, 15-16; 30, 18-19; 30, 24-27). The corresponding Greek text is present in the *Mai* edition, but was absent in *Patrologia Graeca*.

In the *Mai* edition this text is not presented as questions and answers; it is a complete, uninterrupted narration, but in the Georgian text it is in the form of questions and answers. The Greek text is divided into paragraphs in the following way:

(μγ) Ἦσαν δὲ φησι τῇ βδέλλῃ τρεῖς θυγατέρες ...
 (μδ) Ὁφθαλμὸν καταγελῶντα πατὴρ καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα γῆρας μητρός
 (not found in the Georgian text)
 (με) Τρία ἐσὶν ἀδύνατά μοι νοῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκω...
 (μς) Τοιαύτη ὁδὸς μοιχαῖδος, ἢ ὅταν πραῖξη, ἀπονιψαμένη, οὐδὲν
 φησὶ πεπραχῆναι ἄτοπον...
 (μζ) Διὰ τριῶν σείεται ἡ γῆ, διὰ πατὴρ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου
 πνεύματος...
 (με) Τέσσαρα ἐσὶν ἐλάχισα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ταῦτα δὲ ἐσὶν σοφότερα
 τῶν σοφῶν·

13. Mai, A., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 1, Roma, 1825, pp 369-374.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

In the Georgian text:

კითხვაჲ აგ. კუალად წერილ არს ამავე წიგნსა იგავთასა: წურბელსა სამ ასულ ესხნეს სიყუარულით საყუარელნი. სამთავე მათ ვერ განაძლეს იგი, და მეოთხესა მას ვერ ეყო თქმად, ვითარმედ: კმა არს. რაჲ არს ძალი სიყუარუთაჲ ამათ, გუაუწყე. (f.247v)

Question 63: And again it is written in this book of proverbs: The leech has three beloved daughters, "give! give!" they cry. There are three things that are never satisfied, four that never say "enough!"

კითხვაჲ ად. კუალად იყვს წიგნი იგი იგავთაჲ: სამი არს შეუძლებელი ჩემდა ცნობად და მეოთხე იგი ვერ გულისკმავებ: კუალი ორბისა მფრინვალისაჲ, და გზაჲ გუელისა კლდესა ზედა, და ალაგი ნავისაჲ ზღუესა მავალისაჲ და გზანი კაცისანი სიჭაბუკესა მისა. ესევეთარი არს გზაჲ ღელაკაცისა მრუშისაჲ, რომელმან-იგი რაჲამს ქმნის, თქვს, ვითარმედ: არარაჲ უჯეროჲ ვქმენ. (f.248r).

Question 64: And again this book of proverbs says: There are three things that are too amazing for me, and the fourth one, which I also do not understand: the way of an eagle in the sky, the way of a snake on a rock, the way of a ship on high seas, and the way of a man in his youth. This is the way of an adulteress: she eats, and wipes her mouth, and says: "I have done no wrong."

კითხვაჲ აე. შემდგომიჲ პირველთქმულისაჲ მის იგავისაჲ ჯერ-იხინე გამოცხადებად, რომელ იყვს: ოთხი არს უმცირეს ქუეყანასა ზედა და იგი არს უბრძნეს ბრძენთა – ჭინჭველთა, რომელთა თანა არა არს ძალი და გაანმზადიან ზაფხულის საზრდელი მათი, და მაჩუ, ნათესავი უძლური, რომელთა ქმნან კლდესა შინა ბუდენი თჳსნი, და მხულივი კელითა ეხოკებინ კედელსა, დაღაცათუ ადვილად შესაპყრობელ არს, არამედ დამკვდრებულ არს გაძრთა სამეუფოთა ... (f.248 v).

Question 65: Four things on earth are small, yet they are extremely wise: ants are creatures of little strength, yet they store up their food in the summer; coneys are creatures of little power, yet they make their home in the crags; the lizard clings to the rocks, you can take it in your hands, yet it is in king's palaces ...

It should be noted that in the Georgian text two questions of the Greek text are combined and the Georgian text is much more extended. It may therefore be conjectured that the Greek original used by Euthymius, as early as the tenth century, contained those questions and answers which the editors of Anastasius' questions and answers considered to be the later inserts.

Questions 32-57 of the Georgian translation are selected from Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (QT) and the table below presents their correspondence to the Georgian text:

Georgian Text	QT	Georgian Text	QT
კითხვაჲ ლბ (Q. 32)	Ep. β (2)	კითხვაჲ მე (Q. 45)	Ep. κα (21)
კითხვაჲ ლგ (Q. 33)	Ep. γ (3)	კითხვაჲ მვ (Q. 46)	Ep. κβ (22)
კითხვაჲ ლდ (Q. 34)	Ep. δ (4)	კითხვაჲ მზ (Q. 47)	Ep. κγ (23)
კითხვაჲ ლე (Q. 35)	Ep. ε (5)	კითხვაჲ მთ (Q. 48)	Ep. κδ (24)
კითხვაჲ ლვ (Q. 36)	Ep. ζ (6)	კითხვაჲ მთ (Q. 49)	Ep. λ (30)
კითხვაჲ ლზ (Q. 37)	Ep. η (7)	კითხვაჲ ნ (Q. 50)	Ep. λγ (33)
კითხვაჲ ლთ (Q. 38)	Ep. θ (8)	კითხვაჲ ნა (Q. 51)	Ep. λδ (34)
კითხვაჲ ლთ (Q. 39)	Ep. ι (9)	კითხვაჲ ნბ (Q. 52)	Ep. λε (35)
კითხვაჲ მ (Q. 40)	Ep. ια (10)	კითხვაჲ ნგ (Q. 53)	Ep. λζ (37)
კითხვაჲ მა (Q. 41)	Ep. ιβ (11)	კითხვაჲ ნდ (Q. 54)	Ep. μζ (47)
კითხვაჲ მბ (Q. 42)	Ep. ιγ (12)	კითხვაჲ ნე (Q. 55)	Ep. ξ (60)
კითხვაჲ მგ (Q. 43)	Ep. ιδ (13)	კითხვაჲ ნვ (Q. 56)	Ep. ξγ (63)
კითხვაჲ მდ (Q. 44)	Ep. κ (20)	კითხვაჲ ნზ (Q. 57)	Ep. ξδ (64)

Anastasius' questions and answers are followed by the questions from Maximus' *Quaestiones et Dubia* (QD). Besides the questions identified by Van Esbroeck¹⁶ კითხვაჲ ოგ (Question 73), კითხვაჲ ოვ (Question 76) of the Georgian text are from this work.

Georgian Text	QD	Georgian Text	QD
კითხვაჲ აზ (Q. 67)	PG.90, 825 A	კითხვაჲ პდ (Q. 84)	QD, Decl. ¹⁷ II, 1= V, 186
კითხვაჲ ათ (Q. 68)	PG 90, 805, fr. 26	კითხვაჲ პე, პვ, პზ (Q.s 85, 86, 87)	QD, Decl. II, 27= 1, 68

16. Ein unbekannter Traktat *Ad Thalassium* von Maximus dem Bekenner von Michael van Esbroeck, Cornelia Wunsch (Hrsg.): XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge, München 8013.4.1991 (ZDMG-Suppl. 10).—1994 Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart.

17. Critical edition of the text: Declerk, J. (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris est Dubia, Corpus Christianorum series Graeca*, vol. 10, Brepols-Turnhout.

კითხვა ობ (Q. 72)	QD, Decl. II, 18	კითხვა პ (Q. 88)	
კითხვა ოგ (Q. 73)	QD, 43 (II, 19)	კითხვა პთ (Q. 89)	QD, Decl. V, 193
კითხვა ოე (Q. 75)	PG, 90 833 fr. 61	კითხვა ებ (Q. 91)	QD, Decl. II, 10 = 1.74 = V, 159
კითხვა ოვ (Q. 76)	QD, Decl. 133 (II, 15)	კითხვა ევ (Q. 95)	QD, Decl. V, 115
კითხვა პბ (Q. 82)	QD, Decl. II, 22	კითხვა ეგ (Q. 96)	QD, Decl. II, 11 = 1, 72
კითხვა პგ (Q. 83)	QD, Decl. II, 11 = I, 72		

Since it is clear that some of these questions and answers are attested in Migne's edition but are absent from Declerck's critical text,¹⁸ I have a number of remarks concerning them. Firstly, M. Esbroeck inserted question 28 (key) in the QD questions, referring to the Greek text PG, col.90, 852-855, fr. 79. This question and answer forms part of Anastasius' questions and answers and not QD:

ΑΣ (ερ. ΚΖ) Διὰ τί δε τῆς θείας προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ τριετίζουσιν, καὶ περιστερὰν.¹⁹
QD Τί δηλοῦσιν αἱ κατὰ τὸν νόμον προσαγομέναι ἐ θυσίαι, τὸ πρόβατόν, ὁ βοῦς, ἡ αἴζ, ἡ τρυγὼν, ἡ περιστέρα.²⁰

Its Georgian translation is:

კითხვა კზ. რადასათჳს უბრძანა ღმერთმან აბრაჰამს დაკლვად ღიაკეული სამ წლისა და თხა სამ წლისა და ვერძი სამ წლისა და გურიგი და გრედი, ანუ რადასათჳს ამცნო წესი იგი წინადაცუთისა. (f.170r)

Why did God order Abraham to kill a heifer, a goat, a ram, each three years old and a dove and a young pigeon? Why did God inform him about the rule of circumcision?

It is quite evident that the question follows Anastasius. In fact this

18. Ibid.

19. PG. 89col. 533

20. PG 90 col.852

fragment, attested by Esbroeck, is not included in Declerck's edition. As for the answer, here too, in spite of the fact that the Georgian translation differs from both Anastasius' and the Patrology versions, it is still a translation of Anastasius' text, the more so that the question about the circumcision, added to the Georgian question, in the Greek text of Anastasius' questions and answers is the following question (ερ.κη – Τί δῆποτε περιμῆθῃαι αὐτόν).²¹

The next is question 29, which has already been mentioned. At the beginning this question and answer follow Anastasius' text but further discrepancies occur which are discussed in detail in Kekelidze's article as previously mentioned. Kekelidze suggests that Euthymius attributed to Maximus something he had never written and so created an independent work,²² although I refrain from sharing this conclusion because the original source of question 29 seems to be Anastasius' *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, which subsequently was extended by Euthymius in his own manner.

The following is question 67 of the Georgian text:

კითხვა 68. ვითარ გულისკმა-იყოფების სიგჳა იგი უფლისაჲ, რომელ თქუა, ვითარმედ: რომელმან დააბრკოლოს ერთი მცირეთა ამათგანი ჩემდა მომართ მორწმუნეთაჲ, უმჯობეს არს მისთვის დამო-თუ-იკიდოს ფქვილი იწრით საფქველი ქელსა მისსა და დაინთქას უესკრულსა მღვსასა. (f. 260r)

Question 67: How should we understand the Lord's words: But who shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.

Here part of the question follows QD, but the answer follows Anastasius' text:

ΑΣ (ερ. ჳΖ) Πῶς νοητὸν τό · Ὁρᾶτε, μὴ σκανδαλίσητε ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων.²³

QD: Τί ἐστὶ τό · Συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μύλος ὀνικός περιτέθῃ ἐν τῷ τραχηλῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ῥίψῃ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν.²⁴

21. PG. 89 col. 557.

22. K. Kekelidze, 'Issues of the Peoples'.

23. PG, vol.89, col.692.

24. Declerck, J. (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et Dubia*, Corpus Christianorum series Graeca, 10, Brepols-Turnhout, 1982.

The answer seems to have been taken from Anastasius' text; and here too it should be noted that the above question and answer are not included in Declerck's edition.

Thus it appears that Euthymius' translation has preserved a compiled work of questions and answers, where at least three works are used. The question and answer genre emerged as early as the Antique era and enjoyed great popularity in Byzantine literature. The holy fathers explained exegetical and dogmatic issues by means of this genre and in the form of questions and answers. On the basis of separate writings compiled collections were created in which the identity of the authors may not have even been pointed out. As we can assume, Euthymius' translation has preserved a collection of this type and, as the first question of this collection belonged to Maximus, the whole collection was attributed to this author. I attempted to trace the Greek original of the Georgian translation since I consider that it must have existed and that this work may not be a compilation made up by Euthymius. Unfortunately, I was unable to find such a collection yet in the descriptions of the manuscripts.

The same may be said in connection with the research on Anastasius' questions or his editor's 88 questions. The Georgian text already provides interesting material that reveals the history of the Greek text, although the method of insertion and omission used by Euthymius in his translations makes it difficult to identify the originals of the texts because it is not easy to prove whether this or that discrepancy from extant Greek original stems from the readings of the Greek text (or from lost recensions of the Greek text) or this change is introduced by Euthymius in his translation. It is my hope that after the text has been studied in detail it will be possible to draw more convincing conclusions.

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UNDERSTANDING SOME TERMS IN MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S *EXPOSITIO ORATIONIS DOMINICAE* AND ITS GELATI TRANSLATION

Nino Sakvarelidze

The Old Georgian translation of Maximus the Confessor's exegetical work *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*¹ is preserved in the Gelati collection of the twelfth century (manuscript K 14 of Kutaisi Museum). The Old Georgian translation is mentioned in CPG in no. 1691,² also CChr.SG 23,³ but only in passing. In CChr.SG 23, when preparing the publication of *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, information on the Georgian translation was scarce,⁴ however as a result of recent research one of the main Greek originals of the Georgian manuscript was ascertained:⁵ *Coislianus 90*, a twelfth-century collection,

1. Deun, P., van (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula Duo: Expositio in Psalmum LIX, Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, CChr.SG 23, Turnhout Brepols, 1991; see: Gatti, M. L., *Massimo il Confessore. Saggio di bibliografia generale ragionata e contributi per una ricostruzione scientifica del suo pensiero metafisico e religioso* (Metafisica del Platonismo nel suo sviluppo storico e nella filosofia patristica. Studi e Testi 2), Milano, 1987, pp 77-79.
2. Geerard, M. (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (=CPG) III, Tournhout 1979, 1691.
3. Deun, P., van (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula Duo*, pp 142-43.
4. The authors refer to Tarchnishvili (Tarchnishvili, M. *Die Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*. Auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze, bearbeitet von P. M. Tarchnishvili in Verbindung mit J. Assfalg (= Studi e Testi 185), Citta del Vaticano, 1955, pp 235-37; See: Kekelidze, K., *History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980, p322 [in Georgian]; Kekelidze, K., *Foreign Authors in the Georgian Literature. Studies on the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 5, Tbilisi, 1957, p96 [in Georgian]. Cf. Chichinadze, Z., *Georgian Literature of the 12th century*, Tbilisi, 1887, pp 26-27 [in Georgian] and Esbroeck, M., van, *Eutyme l'Hagiorite: le traducteur et ses traductions, Bedi Karthisa, REGC* (= *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*), vol. 4, Paris, 1988, p97.
5. Tamila Migaloblishvili, Lela Khoperia and Ani Chantladze have been working on the translation for years. See: Khoperia, L. & Chantladze, A., 'The Gelati Collection of St Maximus the Confessor and Its Greek Original', *Mravaktavi*, vol. 21, Tbilisi, 2005, 63-79 [in Georgian]. On these issues cf. the article by Khoperia in the present collection Khoperia, L., *Maximus the Confessor in the Georgian Tradition*.

now preserved at the National Library in Paris.⁶ It is therefore possible to establish the interconnection of the Georgian translation with the stemma of Devreesse⁷ who attributes three manuscripts—B, tenth century; E, tenth–eleventh centuries; Taur., turn of the eleventh century—to the Greek archetype.⁸ This indicates the *terminus ante quem* for *Exp. Orat. Dom.* as the tenth century. Additionally, BE stems from one family of the manuscripts—b, while Taur. comes from another—a.⁹ To the same family belongs the N manuscript of the twelfth century, i.e. *Coislianus* 90¹⁰—it is this work that our Gelati translation basically follows.

The author of the translations included in the K 14 collection is an anonymous translator of the Gelati literary school. It is noteworthy that translating Maximus the Confessor into Georgian did not begin in the twelfth century i.e. in the Hellenophile period. The first to translate Maximus' works was Euthymius the Athonite, the man of letters of the tenth century and founder of the Athos literary school. It has to be pointed out that *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* is present only in the manuscript K 14 (here I should like to note that all translations of Gelati collection are attested only in this K 14 manuscript). It is also quite evident that the Gelati collection bears the features characteristic of its time and spiritual tendencies of the Hellenophile epoch, hence differing from the preceding Athonic translations.

Researching the Gelati Translations

I shall outline the directions and challenges that face researchers when studying the Gelati collection. When dealing with a translation, first of all the question arises as to what translation is in general and what are the overall goals of studying the translating tradition. Another question is what is the concrete goal of studying the Gelati translation in particular. I will single out some basic aspects of research in the translation tradition, general trends that will serve also as a reference point:

6. Deun, P., van (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula Duo*, pp 33–34.

7. Ibid., pp 138–139.

8. Ibid., p 85.

9. Ibid., p 106.

10. Ibid., pp 23–4. This manuscript was described by Devreesse, R., *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, vol. 2, Le Fonds coisliens*, Paris, 1954, pp 78–9; Ch. G. Sotiropoulos, *La Mystagogie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur, Athènes, 2001*, 146; Laga, C. & Steel, C., *Maximus the Confessor, Quaestiones Ad Thalassium*, CChr.SG 7, Turnhout Brepols, 1980, pp 54–6, *ibid.*

1. Studying the translation on a text level, viewing it as a literary source, i.e. a textual-philological analysis (this level may be extended to a philological-historical dimension by analyzing the translation also as a historical source).
2. Studying it on a theological level, viewing it as a theological source, from the viewpoint of a theological reflection, i.e. a theological analysis and commentary.
3. Discussing the translation in two connections—the relation of the translation with the original and the relation of the translation with another. The first aspect reveals the characteristic feature of the history of the Georgian reception, its basic parameters and enables us to locate the place of the Georgian translating tradition within the history of Orthodox spirituality; the other makes it possible to follow the process of the formation of authentic Georgian theological terminology and define a place for any given translation within the framework of Georgian spiritual culture.
4. The next stage of the research is the study of the concrete terminology of the translation of various works. It should be noted that this level becomes more significant in the area of studying Hellenophile translations.
5. The issue of the scholia presents the subject for a separate study. The scholia should be investigated as an integrated part of the text itself.
6. Here the problem crops up of the necessity for publishing the translated sources.

The unity of all these issues is the subject of research. Their in-depth study therefore implies supplying the translations with theological commentaries. The interrelation of the translation with the original at a text level is the first preparatory stage of the reception with the translation as its foundation. Researching the translations means researching the interconnection between translation and original, their interrelation realized through language and thinking, the relation of one language and thinking model with another, of the encounter and coincidence of two different linguistic and thinking worlds on the level of letters, sounds and logia i.e. words as well as thoughts. This is what both the philological and theological analysis embrace. It should be added that this encounter of two different phenomena (i.e. the original and the translation) are a guarantee of an inevitable creation of the third,

i.e. something new. The first 'formal-linguistic' encounter of the two is followed by a second and a third meeting in the 'historical' and 'theological' space. In this case the subject of the research is the 'encounter' of the author of the Gelati collection with Maximus on all these levels.

Translation and the Georgian Tradition

Let us touch very briefly upon the phenomenon of translation in general. What is translation and what is it targeted at? What tasks does the translator face? It should also be noted that here we deal with the old translating tradition which from its very outset has differed from the modern art of translation on account of its tasks and function.

The Latin *trans-latio/traducere*¹¹ is an interesting compound word—its literal meaning being 'transporting, taking from one place to another'. It is here that the fundamental problems crop up: how are the three phenomena—thinking, speaking and translating—related to one another? What role do thinking and speaking play in translating?¹² How may a translation be qualified and what is created through the interrelation of two different worlds?¹³ Here the genre of the text under translation must be taken into consideration. It is revealing to collate the translations of the works of different genres of one and the same author

11. These Latin terms were used as the basis for all their equivalents in the West European languages, cf. Germ. 'Über-setzung', 'Über-tragung', Engl. 'trans-lation', Fr. 'traduction'. cf. Greek ἐρμηνεύω. It means 'translate' and 'interpret'. 'Hermeneutics'—'explanation'—originates from this word. It should be noted that the old Georgian term 'targmaneba' meaning 'explanation' stems from the same root 'targman'—'translation'. It is noteworthy that Georgian translators were translator-commentators and interpreters, never satisfied with merely translating the original.

12. Cf. "Übersetzung—(*trans-latio*) kann als Austausch sprachlich fixierter Bedeutungsinhalte zwischen differenten Weltentwürfen, als Wiedergabe einer unidealen Kommunikation und Kognition angesehen werden. Daher kommt es zu Verlusten und Sinnverschiebungen, die ihrerseits nicht nur als negative Begleitphänomene zu deuten sind, sondern Kristallisationskeime neuer Einsichten sein können," U. Reinhold, *Philosophische Grundbegriffe des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagites in Altharmenischer Version*, Y. de Andia (ed.), 'Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident', *Actes du Colloque Internationale, Paris, 21-24 September 1994* (= *Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Serie Antiquité—151*), Paris 1996, pp 201-23, p203; or: "Die jeweiligen Translationen philosophisch-theologischer Werke eröffnen die einzigartige Möglichkeit, einen Einbruch in die Transitorischen Momente zweier Denk-Welten zu gewinnen. Bei diesem Prozess gewinnt der Übersetzer und seine philosophisch-theologische Bildung eine zentrale Bedeutung. Als Vermittler zweier Dimensionen fungiert der Übersetzer als Stifter einer neuen Kausalkette im Denkraum anderen Kulturbereichs," *ibid*, pp 203-4.

13. "In gewisser Weise lässt sich das Übersetzen als Neuschöpfung bestimmter Texte deuten," B. Weisberger, Was heist "Übersetzen"? Sprachtheoretische Aspekte der Übertragung von Texten, *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter*, vol. 32, Berlin, 1994, no. 130, pp 180-94, 192.

from this angle (e.g. an anonymous translator at Gelati translates Maximus' exegetic works, an example of which is *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, as well as polemic and dogmatic treatises). It is also productive to collate the translations of two theologians representing different epochs and different theological schools, for example the translator from Gelati and Euthymius.

Translating works of the theological-philosophical genre (which became the main trend of the Gelati school) has its specific features. On this occasion Georgian translators had to adequately perceive and comprehend the main terms of Greek philosophy and theology. What complicated the process was the fact that at the initial stage of the Georgian translating tradition an authentic Georgian philosophical-theological terminology had not yet come into being. This meant that one of the most important tasks of Georgian translators was to create such a terminology. Apart from that, this adequate adaptation was to take place within the modus of the language, quite different in its provenance and structure. Here the question arises as to whether it is possible to render the main terms of one language by means of the notions of another language, to substitute them with these notions. If it is possible, then how did Georgian translators adapt the main Greek philosophical-theological terminology and comprehend them? What does Maximus' Gelati translation say in this connection? To produce an accurate and appropriate translation it is of paramount importance to correctly understand the terms that should be translated accordingly, to have good knowledge of the orthodox dogmatics, the Greek language and so on.

The translator therefore had to render the original as accurately and correctly as possible with an eye to the specific features of his native language. An accurate and correct translation should not violate the norms characteristic of Georgian. In order to avoid misunderstanding or for greater accuracy, to clarify the point, translators often supplied the translations with explanations and scholia. Georgian translators of the Hellenophile trend tried to interpret the Greek original as accurately as possible, without violating its thematic and often even formal framework, at the same time not to abuse their native language, to use the natural possibilities of Georgian to the utmost in order to render the Greek original adequately.

The Old Georgian translating tradition is an organic and integral part of a single Georgian Christian literature, of authentic Georgian culture and thinking. In the first period of Georgian translated literature, the

Scripture and liturgical collections were first of all translated. The former was the foremost source of the Christian religion, the other was the basis and support of Christian worship. These were intended for everyday liturgical needs—no Georgian liturgy could have been celebrated without them. It follows therefore that Christianity in Georgia was first of all based on the translating of the books of the Old and New Testament (mainly Psalms and the Gospels), lections for church services and hagiographic literature. Understandably for this purpose a simple, easy narrative language such as that of the Gospels was suitable. Exegetical-dogmatic literature, commentaries of the Gospel and liturgy emerged rather later. Alongside with it appears the need to create an adequate Georgian terminology corresponding to the Greek terms while there also grew a striving for regularity of terminology and acrobatic.¹⁴ This is why the formation of Georgian philosophical-theological terminology is associated with the translation of these types of works.¹⁵

Researching the Georgian translating tradition undoubtedly calls for research in terminology and study of the history of terms. The history of Georgian spirituality forms an uninterrupted span starting from the most ancient literary-cultural and spiritual traditions (the so-called pre-Athonic period, fifth-tenth centuries) via the Athonic tradition (the Athonic period proper, tenth-eleventh centuries, Euthymius and his disciples) till the Hellenophile period¹⁶ (post-Athonic or the Hellenophile period proper, eleventh-twelfth centuries, the Black Mountain [Ephrem Mtsire] and the Gelati school in general [Arsen of Iqalto, Ioane Petritsi and many other Gelatian translators]).¹⁷ In spite of the fundamental discrepancies in these translation attitudes and methods¹⁸ these periods are interconditioned and closely linked, they

14. Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology on the Basis of the Most Ancient Translation of Severian of Gabala's 'Hexameron'*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1996, p159 [in Georgian].

15. Melikishvili, D., *The Ways of the Formation and Development of the Georgian Scientific Terminology*, *Mnatobi*, vol. 2, 1983, pp 156-72 [in Georgian].

16. Hence, any kind of periodization is rather conditional, though very advantageous when defining priorities and emphases. For instance to more strongly highlight the importance and role of the Hellenophile tendency as a spiritual-cultural phenomenon and orientation in the Georgian spirituality of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, some researchers divide the whole Georgian tradition into pre-Hellenophile and Hellenophile period proper, which I think quite acceptable, Bezarashvili, K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetorics and Translation. A Study of Georgian Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings*, Tbilisi, 2004, pp 103-4 [in Georgian].

17. Melikishvili, D., *From the Black Mountain to Gelati (the Basic Principles of the Black Mountain Translation School)*, Nateli Christesi, Georgia, part I, Tbilisi, 2003, pp 566-69 [in Georgian].

18. See: Khoperia, L., 'Peculiar Features of Free and Exact Translations According to Two

form a common tradition, a single whole—the emergence of the Hellenophile school cannot be imagined without the preceding Athonic tradition. It was the Athonic tradition that prepared the grounds for the Hellenophile tradition as a spiritual-cultural phenomenon.¹⁹

It should be noted that these two traditions of Georgian translation practice belong to different periods—Athonic (tenth-the first half of the eleventh century), Hellenophile (second half of the eleventh-twelfth century)—as well as different geographical areas (Athonic, entirely beyond the geographical borders of Georgia and one of the most significant spiritual centres outside the country, particularly on Mount Athos; Hellenophile, founded outside Georgia, on the Black Mountain, but deepened and developed on Georgian soil at Gelati, Georgia's political and administrative, spiritual-cultural and ecclesiastical centre). It is these two traditions that determined the formation of an authentic Georgian philosophical-theological thinking. Georgian men of letters were engaged in intensive translation activities, though using different translating methods, conditioned by the spiritual requirements of this or that period and different historical, cultural and theological interests. Though the accents were laid on different issues and the methods also varied, there was only one common goal: that Georgians should also share in the knowledge of the bases of the Christian religion, i.e. these bases should be introduced to them in an appropriate form in their native language to strengthen them in their faith.

Both traditions and translation schools form a common and uninterrupted succession of the history of Georgian spirituality: from the Athonic tradition towards the Hellenophile, from Mount Athos, via the Black Mountain, to Gelati, from Euthymius the Athonite towards Ephrem Mtsire, Arsen of Iqalto, Ioane Chimchimeli and Ioane Petritsi, from free compiled simplified translation towards the most accurate, from simple language towards elevated, from narrative towards scholarly style, from adaptive-modal towards structural-formal and structural-equivalent translation, from dynamic equivalents to formal, from instability and multiplicity of terminology to regularity and acrobatic,

Georgian Translations of One and the Same Text', *Mravaltavi*, vol. 19, Tbilisi, 2001, pp 117-38 [in Georgian]. The Athonic School is characterized by the free translation method, which strives to create a dynamic/thematic equivalent of the text being translated; while Hellenophile translations are highly accurate, they are a formal-structural equivalent of the Greek models. In an Athonic translation the minimum unit to be translated is a sentence, in a Hellenophile it is a word. See also: Bezarashvili, K., *The Parameters of a Formal Equivalent-type Translation in Euthymius the Athonite's Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings*, Works of TSU, vol. 348, Tbilisi, pp 264-324 [in Georgian].

19. Bezarashvili, K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetorics and Translation*, p673 ff [in Georgian].

from liquid food (milk) to solid (bread),²⁰ from a plain ignorant faith to scientific, gnostical knowledge (γνωστική²¹ πίστις), i.e. to true gnosis and cognition.

Of course, there are also earlier translations that bear Hellenophile features, such as the *Hexameron* by Severian of Gabala.²² But when we touch upon such differences, it is clear that here we deal with those basic tendencies, that common orientation, which, in fact, determined these two periods of Georgian spiritual history. They form a single whole, a common history of Georgian spirituality—and spirituality resembles a live organism where each organ is connected with another and cannot be separated from the others. This interconnection of the many gives birth to a single one, multiplicity results in unity. This unity and continuity of tradition seemed quite natural to Georgian spiritual men. It was they who perceived themselves as part of the unity, who continued the tradition but did not create a new one.²³ Athonic translation, simplified and compiled, may have been the most suitable for the 'ignorant and immature' Georgians.²⁴

At that stage the main goal was to introduce Georgians to the fundamental issues of the religion as they were not advanced in their faith. But it does not mean that they were 'weak in their faith'. Here the question should be more about knowledge of their faith, i.e. lack of theory, rather than a lack of practice. In their faith Georgians were as

20. Cf. "I fed you with milk [γάλα, Georg. 'sdze'], not solid food [βρώμα, Georg. 'sach'meli']: for you were ready for solid food," 1 Cor 3:2, Coogan, M. D. (ed.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha*, 3th edn., Oxford, New York 1989, p271, see comment below: "Milk and solid food are the foods appropriate to infants and the mature or spiritual people", ibid. Cf. 1 Peter 2:2,3, ibid, p396. /Aland, K. & Nestle, E., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27. revidierte Auflage, Stuttgart, 1993, erweiterter Druck 2001, p444; *New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, Tbilisi 1963, p403. St Euthyme is using this widespread Pauline metaphor to explain the 'simple' art of the translations of his own: "Like Paul nurturing our immaturity with milk, ... for then our relatives were ignorant and immature," Cod. Jer. Georg. 43, f. 3. Milk is for the 'immature', 'infants in Christ' cf. νεπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ, 1 Cor 3:1/Georg. 'chvilita kristes mier' (newborn in Christ, cf. Hebr. 5:13), meanwhile the 'mature'—τελειῶν, Hebr. 5:14 (Georg. 'srultay'), live on solid food (στερεὰς τροφῆς, Georg. 'mt'k'itse sazrdeli', a word-for-word translation of the Greek pair). It is noteworthy that Paul is making a clear distinction between 'people of the flesh' and 'people of the spirit', between those who are 'unskilled in the word of righteousness' and those 'whose faculties have been trained by practice to distinguish good from evil', Hebr. 5:13-14. It is significant that the latter ones, those who have trained themselves to distinguish good from evil, are called perfect.

21. 'Cognitive, opp. practical, applied to spiritual life, contemplative or mystical,' Lampe, G. W. (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 7th edn., Oxford, 1984, p320.

22. It is clearly shown by Edisher Chelidze in his brilliant research, Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*.

23. We may recall Ephrem's attitude to Euthymus.

24. Cf. footnote 19, p6.

well versed then as later if not better, for their faith was simple and pure, innocent of knowledge and education, 'devoid of philosophy' or profound theological speculations, clean and untampered with. All this was revealed in the Hellenophile period, when the issue of interconnection between theory and practice, faith and knowledge, theology and external philosophy (ἐξω) was most acute.

The Hellenophile epoch is the time when the Georgian cognitive spirit, armed with mind and faith, achieved heights and depths never known before, and which is embodied in original creative work. This is strongly substantiated by Ioane Petritsi's works in philosophical and theological literature; whereas the secular literature, which, doubtlessly, was born within the religious world and had always been nurtured by it, gave birth to Shota Rustaveli.²⁵

Terms in the Gelati *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*

In order to present the Gelati translation on a level of terminology I have selected one fragment. At the very beginning Maximus prays to God:

... and I ask the Lord who taught this prayer to open my mind to understand the mysteries it contains and to give me a power of expression in proportion to the meaning of the mysteries apprehended.²⁶

ვევედრებო ლოცვისა ამის მასწავლელსა უფალსა განდებად გონებისა... განხილვისათვის მის შორისთა საიდუმლოთადასა და მოცემად თანშეგომილი სიტყუაჲ აღესნისა მიმართ განსაგონებელთადას.²⁷

25. On these issues see Bezarashvili, K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetorics and Translation*, p157, see also Siradze, R., *On the History of Georgian Aesthetic Idea*, Tbilisi, 1978; Khintibidze, E., *On the History of Georgian-Byzantine Literary Interrelations*, Tbilisi, 1982 [all in Georgian].

26. G. C. Berthold (transl./ed.), Maximus the Confessor. *Commentary on the Our Father. Maximus Confessor. Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, Translation and Notes by G. C. Berthold. Introduction by J. Pelikan. Preface by I.-H. Dalmis, O.P., New York, Mahwah, Toronto, 1985, pp 99-126, 102.1. It is the Son of God, Christ himself who taught us the Lord's Prayer, cf. Maximus the Confessor, *Exp. Orat. Dom.*, PG 90, 876 A/= CChr.SG 23, c. 54 f30.

27. Maximus, *On the Lord's Prayer*, 153r [in Georgian]/αἰτοῦμαι τὸν ταύτης διδάσκαλον τῆς προσευχῆς Κύριον, διανοῖξαι μου τὸν νοῦν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἐν αὐτῇ μυστηρίων, καὶ δοῦναι σύμμετρον λόγον πρὸς τὴν τῶν νοουμένων σαφήνειαν, Maximus the Confessor, *Exp. Orat. Dom.*, PG 90, 876 A/=CChr SG 23, c. 54 f29-30/ *ipsum orationis huius praeceptorum Dominum obsecro, ut mentem mihi aperiat ad intelligenda mysteria quae in illa continentur, ac quantum necesse sit sermonem elargiatur, ut quae intellexero, clare possim explicare*, Maximus the Confessor, *Exp. Orat. Dom.*, PG 90, 875 A.

In Georgian the Greek σύμμετρον²⁸ (a power of expression in proportion to), which is rendered into Latin by an auxiliary sentence *ac quantum necesse sit sermonem elargiatur*, is expressed by a composite word თანშემომილი სიტყუა/*tanashomezomili sit'quay* ('appropriate word', 'reference to appropriation', 'proportion') which is analogous to the Greek version. The adjective used as an attribute to the Georgian სიტყუა/*sit'quay* ('word') is derived in Georgian in the same manner as in Greek by consisting of the preposition თან-/tan- (συν) and the participial form შემომილი/*shomezomili* which corresponds to the Greek noun μέτρον (*sazomi*—'measure'). In most cases in Greek, attributes with the -ον suffix are participles of the passive voice. In his translation of Dionysius the Areopagite, Ephrem, a Georgian man of letters who lived and was active on the Black Mountain, renders the same Greek term ἐν συμμετρῖᾳ by its equivalent სამომისებრ/*sazomisaebr*²⁹ (word-for-word 'according to measure', appropriate).

In the same section of the interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, as a synonym of Maximus' 'measurable word' there occurs სათანადო აღწერა/*satanado aghts'eray*³⁰—'an appropriate description' (δεόντος γράψαι)³¹ / (*ac sic scripto eam consignare*),³² and 'appropriate' is how we should speak about the spiritual and divine. This is something God is well pleased with, it is the very thing which Origenes calls mystical and agreeable to God in his work on the prayer: μυστικώτερον καὶ θεοπρεπέστερον³³ in his Exegesis of St Matthew he substitutes this pair of words by ἀκριβῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς³⁴ (detailed, acribic and agreeable to God).³⁵ The use of the adjectives in the comparative-superlative degrees is interesting since it lays more emphasis on their superlative character. And Origenes' method of exegesis is nothing but a perception of the

28. On this term see: Lampe, G. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p1284: 'in due measure, right-sized, moderate, corresponding to, hence, in proportion.'

29. ...τῶν αἰσθητῶν συμβόλων, ...ὧν ἱεραρχικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνοειδῆ θέσιν ἐν συμμετρῖᾳ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγόμεθα (θεὸν καὶ θέλαν ἀρετὴν), Heil, G., *Dionysius Areopagites, EH* 1:2, PTS 36, 12:65 / *grdznobadta amat sakbeta...*, *romelta mier ertsakhisa mis ganghmrtobisa aghvigvanebit sazomisaebr chuen titoeulisa, khola ghmerts da saghmrtosa satnoebisa*, Erukashvili, S. (ed.), *Peter the Iberian. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Works. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Tbilisi, 1961, 1:2, 7-9:157. 'Sazomi' (measure) is one of the most significant notions in Dionysius the Areopagite's hierarchic cosmos. In this hierarchy every creature exists according to its measure.

30. Maximus, *On the Lord's Prayer*, 153r.

31. Maximus, *Exp. Orat. Dom.*, PG 90, 876 A/=CChr SG 23, c. 54:29.

32. Ibid., PG 90, 875 A.

33. Koetschau, P. (ed.), Origenes, *De Oratione*, 23, 2, Origenes Werke II, GCS 3, Leipzig 1899, c. 29-30:350.

34. Klostermann, E., & Benz, A. (eds.), Origenes, *Comm Mt*, 10, 14, GCS 40, Leipzig, 1935, 17:5:32.

35. Cf. Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p665.

mystical essence of the Scripture in a manner agreeable to God. Maximus seems to have been following the same method.

This appropriate word, granted by God, is indispensable for opening our minds in order to reveal the mysteries concealed in it and for uplifting towards the intelligible. In the same sentence the Georgian equivalents of the Greek noetic terms attract our attention. It is interesting that the Georgian განსაგონებელთადას/*gansagonebeltaysa*³⁶ ('intelligible') corresponding to the Greek term τῶν νοουμένων: νοουμένων is the passive participle, derived from the noun νοῦς,³⁷ Georgian გონება/*gon-eba* (nous, sphere of the intelligible). On the analogy of the Greek language the Georgian equivalent is formed by means of the passive participle—'gan-sa-gon-eb-el-tay' (by means of the prefix sa- and suffix -el). It is noteworthy that it is the term νοῦς, widely accepted in Gelati, that the anonymous Gelati translator uses when translating the word proper or the notions derived from it.³⁸ In another of his works Maximus considers νοούμενα as one of the aspects of the exegesis.³⁹

Ioane Petritsi associates the verbs νοέω, ἔγνωεω,⁴⁰ κατανοέω⁴¹ derived from νοῦς with გონება/*gon-eba* (νοῦς) and in most cases translates it as გაგონება/*ga-goneba* (knowing, referring to νοῦς).⁴² In the collection of the Gelati author the substantivized form of κατανοέω, κατανόησις is rendered by its corresponding form განხილვისათვის/*gankhilvisatvis*

36. Sometimes 'satsnauri' is used as its synonym, which on its part is a stable equivalent to νοερός/νοητός, cf. ...τὰ τοῦ κυρίου θεοῦ ταῖς νοεαῖς καὶ ἀοράτοις γυνέσει τιμῆσαι... Dionysius the Areopagite, *EH* 1:1, PTS 36, 8-9:63 / *saidumlota ghmrtisata satsnaurebata da ukbilavebita tsnobita pativ-stse*, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagites, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 1:1, Erukashvili, 12-14:155, or: διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ, Dionysius Areopagites, *CH* 1:3, PTS 36, 13:9 / *grdznobadtagan satsnaurta mimart*, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagites, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 1:3, Erukashvili, 9:103. But it is noteworthy that already 'gonieri' ('intelligible') is used as an equivalent of the same noetic terms of K 14: 'goniarta tualtagan', ('through intelligible, noetic eyes') *On the Lord's Prayer*, 162r / τῶν νοεῶν ὁμμάτων. Maximus the Confessor, *Exp. Orat. Dom.*, c. 607:62. On the Greek terms see: Lampe, G. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp 915-917.

37. Lampe, p923 ff.

38. Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, pp 402-452, p424.

39. Maximus the Confessor differentiates between two aspects of exegesis: (νοούμενα)/'gansagonebeli'—intelligible, (καὶ ἱστορούμενα), Maximus Confessor, *Ad Thalassium I*: CChr SG 7, Turnhout Brepols, 1980, Quaest. I/LV, Q.L., c. 77:383/ *fortitudo tropice intellecta*, *ibid.*, L, c. 66:382, und καθ' αἰσθησιν σχέσεως, ὅσον ἱστορικῶς τοῦ τόπου, *ibid.*, Q. XVII, c. 138-139:199/*ibid.*, Q. XVII, *historialiter loco*, c. 118:198. cf. Origenes, *De principiis*, IV 2, 4, GCS 22, Leipzig, 1913, 312. Origenes speaks of three types of interpretations: historical, moral and mystical, the first refers to the historical reality, factual narration, the other—to man's soul, the third—to Christ, church and faith.

40. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p476.

41. Ibid., p713.

42. Ibid., pp 923-927. Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p424.

('for contemplation', cf. English transl. 'to understand'), whereas in Petritsi's work the same form is again given as გაგონება/*gagoneba*.⁴³ The equivalent used by the Gelati author to translate the noetic notion (განხილვა/*gankhilva*—contemplation), is characteristic of the pre-Gelati epoch.⁴⁴ Parallel with it were used ხილვა/*khilva*—vision, contemplation, განცდა/*gantsda* perception, ცნობა/*tsnoba*⁴⁵—cognition, knowing, knowledge, გულისხმისყოფა/*guliskhmisqopa* 'cognition', referring to the voice of heart, მოგონება/*mogoneba* 'intelligible knowledge', derived from nous and referring to nous as well as recollection, მრახვა/*zrakhva* 'thought'. As E. Chelidze suggests განცდა/*gantsda* is attested as the main equivalent⁴⁶ in the sixth group⁴⁷ of the homogeneous texts. The Gelati collection also belongs to this group. If გაგონება/*gagoneba* (knowing) and განსაგონებელი/*gansagonebeli* (to be known) indicates association with გონება/*goneba* 'nous, sphere of intelligence', განხილვა/*gankhilva* accentuates ხილვა/*xilva* 'vision', ხედვა/*khedva* 'theory' and ჭვრეტა/*ch'vret'a* 'contemplation' (cf. the Greek καθορά⁴⁸ or θεωρία).⁴⁹ It is a contemplative cognition. It is highly significant that the visual moment defines the act of knowing.⁵⁰ It is the gnostical knowledge of God mentioned above. Here the Georgian preposition გან-/*gan-* corresponds to the Greek prefix κατά. Quite often this prefix occurs in Georgian to render the Greek διά, as it is attested by the use of გან-გება/*gan-geba* as an equivalent to διανοῦν in the same paragraph.

43. Ibid., p422, E. Chelidze refers to a very interesting example 'mebr-vigonebo' in Petritsi's translation, ibid., p423. The Greek prefix κατά is rendered with a Georgian preposition 'mebr'.

44. Ibid., pp 417-21.

45. This term corresponds very frequently to the Greek γνῶσις.

46. Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p421.

47. Ibid., p389.

48. The literal meaning of this term is not only 'looking from the above down,' but figuratively it also means 'jvreta' (contemplation) and 'ჭვრეტა' (cognition). On the Greek term, see Gemoll, W., *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 9th edn., München, 1991, p399.

49. Maximus Confessor, *Exp. Orat. Dom*, PG 90, 884 A/= CChrSG 23, c. 226, 228:40. Cf. Lampe, G. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp 648-649.

50. Cf. the Greek εἰδέν, meaning theory, vision and cognition as well. The Holy Fathers often refer to Ps. 33:9: "...Ο taste and see that the Lord is good," Ps 34,8, The New Oxford Annotated Bible, p803 / γέσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος, Ps 33, 9, Ralfs, A. (ed.), *Septuaginta id est vetus testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpreta*, vol 2: *libri poetici et prophetici*, edn. 5, Stuttgart, 1952, p32), for example, St Cyril of Jerusalem, see: Röwekamp, G. (ed.), *Kyrrill von Jerusalem, Mystagogische Katechesen*, V, 20, FC 7, 160. (Cf. 1 Petrus 2:2f., where the Apostle speaks of 'spiritual milk,' 'spiritual house,' 'spiritual sacrifice', of 'spiritual people' who have now tasted that the Lord is good). It is very significant that 'gemoskhilva/gantsda' (perception), is followed by vision and accordingly, by cognition—cognition of the goodness of God (from sensible perception to the intelligible, noetic one, i.e. to cognition).

It is interesting, that in the same work the noetic terms ἔννοιαι,⁵¹ δυνάμεις occur coupled with θεωρία. Here the Georgian equivalent of the Greek ἔννοιαι is ძალი/*dzali* 'power' (which usually renders the Greek δύναμις),⁵² but δυνάμεις is again translated as გაგონება/*gagoneba*—comprehension, hearing.⁵³ The equivalent of the Greek term θεωρία is ხედვა/*khedva* (theory, contemplation) which is firmly established in the Georgian terminology.

Therefore the Lord's Prayer, i.e. the prayer of us, the Children of God, towards God the Father, begins with the petition to be granted the appropriate word, this is what we entreat to God's natural Son Christ, who taught us to pray, we ask Him to be granted the appropriate word, so that He opens our minds to perceive the divine hidden mysteries in order that we should have the knowledge of intelligible things.

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51. Lampe, G. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p476: 'thought', 'idea', 'concept', cf. the Georgian equivalent 'hazri' ('thought'), 'zrakhva,' ('intention') or 'zrakhva gonebriv'ta,' ('intention of the spiritual, noetic beings'), Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p423.

52. θεωρία τῆς ἐννοίας, Maximus, *Exp. Orat. Dom*, PG 90, 884 A/= CChr SG 23, 226:40 'dzala khedvisasa', *On the Lord's Prayer*, 156r. Cf. Chelidze indicates to the same correspondence 'dzali' in the Pre-Gelati epoch, Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p418. For the Greek term δύναμις see Lampe, G. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp 389-391. Our attention is drawn to one of the diverse meanings of the Greek term: 'power of spiritual beings,' ibid., 390.

53. δυνάμεις, Maximus, *Exp. Orat. Dom*: PG 90, 884 A/=CChr SG 23, 228:40 / 'gagonebisasa,' *On the Lord's Prayer*, 156r. Cf. 'mid-mogoneba' or 'midmo-gagoneba' attested in Petritsi's works (the Greek preposition διά- being rendered by the Georgian prefix 'mid' or 'midmo,' Chelidze, E., *Ancient Georgian Theological Terminology*, p425.

MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S AMBIGUA AD IOHANNEM WITHIN THE GEORGIAN TRANSLATION TRADITION

Thamar Othkhmezhouri

In the Georgian manuscripts¹ of the homilies by the well-known fourth-century Byzantine author Gregory of Nazianzus (the Theologian), the homily *In Nativitatem* (*Oratio* 38) is supplied with a fairly lengthy text entitled: 'Commentary on Difficult Passages from *Oratio in Nativitatem* by Our Father Maximus the Confessor'.² This work, as well as Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies included in these manuscripts, are translated by the tenth-century Georgian translator Euthymius the Athonite.

The structure of the Commentary is as follows: The phrases (the so-called *lemmata*) to be explained are selected from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oratio* 38 and are preceded by the note ღმრთისმეტყველისაჲ ('from the Theologian'); the *lemmata* are followed by the explanations. The phrases selected for explanation from *Oratio* 38 in the Commentary are 101 in number. In the title of the Commentary, the seventh-century theologian

1. The manuscripts are: *Atth. Iber.* 68 (1002-1005)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 41v-151r; *Tbilisi, A-1* (1030)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 100r-128r; *St. Ph. P-3* (1040)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 31v-41r; *Tbilisi, S-383* (first half of the 11th c.)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 6r-27r; *Tbilisi S-473* (11th c.)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 11v-45v; *Tbilisi A-87* (11th c.)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 24v-40r; *Tbilisi A-80* (13th c.)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 40r-65v; *Tbilisi A-518* (1708)—*Comm.* 38: ff. 32r-52v. Bregadze T., *Description of the Manuscripts Containing the Works of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Tbilisi, 1988, pp 59-60, 61-114 [in Georgian]; Bregadze T., 'Répertoire des manuscrits de la version géorgienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze', in Coulie B. (ed.), *Versions orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 20. Corpus Nazianzenum 1), Turnhout, 1988, pp 67-74.

2. The text is edited, see Metreveli H., Bezarashvili K., Kourtsikidze Ts., Melikishvili N., Othkhmezhouri Th., & Rapava M. (eds.), *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera, Versio Iberica III, Oratio XXXVIII* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 45, Corpus Nazianzenum 12), Turnhout-Leuven, 2001, pp 121-219.

Maximus the Confessor is named as the author of the work. In the history of Byzantine literature the name of Maximus is closely associated with the ideas of the Cappadocian fathers, especially those of Gregory of Nazianzus. In his works, Maximus mentions Gregory as his teacher and adviser in theology and christology.³ Modern research refers to the great influence of the Cappadocian thinkers on the world outlook of this author.⁴ Maximus' particular interest in Gregory is also indicated by the fact that one of his most significant works, known as *Ambiguorum liber*,⁵ represents commentaries on Gregory's writings. It is noteworthy that it was this work of Maximus' that laid the foundation for the theological commentaries of Gregory's homilies.⁶

Study of the Georgian translation of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 reveals that it is connected with Maximus' *Ambiguorum liber*, namely with one of its parts *Ambigua ad Iohannem*.⁷ *Ambigua ad Iohannem* was written in the years 628-630 when Maximus lived and worked in Africa by the instruction and at the behest of John, Archbishop of Kyzikos.⁸ The work represents commentaries on Gregory's 17 homilies, one epistle and one poem (*orationes*: 7, 14, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45; *epistula*: 101, *carmen*: II, 2). The basic subjects are: the Holy Trinity, christology, anthropology, Logos-Christ, great attention is paid to the criticism of Origenes'

3. *Opusc.* 19 (PG 91, col. 221 A); *Amb. Th.* (PG 91, col. 1044 B).
4. Berthold G. C., 'The Cappadocian Roots of Maximus the Confessor', in Heinzer, E., & Ch. Schonborn (eds.), *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, Fribourg, 1982, pp 51-9.
5. The term *ambiguum* was first used by Johannes Scotus Eriugena as an equivalent to the Greek ἀπόρον when translating the work of Maximus into Latin: Jeaneau, E. (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 18), Turnhout-Leuven, 1988, p. ix.
6. The commentaries on the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, created before the seventh century (*Pseudo-Nomus Mythological Commentaries*, the so-called *Scholia Alexandrina*) are distinguished by their simplicity and laconic style, mainly representing explanations of the mythological and historical persons mentioned in Gregory's works while the commentaries on his writings, created after Maximus in the tenth-eleventh centuries, are more theological in character and clearly bear the traces of Maximus' *Ambiguorum liber*.
7. Maximus' *Ambiguorum liber* consists of two works: *Ambigua ad Thomam* and *Ambigua ad Iohannem*. In the PG edition these two works appear under one title: Μαξίμου περὶ διαφορῶν ἀπορίων τῶν ἁγίων Διονυσίου καὶ Γρηγορίου πρὸς Θεομάν τὸν ἡγασμένον (PG 91, col. 1032-1418); this edition mainly repeats the earlier publications of Combefis (1675) and Ohler (1877), which is based on the manuscript *Gudianus Gr.* 39. The researchers of these writings note that *Ambiguorum liber* is an awkward joint title for the works (Bracke, B., 'Some Aspects of the Manuscript Tradition of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor', in Heinzer, E., & Schonborn, Ch. (eds.), *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, p. 97); however, the term *Ambigua* should be retained in the title of each work: *Ambigua ad Thomam* and *Ambigua ad Iohannem* (Jeaneau E., 'Jean l'Erigene et les *Ambigua* ad Iohannem de Maxime le Confesseur', in *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime*, p. 348).
8. Sherwood, P., *An Annotated Date-list of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana), Rome, 1952, pp 3-5.

teaching.⁹ The work has the following structure: a passage to be explained is taken from Gregory's homilies and it is supplied with an explanation. In the explanations of Gregory's text sometimes a commentary on this or that passage from the Areopagitic Corpus is inserted.¹⁰ In the *Ambigua ad Iohannem* any definite regularity in selecting the passages to be explained from Gregory's works cannot be determined.

In the Greek text of *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, eight passages from Gregory's *Oratio* 38 are commented on by Maximus. When collating this text with Euthymius' translation, it appeared that in the 101 explanations of Euthymius all eight explanations by Maximus have their equivalents. Maximus' *Ambigua ad Iohannem* may therefore be considered to be one of the sources of the Georgian translation of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38. These explanations are:

<i>Iber.</i>	<i>Graeca</i>
20	PG 91, col. 1273 D
21	PG 91, col. 1281 B
23	PG 91, col. 1285 B
43	PG 91, col. 1288 A
52	PG 91, col. 1288 D
91	PG 91, col. 1289 B
95	PG 91, col. 1289 D
101	PG 91, col. 1297 C

Both by their volume (Maximus' eight explanations constitute half of the entire text) and content (through its theological and philosophical depth and significance), these eight explanations are the most important parts of Euthymius' translation. This could be the reason why in the title of the work Maximus is referred to as the author of the whole Commentary on *Oratio* 38.

On the other hand, some of the explanations of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 are connected with the commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies, composed by the tenth-century Byzantine scholar Basilios Minimus¹¹ (i.e. a particular version of the commentaries, the so-called

9. Sherwood, P., *The Earlier Ambigua of St Maximus the Confessor and his Refutation of Origenism*, Rome, 1955, p. 10.
10. On the function of the explanations of the Areopagitic Corpus in this writing see Geanakoplos, D. J., 'Some Aspects of the Influence of the Byzantine Maximus the Confessor on the Theology of East and West', *Church History*, 38, 2, 1969, p. 154, note 16.
11. Schmidt Th. S. (ed.), *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationem XXXVIII commentarii*, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 46. Corpus Nazianzenum 13), Turnhout-Leuven, 2001.

Sylloge, a collection of the second half of the tenth century consisting of commentaries by Basilus Minimus and George Mokenos). Phraseological coincidences are revealed in this work and several explanations of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38: explanation 1, l. 3 = Basilus Minimus: 1a, l. 1; explanation 19, l. 2-6 = Basilus Minimus: 12, l. 6-11; ; explanation 2-1, l. 5-6 = Basilus Minimus: 2, l. 3-4; ; explanation 36, l. 3-5 = Basilus Minimus: 36, l. 1-3. This clearly demonstrates the influence of Basilus Minimus' writing on the Commentary on *Oratio* 38.

Two explanations in Euthymius' translation are more or less close to the text of Basilus Minimus:

რამეთუ ვითარცა ხაგი [გამო-
აჩინებს *add. Iber.*] პირმშოსა მას
სახესა, ეგრეთვე [საზღვარი და
სიგყუა ~ *Iber.*] გამოაჩინებს
მას, რომლისა იყოს [საზღვარ
და სიგყუა ~ *Iber.*]. ხოლო
საზღვარი მამისაა [არს *add. Iber.*]
ძმ, ვითარცა სიგყუა, რომლისა
მიერ გამოჩნდების მამაჲ.
რამეთუ იგყვს, ვითარმედ
რომელმან მიხილა მე, იხილა
მამაჲ ჩემი (*Iob.* 14, 9) და მე და
მამაჲ ერთ ვართ. რამეთუ
ვითარცა თვნიერ მამისა არა
ითქუმის ძმ, ეგრეთვე არცა
თვნიერ ძისა იცნობების მამაჲ.
და სამართლად საზღვარად და
სიგყუად მამისად უწოდა ძესა,
ვითარცა აღმასრულებელსა
არსებისა მისისა და მომა-
სწავებელსა, თუ რაჲ არს იგი.
რამეთუ არა ითქუმის, არცა
გულისკმა-იყოფების თვნიერ
ძისა მამაჲ, გინა თუ საზღვარი
არს და სიგყუა, რომლისა მიერ
დაისაზღვრა და იქმნა ყოველივე
(explanation 85).¹²

ὡςπερ ἡ εἰκὼν τὸ πρωτότυπον,
οὕτως μᾶλλον [δὲ καὶ πλέον *om.*
Iber.] ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ ὄρος, [εἴτ'
οὖν ὁ ὀρισμός *om. Iber.*], δηλοῖ τὸ
οὐ ἔστι λόγος καὶ ὀρισμός. Ὅρος
δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, ὡς Λόγος
δι' οὐ δείκνυται ὁ Πατήρ. ὁ
ἑρακῶς φησι ἐμέ, ἑώρακε τὸν
Πατέρα (*Iob.* 14, 9). Σὺν ἀλλήλοις
γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα νοεῖται. Ὡς γὰρ
ἄτερ Υἱοῦ ὀρισμός δι' οὐ
γινώσκεται τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἂν
ἀποδοθείη Πατρός, οὕτως οὐδὲ
γυωσθείη δηλαδὴ Πατὴρ ἄνευ
Υἱοῦ. Εἰκότως οὖν ὄρον τοῦ
Πατρὸς καὶ λόγον τὸν Υἱὸν
εἶπεν [οὐ μόνον ἀπαθῶς ὡς
Λόγον ἐκ Νοῦ προελθόντα τοῦ
Πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ *om. Iber.*] ὡς
συμπληρωτικὸν οὐσίας καὶ τὸ τί
ἔστι δηλοῦντα τοῦ Πατρὸς.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν νοηθείη ἡ λεχθείη
Υἱὸς ἄνευ Πατὴρ ἡ ὄρου καὶ
λόγου χωρὶς δι' οὐ καὶ πᾶν ὅλως
ᾠρίσθη καὶ γέγονε [γενητὸν καὶ
τάξει καὶ λόγῳ τετήρηται *om.*
Iber.] (Basilus Minimus: 128).

12. "As the image reflects the prototype, in the same manner the definition and the explanation express [the subject], which they are defining and explaining. The definition

რამეთუ უკამოდ და არა
ქამიერად იშვა მამისაგან ძმ. და
ამისთვის დასაბამი არს მამაჲ,
ვითარცა მიზეზი, არამედ
უკამოდ [დასაბამი *add. Iber.*],
რამეთუ არცა ერთი ქამი
შემოსრულ არს [შორის მამისა
და ძისა *add. Iber.*], არამედ
ოღესცა [იყო *add. Iber.*] მამაჲ,
[იყო *add. Iber.*] ძეცა (explanation
93)¹³

ἀχρόνως γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ
ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Υἱοῦ
γεννηθέντος· ἀρχὴ μὲν ἔστιν ὁ
Πατήρ, ὡς αἴτιος ἀλλ' ἄχρονος
μηδενὸς μεσιτεύσαντος χρόνου·
ἅμα γὰρ Πατήρ, ἅμα Υἱός
(Basilus Minimus: 145b)

The presence of the traces of the tenth-century work in the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 gives us grounds to determine the date of its origin. Since one of the sources of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38, the *Sylloge* version, had already been composed by the second half of the tenth century, the Commentary itself must have been created no earlier than the end of the tenth century.

An elaborate, complicated structure is a distinctive feature of the Byzantine exegetical genre. The tradition of using earlier commentaries to compose new writings is present throughout the history of this genre in Byzantium. The process is evident in the study of commentaries on Gregory's writings.¹⁴ It should be noted that Georgian translators were well familiar with the peculiarities of the Byzantine literary genres. The epistles of the Byzantine scholars Basilus Minimus and Cyril of Alexandria with a description of the compilation method were translated into Georgian by medieval Georgian scholars.¹⁵ This method, used in medieval exegetical

of the Father is the Son, the same as the Word manifesting the Father. As he said, 'he that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (John, 14, 9) and *me and Father are the same*. Since the Son cannot be perceived without the Father, the Father cannot be perceived without the Son. He justly calls the Son the definition and explanation of the Father, who accomplishes his essence and emphasizes what He is. So, the Father cannot be pronounced and defined without the Son, as He is the definition and explanation and He has defined and created everything." The additions and omissions of the Georgian translation are put into square brackets in the Georgian and Greek texts.

13. "The birth of Son by the Father was not temporal, but it was outside of time. And the Principle is the Father as the cause, the Principle outside of time; no time exists with the Father and the Son, when there was the Father, there was the Son" (on the presentation of the Georgian text see note 12).

14. Fromont, M., Lequeux, X., & Mossay, J., 'Gregorius Florellius, commentateur de Gregoire de Nazianze au XVIe siecle', in B. Coulie (ed.), *Versiones orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 20. Corpus Nazianzenum 1), pp 127-155.

15. The texts of these epistles are published in: Othkhmezouri, T., 'Towards the History of Commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' Writings', *Mravaltavi*, 15, 1989, pp 18-31[in

writings, was creatively applied by Georgians. It was often used by Euthymius the Athonite, for example in his translation of Maximus' *Ad Thalassium* as well as in his other translations.¹⁶

Today it is difficult to say who compiled the Commentary on *Oratio* 38—an anonymous Greek scholar or Euthymius. Even Ephrem Mtsire, the eleventh-century hellenophile scholar of the Black Mountain (Antioch region), failed to provide an exact answer to these kinds of questions. Regarding the Georgian version of *De Fide Orthodoxa* by John of Damascus (entitled 'Guide') rendered into Georgian by Euthymius, Ephrem admits: ხოლო ეს არა უწყი, თუ თვით მამსა ეფთჳის გამოუკრებია, ანუ ბერძულად ესრეთ უპოვია ("I do not know whether it was compiled by Father Euthymius himself, or whether he found [such a kind of text] in Greek for translation").¹⁷ Ephrem is also careful in his remarks regarding Euthymius' translations of *Oratio* 2 and *Oratio* 3 by Gregory of Nazianzus: არა ვიცი ... ანუ თვით წმიდასა მამსა ჩუენსა ეფთჳის დედა ესეგუარი მიჰხუდა, ანუ თვით რამე განგებულებით ჰყო ("We do not know whether our Father St Euthymius had an original of this kind, or whether he did it by himself").¹⁸ It is therefore difficult to say whether the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 was compiled by Euthymius himself or he simply chose a compiled Greek text for translation.

Character of the Translation

Those parts of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 whose equivalents are found in Maximus' work and Basilios Minimus' commentaries are made by the free translation method which was quite usual for Euthymius, and was defined by Ephrem as a method of 'omission and insertion' (კლება და მაგება).¹⁹ In Euthymius' translations researchers have noticed two types of changing texts. One is the introduction of minor changes and nuances into the text under translation, which never changes the idea of the original, but its goal is to present it to the Georgian reader in an acceptable and easily understandable form; in some cases this may involve

Georgian]; Tvaltvadze, D., 'The Georgian Translations of the Commentaries of Epistles by Paul', in Metreveli, H. (ed.), *Philological Researches*, 2, Tbilisi, 1995, pp 345-62 [in Georgian].

16. Van Esbroeck, M., 'Euthyme l'Hagiorite: le traducteur et ses traductions', *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*, 4, 1988, p97; Giunashvili E. (ed.), *Euthymius the Athonite, Nomocanon*, Tbilisi, 1972 [in Georgian]; Chikvatia N. (ed.), *St Euthymius of the Holy Mountain, the Guide*, Tbilisi, 2007 [in Georgian].

17. Raphava M. (ed.), *John of Damascus, Dialectics*, Tbilisi, 1976, p69.

18. See the colophon by Ephrem Mtsire in *cod. A-292* (1800). T. Bregadze, *The Description of the Georgian Manuscripts*, p174.

19. See the colophon by Ephrem, Raphava M. (ed.), *John of Damascus, Dialectics*, p67.

some stylistic refining as well. The other is a significant change of the text under translation: inserting in the text interpolations expressing the translator's attitude and also long passages taken from other writings, applying a degree of editing, compiling texts, translating selected passages, joining two works and so on. Thus, Euthymius, as well as other tenth-eleventh-century Georgian scholars, made efforts to introduce such Byzantine scholarly techniques into their translation practice.²⁰

Maximus is considered to be the author with one of the most complicated language and styles in the history of Byzantine literature and this fact supplies the preconditions for the introduction of specific changes into the translation of his writings in order to refine the style and make the meaning clearer. Even Byzantine scholars have expressed strong opinions about Maximus' style. With his lengthy intricate sentences, over frequent use of inversions, unrefined phrases, overloaded with superfluous words, he is an author who makes no effort to express his ideas clearly, which makes it difficult to understand him, and he makes no attempt to please the reader's ear. This is how Photius characterizes the style of Maximus' work *Ad Thalassium*, immediately adding however that everywhere in Maximus' works his true piety and love for Christ is revealed.²¹

Unlike the Cappadocian Fathers, Maximus is quite indifferent to the word and the literary form: as if speaking only to himself, he does not try to make his ideas clear to others. The intonation of a lively dialogue that includes the listener and which is so characteristic of Classical

20. For the study of Euthymius' translations, see: Kekelidze K., *History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980; Kurtsikidze Ts. (ed.), *Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Basil of Caesarea's Teachings*, Tbilisi, 1983; Kurtsikidze Ts., 'Again on Euthymius the Athonite's Translation Method', *Mravalthavi* 4, 1978; Kurtsikidze Ts., 'The Peculiarities of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio* 43', in Metreveli H. (ed.), *Philological Researches*, 2; Melikishvili N., 'Studies of the Translation Method of Euthymius the Athonite and Ephrem Mtsire', *Matsne, Language and Literature Series*, 4 (1987) p119; Othkhmezhouri Th., *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii (Corpus Christianorum. Seires Graeca, 50, Corpus Nazianzenum, 16)*, Turnhout-Leuven, 2002; Bezarashvili K., Machavariani M., 'The Peculiarities of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Gregory the Theologian's Second and Third Homilies and One Colophon of Ephrem Mtsire', in Metreveli H. (ed.), *Philological Researches*, 2, pp 226-85; Bezarashvili K., 'Again on the Translation Activities of Euthymius the Athonite: Interpolation in Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio* 42', *Matsne, Language and Literature Series*, 1-4, 1999, pp 133-48; Bezarashvili K., 'New Examples of Big Compositional Changes in Euthymius the Athonite's Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Sermons', in Khintibidze E. (ed.), *Korneli Kekelidze 125, 2004*, p207; Bezarashvili K., 'Dynamic Equivalent-type Parameters in Euthymius the Athonite's Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings', *Tbilisi State University Works 348 (History of Literature)* 2003, pp 269-324; Khoperia L., *Old Georgian Translations of Maximus the Confessors' Disputat cum Pyrrus*, Dissertation, Tbilisi, 1998, see also note 16.

21. Bibliothecae Codices 192, PG 103, col. 645 B-C.

philosophy and still exists in Patristic literature, in Maximus' works is replaced by the intonation of a hermit which can only be comprehended by another hermit.²² The complexity of Maximus' style is conditioned by a specific character of his thinking—always tense, charged with energy, concentrated ideas where contemplation overwhelms judgment and conclusions.²³ Modern Maximus specialists are of the opinion that a critical edition of Maximus' works—correcting certain details, introducing punctuation, supplying the texts with *apparatus criticus*—will clarify the style of this author to some extent, though never completely rejecting the particular complexity of this author.²⁴

When translating such a complicated self-absorbed author, it is no wonder that Euthymius, whose translating activities were orientated towards the Georgian reader still inexperienced at that time, resorted to his habitual method of 'omission and insertion'. In order to refine the style of the translation, he introduced definite changes into the text so that the Georgian reader might understand the ideas of this complicated author. Grounds for this were provided by the exegetical character of Commentary on *Oratio* 38, because the first and foremost goal of such a type of work is explanation and interpretation in order to bring the idea to the reader.

In the Georgian text of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38 a sentence is considered to be the smallest unit of translation. Maximus' long, intricate sentences are overloaded with words and word combinations, whose absence from the sentence does not distort meaning. In spite of minor extensions or abbreviations of the sentences by Euthymius, their content is still obtained. In the translation some cases are attested of rendering a Greek word with its alternative meaning or inserting a verb when translating non-verbal constructions characteristic of the Greek language. There are also some examples of enriching the text with Biblical quotations and confirmations from the Bible; additionally, there are cases of supplying the names and titles of Biblical characters and fathers of the church with deferential epithets.²⁵

22. Averintsev S., 'The Eighth-Twelfth Centuries Philosophy', in Udaltsova S. & Litavrin G. (eds.), *Byzantine Culture, Latter Half of the 8th-12th Centuries*, Moscow, 1989, p38 [in Russian].

23. Florovski G., *Byzantine Fathers, The Fifth-Eighth Centuries*, Paris, 1933, p197 [in Russian].

24. Laga C., 'Maximus as a Stylist in Quaestiones ad Thalassium', in Heinzer E. et Schonborn Ch. (eds.), *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, p145.

25. All the changes of the Georgian text in relation with the Greek one are presented in the notes, appended to the critical edition of the *Commentary*, see Metreveli et al, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzenii opera. Versio Iberica III, Oratio XXXVIII* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 45, Corpus Nazianzenum 12).

In the translation of the Commentary, Euthymius has also omitted and inserted lengthy passages, e.g. in his translation of explanations 91 and 95 large parts of Maximus' text are omitted, while at the beginning of explanation 21 a long interpolation is inserted. The study of this interpolation has revealed that in this case Basilus Minimus' writing is again used as a source:

და კეთილად თითოეული თითოეულსა შეერთვის, „შობაჲ“ — ერმასა თანა [ჩუენთჳს *add. Iber.*] ქუეყანად მოსრულსა, ხოლო „მოცემაჲ“ — ძესა თანა და დაუსაბამოსა მას მამისაგან შობასა. [რამეთუ იშვა ჩუენდა ერმაჲ ჩხული და სრული კაცი. ხოლო არს იგი ძე დაუსაბამოდ მამისაგან შობილი, რომელი-იგი ჩუენ, ვითარცა ერმაჲ, მოგუეცა მკსნელად წარწყმედულთა ამათ *add. Iber.*]. ხოლო თუ იშვა ჩუენდა და მოგუეცა ჩუენ, ესე ამისთჳს, რამეთუ ყოველი კაცი თავისა თჳსისათჳს იშვების, რაჲთა მიიღოს ნათელი და გულისკმისყოფაჲ ღმრთისაჲ სარგებელად თჳსა. ხოლო ქრისტე [ძე იყო თანამოსაყდრე მამისაჲ და *add. Iber.*] არა ეკმარებოდა შობაჲ [ქუეყანასა ზედა, არცა თავისა თჳსისა იშვა *add. Iber.*], არამედ ჩუენდა იშვა და ჩუენ მოგუეცა მაცხოვრად, [რამეთუ ყოველთა კაცთა შობანი თავთა თჳსთათჳს არიან, არა სხუათათჳს. ხოლო ქრისტე ჩუენთჳს და ჩუენისა ცხორებისათჳს იშვა *add. Iber.*] (explanation 21).²⁶

Προσφυνδς [καὶ πάντῃ προσηκόντως *om. Iber.*] ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρῳ συνηπται. Τὸ μὲν ἐγεννηθῆ, πρὸς τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν κάτω γέννησιν, τὸ δὲ ἐδόθη, πρὸς τὸ υἱὸς καὶ τὴν ἄνω προαιώνιον ἐκ Πατρὸς ἔκλαμψιν. Τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν πρόσκειται, ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γεννᾶται πρὸς τὸ φῶτος καὶ γνῶσεως Θεοῦ μετασχεῖν εἰς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. Χριστὸς δὲ μηδενὸς τούτων ὑπάρχων ἐπιδεῖς εἰς ἡμῶν ὄφελος γεννηθεὶς ἡμῖν ἐδόθη σωτήρ (Basilus Minimus: 16, l. 1-8).

26. "Each [word] is properly connected with another. 'Nativity' [is linked] with the child, who came to earth for us, while 'given' [is connected] with the Son and with his eternal

There are two possibilities here: the Greek compiler of the Commentary, while combining the commentaries of Maximus and Basilus Minimus (*Sylloge* version), inserted a passage from Basilus' commentaries into explanation 21 of the Commentary on *Oratio* 38. The second possibility is that, while translating the Commentary, Euthymius inserted into Maximus' text (explanation 21) a passage from Basilus' commentary. As mentioned above, the practice of inserting an excerpt from one author's work into another's writing is very characteristic of Euthymius.²⁷

It is noteworthy that together with the above observed practice, Euthymius also used a literal translation technique while translating the Commentary on *Oratio* 38. This is particularly obvious in the rendering of certain Greek terms into Georgian. While translating the adjectives and abstract nouns with the common stem, Euthymius carefully follows the word for word translation method; the Greek text contains substantivized adjectives, having an abstract notion. Euthymius renders these into Georgian as abstract nouns with the suffixes -ება/-ობა (-*eba/-oba*), while the adjectives with the same stem are rendered into Georgian by adjectives, e.g.

τὸ ἀγαθόν—სახიერება/sakhierebay (kindness) // ἀγαθός—სახიერი/sakhieri (kind)
 τὸ ἀναρχόν—დაუსაბამობა/dausabamobay (being without beginning) // ἀναρχος—დაუსაბამო/dausabamo (something without beginning)
 τὸ ἀσώματον—უკორცობა/ukh'ortsoebay (being incorporeal) // ἀσώματος—უკორცო/ukh'ortso (incorporeal)

birth by his Father, since the infant and the man of great virtue was born for us. He is the Son infinitely born by his Father and He was given as a child to us, sinners, to save us. He was born for us and given to us, because if every man is born for his own self to be baptized and to perceive God for his own good, Christ, the Son and co-regnant of his Father, had no need to be born in this world, nor was He born for His own self, but He was given to us as our Savior. The birth of each man is for himself, not for others, but Christ was born for us and for our redemption" (on the presentation of the Georgian text see n.12).

27. Extended interpolations have been attested in Euthymius' translation of Basil the Great's 'Teachings'—the excerpts from Gregory of Nazianzus' sermons are interpolated in Basil's writings (Kurtsikidze (ed.), *Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Basil of Caesarea's Teachings*, p70); interpolations are found in Gregory's *Oratio* 43; there is added the description of the miracles ascribed to Basil the Great (Kurtsikidze, 'The Peculiarities of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation', p43); extracts from the epistles of Gregory of Nazianzus are attested in his *Oratio* 42 (Bezashvili, 'Interpretation of One Peculiarity of Euthymius the Athonite's Translation Method', pp 133-48).

The so-called qualitative nouns (*nomina qualitatis*) with the suffix -της (της) are often used by Maximus. These nouns are formed from adjectives and they also have abstract notions. In the translation these Greek nouns are rendered into Georgian by abstract nouns; when rendering Greek adjectives with the same stem, Euthymius used Georgian adjectives:

τελεότης—სრულება/srulebay (completeness) / τελείος—სრული/sruli (complete)
 ἀγαθότης—სახიერება/sakhierebay (kindness) / ἀγαθός—სახიერი/sakhieri (kind)

An interesting example of literal translation of the terms is presented in explanation 20, which contains about ten lexical units, formed from the verb πληρώω. In most cases Euthymius tries to render the lexical units without changing their part of speech attribution:

πληρωθεῖς (*particip. aorist. pass.*)—აღვსებულ/agvsebul (filled [with]); πληρωθισμένος (*particip. futur. pass.*)—აღვსებად არს/agvsebad ars (to be filled [with])
 πληρωθῆναι (*infinit. aorist. pass.*)—აღვსება/agvseba (to fill)
 πληρούμενος (*particip. praes. med.-pass.*)—აღვსებულს/agvsebuli (filled [with])
 τὸ πλήρουσ (*particip. praes. act.*)—აღმავსებელი/agmavsebeli (one, who fills)
 ἡ πληρωσις (*nomina actionis*)—აღვსება/agvsebay (filling)

The literal translations of certain terms must have been conditioned by the specific nature of Maximus' term formation.

In Euthymius' translation two variant readings occur which are not attested in the Greek text of *Ambigua ad Iohannem* as we know it so far. These seem to have been in the Greek manuscript Euthymius had in his possession when translating (or compiling) the Commentary. In explanation 21 all the worldly goods that the kings presented their subjects (servants) as presents to express their respect for them, are enumerated: რომელსამე პატივსა აქუს მიღება კრმლისა და სხესა — მანიკისა, გინათუ კოდიკელთა ("Some were given a sword, others—a necklace or codicils").²⁸ The equivalent of the

28. Metreveli et al., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera*, §21, note 44.

transliterated word მანიაკი/*maniaki* (μανιάκης, necklace) is not attested in the Greek text of *Ambigua ad Iohannem*. It is unlikely that Euthymius would have inserted the Greek word in his translation on his own initiative. The variant reading of the Greek must have also been the reason why the word μηχαναῖς (through some tricks/machinations) is translated as ბრძოლათა შინა (in the fights) in explanation 101.²⁹ In the Greek manuscript which was the source of Euthymius' translation, there must have been a definite inaccuracy, probably some form derived from the stem μαχ- (fighting), which produced 'in the fights' in the Georgian translation. Such kind of textual readings may prove significant for studying the textual tradition and preparing a Greek critical edition of the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*.

Place and Function of the Commentary on *Oratio 38*

The Commentary on *Oratio 38* is appended to *Oratio 38* in the Georgian manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus' liturgical homilies. The Greek collections of Gregory's homilies do not include such kind of text. On the other hand, Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua ad Iohannem* is usually presented in manuscripts together with other writings by Maximus.³⁰ This makes us believe that the Commentary on *Oratio 38* was inserted in the Georgian collection of Gregory's liturgical homilies by Euthymius himself. Euthymius must have translated the Commentary at the beginning of his work on the Georgian collection of Gregory's homilies. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the Commentary is attested in the manuscript *Ath.* 68 (a. 1002-1005), which was created at the initial stage of Euthymius' work on the translation of Gregory's writings.³¹

It is obvious that from the very beginning Euthymius was determined to append commentaries to Gregory's works in order to make them clearer and easier for Georgian readers to understand. Euthymius' determination is well illustrated by a colophon, which is appended to the Commentary:

29. Ibid., §101, note 29.

30. Bracke R., 'Some Aspects of the Manuscript Tradition of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor', in E. Heinzer et Ch. Schonborn (eds.), *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, Fribourg, 1982, pp 100-1.

31. Metreveli H., Bezarashvili K., Kourtsikidze Ts., Melikishvili N., Othkhmezhouri Th., Raphava M., Chanidze M. (eds.), *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio iberica I, Orationes, I, XLV, XLIV, XLI* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 36. Corpus Nazianzenum, 5), Turnhout-Leuven, 1998, p. ix.

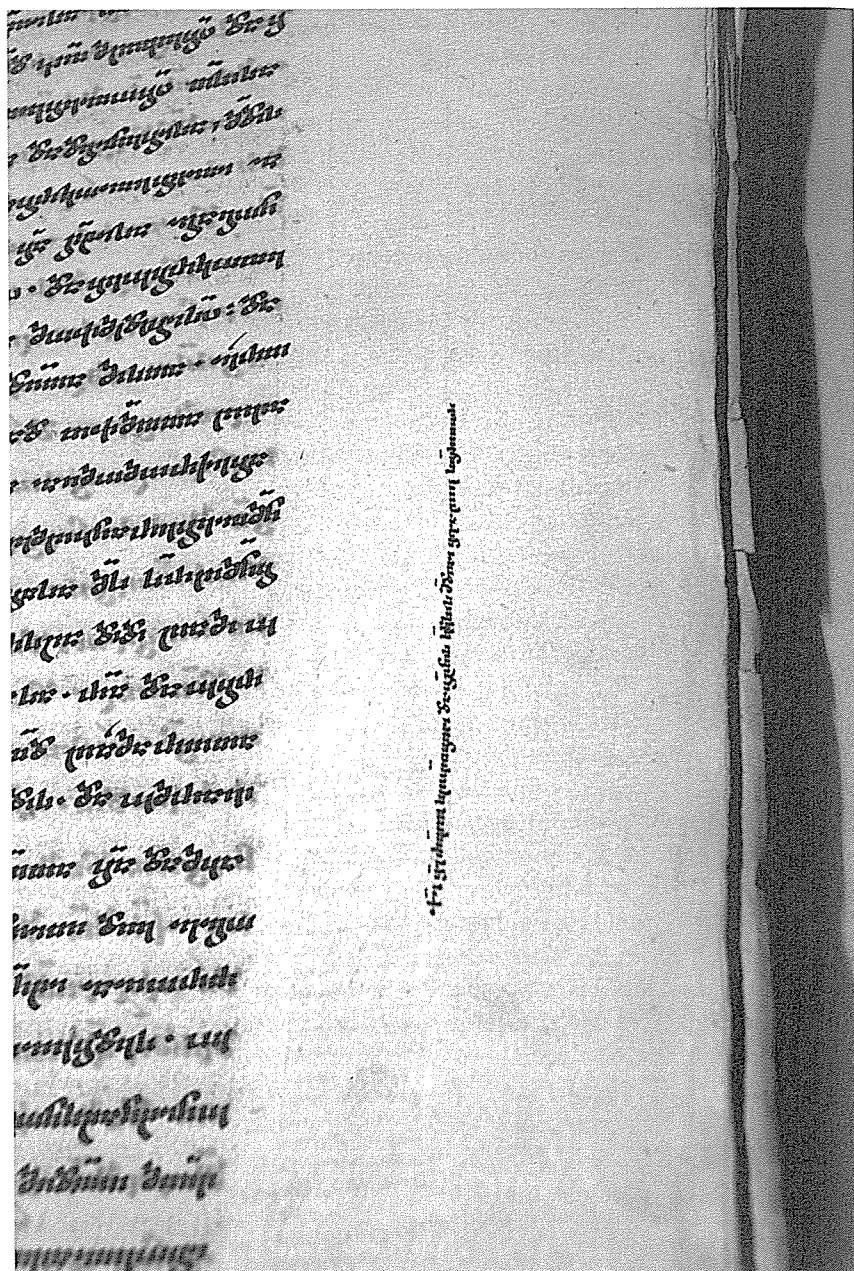
ლოცვა-ყავთ მამისა ეფთჳმისტჳს, წმიდანო ღმრთისანო, რომელმან ესე საკითხავი შუენიერი ქრისტეს შობისაჲ თარგმანიურთ თარგმნა, განმანათლებელი სულისაჲ და კორცთაჲ, ღღესასწაულობად ერისა მორწმუნისა და სამოძღურებელად და სადიდებელად მამისა და ძისა და წმიდისა სულისა.

Pray for Father Euthymius you, the saints of God, as he translated *Oratio In Nativitatem* and the Commentary to enlighten your souls and bodies, to be celebrated by believers and to teach them and to glorify the Holy Trinity.³²

The reason for translating the Commentary on Gregory's work ('to teach the believers') is perfectly in line with the major direction of Euthymius the Athonite's activities, namely, his educational and enlightenment goals.

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32. Cods. *Tbilis.* A-80, f. 56r-v; *Tbilis.* A-518, f. 52v; *Tbilis.* A-87, f. 40r.



Metaphrastic Commemoration of Maximus the Confessor; manuscript K 1 (XVI c.)
kept at the Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum, Georgia

A FRAGMENT OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S *QUAESTIONES* *AD THALASSIUM* IN OLD GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Maia Raphava

The literary activities of Maximus the Confessor are extremely diversified from the viewpoint of genre and often his works do not represent a single whole but may more readily be viewed as sketches, notes and separate reasonings.¹ Of particular interest are the separate fragments which have come down to this day as parts of different collections, i.e. florilegia. Alongside with Maximus' authentic writings there are numerous pseudo-Maximus works among these fragments.

While there are a great number of scholarly works on Maximus' literary heritage and its manuscript tradition has been extensively studied in Greek and other languages, it seems less probable that something new may still be discovered, and yet such a possibility should not be completely excluded. In this respect, the Georgian translations of Maximus' works could provide interesting materials since these have not been thoroughly studied until recently.

The influence of Maximus on Georgian literature and theology is as immeasurable as it is on the theological-philosophical thinking of Byzantium and the Christian East as well as the Latin West. Most of his writings have been translated into Georgian: it was Euthymius the Athonite who laid the foundation for their translation in the tenth-eleventh centuries, later they were translated by men of letters active in the Gelati literary school (twelfth century), and in the seventeenth-eighteenth-century manuscripts the short texts attributed to Maximus

1. Florowsky, G., *Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth-Eighth Centuries*, Paris, 1933, p198 [in Russian].

are also attested, although their translators are unknown and the attribution is doubtful or needs further investigation.

Maximus' fragment in *Expositio Fidei*

In the manuscripts containing Georgian translations of John the Damascene's *Expositio Fidei* there is a particular fragment of the text attributed to Maximus that has not been found so far in Greek manuscripts containing the *Expositio Fidei*. The Georgian fragment therefore provides useful information for determining what transformations Maximus' writings underwent in the following centuries and how they were used by ecclesiastic authors and theologians.

There are two Georgian translations of *Expositio Fidei* dating from the eleventh century. Ephrem Mtsire was the first to translate it, while the second translation belongs to Arsen Iqaltoeli ('of Iqalto'). Ephrem Mtsire, who was active in the Black Mountain literary school (near Antioch), was considered to be the founder of the Hellenophile trend in Georgian literature. Arsen Iqaltoeli remained loyal to the same literary orientation during the period immediately after Ephrem, in fact he was one of those who founded the theological-literary trend of the Gelati school.

One reason scholars use to explain why *Expositio Fidei* was translated twice is the fact that the theological-philosophical terms in Ephrem Mtsire's translation do not fully correspond to the strictly determined norms of the terminological system characteristic of the Hellenophile translations of a relatively later period. The other reason is that Georgian translators used different recensions of the Greek text as their originals.²

Ephrem Mtsire's translation of *Expositio Fidei* has survived in a single manuscript. This is manuscript A-24, dated to the twelfth century.³ Arsen Iqaltoeli's translation is preserved in several manuscripts, of which the oldest are S1463 (twelfth-thirteenth centuries)⁴ and K23 (thirteenth century).⁵ In both translations there is a fragment, which according to the manuscripts containing these translations, is attributed to Maximus the Confessor. This fragment is indicated in the publications of the Georgian translations of *Expositio Fidei*⁶ although the

problem of its authenticity and provenance has not been determined yet.

In Georgian manuscripts the fragment is presented as a colophon on the margins, attached to the 25th chapter of *Expositio Fidei*, 'On Paradise'. In manuscript A-24 (containing Ephrem's translation) it is found on f. 63r-v; in Arsen's translation, in S-1463, it is on ff. 69v-70r.⁷ In the Greek manuscripts containing *Expositio Fidei*—so far as they are known to us through the editions of J. P. Migne⁸ and B. Kotter⁹—the fragment has not been attested.

Before touching upon this fragment proper, it should be noted that the colophon in which the fragment is included differs from other colophons of the same manuscript by the manner it is referred to. The colophons of Ephrem's translations are more often defined in the manuscript as "interpretation", "definition", "comment", or this or that passage is commented on without any references. In Arsen's translation there are only three comparatively long scholia, which are intended to interpret the text. The first is attached to chapter 21 of *Expositio Fidei* and concerns the signs of the zodiac, it is not supplied with any kind of definition.¹⁰ The second scholio deals with the issue of the Biblical cosmogony and is supplied with the following direction: "acknowledge, pay attention to".¹¹ Unlike these two scholia, attested in Arsen's translation, this third one has the inscription "of Maximus" (Ephrem's translation) and "of St Maximus" (Arsen's translation). We may suppose that the colophon containing Maximus' fragment was intended to complement the text of Damascene's *Expositio Fidei*. That is why in the manuscript the author of the scholio text is indicated (unlike the two other scholia).

Taking into account the content of the fragment attributed to Maximus, it is easy to connect it thematically with Chapter 25 ('On Paradise') of John the Damascene's *Expositio Fidei*. In this chapter John discourses upon the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, the presence of sense and sensibility in man, acknowledging the good and the evil and the violation of God's commandments. The above-mentioned chapter 'On Paradise' differs in length in the two Georgian translations. At the end of Ephrem's translation is missing a large amount of text which is present in Arsen's translation.¹² This

2. Miminoshvili, R., *Georgian Translations of 'Expositio Fidei'*, Tbilisi, 1966, pp. 115 [in Georgian]. John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 2000, pp. 111 [in Georgian].

3. Kept in the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia (Tbilisi).

4. Kept in the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia.

5. Kept in the Historical-Ethnographical Museum of Kutaisi, Georgia.

6. Miminoshvili, *Georgian Translations*, pp. 139-43. John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*, pp. 109-14.

7. The text of the fragment together with the text of *Expositio Fidei* has been published. See: Miminoshvili, *Georgian Translations*, pp. 140-41; John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*, p. 109.

8. Migne, PG 94, col. 781-1228.

9. *Die Schriften Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2, "Εκδοσεις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὁρθόδοξου πίστεως", B von P.B. Kotter, Berlin, New York, 1973, pp. 71-4.

10. John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*, p. 88.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

'superfluous text' of Arsen's translation is not attested in the editions of the Greek original of *Expositio Fidei*.¹³ But in the latest edition, the editor B. Kotter mentions that this 'superfluous' text was included in three Greek manuscripts. All the three manuscripts date to the eleventh century. Kotter presents this 'superfluous' text in the critical apparatus of his edition.¹⁴

The last part of Chapter 25, preserved only in Arsen's translation, is interesting because it is there that the Biblical subject of Adam's temptation by Evil and Adam's eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge is emphasized. Thematically it is the comprehension of this problem that is presented in the colophon attributed to Maximus in the Georgian manuscripts. As mentioned above, the 'superfluous' text of the *Expositio Fidei* is not attested in Ephrem Mtsire's Georgian translation, although Maximus' fragment, associated with it, is presented in Ephrem's translation as well as in that of Arsen's. Below I shall offer an explanation. The fragment attributed to Maximus reasons what is evil and how it affects man's intellectual and sensible nature, why people distance themselves from God, the good Cause of the beings and how they find themselves captives of passions and perceptible things. These questions are the subject of theological and philosophical discussion. In particular, it is stated that by their nature all creatures aspire to perfection, to comprehending their good Cause. Evil impedes this craving, it is the ignorance of the creatures of the good Cause of beings. Man widely exposed his senses not to the spiritual but to the perceptible things, which is why he became divested of divine knowledge. God ordered man to withhold for time being from tasting the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, as initially he would have cognised his Cause through communion of grace, and having God in him by grace, he would be divinised.

This definition of evil in connection with Man's will is a deep theological exegesis of the Biblical Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge. The text attributed to Maximus in the colophon of *Expositio Fidei* is clearly a fragment from Maximus the Confessor's work *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (*Questions to Thalassium*).¹⁵ It comprises two portions from Maximus' epistle to Thalassium which precedes

the whole work. These are: 1) Ὅρος κακοῦ¹⁶ and 2) Ὅρος ἄλλος κακίας.¹⁷ As is generally known, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* was translated twice into Georgian. The first to translate it was an outstanding representative of the literary school of Mount Athos Euthymius the Athonite (tenth-eleventh centuries);¹⁸ the other translation was carried out by an anonymous translator in the Gelati literary school (twelfth century).¹⁹ Maximus' fragment attested in the Georgian manuscripts containing John the Damascene's *Expositio Fidei* was not translated by either Euthymius or the anonymous translator of *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, but by some other hand. In both translations (those of Ephrem Mtsire and Arsen Iqaltoeli) of *Expositio Fidei* we deal with one and the same translation of Maximus' work, which indicates that one of them is the translator of this fragment. But which: Ephrem or Arsen?

I think that the translator is Arsen. In connection with the themes (Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) discussed by John the Damascene in chapter 25, 'On Paradise', Arsen cites Maximus' reasoning on an analogous subject, i.e. evil, but in keeping with Hellenophile tradition, he did not insert it in the Damascene's text but wrote it on the margins. This fragment from Maximus translated by Arsen was subsequently entered in Ephrem's translation by Georgian scribes who copied the manuscripts. The supposition that Arsen is the translator of the mentioned fragment is supported by the textological-codicological data. This involves the fact that Ephrem Mtsire's translation of 'On Paradise' is shorter, just as it is attested in the editions of the Greek original—the final part of the chapter is missing. This missing text is present in Arsen's translation²⁰ and is also preserved in three Greek manuscripts.²¹ The 'superfluous' text was taken from Arsen's translation by the scribe, who copied Ephrem's text and attached it to Ephrem's text as a scholio, at the end of the chapter 25 (A24, f. 64v). A technical sign—a drawing of a human palm with the index finger pointing out—indicates the scholio and its corresponding place in the text. This fact is not unexpected at all, as analogous cases—taking definite subchapters and notes from Arsen's translation and inserting them in Ephrem's translation—is attested in manuscript A24 in other places as well.²²

13. PG 94, col. 910-918. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, p74.

14. *Die Schriften des Johannes*, pp 74-5.

15. CPG 7688. Greek text—PG90, col. 244-786; critical edition of the text: Laga C., & Steel, C., (eds.), : *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, vol. 1, *Quaestiones I-IV una cum Latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita* (= CCSG 7), Turnhout-Leuven, 1980; vol. 2, *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita* (= CCSG 22), Turnhout-Leuven, 1990.

16. PG 90, col. 253 B6-C1.

17. PG 90, col. 257 A5-C2.

18. Preserved in manuscripts Q34 (years 1028-1031), H 1663 (eleventh century), S 396 (eleventh c.), S 421 (eleventh c.), and many others.

19. Kutaisi cod. K 14, ff 2v-165v.

20. John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*, pp 108-9.

21. *Die Schriften des Johannes*, p74

22. John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*, pp 114, 161, 169, 188, 233.

As in other cases, Maximus' fragment is inserted in Ephrem's translation from Arsen's translation, but not at the end of Chapter 25 (as is the case in Arsen's translation), but at the beginning of Chapter 25 (on 63r). This caused the discrepancy between the order of the corresponding passages in the two works: in Arsen's translation the 'superfluous' text is followed by Maximus' scholio; in Ephrem's translation it is the opposite where Maximus' scholio is the first, then follows the scholio containing the 'superfluous' text. The fact of violating the order was noticed by the scribe who copied manuscript A24 containing Ephrem Mtsire's translation; this is corroborated by his note in the margin: "It was written like this in the original. Forgive me, for I also noticed the wrong order of the words. I am not ignorant of theology" (65r).²³

There is no doubt that here he means the wrong order of the insets (Maximus' fragment and the 'superfluous' text) present in Ephrem's manuscript in comparison with Arsen's translation. In all likelihood the violation of the order was caused by the fact that the scribe, when inserting these fragments of Arsen's translation in Ephrem's translation, failed to determine their right place, which, subsequently was noticed by the scribe of A24. The aforementioned order revealed that these passages were taken from Arsen's translation and inserted in Ephrem's translation.

Understandably the question arises of whether Arsen himself inserted the fragment from *Quaestiones* in his translation as a comment on the text of *Expositio Fidei*. Or did the Greek manuscript of *Expositio* which he used as a model already contain this fragment from *Quaestiones* and Arsen simply translated exactly as it was in the Greek manuscript? It is hard to arrive at the exact answer because without the immediate source of Arsen's translation we can limit ourselves only to conjecture. Both theories are quite acceptable: Maximus' fragment may have been used by Arsen first in his translation of *Expositio Fidei*, while on the other hand, although the scholio cannot be found in the Greek manuscripts of *Expositio Fidei*, it cannot be ruled out that it may be preserved in some Greek manuscripts.

At any rate, the key issue is that the Georgian translations attest to the use of the fragment from *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* to complement *Expositio Fidei*, i.e. they indicate the scholastic interpretation of Maximus' views concerning the Tree of Knowledge and Evil. This fact is important from the viewpoint of the receptivity of Maximus' teachings in medieval Byzantine and Georgian literature. This is one side of the question. Another no less important side is that this fragment

23. Ibid., pro8.

contributes to our knowledge about the principles of translation and term-creation in various Georgian literary schools.

Stylistic peculiarities in the Georgian translations

There are three Georgian translations of the fragment from Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*—those of Euthymius the Athonite, the anonymous translator from the Gelati school and Arsen Iqaltoeli. Of these three texts, the first two are parts of the complete translation made of Maximus' work, while the third, that of Arsen, is inserted in John the Damascene's *Expositio Fidei*. Their collation with one another and with the Greek original clearly reveals the basic parameters which may be considered as the characteristic features of the creative translation activities of this or that school.

Chronologically the earliest of these is Euthymius' translation. In keeping with the principles of the Athonite literary school it can be perceived as a quite free translation. In order to make it easy to understand the text Euthymius simplifies the complicated participial syntactic constructions of the Greek text, adjusting them to the natural structure of the Georgian language. He abbreviates lengthy complicated discourses, omits separate words and phrases, or contrarily, he inserts words which are implied in the Greek context. Euthymius' translation is thus orientated towards Georgian readers in order to make it easier for them to understand.

As for Arsen's translation and that of the anonymous translator, both may be attributed to the Gelati literary school. Both translations reveal Hellenophile tendencies and there is a great resemblance between them. Phraseological similarities occur frequently, but in spite of the resemblance the divergences between them are such that it is clear that they are made by different hands. In the anonymous translation, the tendency to scrupulously follow the original and word for word translation occur more often than in Arsen's version; indeed, of the two, from the viewpoint of textual accuracy the anonymous translation is the more faithful to the Greek original.

Arsen more often introduces slight changes in the text. This liberty of attitude to the original text is expressed in different ways: sometimes he inserts a separate word in the text of the original, sometimes the translation lacks a word; in some places, taking into account the character of the Georgian language, he changes a morphological form or syntactical construction of the original. There are also cases when Arsen renders the idea of the original by an approximate meaning.

Here are some examples:²⁴

Θεόποιησας (PG 90, c. 257 B)—An.: ღმერთმყოფელი (making him God), A: ღმერთ ყო (made him God).

ἔχον (PG 90, c. 257 B)—An.: მქონებელსა (having); A: აქუნდა (had).

λατρεύων (PG 90, c. 257 B7)—An.: მკუთნველი (serving), A—მსახურ ექმნა (became his servant).

εὑρων (PG 90, c. 257 A 12)—An.: მპოვნელი (finding), A—პოვა (found).

These show that the participles of the Greek text are translated as participial forms by the anonymous translator. In general, Arsen also translates participles as participles but sometimes he renders them into Georgian by means of the finite forms of the verb. Here are other examples of the two translators' different attitudes to the original text:

ἔννοιᾱς πλάσματι καλύψας (PG 90, c. 253 B 12-13)—An.: ერთგულებისა წმასნითა დამფარველმან შურისამან (concealing envy by pretending loyalty) (6v), A: ჩემებითა დამფარველმან შურისამან (concealing envy perfidiously) (π110). Here A lacks the word corresponding to ἔννοιᾱς.

ἦτις τὸν μὲν νοῦν πηρώσασα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον (PG 90, 257 A 7-8)—An.: გონებაჲ უკუე დააბრმო რაჲ კაცობრივი (having turned human mind blank) (8r), A: რომლისა შინაგან იქმნა რაჲ კაცი (man having found himself under its influence) (π114). The context tells of evil that turned man's mind blank. In A, instead of word for word translation the idea is rendered approximately: man found himself under the influence of it [evil].

Αὐτὸν ἀπεξένωσεν (PG 90, c. 257 A 8-9)—An.: უცხო-ყო (made it/him strange/alien) (8r), A: დაკლებულ-იქმნა (was deprived of) (π111). The active voice of the verb used in the Greek source and the anonymous translation is replaced by the passive voice in A's translation.

διὰ τῆς ἐν χάριτι μετοχῆς (PG 90, c. 257 D 7)—An.: მაღლისამიერიოთა ზიარებოთა (8v), A—მაღლით ზიარებისა მიერ (through communion of grace). A. has a construction quite

natural for the Georgian language: მაღლით ზიარება while An.'s “მაღლითამიერიოთა” is a calque of διὰ τῆς ἐν χάριτι μετοχῆς.

ἀλόγιστος κίνησις (PG 90, c. 253 B 10)—An.: უსიგყ ძრვაჲ (senseless movement) (8r), A: მოძრაჲ პირუტყულად (moving senselessly) (π110). In An. it is the exact equivalent of the Greek form, in A the Greek noun is translated by the participle κίνησις (მოძრაჲ—moving), the case of the participle is also changed: ἀλόγιστος- პირუტყულად (like an animal, senselessly).

Sometimes in A, a word is omitted:

Εὐνοίας (PG 90, c. 253 A)—An.: ერთგულებისა (6v) A: om.

ἀνέδην (PG 90, c. 257 A 10)—An.: უკრძალად (without modesty, freely) (8r), A: om.

λατρεῦειν (PG 90, c. 257 B 8-9)—An.: კუთნვაჲ (serving, being loyal, devoted) (8r), A: om.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ληπτέον περὶ τοῦ ξύλου κατὰ τὴν πᾶσιν ἀρμόσαι δυναμένην ἀναγωγῇ (PG 90, c. 260 A 6-7)—An.: ესრეთ სადამე უკუე მოიღებოდედ აქა ხისათჳს ყოველთადა შეგყუებად შემძლებელისაებრ ალყვანებისა (I have introduced this here about the tree suitably for everybody [s capacity to understand]) (148v). A: ესრეთ უკუე ითქუა აქა ხისათჳს ყოველთადა შესაგყუსად შესაძლებელისა სახის- შეგყუელებისა მიერ (this is how it was said about the tree here in a symbolic manner for everybody [to understand]) (π114).

In the last example, An. translates the Greek prepositional word combination (κατὰ... δυναμένην) by the form with the suffix -ებრ in order to provide an exact translation: შემძლებელისაებრ. ალყვანება too, is an etymological calque of ἀναγωγή. A.'s translation has fewer calques, the translation is more in keeping with the norms of the Georgian language, instead of the suffix -ებრ a common genitive case is used. The use of the term სახისშეგყველება (tropology) as an equivalent for the Greek ἀναγωγή is also worth mentioning. It is not an exact semantic correlate of the Greek word. A. takes into consideration the theological-philosophical meaning of the term (comprehending the divine mystery not directly but by its figurative meaning, symbolically) and uses its corresponding Georgian term. The anonymous translator uses an etymological calque—მოიღებოდედ (introduce, bring)—as an

24. 'An.' denotes the anonymous translation, 'A.' denotes the translation by Arsen of Iqalto. The anonymous translation is referred to according to manuscript K-14, Arsen of Iqalto according to the edition of St John the Damascene, *Exact Exposition*.

equivalent of ληπτέον, while found in Arsen's translation is ოთქა (was said), quite suitable for the context.

Terms according to the anonymous translator and Arsen are as follows:

PG 90	An.	A.
τέλος	დასასრული	დასასრული
δύναμις	ძალი	ძალი
ἐνεργεία	მოქმედება	მოქმედება
ἔλλειψις	დაკლება	დაცხრომა
κρίσις	ბჭობა	განმრჩეველობა
κίνησις	ძრვა	მოძრა
ἀλόγιστος	უსიგყ	პირუგყული
πλάσμα	წმასნვა	ჩემება
ἀγνοσία	უმეცრება	უმეცრება
τὸ ὄν	მყოფი	მყოფი/არსი
αἴσθησις	გრძნობა	გრძნობა
γνώσις	მეცნიერება	მეცნიერება
παντελῶς	ყოვლითურთ	სრულიად
ἀπεξένωσαι	უცხო-ყოფა	დაკლებულ ქმნა
νοητός	გონიერი	საცნაური
ἡδονή	გემო	გემოვნება
ὁδονή	ლმობა	ტკივილი
γνωστός	მეცნავი	ცნობადი
διδάσκαλος	მასწავლელი	მოდურარი
στομάσας	პირიან ყოფა	პირიან ყოფა
κτίσμα	აგებული	დაბადებული
εἶδησις	მიწდობა	ცნობა
μεταποίησις	გარდაქმნა	მესაცვალელები
ληπτέον	მოლება	თქუმა
ἀναγωγή	აღყვანება	სახისმეგყუელები
διάνοια	გაგონება	გონება
παρηγώρισειν	წარცნობა	უმეცარ ქმნა
ἐπιμελεία	მოურნეობითი	გულსმოდგინება
λατρεύων	მკუთნველი	მსახურ ქმნა
λατρεύειν	კუთნვა	მსახურება
περιποιούμενος	მფუფნელი	მზრუნველი
σῶμα	სხეული	კორცი
ἐνεργουμένης	მოქმედებული	მოქმედებული

The table shows equivalents for Greek words in the translations made by the anonymous translator and Arsen. The following kinds of equivalents have been defined:

1. Greek term—similar equivalents in both Georgian translations.
2. Greek term—words of synonymous meanings used as equivalents (უსიგყ-პირუგყული, გონიერი-საცნაური etc.).
3. Greek term—words of the same root used as equivalents (ძრვა - მოძრა, მეცნავი - ცნობადი etc.).
4. Greek term—words of different meanings used as equivalents (მოლება - თქუმა, უცხო-ყოფა - დაკლებულ ქმნა).

The equivalents in terms found in the anonymous translation and that of Arsen indicate that despite their differences both are characterized by Hellenophile translation parameters.

Text of Arsen's translation, fragment from Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*²⁵

S 1463, 69v—70r.

English translation

ბოროტი უკუ ბუნებასა შინა მდებარეთა ძალთა დასასრულისა-მიმართისა მოქმედებისა არს დაცხრომა და სხუა რაათურთით არარაი. ანუ თუ კუალად, ბუნებითა ძალთა ცთომილი განმრჩეველობა არს, სხვა მიერ მოძრაი პირუგყულად, თვნიერ დასასრულისა მათისა. ხოლო დასასრულად ვიგყ მიზეზსა მყოფთასა, რომლისა მიმართ ბუნებით ჰსურის ყოველთა. დაღათუ ჩემებითა დამფარველმან შურისამან ბოროტმან სხვა რაამე მყოფთაგანისა მიმართ, თვნიერ მიზეზისა მათისა, Evil is nothing else other than the extinguishing of activity of powers situated within nature, which [activity] is directed towards the end. Or, otherwise, it is an erroneous judgment (estimation/destination) of natural powers, which are set in an improper motion, illogically and without consideration for their proper end. I call the 'end' the Cause of beings, which all [beings] desire naturally. But the evil one, who out of pretence has hidden his envy perfidiously, changed human desire and inclination towards some [created] being instead of

25. The text is published here for the first time. For the corresponding Greek text, see: PG 90, col. 253 B 6-C 1; col. 257 A 5-C 2.

უფროს მეცვალა ზაკუვით
სურვილი და მოძრაობაა
კაცისა და ამიერ დაჰბადა
უმეცრება მიზეზისა.

აწ უკუე ბოროტი არს, ვითარცა
პირველ ვთქუ, უმეცრებაა
კეთილისა მის მიზეზისა
მყოფათადა, რომლისა შინაგან
იქმნა რაა კაცი და ვრცელად
განახუნა გრძნობანი, სა-
ღმრთოსა უკუე მეცნიერებისა-
გან სრულიად დაკლებულ იქმნა,
ხოლო აღსავსე — ვნებულობითა
მეცნიერებითა გრძნობადობათა,
რომელსა მხოლოდ გრძნობ-
ადად ოდენ მიიღებდა მსგავსად
პირუტყუთა საცხოვართადასა
კაცი. და პოვა გამოცდილებისა
მიერ ხილულისა მის
სხეულენისა ბუნებისა მისისა
შემატკიცებელად მისაღებელ-
ობაა იგი გრძნობადობა და
სამართლად, ვითარცა სა-
ცნაურისა სიკეთისა, ესე იგი
არს, საღმრთოსა შეუნიერებ-
ისაგან ქუებული ხილულისა
დაბადებულისა ძლით უმეცარ
ექმნა ღმერთსა და შემტკიცებისა
მიმართ კორცთადასა საკმარებ-
ისათჳს მისისა ღმერთ-ყო იგი.

და ვინააოთგან თუთებად
აქუნდა კორცთა ღმერთად
საგონებელისა მიმართ ბუნებ-
ითი თჳსებაა, სამართლისა
სიგჳსაებრ შეიყუარა იგი და
ყოვლითა მოსწრაფებითა მხოლოდ
კორცთაძლითისა ოდენ
ზრუნვისა და გულსმოდგინებისა
ჩუენებითა მსახურ ექმნა

their Cause, and through this he
[the evil one] has given birth to the
ignorance of the Cause.

Now, evil is, as I have initially said,
ignorance of the good Cause of
beings; and man, who was found
to be within this [ignorance], has
widely exposed his senses [to the
perceptible things] and through
this was completely divested of
divine knowledge; instead, he has
become filled with passionate
knowledge of the perceptible
things, which [things] man, like an
illogical animal, received only in a
sensual way. And he found
through experience that as the
perceptible things were received
by him, his bodily nature was
strengthened by this; and thus he
was divested of the intelligible
good, that is to say the divine
Beauty, and, through the power of
the visible creatures, he has
become ignorant of God; and,
moreover, because of the fact that
the perceptible was useful for
strengthening his flesh, he made it
[the perceptible] god.

In fact, since there was a natural
affinity of human flesh with that
which was [falsely] considered to
be god [i.e. perceptible reality], he
became a lover of it [the
perceptible] as if this love was in
accordance with a just reason, and
with all eagerness having displayed
only fleshly care and devotion, he

დაბადებულსა, ნაცვალად და-
ბადებელისა. რამეთუ ვერვის
ძალ-უც სხუებრ მსახურებაა
დაბადებულისა, არათუ ყოვლი-
თურთ მზრუნველ იქმნეს
კორცთადა, ვითარ-იგი ვერცა
ღმრთისადა, არათუ ვინმე
სათნობათა მიერ განიწმიდოს
სული, ხოლო ვითარცა კრწნილ-
ებისმოქმედისა მსახურებისა
კორცთადასა სრულმყოფელსა
კაცსა და მის მიერ თავის-
მოყუარე-ქმნილსა დაუცხრომ-
ელი აქუნდა მოქმედებულად
გემოვნებაა და გკივილი,
მარადის მჭამელსა ხისა მის
ურჩებისასა, კეთილითა და
ბოროტითა ერთბაშად
შერეულისასა, რომელსა გრძნობ-
ისა მიერ გამოცდილებითი
აქუნდა შესამეცნებელობაა. და
ხედ ცნობადისა თუ ვინმე
კეთილისა და ბოროტისა
ხილულისა აგებულისა ყოფაა
თქუას, არა სცოტეს ჭეშმარიტ-
ებისაგან, რამეთუ გემოვნებისა
და გკივილისა შემქმნელი აქუს
მისაღებელობაა ბუნებით.

და კუალად, ვინააოთგან
სულიერნიცა სიგჳსანი ჰქონან
აგებულებასა ხილულთადასა,
მზრდელნი გონებისანი და
კუალად, — ძალი ბუნებითი,
გრძნობისა უკუე შეუბულ-
მყოფელი, ხოლო გონებისა
გამომზრდელი, ხედ ცნობადისა
კეთილისა და ბოროტისად
სახელ-ედვა, რომელსა ცნობაა
ვიდრემე კეთილისაა აქუს,
განხილულსა სულიერად, ხოლო

became a servant of the creature
instead of the Creator. For in fact
nobody can serve the creature
unless one altogether gives oneself
to the care of the flesh; and
similarly nobody can serve God
unless one cleanses one's soul with
virtues. In truth, if man fulfils the
service of the flesh, that will lead
to corruption (decay), and through
this [service] he becomes self-
loving and will have pleasure and
pain ceaselessly working in him, as
if he were endlessly eating from
the tree of disobedience, where
both good and evil are inter-
mingled, which [tree] was
knowable through sensual
experience; and if anybody under-
stands the 'tree of knowledge of
good and evil' as the composition
of visible reality, he shall not be
mistaken from the truth, since it
has naturally the [feature] through
which he receives into him
pleasures and pains.

Moreover, since the visible
constitution of the world has in it
also spiritual words (*logoi*), that
provide growth for the intellect,
and also the natural power that
provides comfort for the senses
and nurtures intellect, for that
reason it was called the 'tree of
knowledge of good and evil', for it
leads to the cognition of good if
considered spiritually, and the
cognition of evil if received
through the flesh—since it
becomes a teacher of passions for

ცნობაა ბოროტისა, მიღებულსა კორციელად, ვინაჲთგან მოძღუარ იქმნების ენებათა კორციელად მიმღებელთა მისათაჲს, ვითარცა ღაღიწყებისა საღმრთოჲსა მომზიდველი მათ მედა. რომლისათჲსცა ამცნო ღმერთმან კაცთა ჯერეთ დროჲთაჲ მიღებისა მისისაჲ, რაჲთა პირველად, ვითარ-იგი უფროჲს სამართალ იყო, მაღლით ზიარებისა მიერ მეცნიერ ექმნას მიზეზსა თჲსსა და ეგევეთარისა მის ზიარებისა მიერ მაღლით მიცემული მისდა უკუდავებაჲ უვნებელობისა და უქცეველობისა მიერ პირიან-ყოს. და ვითარცა ღმერთ-ქმნილი, განღმრთობითა უვნებელად განიხილვიდეს თავისუფლებით ღმრთისა თანა დაბადებულთა ღმრთისათა და მეცნიერებითა მათითა ამაღლებოდის, ვითარცა ღმერთი, არა ვითარცა კაცი, მასვე ღმრთისასა მქონებელი მაღლით სიბრძნით ცნობასა არსთასა განსაღმრთობელად გონებისა და შესაცვალებელად გრძნობისა.

ესრეთ უკუე ითქუა აქა ხისათჲს ყოველთადა შესაგყვსად შესაძლებელისა სახის-მეგყუელებისა მიერ უსაიდუმლო-ესისა და უადრესისა სიგყვსა დამარხვითა მესაიდუმლო-ქმნილთათჲს გონებითა, ხოლო ჩუენ მიერ ღუმილით პატივის-ცემითა მისითა.

those who receive it through the flesh, for it inflicts upon them forgetfulness of the divine. For that reason God ordered man to withhold for the time being from tasting it, in order that initially (as it would have been more just) through the communion of grace he would cognise his Cause and supplement with impassibility and immutability the immortality bestowed upon him through grace by means of the [above-mentioned] communion. And, as being divinised, he may passionlessly consider, with freedom in God, the creatures of God, and through their cognition he may be elevated as God, and not as man, having the same God in him by grace, as he intellectually cognises the beings for the divinisation of the intellect and the transfiguration of the senses.

This much has been told here with regard to the tree in a symbolic manner, with the keeping of the most mysterious and most elevated word, for those who are initiated in the mysteries by their intellect, which [word] we honour with silence.

*

THE PRINCIPLES OF TERM FORMATION OF THE GELATI THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AND THE GELATI TRANSLATOR OF THE WORKS OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

Damana Melikishvili

The Hellenophile period in the history of Georgian translation during the eleventh-twelfth centuries is distinguished by an active formation of the vocabulary necessary for conveying Greek philosophical notions. The interest in exegesis—both in the Biblical texts and the commentaries of the philosophers (especially of Plato and Aristotle) of the Antique and Hellenistic epochs—resulted in an interest in ‘external’ (ἐξοτ, i.e. ‘external’ from the point of view of the official Church) philosophy.

The systematic translating and editing of the works of philosophical character, predominantly Neoplatonic, in accordance to the trends of the period, called for an exact rendering of philosophical-theological views and ideas, as well as finding and forming exact Georgian equivalents for the special terms essential for differentiating between concepts. All this led to the development and systematization of scientific terminology in Georgian and the creation of a Georgian scientific language. It was a highly complex process, as Hellenic philosophical terms were far from being uniform and fixed but rather equivocal and polysemic. When these terms were used in Christian dogmatics, in which they received new meanings and connotations sometimes quite different from their original philosophical ones, this created further confusion and very often caused fierce ecclesiastical debates. Sometimes they were even the cause for the emergence of heresies—a notable example was the confusion of the terms

οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, which became one of the causes for the development of the Arian heresy and even afterwards caused numerous other heresies.

The requirement for an exact, precise translation method came about, alongside other reasons, from the need to translate philosophical and theological literature. The specification of terms was connected with a great number of difficulties. In the first place, it was necessary to understand the polysemy of Greek terms—even in the classic works of the Antique period of philosophy the problem of polysemy and synonymy had not been solved yet. One only has to look at the term εἶδος, whose different understanding in the works of Plato and Aristotle, as A. Losev remarks, gave rise to Aristotle's traditional falsification.¹ It is noteworthy that A. Dies, who produced a critical edition of Plato's *Parmenides* and translated it into French, specifically explains the translation of the terms εἶδος-ιδέα and, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, he prefers to translate them using the single term 'forme'.² This same approach was chosen by the twelfth-century Georgian thinker Ioane Petritsi (the 'Platonic philosopher' as he is called in the Old Georgian manuscripts) who translated these terms with a single word, გჳარ (= 'forma').

Even in the works of a single philosopher the same term often may take different meanings. For instance, with Aristotle, a very important philosophical term ἡ οὐσία is used both as *substantia* and *individuum* (ὑπόστασις), and also with the meaning of 'primary principle', 'element', a fact that has caused a different understanding of this notion and its translation into different languages by terms with different meanings.³ Losev notes the immense hurdle he had to overcome when working on Plato's writings and translating them, given the fact that this great philosopher's works are characterized by an unusual diversity and instability of philosophical concepts and the terms by which they are denoted.⁴

In the works in general of the different generations of philosophers terminological diversity and disagreement are quite usual. In Antique philosophy, for example, different terms are used to denote a basic philosophical concept, that of the common universal origin. This is referred to by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* where he notes that it is

necessary to take into consideration such terminological diversity in different philosophical works until a 'common reason' is determined. Georgian translators themselves have often pointed out the polysemy of Greek words, as the Georgian man of letters Ephrem Mtsire of the Black Mountain declares: "The language of the Greeks is as deep as an abyss and one and the same word conveys many meanings."⁵ In one of the commentaries of the *Areopagitic Corpus*, concerning the lexeme ὁ αἰών, Ephrem again writes:

You should know that in the Greek language the name of the eternal/everlasting is used in many ways [i.e. means different things according to context—D.M.] in the Scripture. That is why I write these words in the same manner as they are used in the Scripture. Remember that everywhere in the Greek text, instead of these words, *aion* (eternal/everlasting) is used, which Georgian translators have sometimes rendered as საწყობრო (temporary life), or as ბოჴელი (this world) and also კამი (time), as they consider it appropriate in the given context. But here it was necessary to write it in the way as it is in their [Greek] language, so that the translation should be adequate.⁶

The old Georgian theologians therefore translated the lexeme ὁ αἰών in different ways according to context: eternal, everlasting, temporary life, this world, time. To some extent these terms reflect the semantic field of the original Greek word. It seems that the Georgian holy fathers and theologians had to carry out this sort of analysis in order to find the apt Georgian equivalent for a Greek term, which they often achieved by co-operating with Greeks. Ephrem is illuminating on the subject: "I did my best for accuracy and to compare it with the Greek I consulted many of those who knew Greek and Georgian."⁷

Georgian's scientific-philosophical terminology had been taking shape for many centuries. The process may be tracked from the fifth century, beginning with the first written sources: in the original and translated literature of various genres there exist numerous terms denoting philosophical-theological or scientific notions. But these terms were formed at different times and by different authors and needed to

1. Losev, A., *A History of Antique Aesthetics: Aristotle and Later Classics*, Moscow, 1975, p43 [in Russian].

2. Dies, A. (ed.), *Platon, œuvres complètes*, vol. 8, I partie, *Parménide*, texte établi et traduit par August Dies, Paris, 1974, pp 4-5.

3. Losev, A., *The Renaissance Aesthetics*, Moscow, 1929, p24 [in Russian].

4. Losev, A., *A History of Antique Aesthetics*, p8.

5. Abuladze, Il., (ed.), *The Acts*, Tbilisi, 1950, p29 [in Georgian]

6. Peter the Iberian. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. (ed. Enukashvili S.), *Works*, translation by Ephrem Mcire, Tbilisi, 1961, p262, commentary 10.

7. Abuladze, Il., (ed.), *The Acts*, p30.

be classed within a single formal and semantic system, which inevitably meant resolving the problem of synonymy and polysemy within this system. Over the centuries, in the monuments of literature translated at different times and in different places, different lexemes were used to denote one and the same notion—e.g. στοιχείον in different translations was denoted by the Georgian words: სჯესი, წესი, ნივთი, სხო, აგებულება, ბუნება... (rule, matter, member, structure, nature...)—or a single lexeme was used to express different notions—e.g. გონება (mind) was used in the meaning of mind, idea, intellect, notion, thought, custom, conscience.

Therefore the eleventh-twelfth-century translators, following the Hellenophile school, found themselves faced with a complex problem: in order to differentiate between notions it was necessary to avoid polysemy and synonymy, but, as stated above, even in the classically elaborated Greek philosophical language, terminological diversity had not yet been overcome, a situation that imposed a heavy burden on their commentators or translators, among them the Georgians.

There is no language where ready-made terms denoting philosophical concepts can exist, but in every language there are historically worked-out rules of word formation, by means of which it is possible to infinitely enrich the wordstock. The necessary philosophical terminology is created in line with the development of philosophical thinking and scientific activities in general, by means of using the more or less rich word-formation resources present in this or that language and also by maintaining contacts with the languages developed in this respect—by means of modelling terminology according to foreign patterns. In the process of formation and systematic elaboration of the Georgian scientific language, Greek served as a guide and example. This language was “appropriate for intellectual theories” (as Ioane Petritsi puts it), and its terminological apparatus had been formed in the course of centuries by the greatest philosophers of Antiquity and their Byzantine commentators.

Georgian philosophical-theological terminology as a refined formal-semantic system took shape in the Gelati theological-philosophical school (founded in the twelfth century), which was the most powerful and important branch of the Hellenophile movement in Georgian translation. It was a typical centre of medieval thinking and education, similar to the Mangana Academy which Constantine Monomachos had founded in Constantinople and where education was based on the trivium-quadrivium system. In this ‘school for young people’ were

educated many Georgians. As the chronicler writes in the *Life of King David*, the twelfth-century Georgian king David the Builder “gathered people leading honest lives, adorned with all virtues, not only those living in his kingdom but from the distant parts of the world as well, wherever he heard about someone’s honesty, kindness and perfection in the spiritual and physical virtues”.⁸ The Gelati school was actively engaged in becoming familiar with and working on Antique philosophy and exegesis, as well as translating and supplying commentaries. This necessitated focused and systemic work on philosophical terminology, which for its part elevated Georgian philosophical and theological thinking of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries to its highest point. David the Builder’s chronicler was right in observing that it was “another Athens and another Jerusalem”.⁹

The theological-philosophical school of Gelati is a significant stage in the evolution of Georgian philosophical-theological thinking. It is a school with a strongly pronounced philosophical-theological world outlook which, in the history of Christian thinking, continues the course of the Alexandrian school of Oriental theology (where the Alexandrian exegesis of the Scripture was founded) and Cappadocian patristics: the course of the Blessed Clement of Alexandria, who formulated the principles of ecclesiastic teaching on the harmony of faith and knowledge based on Scripture, that henceforth had become a reference point in Orthodox theology; Origenes, who, by his first attempts in the systemic explanation of Christian teaching in the Hellenistic categories, laid the foundation of Christian philosophical theories; the Cappadocian holy fathers Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, who followed the road of the Christianisation of Neoplatonic thinking; *Corpus Areopagiticum*, which presents a brilliant example of the harmony of faith and knowledge; St Maximus the Confessor, who contributed greatly to Byzantine theology by elaborating upon and developing the philosophical foundations of Areopagitics and strengthening them; St John the Damascene who, on the basis of the decisions of the Oecumenical councils and using the commentaries of Plato and Aristotle, created a firm, systematized logical apparatus of Christian scholastics; and finally, the Mangana Academy, which developed this trend in a more secular and rational direction.

The Gelati school was a projection of eleventh-twelfth-century Byzantine theological-philosophical thinking on the Georgian soil and

8. *Life of Kartli* (ed. Qaukhchishvili S.), vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1955, p. 330 [in Georgian].

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 330–331.

following the main path which was later taken by Europe's High Scholasticism. But despite its great aspirations and the immense literary production it had created, it was a small island, a blind alley, which due to its geopolitical situation failed to establish links after the fall of Byzantium with the cultural world of Europe and hence was unable to join in the common process known as the European Renaissance.

The Gelati literary school contributed significantly to the development of Georgian philosophical language and scientific language in general. It was here that the theoretical bases for precise translation were worked out, and it was also here that a special literary style, appropriate for philosophical-theological works was elaborated. It should be noted, however, that those who had to make the first steps towards this systematization of Georgian scientific terminology were George the Athonite, an outstanding man of letters, living and working on Mount Athos, and the great philologist of the Black Mountain Ephrem Mtsire (eleventh century).

The Georgian terms that were created over the centuries by different Georgian translations for rendering Greek terms, and also those Georgian terms which were attested in the newly translated Neoplatonic works and which render Neoplatonic concepts, all these needed to be united in a single formal-semantic terminological system, and this was done in the Gelati school. In this respect the Gelati philosophical-literary school represents a new stage in the development of the Georgian philosophical-theological terminology by being a conscious attempt to formulate a single monostructural system. This difficult task was undertaken by such scholars as Ioane Petritsi and Arsen Iqaltoeli, who were a driving force in the novel translational processes initiated within the Gelati school.

For Ioane Petritsi, a 'Platonic philosopher' (as he is mentioned in the colophons of Old Georgian manuscripts) versed in (neo)platonian philosophy and a commentator of Proclus' writings, the principle of system and systematization is a point of departure in both the theoretical and practical spheres (particularly when working on the terms). To translate the (neo)platonian works, where there existed a very strict ontological structure, it was necessary to systematize Georgian terminology in order to be able to render (neo)platonian notions.

Arsen of Iqalto and his direct followers translated into Georgian and commented on the *Dialectics* of the founder of scholastics John Damascene, the dogmatic works of Maximus the Confessor, the works of the commentators of the Alexandrian Neoplatonic school—in these was gathered and introduced a systematic philosophic terminology that

derived from Aristotle and his commentators, especially Porphyry. Meanwhile, Ioane Petritsi had translated and furnished with commentaries Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. All these translations and commentaries quite naturally resulted in the systematization of Georgian philosophical terminology, the creation of a thoroughly elaborated terminological system and the development of a Georgian scientific language, i.e. a literary style appropriate for philosophical and scientific works.

It was Proclus, the philosopher from Athens, from whom Ioane Petritsi learned the scholastic (in the literal meaning of the word) systematic method that accompanies his entire word-formation process. In his *Elements of Theology* and his numerous commentaries on Plato's *Dialogues* (which Ioane Petritsi is well aware of and uses very successfully) Proclus Diadochus with the scrupulousness, characteristic of all his works, forms a strict system of the Hellenic (understood and elaborated in a Neoplatonic manner) philosophical terminology, which makes Ioane Petritsi, their translator and commentator, treat the rendering of each philosophical notion in the Georgian language with the same scrupulousness.

Scholars from Gelati worked out refined and elaborate principles of the terminological word formation, which are still very important and instructive for us:

1. The term was to be created only by means of the Georgian roots and affixes.
2. The term was to differ from an everyday lexeme by the formal-semantic systemic character.
3. The term was to exactly reflect the content of the corresponding notion; it had to be transparent and motivated.
4. There was to be a direct interrelation between the term and the notion: the term was to be monosemantic.
5. The term was to be short and laconic.

In order to create a term corresponding to the new notion, scholars of the Black Mountain and Gelati literary schools especially looked for equivalents present in their national language and dialects. They resorted to the method of describing the notion by both a single word and a word combination, while at times they used transliteration and word-borrowing. These are the principles to which the anonymous translator of Maximus the Confessor's dogmatic works and epistles

resorted—and he is undoubtedly a representative of the Gelati school, namely that of Arsen of Iqalto's group, and adheres to the translating principles of this school.

The Gelati collection (K-14) contains Maximus' works: *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (interpretations of separate, not easily understandable passages of the Scripture), his dogmatic-polemic works against the Monothelites and Monophysites (*Dispute with Pyrrhus* among them), as well as extremely interesting epistles addressed to various people. My attention was attracted by one such letter, *To Thalassius*¹⁰ (მისივე, თალასის მიმართ ხუცისა),¹¹ which in itself is very interesting from the viewpoint of the relationship between the teacher and his disciple: how his pupil, Maximus, encourages and gives advice to Father Thalassius, who suffers from great spiritual hardships; Maximus reminds him that man's will is conditioned by three things, God, nature and the world: "As is said, the leading targets towards which man aspires, according to the conscious preliminary choice, are **God, nature and the world**"¹² (i.e. spiritual body, natural body and the material body—πνευματικός, ψυχικός και σαρκικός) and he, Thalassius, should not flee from people's reproaches and suffering, but on the contrary should be grateful to those who inflict suffering on him, he should endure persecution and, though condemned and persecuted, like our Saviour Jesus Christ, must console them, he must abandon nature and the world (i.e. the natural body and the material body so that he should be neither the material (σαρκικός) nor the natural body (ψυχικός), but only the spiritual body (πνευματικός), "since the goal of the one who granted us cognition is to free man from the earthly features and the natural body" (Σκοπός γὰρ τῷ δοτῆρι τῶν ἐντολῶν κόσμου καὶ φύσεως ἐλευθερώσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον).

The Gelati translator renders the mood of the epistle in Georgian very precisely, and the same can be said about his translating Maximus' rhythmic, dynamic, clearly expressed phrases. The translator ushers the reader into the semantic and emotional world of the epistle:

უკუეთუ სულითა ღმრთისაჲთა ყვანებულ-ყოფად გსურს, კურთხეულ, ვითარცა უკუ გსურის, სოფელი და ბუნებაჲ

10. The so-called ep. IX, CPG-7699.

11. In manuscript K14 the text occupies ff. 193v-194v. For the Greek text, see: PG 91, col. 445-49.

12. Τρία καθὼς φασιν, ὑπάρχουσι, τὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄγοντα μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ἃ βουλῆσθετε καὶ γνώμη κατὰ προαίρεσιν κινεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεός, καὶ φύσις, καὶ κόσμος (PG 91, col. 445.)

მოაშორენ თავსა, უფროჲსლა თუთ თავი შენი მეხკუშთილ-ყავ და მხუშკელ-ყოფისაგან ნუ იჯმნი, კიცხვათა და გინებათა ნუ თანაწარიკდი და, რაჲთა შემოკლებულად ვთქუა: ივნებდ ბოროტად კეთილისყოფასა ბოროტისმოქმედთასა და ყოველთავე ხილულთა ღმრთისათჳს და სათნოებისა დატევებასა ნუ დააცადებ ოდესმე მეტყულისა მისებრ: "უნდეს თუ ვისმე საშჯელად და მიღებად კუართი შენი, მიუშუ მას სამოსელიცა შენი" და კუალად ნეგარისა მოციქულისაებრ, მეტყუელისა: "გიობილნი ვაკურთხევთ, ღვენილნი თავს-ვიდებთ, გმობილნი ვლოცავთ" (*manuscr. K-14, f. 194r*)

Εἰ τοῖνυν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἄγεσθαι ποθεῖς εὐλογούμενε, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ποθεῖς, κόσμον καὶ φύσιν σαυτοῦ περιέλε· μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτων σαυτὸν περίτεμε, καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι μὴ παραιτήσῃ. ἐμπαιγμούς τε καὶ ὕβρεις φέρειν μὴ ἀπαναίνου καὶ ἵνα συνελῶν εἴπω, πάσχων κακῶς, τοῦ ποιεῖν καλῶς τοῖς δρώσι κακῶς, καὶ πάντα προσαφίεναι τὰ δρώμενα, Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ ἀρετῆς, μὴ παύσῃ ποτὲ, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα· Ἐὰν τις θελῇ σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν ἅφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον. Καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἀπόστολον, λέγοντα· Λοιδοροῦμενοι, εὐλογοῦμεν· διωκόμενοι, ἀνεχόμεθα βλασφημοῦμενοι, παρακαλοῦμεν (PG 91, col. 448 A-B)

If you wish to be directed by God's Spirit, o blessed, as you already do have this wish, then get rid of the world and nature, and moreover split yourself from [worldly] gain and do not avoid reproaches and do not circumvent abuses, or, in short, perceive the cruelty of the wicked people in a kindly mood and do not forget God's mercy, and according to His words, 'And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak' (Matt. 5, 40). And again like the beatific Apostle said, 'Being reviled we bless, being persecuted, we suffer it. Being defamed, we entreat.'

Here it is interesting how the Georgian translator renders the Greek terms πνευματικός, ψυχικός και σαρκικός and their corresponding terms Θεός, φύσις και κόσμος into Georgian, because it is usually known that in the Old Georgian language (in the written sources) the notions πνευματικός and ψυχικός have never been differentiated, although as a rule they are differentiated in the theological (dogmatic) terminology of other Christian nations (Lat. *spiritus-anima*, Germ. *Geist-Seele*, Russ.

δυx [dukḥ]—δυша [dusha]), because in these languages the terms were borrowed from Greek at a later date after these notions had already been differentiated in dogmatics. In one of his colophons, accompanying the *Lives of Saints*, which Ephrem Mtsire (eleventh century) had translated, he especially and regretfully observes that Georgian does not differentiate between πνεῦμα/*pneuma* and ψυχή/*psychē*:

Remember that the notion of **soul** is denoted in Greek by two terms: *psychē*, which in Paul's epistles, in most cases is used to denote the soul proper (in Georgian it corresponds to სამშვინველი/*samshvinveli*), and there is also *pneuma*, which refers to the very Spirit of God, the same can be said about the Holy Spirit; but due to the inability of Georgian language it has one name—'the soul' (სული/*suli*).¹³

Ephrem tried to differentiate these notions in his translations, e.g. in the Apostle Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, where these two notions are opposed to each other, in his own Georgian translation he leaves the common term სული/*suli* to render the Greek πνεῦμα ('*suli*' is an exact equivalent of the Greek '*pneuma*', but to denote ψυχή, he introduces the term სამშვინველი/*samshvinveli*, which is associated with მშვინვა/*mshvinva* (breathing) and is a partial synonym of სული/*suli* (soul):

დაეთესვის კორცი მშვინვერი და აღღების კორცი სულიერი.
არს კორცი მშვინვერი და არს კორცი სულიერი¹⁴

Σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν ἥστι σῶμα
ψυχικόν, καὶ ἥστι σῶμα πνευματικόν

It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body (1 Corinthians 15:44)

The Gelati translator, following Ephrem's example, uses different terms

13. „შეისწავე, რამეთუ ორსახე არს პერმულად სახელი სულისაჲ — ოსიქი, რომელი უმეტესა აღგილს სამშვინველისა წილ დაღებულ არს პაულესა შინა. და კუალად — პნემა, რომელი-ესე თვით თავადის სულისა არსებასა უწოდიან და წმიდისათვის იგივე ითქმის. ხოლო ქართველთა უღონობისაგან ერთი სახელი აქუს — სულისაჲ.“ (A 217, 322).

14. Abuladze, *The Acts*, p159.

in the Georgian translation to render these opposite notions, which are so clearly differentiated from each other in this epistle of Maximus:

Ἔργον δὲ καὶ γνῶρισμα τοῦ μὲν σαρκικοῦ τὸ κακῶς μόνον εἰδέναι ποῖν. Τοῦ δὲ ψυχικοῦ τὸ μῆτε ποιεῖν βούλεσθαι ποτε, μῆτε πάσχειν κακῶς. Τοῦ δὲ πνευματικοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν μόνον καλῶς βούλεσθαι (PG 91, col. 448 A)

ხოლო საქმე და საცნობელობა კორციელისა ვიდრემე მხოლოდ ბოროტისა ოდენ ქმნასა ცებნაჲ, ხოლო მშვინვერისა — არცა ქმნასა ნებებაჲ ოდესცა, არცა შემთხუშვასა ჰავისასა, ხოლო სულიერისა, მხოლოდ კეთილად ოდენ ქმნისა ნებებაჲ (manuscr. K-14, f. 194r)

And the area of cognition of the earthly man is the knowledge of committing evil, that of the natural body is the knowledge of never committing evil nor wishing to suffer it, while the spiritual body wishes to perform good deeds only.

Ψυχικόν δὲ καθὼς οἶμαι τὸν φυσικόν ὁ τῆς Γραφῆς Λόγος ἐκάλεσεν ἄνθρωπον (PG 91, col. 448 D)

ხოლო მშვინვერად, ვითარ ვჰგონებ, ბუნებითსა კაცსა სახელ-სდგა სიგყუამან წერილისამან. (manuscr. K-14, f. 194v)

As I think the word of the Scripture gave the name *mshvinvieri* (natural body) to the earthly/natural man.

It is noteworthy that Ioane Petritsi, whose efforts are solely concentrated on the terminological differentiation of philosophical concepts (whose term formation is a splendid example of the differentiation of the forms of philosophical concepts), when translating and commenting on the works of Nemesius of Emesa and Proclus Diadochus, renders the notion-term ψυχή/*psychē* not by მშვინვა/*mshvinva*, stemming from the Christian trichotomic system, but by means of the traditional სული/*suli*. Evidently this is caused by the text being translated: in Proclus' ontological system the third row (*seira*), after "the One" and "intellect" (*nous*, sphere of intelligence) is occupied by ψυχή/*psychē*, a supra-material (irrational) substance. In Proclus' works, the term πνεῦμα/*pneuma* is not attested, since in Aristotle's works

this term has a lower, material meaning. But *psychē*, is an elevated, non-material (irrational) substance, the third member of the triad of Plato and the Neoplatonists. It is the opposite in the New Testament—in Christian dogmatics the term *pneuma* (breath, a blow of wind) is used to denote God and the Holy Spirit (as stated above, it was observed by Ephrem Mtsire as well). It seems that in the Georgian language სული/*suli* (a spiritual body) was widely used as an equivalent for the Greek *psychē* (a non-material substance) as early as pre-Christian times; and the Georgian equivalent for *pneuma*, ფილგუ (lung), never could render the meaning of τὸ ἄγιο πνεῦμα. Ephrem Mtsire as well as the Gelati translator of Maximus' works very successfully used the synonyms სულთქმა/სუნთქვა (*sultkma/suntkva*) and მშვნა/ფშვნა (*mshwinva/psbwinva*) both meaning 'sigh/breath' for the terminological differentiation of these notions, so important for Christian dogmatics. It should be added however that Georgian has never accepted this novelty and uses the term სამშვნელი/*samshwinveli* only in the contexts where it is important to express such a contradistinction.

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THE GEORGIAN VERSION OF THE SCHOLIA ON *CORPUS DIONYSIACUM*: COMMENTARIES KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF 'MAXIMUS'

Lela Alexidze

The complete Corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was translated into Old Georgian during the eleventh century by Ephrem Mtsire. It is an excellent translation and, although not absolutely exact in all details,¹ in the main it is clear that the intention of the translator was exactness. Given that the oldest existing manuscript of the Georgian Corpus Dionysiacum dates from the eleventh-twelfth centuries, it is of importance to those studying the history of the Greek manuscripts of the Dionysian Corpus. The Georgian version was first published in 1961 by S. Enukashvili²—a useful critical edition although it would benefit from a re-editing of its content.

No less important than the Georgian version of the Dionysian Corpus are the oldest scholia on the corpus, also translated into Georgian by Ephrem Mtsire. Here also is an intelligent translation where the scholia accompany the entire text of the Dionysian Corpus—as is the case in all the Georgian manuscripts. They are important not only from the point of view of historical research in theology and philosophy but also for our own understanding and interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysius' worldview. The Georgian translation of the Corpus and the scholia contributed greatly to the elaboration and precision of

1. Such conclusions can be only provisional until the publication of a critical edition of the Greek text that includes all the manuscripts of the Corpus together with the scholia, or until we have studied those manuscripts which could have been used by Ephrem Mtsire for his translation.
2. Enukashvili, S., (ed.), *Peter the Iberian. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Works. Translated by Ephrem Mtsire*, Tbilisi, 1961 [in Georgian].

Georgian philosophical terminology. Moreover, it helped the Georgian reader to learn more about Greek philosophy.

There are several differences between the Greek text of the scholia as it is edited in *Patrologia Graeca* and the Georgian translation.³ However it is difficult to detail the reasons for these differences since the Greek text is not yet critically published.⁴ The Georgian version of the scholia is certainly important for the study of the manuscript tradition of the Greek original text, since the oldest Georgian manuscript is, as already mentioned above, of the eleventh-twelfth centuries.⁵ Unfortunately presently only the Georgian version of the scholia on *Celestial Hierarchy* has been published⁶—the text was published separately without the Dionysian text upon which it comments. This makes it problematic for the reader to find a correspondence between the text and its scholia, and thus this is one reason why it would be better to publish the works of Pseudo-Dionysius together with the scholia, as this is how they are found in all Georgian manuscripts.

Two authors are named in one part of the Corpus (the *Divine Names*, in the first six chapters): Maximus and Germanus. All other scholia are anonymous. In the Georgian version, John of Scythopolis is not mentioned at all unlike the oldest Greek manuscripts as well as the Syriac version of the Corpus.

But who was really the author (or authors) of the scholia? It seems that the mystery of the author of the Dionysian Corpus was transformed into the mystery of the author (or authors) of its scholia. Up till now modern scholarship has not been able to provide a definite answer on this question, although it is commonly accepted that the main author of the scholia was John of Scythopolis and a smaller part of them was written by Maximus the Confessor.⁷ So can the Georgian version really

change or add something to our knowledge about the author(s) of the scholia? We do not yet know this, but one thing is clear: many of those scholia, which in some of the Greek and Syriac versions have the name of 'John', appear in the Georgian manuscripts under the name of 'Maximus'. The question is therefore as follows: could Maximus be the author of those scholia that are in the Georgian version under his name, or is this a fiction and in fact the real author of all or some of them was John of Scythopolis, unmentioned in the Georgian version? The answer, however, can only be found after a thorough study of the scholia ascribed to Maximus and their comparison to his authentic works. Only after such research is done will it then be possible to reach some kind of conclusion as to whether Maximus was the author or not of some or all of the scholia which are in the Georgian version under his name. This is important not only for the study of the Dionysian Corpus and its scholia but also for the study of the whole oeuvre of Maximus the Confessor.

In this article I would like to show the form of the scholia ascribed to Maximus in the Georgian version of Dionysian Corpus, what are they about, what is the main content of them. Thus the form and content of this article are purely descriptive. This can provide the specialists of Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor with some basic material on the Georgian version of those scholia on the *Divine Names* which were known under the name of 'Maximus'.

But before we consider the content of the scholia ascribed to Maximus, let us say a few words on the scholia in general, principally from the point of view of their importance for the history of philosophical ideas. Scholia are of particular interest for the study of the reception and critic of ancient Greek philosophy by Christian thinkers of the sixth-seventh centuries and, through them, by the Georgian translator in the eleventh century. They let us, the modern reader, ask and reflect

3. In 1991-1992 I compared the whole text of the Georgian version of the scholia with the Greek text as published in *Patrologia Graeca*. This work was done on behalf of Beate Regina Suchla of the Patristic Commission of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, Germany. The intention was to use the results of the comparison for a new edition of the Greek original text of the scholia (not yet published).

4. In other words, a critical edition prepared not only on the basis of the oldest Greek manuscripts but also of those manuscripts which could have been used by Ephrem Mtsire for his translation of the Corpus and scholia.

5. For a description of the manuscripts of the Georgian version of the Corpus Dionysiacum, see Enukashvili, pp 15-30.

6. Tschumburidze, A., (ed.), *Georgian-Greek theological commentaries on the Celestial Hierarchy*, Tbilisi, 2001 [in Georgian].

7. For the most important studies on the problem of the authorship of the scholia, see von Balthasar, H.U., 'Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis', *Scholastik*, vol. 15, Freiburg, 1940, pp 16-38; von Balthasar, H. U., 'Das Problem der Dionysius-Scholien', in: von Balthasar, H. U., *Kosmische Liturgie*, 2nd ed. Einsiedeln, 1961, pp 644-72; Suchla, B. R., 'Eine Redaktion des griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum im

Umkreis des Johannes von Skythopolis, des Verfassers von Prolog und Scholien: Ein dritter Betrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des CD', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 4, Göttingen, 1985, pp 177-93; Suchla, B. R., 'Die Überlieferung von Prolog und Scholien des Johannes von Scythopolis zum griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, vol. 3, Göttingen, 1980, pp 31-66; Suchla, B.R., 'Die Überlieferung von Prolog und Scholien des Johannes von Scythopolis zum griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum', *Studia Patristica*, vol. 18/2, Kalamazoo-Leuven, 1989, pp 79-83; Suchla, B. R., 'Verteidigung eines platonischen Denkmodells einer christlicher Welt: Die Philosophie- und theologiegeschichtliche Bedeutung des Scholienwerks des Joannes von Skythopolis zu den areopagitischen Traktaten', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, vol. 1, Göttingen, 1995, pp 1-28; Rorem, P., and Lamoreaux, J. C., *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus. Annotating the Areopagite*, Oxford, 1988.

on questions such as how did the Christian commentators of the early post-antique period (sixth-seventh centuries) interpret Greek philosophers? Did they attempt to show the actual existing resemblance between their theories and those of Ps. Dionysius or did they set out mainly to express the differences between them? In addition, how did the Georgian translator in the eleventh century understand all these references? Has he translated exactly or has he omitted certain passages on Greek philosophy which possibly were not of interest to the Georgian reader? How correctly did he understand Greek philosophical concepts and how exactly did he translate them?

The author of the scholia on the Dionysian Corpus formulated his intention in the prologue: his purpose was to prove the orthodoxy of the Corpus and to demonstrate how Dionysius restored to truth the false teaching of the Greek philosophers. The scholiast had to demonstrate the orthodoxy of Dionysius and, at the same time, he had to convince the reader that Dionysian theology did not depend on Greek (pagan) philosophy.

The author of the scholia had two ways to accomplish this task. Firstly, he could interpret the works of Dionysius mainly from a Christian point of view while mentioning Greek (pagan) philosophy as seldom as possible and thus avoiding any demonstration of the parallels between the Corpus and Greek philosophical texts. On the contrary, he could reveal the similarity between the Dionysian writings and the Greek texts (even in such cases where we, modern readers, do not expect it) and, then, on the basis of such similarities, he could demonstrate and explain the differences of their contents. The scholiast of the Corpus chose the latter path, which perhaps was more difficult and even more perilous than the former and yet it was truer, scientifically more correct and possibly more convincing for serious opponents who understood Antique philosophy. Thus, the scholiast tried to demonstrate the orthodoxy of Dionysian works, the essential difference in resolving the same problems by Dionysius and ancient Greek philosophers without concealing the similarities between them. He expressed his thoughts clearly and used classifications just as Proclus and Dionysius did. The style of many passages of the scholia is Dionysian-Neoplatonic, and it is evident that the scholiast was familiar with Greek philosophy. Even in the many cases where he did not discuss it explicitly, we can indirectly trace the parallels to it.

I shall mention a few themes revealed in the scholia that are interesting from the point of view of their interpretation in ancient Greek

philosophy as well as philosophical aspects in patristics. These are: degrees of knowledge; knowledge of God and our knowledge; 'noesis', 'dianoia', 'phantasia', 'aisthesis'; *docta ignorantia*; knowledge and giving the names to the things; names as images of the things; paradigms of the world; paradigms as the cosmic (Platonic) ideas; paradigms as the will of God; the divine will, foreknowledge and providence ('pronoia'); wish and free choice; not-being and matter; matter and form; power ('dynamis'), activity ('energeia') and essence ('ousia'); the same and the other; the love; the image of the sun; the movement of God and the generation of the beings; God and one, one and many; 'everything is in everything'.

What was the purpose of the scholiast when he compared the ideas of ancient Greek philosophy with those of Dionysius? Firstly, he stated (perhaps for readers who were already aware of this) that Dionysius sometimes employs expressions that are also used by Greek philosophers. Secondly, he intended to prove that in certain cases, despite terminological similarities, there was an essential difference between them. The main goal of the whole work was, of course, the demonstration of the orthodoxy of the Dionysian Corpus. Nevertheless it seems that the scholiast was interested in the themes he laid out not only because they helped to understand the Corpus but also because they were important for him in themselves and because he knew them well. That is why he details them with a depth that was not always necessary for the understanding of the Dionysian text.

What therefore does the Georgian version of Dionysian Corpus look like? The texts of the Corpus in all Georgian manuscripts are placed in the following order:

1. Prologue and Index
2. The Divine Names
3. The Celestial Hierarchy
4. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy
5. The Mystical Theology
6. The Epistles.

At the very beginning there is a *Prologue* (anonymous) followed by the titles of the chapters with a brief annotation of the content of all the texts of the Corpus. The texts are all accompanied by marginal scholia. As already mentioned, the names of the authors of the scholia are only provided in the first text of the Georgian version, i.e. only in the first six

chapters of *The Divine Names*—from the seventh chapter of the treatise onwards, all scholia are anonymous throughout the whole Corpus.

As already mentioned, 'Maximus' and 'Germanus' are given as the authors of the scholia of the first six chapters of *The Divine Names*. Sometimes the scholion of Maximus is followed by the scholion of Germanus and vice versa, while in some cases two scholia or even more (three, four or more, up to eleven as found in DN 4, §§11-14) by the same author follow each other and only after that comes the scholion by another author. In almost all cases, the two scholia following each other correspond to the different fragments of the text, though in a few cases we have two scholia of both authors on the same fragment of Dionysian text, i.e. the same fragment is interpreted twice. In a few cases one and the same scholion is given in one or more manuscripts under the name of Maximus while in other manuscript(s) it is given under the name of Germanus.

Generally, we have approximately 186 scholia under the name of Maximus and around 123 under the name of Germanus. Taken as a whole, the text of the scholia is much greater than the Dionysian text.

So what are the main themes of the scholia ascribed to Maximus? Below is a short annotation of their mainly more or less purely philosophical themes, leaving partly aside more or less purely theological issues such as thesis on Trinity, Christology and heresies. However, the short explanatory scholia on the particular expressions of Dionysius are not gone into in any detail. Here, therefore, are the main issues discussed in the Georgian version of the scholia ascribed to Maximus:⁸

Scholia on the Divine Names

Chapter 1

§1: Only God knows His own nature.

§3: God is unknown in His essence and nature. He is creator of the beings from not-beings.

§4: God is unknown. We can think Him only through his inaccessibility.

Everything is in God; we, too, are in Him before the creation of the world. God has the principles and causes of the creation of the world in

Himself and for ever. Everything has been created by Him. Through His eternal foreknowledge He knew by means of His will which is inaccessible for the thought, what and when He would create. Before the creation of the intelligibles, which are the times and eternities ('ages'), and before the generated visible things, He knew all future beings which He would create.⁹

It is impossible to know God in time. He is above the movement. His nature is eternal and timeless. He is the end of essential knowledge, because his essence is beyond any essence and is unknown. There is a difference between the essence and the power: essence is self-subsistent, the power, on the contrary, has its being in another essence and subsistence.

§5: There is a difference in the degrees of knowledge: intelligence is an activity and imagination ('phantasia') is passive; the last one is an expression of something acquired through the sensation.

Explanation of the word 'intelligences' ('minds'): these are the theologians who like angels go forward, beyond all kind of activity of this world, towards the perfect unity.¹⁰ Definitions of 'life', 'imagination', 'will', 'intelligence', 'discursive thinking'.

Definition of human nature; its difference from the animals and plants.

§6: God is creator of the eternities ('ages'), that is why He is called 'eternity' ('age').

God is unchangeable and He will never get old.

He is incarnated and, at the same time, He is inaccessible for everybody, like a breath of a wind.

§7: God has no name because He is beyond all names and still the names of all beings can be applied to Him since He is their creator. He is beyond everything with His intelligence; all beings come from Him but He is not anyone among them.

God is the 'beginning' of everything as the creator of the beings from not-being; He is the 'end' as the holder, protector and ruler of everything.

God is the 'home' of all things.¹¹

8. In some cases, when it coincides with the Georgian version, I use the English translation of the Greek text by Rorem and Lamoreaux from their above-mentioned edition (Oxford, 1988).

9. The Georgian text is almost the same as given in the English translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux, pp 190-91, 200.3 on 115.11 (592D).

10. Cf. Rorem & Lamoreaux, p191, 204. 1 on 116.4 (593b).

11. See Rorem & Lamoreaux, p192, 209.1 on 120.2 (596C).

Chapter 2

§1: In this chapter Dionysius fights especially against the Arians and the Eunomians, also the Macedonians.¹² This is like a medicine which is prepared in advance, before the illness starts.

"By the 'entire thearchichal subsistence' he [Dionysius] means the divinity of the holy and venerable Trinity, which is known in three Hypostases. For he customarily calls the revered Trinity the 'entire divinity'. This Trinity, by revealing itself, what its entire divinity is, with a distinguishing of persons (i.e. division), has made known to the saints, by revealing the properties of the three hypostases, that he is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The three are an entire divinity that is one and single."¹³

"Note that whoever says that the divine names are not common, impiously sunders the unity of the venerable Trinity."¹⁴

§3: "He is praised through denial beyond thought, for from the things that are not contemplated of him he is transcendently worshipped. For example, He is not mortal, without end, not visible, *absolutely perfect and not in need of anything*. These *and the words like that* are names common to the *One God in three Persons of the Trinity*."¹⁵

"*The thing which can be assigned a cause' calls Dionysius God who is the cause of the creation of all beings*, because He is the cause of all good—as it is said: '*All good which is, is from Him and through Him.*' Such words are commonly said about the Holy Trinity."¹⁶

"Beyond the essence' is a common [word] for the names distinguished through [their] properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. This means it can be said about the Father as well as about the Son and the Holy Spirit. But there is no interchange between the names, because it is not orthodox to call the Father 'Son' nor the Son 'Father' nor the Spirit 'Son' or 'Father'. These properties of the hypostases and names are unchangeable and irreversible in the sense of their application sometimes to one and sometimes to another [person]."¹⁷

12. See Rorem & Lamoreaux, p193, 209.11 on 122.1 (636B).

13. This is translation of the fragment of the scholion by Rorem & Lamoreaux. It is identical to the Georgian text. See Rorem & Lamoreaux, p193, 209.11 on 122.1 (636B).

14. Translated by Rorem & Lamoreaux, p194, 212.5 on 122.11 (636C).

15. Translation from Rorem & Lamoreaux, except for the words provided in italics, which are neither in the Greek text of the scholia as it is given in *Patrologia Graeca*, nor, correspondently, in the English translation of the Greek text, but are to be found in the Georgian version. See Rorem & Lamoreaux, p194, 216.1 on 125.15-16 (640b).

16. Here I also use the translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux, except the words in italics, see Rorem & Lamoreaux, p195, 216.3 on 125.21 (640C).

17. Translation from Rorem & Lamoreaux. The Georgian text is similar to the text given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, pp 194-95, 216.2 on 125.19 (640C).

"Note that the mystery of the Incarnation is a [property] of only the Word of God; [Dionysus] says that it is 'perfect'—against Apollinarius, since *he says that [it is] 'perfectly ours', because with this [i.e. words] he makes clear the reception of our flesh and intelligent soul*, which is against Eutyches. *It is also against the Nestorians as he says 'unchangeable' about Jesus, because one and the same Jesus is perfectly man who is unchangeable in His divinity. He says also 'essential' about the mysteries of the Incarnation of Christ, such as hunger and thirst, walking on water, passing through closed doors to his disciples, raising the dead, the passion itself and so on—they all are essential and true and not imaginary.*"¹⁸

§4: God cannot be expressed in words because his essence has no name. At the same time, He has many names according to the multiplicity of His good deeds.

"We should explain how God is unknown and all-known and how we receive knowledge of him in unknowing, for God is known through unknowing. Do not understand unknowing as that which occurs through ignorance, nor as an ignorance that knows, for a *soul in its unknowing through ignorance* does not know even that God is unknown; truly it is a type of knowledge."¹⁹

The Holy Trinity is compared to three lamps.²⁰

On the different types of unity: of corporeal beings, of those who has a simple nature, of the powers of the soul, of the Angels and of the Divine Nature.

The mystery of 'economy' is applied to [God the Word], not the Father or the Holy Spirit, who participated in the human passions only with the will.²¹

§7: God is inaccessible to the mind.

§8: On the effects and the causes: the effects are all beings brought from not-being to being in heaven or on earth. The cause of their creation is the Holy Trinity in three Persons. The effect is similar to the cause insofar as it is capable of receiving the similarity, although complete similarity between them is impossible.

18. Translated by Rorem & Lamoreaux, except the words in italics, see Rorem & Lamoreaux, p195, 216.3 on 125.21 (640C).

19. And so on; the text is almost the same as given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, pp 195-96, 216.10 on 127.1 (641A). I have used their translation except the words given in italics.

20. See Rorem & Lamoreaux, p196, 220.1 on 127.4 (641B).

21. Similar to the text given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, p197, 221.8 on 130.5 (644C).

§9: The passage about St Hierotheus.²²

The meaning of the phrase about the participation of God's Word in us 'without change, without confusion and without passion'. At the same time, He remained 'beyond nature', which is testified by the fact that he was born from a virgin and had no sin, etc. No one theologises as exactly as Dionysius concerning the 'economy', targeting Nestorians, Acephalians, and Phantasiasts.²³

§11: 'Multiplicity' is said because of the immense quantity of the beings created by Him; He is their head, He is in everything and holds everything and rules over everything. At the same time, He is transcendent and inaccessible.

God creates simultaneously with His will [i.e. the will of God and the act of creation are simultaneous], and not like people through gradual activity.

Chapter 3

§1: God is called the 'principle of goodness' because He is the cause and principle of everything divined by grace.

God is with everything but everything is not with Him.

While praying, the mind gradually ascends to God like a man who tries to climb up the rope. It seems to him that he is pulling the rope down to him but it is not so: the rope helps him to climb up gradually. The same experience has a man who by means of prayer is rising his mind towards God.

The symbolic explanation of the words 'boat' and 'sea'.

§2: Comments on Hierotheus.

Explanation of the phrase 'thearchic weakness' which is "the willing condescension of the Son into flesh apart from sin. Because He was ignorant of sin in every way, He was deemed worthy to become sin apart from sin for our sake."²⁴

The mostly important mysteries should not be outspoken; only those things which are not difficult and are easily comprehensible should be told to and learned by the majority of people.

Those who achieved the divine knowledge should transmit it to other

22. Similar to the text given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, pp 198-99, 228.2 on 133.13 (648A).

23. Similar to the text given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, p199, 229.5 on 135.5 (649A).

24. And so on, this is a rather long scholion, almost the same as in Rorem & Lamoreaux whose translation is given here, p200, 236.10 on 141.10 (681D).

people; every mind naturally wishes to achieve contemplation which is beyond nature.

Chapter 4

§1: Goodness according to nature and essence is a property only of One God—Holy Trinity. To all other created beings the name of goodness is applied by grace.

Dionysius brings an example of the sun; this does not mean that he wholly compares it with God. Rather, this means that the sun is not something other than light, this is why it does not have light accidentally; this also does not mean that "in the manner of a soul by choosing beneficent action does it receive light from within and give it to all things. The opposite is the case. Being neither equipped with a soul, nor having choice, it acts beneficently (for it lacks reason); neither receiving light from another". The same is God: He does not have goodness accidentally, as if it were an added quality as we have virtues. For this reason Dionysius speaks about the sun as an example, "as it is a dim and rather opaque image of the wholly incommunicable archetype. For if images had the truth, they would no longer be examples, but archetypes."²⁵

§2: Scholia on 'Angels'.

About the unknown text of Dionysius on the 'Soul'.

§3: The negative expressions about the created beings have a positive meaning when they are applied to God, for example: 'not-being' said about God does not mean that He is not but that He is beyond being.

Even not-being desires the goodness. Even those who do something bad think that what they desire is good.

§4: God is in everything and at the same time, He is not anyone among the beings, for He is beyond all beings. He has neither beginning, nor an end. He is inaccessible for the celestial and terrestrial powers. God is completely inaccessible, known only through not-knowing. We are able to know Him only through our ignorance and only after having joined to the celestial powers. But generally we do not know His nature and essence which is a measure for the beings. He spreads His light on everything, as much as beings are able to accept it. He does not give too

25. Here I have partially used the translation by Rorem & Lamoreaux, p201, 240.2 on 144. 1 (693B).

much light to those who are weak, nor gives he too little light to those who are able to get more.

Visible sun is an example (image) of the invisible one. Meaning of the expression 'a distant echo'. The light of the sun as compared to the true light has only a very distant similarity.²⁶

God has given to the beings the ability to look at Him and become similar to Him as much as it is possible for them.

Explanation of the phrase 'according to the word of antiquity': It is said this way because the Greeks used to call the sun 'old' and 'existing from the very beginning', as it is in the book called 'Comedy'.²⁷

§5: Whoever loves strongly becomes increased; illumination is received according to love.

§6: Explanation of the expressions 'above the world' ('hyperkosmos'), 'over the world' ('epikosmos') and 'in the world' ('egkosmos').

The darkness of ignorance separates us from God; on the other hand, the light of the knowledge let us gather around Him. 'Diversity of thoughts' and imagination are called the idols of polytheism.

Explanation of what is imagination ('phantasia').

§7: 'Beautiful' applied to God means goodness. Among beings there is a difference between 'good' and 'goodness'. To God, on the contrary, both names can be applied: He is called 'goodness', because all kinds of goodness come from Him and also because He calls everything back to Him; He is also said to be 'good', because He is the eternal being.

God is the 'principle' of the creation of all beings, insofar as He is the cause of everything. He holds and gathers everything; that is why He is called the 'middle'. He is the 'limit', as far as He (only through His will!) completes all beings. Therefore He is the principle, the communication and the end of everything. He is 'paradigmatic' among the beings, insofar as He predetermined all future things before their generation, holding them in Himself, through His foreknowledge.²⁸

Two meanings of 'not-being': 1. as applied to God, 2. as applied to matter. Even the not-being and bad which has no subsistence becomes something from the good, because even doing something bad, it desires good.

26. Cf. Rorem & Lamoreaux, p202, 248. 1 on 147.12 (697C).

27. Cf. Rorem & Lamoreaux, p204, 249. 4 on 149. 5 (700C).

28. Similar to Rorem & Lamoreaux, pp 204-5, 253. 1 on 152.4-5 (704A).

Expression 'essential subsistence'; relation between 'subsistence' ('hyparxis') and 'essence': the first is superior to the second. Explanation of 'otherness', 'not-similarity', 'participation of the opposites'.

§9: Explanation of 'intelligible' and 'intellectual' and 'powers of the soul'.

§10: Explanation of 'motion' and 'rest'.

Explanation of 'definitions' ('horoi') as interpreting ('hermeneutical') principles of an essence which shows the being and particularity of each thing.

Explanation of 'paradigmatic cause' which is the principle of the production of generated beings; they are images ('ideas') of the things. This is the thought of timeless God, and this thought is self-perfect and timeless. The paradigm stays eternally in the nature and from it are produced generated beings. The paradigms and images ('ideas') are incorporeal. Explanation of 'final cause' ('teleutikon aition') which is inseparable from the generated things; such is matter but God also created all kind of matters. Explanation of 'efficient cause' ('poietikon aition') which is separable from the produced things; this is God, from whom all things are created but He is none of them.²⁹

The inferiors return eternally to the superiors; the inferiors are ruled and led by the superiors through the providential foreknowledge.

Explanation of 'love'. God gives us eternally the desire through which we love the good and beautiful. The divine nature acts paternally through its eternal creativity. The love of doing good ('agathoergos eros') moves God toward providence and holds us; this means that it should be active, moving and not sterile.

§11: Explanation of 'love': the word comes from the Holy Scripture and is used in its divine meaning, though some people apply it to the evil things.³⁰

Important is the meaning ('power') of the word and not only the word itself; it is possible to express the same thing by means of different words that have the same meaning.

The rising of our knowledge from sensation up to intelligent activity: in the process of ascending, our soul goes beyond not only sensations

29. Almost the same as Rorem & Lamoreaux, p206, 260.4 on 155.1 (705D).

30. Similar to Rorem & Lamoreaux, p206, 261.4 on 156.1 (708B).

but also beyond intellectual activity and becomes God-like, receiving the inaccessible and unknown light and joining to God. When, on the contrary, the soul thinks something about the inferior things, it goes back and uses again its sensitive abilities. There is a difference between soul and intellect.

Explanation of 'intelligent activity and power' which are lower thoughts and "which are a scattering of the mind. When the soul wishes to rise up to God and as much as possible be united to him, its eye *which is the mind itself* must turn away from individual things and jump upward to the more universal things. (Thoughts are individual things, as we have said.) For then the mind, having become whole and having turned within, having further become a unity and simplicity, will be able to receive the divine rays, and this through praiseworthy unknowing—not an unknowing through ignorance but one which knows that it does not know the incomprehensible things concerning God."³¹

'Seeing without an eye' means receiving the brightness of the divine rays not with a corporeal eye but with the eyeless purity of the mind.

The visible examples lead us towards the invisible.

§12: Explanations of 'love' and 'charity'.

On the divine and human love .

§14: Explanation of the phrase 'God is love'; He is the object of desire and he turns the things to Him. The 'motion' of God is the generation of generated beings.

God is the 'mediator' between Himself and the generated beings.

Divine love is endless, it comes from goodness and returns to goodness in a cyclic way, because in the circle it is unknown, where is the beginning and where is the end. Desire comes from Him and the being desires Him. Love is from Him and in Him for those who are eager to ascend.

§17: God is in everything without going out of Himself; an example of a seed.

Against the Manichaeans that evil was not generated at the very beginning; if there is providence, there is no evil. Everything is ruled by divine providence.

31. Translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux, the Georgian text is almost the same as that given by them on pp 206-7, 264.1 on 156.17 (708D).

§18: Evil is not naturally existent and has no subsistence, it is not called a being or not-being. It is perishable for itself; it is accidental.

§19: Even that which is evil participates in goodness. Evil enters in the being accidentally, as blindness covers an eye that cannot see well any more.

Whatever is perishable can give a birth to another being, as an egg that gives a birth to a bird.

§20: Matter is called the 'footstool' of God and it also has a share in good.

Those who fight against God, fight with the power of God Himself. God can destroy those who fight against Him but with His kindness and patience He waits for their conversion.

Even those who do something evil think that they are doing good. That is why they have share in goodness.

An example for the relationship between good and evil: without the sun there is no shadow. Evil has no subsistence and it cannot exist independently without some kind of substance ('hypokeimenon').

§21: Against the Manichaeans: not a dyad is a principle but a unity is a principle of all dyads.

§22: There is no evil in the angels.

§23: The demons have a share in goodness.

Demons are not evil by nature; natural goodness is unchangeable in the demons, although they do not wish to turn towards goodness.

§24: The demons are not generated as evil things; they became evil. Substantially they were like light but as they fell down they cannot perceive their substantial light any more.

§25: There is also no evil in the not-rational beings, because everything that they possess was generated by God as a useful thing for them.

§27: Just as proportion is goodness and beauty for the parts of the body, so is the lack of proportion the cause of their illness.

Some philosophers say that evil enters the soul from the not-rational soul which is mixed with matter and flesh. Dionysius demonstrates that

this is not true insofar as the incorporeal beings also commit a sin because of the lack of goodness.

§29: Privation ('steresis') has no subsistence. Privation does not mean that something does not have a share in goodness at all.

§30: Nowhere does there exist absolute privation of goodness.

§33: If everywhere is providence and it is strong—which is true—then it is clear that there is no natural evil.

Divine providence often uses evil deeds for the sake of good in order to correct mistakes.

Chapter 5

§1: God is good. He created the generated things from not-being. If we compare the things generated by Him with their transcendent creator, they should be called 'not-beings' because of their corruptibility.

§2: Explanation, why God is called 'Self-Goodness' and 'Self-Divinity'.

The goodness of God spreads to everything that receives its providence and gets this name ('good'). Other names, such as 'life', 'wisdom' and 'word' cannot be applied to everything because not all beings receive these qualities. For example, those beings which have no soul have no 'life'.

§3: The superiors have everything that inferiors have but the inferiors do not have everything possessed by the superiors.

§4: God is inaccessible through human words. The words: 'is' and 'was' are superior rather than the other words but still they cannot express Him. But not only are words unable to express Him but also the mind cannot think Him. God truly *is*, but *what* He is, this can be worshipped only in silence and is inaccessible for the human words and knowledge.

§5: Explanation of 'qualities' ('poiotes'). The most important among the gifts of God is 'being' ('is', 'to be').

§6: All causes of generated beings are united in God.

God is called 'nature of everything', because everything gained the

cause of its being and power of movement from Him and not from itself, as some pagan philosophers think.

§8: Explanation of what are 'intelligible powers' and what are 'intellectual powers'. The difference between self-subsistent and not self-subsistent beings. Things which can be seen and things which can be conceived only by thought.

God can be contemplated in the diversity of beings generated by Him.

Meaning of the expressions 'was', 'is' and 'will be' in relation to the generated things and to God.

Plato considers that paradigms are unworthy of God. Dionysius says that God created everything through His will.

"The blessed Clement followed a certain opinion which says that even in the generation of sensible beings there are certain primal causes: for example, the activities (i.e. the acts which bring into being) of the intelligibles (i.e. the incorporeal angels) have primal causes, [that is], the ideas and thoughts of God. With regard to these ideas, because they are paradigmatic, the intelligibles are like primal activities which impart happiness and function as leaders. In the case of sensibles, the above-mentioned opinion says that the form which is in matter is a primal cause which imparts happiness and acts as a creator. For it says that the rational principle of the nature in generation, by which the sensibles are given form, is such an originaive form. It may be the blessed Clement seemed to have said this. It is not possible, however, to say that these are properly paradigms or originaive ideas (i.e. primal causes). For these are not from themselves, but rather from the thoughts of God, who alone ought to be worshipped."³²

"Since some said that the ideas and paradigms are self-subsistent beings, he now smites those Greeks, saying: if the ideas should not exist simply and unitedly, in so far as they are the super-simple thoughts of a super-simple and super-united God, then God would be a compound of a paradigm and himself, which he called 'duplication'. "³³

Meaning of the expression 'God is in everything'.

Meaning of the phrase 'measures of the beings' which are eternities ('ages') for the intelligibles and years for the sensibles.

32. Here I am using the translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux, p223, 332.1 on 188.12 (824). Georgian text is almost the same as the Greek text and their English translation.

33. The Georgian text of this scholia is very similar to the text given by Rorem & Lamoreaux, p224, 332.4 on 189.3 (825A); again, I am using their translation.

Chapter 6

§1: The life of the beings is not only created by God but also held and protected by Him.

§2: Every living being becomes life from God.

"It is amazing how he [Dionysius] reaches all doctrines in a correct manner! In this passage, as he hands on the mode of the resurrection, he declares that we are a mixture. We are a mixture insofar as we are mortals composed of immortal soul and mortal body. At the same time, he says that the essential life of the soul is less than the angelic beings. [This can be inferred] from the fact that he also names it 'life in the form of angels', but not 'angelic life'—in other words, not angelic *per se*, but something like it. He also says that we are in part rational souls, and at the same time, that we are wholes, of body and soul. He also says that our bodies are immortalized in the resurrection, asserting that the doctrine of the resurrection seemed unbelievable 'to antiquity', which is to say, to the foolish opinions of the Greeks, because they thought that the resurrection of matter was 'contrary to nature'. Foolishness is called antiquity! Although the fact of the resurrection is beyond nature, that is, with respect to the present manner of life which is supported by nourishment, excretion, and sicknesses, nonetheless, with respect to God, nothing is either contrary to nature or beyond nature, since he is the cause of every life."³⁴

Dionysius says that the arguments of Simon Magus "contradict our doctrine which says that our bodies will rise again and be granted immortality—insofar as the fact is contrary to nature. Some who spoke against Simon, also refuted him concerning these things, namely, Ireneaeus,³⁵ Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. The great Dionysius, however, in a divine manner puts an end to what is said by Simon, namely, that the resurrection of bodies is contrary to nature. Since nothing is contrary to God, how is anything contrary to nature? The fact that someone thought to contrive demonstrations from those things which are merely visible and sensible—demonstrations, I say, which are contrary to the cause of all, which is incomprehensible and unseen to all, that is, contrary to God—this is what is truly contrary to nature! How shall opinions and thoughts overturn that which is beyond every sensation and thought?"³⁶

34. Translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux. The Georgian version is very similar to the text given on pp 224-25, 337. 2 on 191.15 (856D).

35. Here Origenes is not mentioned in the Georgian text, unlike the Greek original and English translation, see also the following footnote.

36. Translation of Rorem & Lamoreaux. The Georgian version is almost the same as given by Rorem & Lamoreaux in their English translation of the Greek text, p225, 337.5 on 192. 9 (857A), except the omission of 'Origenes', as mentioned in the previous footnote.

Meaning of the expressions 'principle of life' which are our souls (their pneumatical parts) as the principles of the movement of our bodies, and 'essence of life' which are intelligible celestial powers and our souls. God is the principle, cause and holder of all kind of life (intelligible, rational, sensible, vegetative).

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This therefore is, very briefly, the contents of the Georgian version of the scholia on the Corpus Dionysiacum (*Divine Names*, chapters 1-6), ascribed to Maximus. The complete critical edition of all the scholia (together with the Dionysian text) of the Georgian version, the search for those Greek manuscripts which Ephrem Mtsire may have used for his version, and the thorough comparison of the contents of Maximus the Confessor's scholia with his authentic works all would be useful not only from the point of view of the study of medieval Georgian philosophical and theological thought but also for reconstructing aspects of the history of the Greek manuscripts of the Corpus, as well as for the better understanding of Maximus' oeuvre.

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THE INTERRELATION OF THE THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF DIVINE LOVE, BEAUTY AND CONTEMPLATION IN THE WRITINGS OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR AND SHOTA RUSTAVELI

Ketevan Bezarashvili

The concepts of divine love and contemplation are related to the concept of divine beauty in Patristic literature. The classical meaning of the concept of beauty implied the aesthetic aspect of the means of expression, of forms and proportions—symmetry and harmony, rhetorical ornaments, rhythmic elements and so on—that is to say, it was understood as sensible beauty.¹

Regarding the great interest in the outward literary forms and rhetorical figures in the Late Antiquity an opposite understanding of the concept was elaborated. In early and later Christian literature it was substituted with the cult of the beauty of semantic meaning and sublime idea.² In Hellenistic and Roman rhetorical theories, however, the

1. Martin, J., *Antike Rhetorik. Technik und Methode*, Munich, 1974, pp 72; 338-40, 342, 345; 139, 169-70, 174, 249, 252. Lausberg, H., *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, Munich, I-II, 1960, pp 141, 249, 352, 521, 598-99. Ernesti, Th., *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, Leipzig, 1795/Darmstadt, 1962, s.v. κάλλος, χάρις, καλλωπίζεσθαι, κομψεύεσθαι, κόσμος. Ljubarskij, I. N., *The Literary-esthetical Opinions of Michael Psellos*, in: *Antiquity and Byzantium*, Moscow, 1975, pp 129-30, 139 [in Russian].
2. The scholarly literature reveals that in Byzantine patristic esthetics all kinds of esthetic opinions were sublimed. See Michelis, P.A., *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art*, London, 1955. Bichkov, V.V., *A Minor History of Byzantine Aesthetics*, Kiev, 1991, pp 9, 26-30, 221 [in Russian]. Bichkov, V.V., *Aesthetics of Late Antiquity*, Moscow, 1981, pp 231-32 [in Russian].

Translations into Georgian of the works of Maximus, Gelati School—manuscript K14, twelfth century (Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum, Georgia)

concept of beauty (κάλλος, χάρις) was not related to literary form and rhetorical skill (τέχνη) alone but also implied the sublimation of content,³ while in Byzantine rhetorical theory it took on the function of expressing Christian ideas, theology, the grace and sublimity of the divine thought, divine beauty. Thus alongside its esthetic aspect (which was also inherited from classical treatises by the Byzantine theorists)⁴ the concept of beauty was understood in its new meaning, i.e. in an ontological, gnoseological, ethical aspects,⁵ preceded by a Platonic and Neoplatonic interpretation of the notion of metaphysical beauty (Plat. Sympos. 210E-211D. Plotin. Ennead. I,6,1-2. Cfr. Dion. Areop. De divinis nominibus, IV,7. De coelesti hierarchia, 3, etc).⁶

Neglecting rhetorical adornment, Gregory the Theologian declared that for 'us', i.e. for Christians,⁷ beauty exists in contemplation (τὸ

κάλλος ἡμῖν ἐν θεωρίᾳ—PG 37, carm. II,139, v. 51); he also called it 'contemplation of the beauty being there, in Heaven' (τὰ ἐκεῖ κάλλη θεωρήσου—Greg. Naz. Or. 45, c. 24. PG 36, 656C12). Below, the similar patterns are quoted from Patristic texts, e.g. 'the mystical beauty' (τὸ μυστικὸν κάλλος—Gr. Naz. Or. 2, c. 48. PG 35, 457A2-3); 'divine beauty', 'celestial beauty' (θεῖα χάρις, ἄνωθεν χάρις—Phot., PG 101, 945C, 697D; PG 102, 861D, 657D), named by Photius while characterizing the style of Paul's Epistles and Dionysius the Areopagite's language; also the spiritual beauty of divine truth itself (τὸ νοητὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κάλλος—P.20,1,1 Pap.-Keram. ed.; Phot. hom.17,171,26. Laourdas).⁸ Michael Psellos introduced the new concept of theological and 'our' (i.e. Christian) beauty (τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον κάλλος—Psellos, Ad Pothum, c. 1224). The same is meant in his following phrases: 'heavenly beauty and grandeur' (τὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος—c. 6123-124); 'inexpressible beauty and hidden grace' (κάλλεσι τε ἀμυθήτοις καὶ χάρισι ἀπορρήτοις—c. 19346-347; ὥρας ἀμυθήτου ... καὶ χάριτος—c. 347).⁹

The 'beauty of contemplation' (ბეჭვთა შეგვთეგვბა) was also defined in the same way by Ioane Petritsi, the most prominent Georgian philosopher and theologian of the eleventh century (regarded in the scholarship of the last period as a writer of the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries)¹⁰ and by other Christian authors. Θεωρία bearing the meaning of philosophical speculation gained the meaning of divine contemplation, distinct from its previous Aristotelian meaning of dialectical discussion (Arist. Metaph. 6.1.1025b25). However the importance attributed to contemplation (θεωρία) is primarily of a Platonic inspiration; it implies the world of ideas as the object of contemplation of goodness and beauty by the human mind (cf. Plat. Resp. 540a-c; Symp. 210b-212a). In later Platonism (Plotinus) and early Christianity, greater stress was placed on spiritual perfection and on

teaching (see Hebr. 13, 9; II Pet. 1, 16; II Cor. 1, 12; I Cor. 2, 6; 3, 19; Marc. 7, 7; Matth. 15, 9; 16, 23, etc.); whereas 'our' (ἡμέτερος—ბეჭვბა) means Christian, ecclesiastic teaching, divine wisdom (see I Cor. 2, 7. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*).

8. Kustas, G.L., 'The Literary Criticism of Photius: A Christian Definition of Style', in *Ελληνικά [Hellenica]*, 17, 1962, pp 141, 144-49. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, p155.
9. For a more detailed analysis of the two aspects of the concept of beauty in Michael Psellos' treatises, see Bezarashvili, K., *Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation: A Study of Georgian Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings*, Tbilisi, 2004, pp 546-62 [in Georgian].
10. Ioannis Petritzii Opera, t. II. Commentaria in Procli Diadochi Στοιχείων Θεολογικῶν. Textum Hibericum ediderunt commentariisque instruxerunt S. Nutsidze et S. Kauchschischvili, Tbilisi, 1937, s.v. ბეჭვთეგვბა ('beauty') in the lexicon: 154,28; see also: 62,28; 76,30 [in Georgian].

3. For the expression of which Pseudo-Longinos uses not only the terms τὸ ὑψηλόν, τὰ ὕψη, τὸ ὕψος, but also other terms as synonymous: μέγας, τὸ θαυμάσιον, θαυμαστόν, γενναῖος, σεμνὰ, τὸ ψυχικὸν μέγεθος, μεγαληγορία, ὄγκος, ἀξίωμα, χάρις, καλόν, etc. The concept of sublime idea, mainly expressed by Pseudo-Longinos, was also accepted by Hermogene. See Longinus, *On the Sublime*, ed. with Introduction and Commentary by D.A. Russell, Oxford, 1964, pp XLVI; XXII, XXVI, n.7. See Kustas, G.L., *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Analecta Blatadon, 17), Thessaloniki, 1973, p130. Averincev, S.S., Greek 'Literature' and the 'Word' of the Near East (Opposition and Relation of two Principles), in: *Typology and Interrelation of the Literature of the Ancient World*, Moscow, 1971, p244 (in Russian). Aristotle, *The Poetics*; Longinus, *On the Sublime*, with an English Translation and Introduction by W. H. Fyfe, London, 1960, pp ix-xx. Bregvadze, B., *Introduction to the Georgian translation of Pseudo-Longinos' On Sublime*, Tbilisi, 1975, pp 39-40 [in Georgian].
4. Orth, E., *Photiana. Rhetorische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig, 1920, p95; Psellos, *Ad Pothum*, in: A. Mayer, 'Psellos Rede über den rhetorischen Charakter des Gregorios von Nazianz', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 20, 1911, pp 49, 46-50.
5. The word 'true' was added to the words denoting 'beauty' so that it could be made distinct from the earlier meaning of this concept (τὸ κάλλος ἀληθινόν—'true beauty'. Clem. Alex. Str. 6,17). Besides these characteristics, the ethical understanding of beauty was introduced (τῶν ἡθῶν τὸ κάλλος—'the beauty of moral character'. Clem. Alex. Paed. 2,10; τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν κάλλος—'the beauty of virtue'. Clem. Alex. Str. 2,21; τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου κάλλος—'the beauty of sanctity'. Clem. Alex. Str. 6,17). An ontological meaning of beauty is also to be denoted (τὸ θεῖος κάλλος—'divine beauty'. Greg. Nyss. Virg. 12tit; τὸ δὲ ὑπερούσιον κάλον—'celestial beauty'. Dion. Ar. A.n. 4.7). This understanding is founded on the idea that God Himself is beautiful (καλὸν δὲ καὶ καλοῦ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα ὁ μονογενὴς ἐστὶ Θεός. Gr. Nyss. Contra Eunom. PG45, 469D1). It could be comprehended through spiritual contemplation (τὸ κάλον σοφίᾳ θεωρητὸν καὶ νοητὸν—'the beauty contemplated and perceived through wisdom'. Clem. Alex. Ecl. 37; κάλλος δὲ ἀληθινόν ... μόνῃ τῇ τὸν νοῦν κεκαθαμένῳ θεωρητὸν—'the true beauty contemplated only by purified mind'. Bas. Caes. Hom.in Ps.29). Heavenly, archetypal beauty is set as an object of imitation for spiritual beauty (τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος τὸ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ πρωτοτύπου γενόμενον—'spiritual beauty created through the imitation of prototype'. Greg. Nyss. Virg. 12) and the like. For further examples see Lampe, G.W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968, s.v. τὸ κάλλος, καλός. See also Bichkov, V., *Minor History*, pp 69, 236-38.
6. Tatarkiewicz, W., 'The Great Theory of Beauty and its Decline', in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Winter, 1972, pp 165-80.
7. In patristic literature the notion of 'outer', 'strange', 'foreign' (ἐξωθεν), ξένος, ἀλλότριος—განგებ, უცხო) means non-Christian, non-ecclesiastic, pagan, heretic or secular

'vision' in the understanding of this concept.¹¹ As it is accepted in theology, spiritual contemplation (πνευματική θεωρία) represents a higher stage than the intellectual cognition (epistemology), and it introduces the mind into the sphere of theology per se.¹² The object of contemplation and divine comprehension becomes God Himself (ζητεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Clem. Alex. Str. 2,10). Through contemplation unity with God is attained (ἐν Χριστῷ ὧν διὰ τὴν θεωρίαν. Jo. Dam., etc.).¹³ Thus divine contemplation is the mystical knowledge which is possible to be perceived only by a wise man, a theologian, a spiritually intelligible person, and 'theoria' as human knowledge becomes the door to sublime level, to the incorruptible knowledge of the wisdom of God which is beyond the human level of understanding.¹⁴

The new esthetical ideal was based on the new concept of divine Christian love which implies love for God that means love for one's neighbour and vice versa; it also means God sacrificing himself for the sake of mankind (Matth. 22, 37-39; Marc. 12, 28-31; Luc. 10, 25-27; Ephes. 5, 12; I John. 3, 11, 16; 4, 7-21; John. 15, 13). Love is considered to be the most outstanding and general of all virtues (I Cor. 13, 13; cfr. μέγα οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἡ ἀγάπη ... τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρῶτον—Maxim. Conf. Ad Joannem cubicularium. PG 91, 401C7). 'Agape' as divine love and charity (i.e. love for one's neighbour) is the summary and summit of all the virtues, a distinguishing feature of Christian life, according to Maximus the Confessor (Maxim. Charit. 4, 100).¹⁵ The new concept of divine love is related to the concepts of divine beauty and contemplation in patristic texts. On the one hand divine love named as ἀγάπη is one of the expressions of heavenly beauty (Clem. Alex. Paed. III, 3, 1; Strom. IV, 116, 2) and is called beauty itself (ἔστι κάλλος ἀνθρώπων ἀγάπη—

Clem. Paed. 3, 1).¹⁶ On the other hand it is related to contemplation. In scholarly literature, according to Eastern Christian mysticism, two ways of theosis are mainly identified: 1. The abstractive-speculative way fulfilled by the mystical cognition (Clement of Alexandria; Dionysius the Areopagite); 2. The ethical-practical way fulfilled by the divine mystical love (ἔρως-ἀγάπη) that is superior to gnosis (Origenes, Macarios of Egypt, Symeon the New Theologian). The connection of the two previous ways—divine knowledge and love—leads to a new ethical-gnostical way, i.e. love with contemplation is a door to God (Cappadocian fathers, Isaac of Syria, Maximus the Confessor).¹⁷ Thus, according to Maximus the Confessor, love is a way to higher knowledge (mystical gnosis) bringing a person to theosis, i.e. deification (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ—Maxim. Charit. 1, 69. PG 90, 976A11-12), which itself is a way to spiritual beauty.¹⁸

This new understanding of beauty in relation to divine love and contemplation may be quoted by means of at least two typical explications from the writings of the Fathers mentioned above: Gregory the Theologian and Clement of Alexandria (ἔστι κάλλος ἀνθρώπων ἀγάπη—Clem. Alex. Paed. III, 3, 1; Str. IV, 116, 2; τὸ κάλλος ἡμῖν ἐν θεωρίᾳ—Gr. Naz. PG37, carm. II, 1, 39, v. 51).

The concepts of divine love and contemplation, the ontological understanding of beauty (God as divine perfect beauty—Rust. v. 1492/1478) are also present in Shota Rustaveli's poetry. The relationship of Rustaveli's concept of love to the concept of 'agape' and divine 'eros' based on patristic writings was emphasized in scholarly literature.¹⁹ The aphorisms of Rustaveli about love were analyzed against the background of the writings of the Apostles.²⁰ However it is not separate analysis but the interrelation of all these concepts to each other that is most important in Rustaveli's poem *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. Such a

11. Thunberg, L., *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, Open Court Publishing Company, 1995, p343.

12. On the interrelation of two ways of divine cognition—πράξις, as the first level of Christian activity, the monastic life, and θεωρία as the highest level and spiritual contemplation—and also on the coincidence of Maximus' opinions on this subject with Gregory the Theologian's ideas, see Plagnieux, J., *S. Grégoire de Nazianze Théologien*, Paris, 1951, pp 81-105, 362. See also *The Writings of St Maximus the Confessor*, vol. I, Translation, Introduction and Commentaries by A.I. Sidorov, Moscow, 1993, p272, n. 52 [in Russian].

13. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, s.v. θεωρία.

14. Ibid., s.v. θεολογία, σοφία, σοφός, etc.

15. Sidorov (ed.), *Introduction to the Writings of Maximus the Confessor*, p267 [in Russian]. It is noted in the scholarly literature that the terms ἔρως and ἀγάπη may be regarded as synonyms in Maximus' works only at the divine level (Max. schol. in Dion. Areop. de div. nom. 4, 14. PG 4, 265CD), and that the phrase ἔρως τῆς ἀγάπης (Charit. 1, 10) means desire for love of God (Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp 310-11, 313, n. 484).

16. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, s.v. ἀγάπη.

17. Minin, P., *The Main Branches of Ancient Ecclesiastical Mysticism*, in: *Mystical Theology*, Kiev, 1996, pp 313-66, 385-86.

18. Bichkov, *Monar History*, pp 71, 217. Bichkov, *Aesthetics*, p239.

19. Nozadze, V., *Theology in Rustaveli's Poem*, Paris, 1963, pp 150, 182 [in Georgian]. The verses of Rustaveli are quoted from the edition of Baramidze, A., Kekelidze, K., Shanidze, A., Tbilisi, 1957. The English translation is taken from Shota Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, translated into English by Urushadze, V., Tbilisi, 1986. At times I have corrected the translation or provided additions in square brackets in order to render the original text exactly. The numeration of verses is not the same in these two editions; both are quoted together.

20. Ekashvili, K., *On the World Outlook of the Author of 'The Knight in the Panther's Skin'*, in: *Shota Rustaveli: A Collection Dedicated to Rustaveli's Jubilee*, Tbilisi, 1966, pp 227-75 [in Georgian].

complex comparative analysis (against the background of patristic literature, namely of Maximus the Confessor's works) has never been done before, and in this article an attempt is made to provide this.

In the prologue of the poem, divine love is called by Rustaveli the 'first': ვთქვა მიჯნურობა პირველი და გომი გვართა ზენათა, ... იგია საქმე საზეო მომცემი აღმაფრენათა ('I speak of [first] love's highest form—elevated, pure and heavenly, // It uplifts to heaven the soul of those who endure love's anguish.' v. 20, 1.2) which differs from worldly love: ვთქვენ ხელობანი ქვენანი, რომელნი ხორცთა ხვდებიან ('I speak of the lower passions of man [add. that is attached to flesh]' v. 21, 3); ქვე ... ბუნება ('low passions [lit.: nature]' v. 22, 4).²¹ It is named according to patristic methodology where the term 'first' means sublime in order to distinguish it from the human one; see, for example, first wisdom and first teaching according to Gregory the Theologian: σοφία πρώτη, πρῶτος λόγος (Greg. Naz. Or. 16, c. 1. PG 35, 936C4; Or. 36, c. 12. PG 36, 279A1-4). It may therefore be considered that Rustaveli also knew the concept of divine beauty named as sublime, first, archetype in the same patristic texts (κάλλος ἄριστον πρῶτον—Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, 11; τὸ ἀρχέτυπον κάλλος—Gr. Naz. Or. 38, c. 59. Greg. Nyss. hom 5 in Cant.), although the poet does not directly mention beauty as 'first' but names divine love as 'beautiful': მიჯნურობა არის გურობა ('Love is sacred and tender [i.e. beautiful/gentle]' v. 24, 1; cfr. above told ἐστὶ κάλλος ... ἀγάπη—Clem. Alex.) and argues its opposite notion—human beauty: მიჯნურსა თვალად სიგუროვე მართებს ('beauty [add. of appearance] befits a lover.' v. 23, 1). Beauty in relation to divine love is interpreted in the poem as the transcendental meaning of this concept (κάλλος, χάρις) which is the new aspect of the notion widespread in Byzantine literature and acknowledged by Rustaveli.²²

It is noteworthy that according to Rustaveli, the spiritual love that is beautiful/gentle is also mentioned in relation to divine contemplation in the same prologue of the poem; it is to be perceived in a spiritual meaning: საღმრთოდ გასაგონი ('Conceived by and known by the Godly edifying.' v. 12, 2); კვლა მიჯნურსა მიჯნურობა უყვარდეს და გამოსცნობდეს ('So, let the love-maddened man learn the meaning of love and know it.' v. 11, 2); საცოდნელად ძნელი გვარი ('hard to know

and define.' v. 24, 1). As is studied in scholarly literature, the words quoted by Rustaveli—გამგონებობა, გასაგონი, საცოდნელად, გამოსცნობდეს—are noetical (νοῦς) terms and have the meaning of spiritual contemplation in Old Georgian.²³ Thus Rustaveli uses the concept of contemplation in relation to divine love and beauty. He uses another traditional term, too, for expressing this concept; it is 'ხელვა': ცნობითა ზე-მხელველითა ('gaze ... in the farthest places [lit.: with supreme knowledge]' v. 45, 4); მაღლად მხელი (v. 1184, 1; 'superior being [lit.: contemplator]' v. 1172, 1).

Rustaveli also mentions the words ბრძენი ('wise/sage') and ფილოსოფოსი ('philosopher') to denote the theologian and a person skilled in divine wisdom (ბრძენთა უთქვამს სიყვარული, ბოლოდ მისი არ-წარხლამა. v. 1544, 4—"Even the sages declare that love in the end will triumph." v. 1530, 4; cfr. I Cor. 13, 8; ამ საქმესა დაფარულსა ბრძენი ღიფოს გააცხადებს. v. 1492, 1—"Dionysius the Sage has revealed the following [add. hidden] wisdom to us." v. 1478, 1; ჰე მზეო, ... ვის საგად ღმრთისად გიგყვიან ფილოსოფოსნი წინანი. v. 837, 1—"O, sun, ... whom [previous] philosophers addressed as [add. the image of] God." v. 826, 1; არა ვიქმ, ცოდნა რას მარგებს ფილოსოფოსთა ბრძნობისა. v. 790, 3—"What shall avail me the lessons instilled by the wise in all ages, philosophy's golden treasure, ... [add. if I shall not be practically active?]." v. 781, 2). The main aim of Rustaveli's hero Avtandil is to make sure King Rostevan (who is called wise by him)²⁴ to understand the sublime meaning of love by love for thy neighbour (in the evangelic sense). His main argument is philosophical divine wisdom: the wise man cannot abandon his friend in danger (კაცი ბრძენი ვერ გასწირავს მოყვარესა მოყვარულსა. v. 789, 2—"Sages of old have taught us to honour the claims of friendship." v. 780, 2). By means of human love based on practical activity Avtandil attains sublimation of desire and aims to reach the love of wisdom and God as well, making sure his king, too, to understand these concepts on the same level (ცან, ცნობანი მიაფრენ. v. 791, 2—"none knows it better than you [lit.: conceive it]." v. 782, 3).

23. Gamsakhurdia, *Rustaveli in English*, p94, 98 [in Georgian]. Chelidze, E., *The Life and Activity of Ioane Petritsi*, in: *Religion*, 3-5, 1994, pp 115-16; *Religion*, 1-3, 1995, p79 [in Georgian].

24. The teaching of King Rostevan to his daughter is regarded as wise to hear (ამა მამისა სწავლასა ქალი ბრძნად მოისმინებდა. v. 51, 1); Rostevan is referred to as learned because Avtandil mentions unlearned people as opposed to the king's level of knowledge ("If you should fail in discernment, // How can I hope to enlighten the ignorant man?"—v. 791/ 782, 3-4).

21. Gamsakhurdia, Z., *The Knight in the Panther's Skin in English*, Tbilisi, 1984, pp 117, 94 [in Georgian]. Tvaradze, R., 'Dionysius the Areopagite and Rustaveli', in: *Fifteen Centuries of Continuity*, Tbilisi, 1985, pp 279-81 [in Georgian].

22. See Bezarashvili, K., 'Divine Love and "Contemplative Beauty" in Rustaveli's Poem', in: *Shota Rustaveli: A Collection of Research*, I, Tbilisi, 2000, pp 107-31; *Rustavelology*, II, Tbilisi, 2003, pp 73-89 [in Georgian].

In his testament Avtandil speaks about sacrificing love of friends/brothers as the way to God and quotes the explanation of love by Apostles as the sublime teaching about it:

წავიკითხავს, სიყვარულსა მოციქულნი რაგვარ წერენ?
ვით იტყვიან, ვით აქებენ? ცან, ცნობანი მიაფერენ.
“სიყვარული აღგვამალღებს”, ვით ეყვანნი, ამას კლერენ.
შენ არ სჯერხარ, უსწავლელნი კაცნი ვითმცა შევაჯერენ!
(v. 791)

The Apostles have written of love, accounting it first of all virtues.
“It is love that exalts our souls”, this refrain of their singing.
None knows it better than you, and if you should fail in
discernment,
How can I hope to enlighten the ignorant man and the mocker?
(v. 782)
(cf. Rom. 8, 31-38; I Cor. 13, 1-13).

The chapter referred to from Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians is called the hymn to love in scholarly literature.²⁵ Besides the Apostles, Maximus the Confessor is the Holy Father who is also named as the teacher of love by modern theologians.²⁶ The exact sources of Rustaveli's words from the Apostle's writings were studied in scholarly research.²⁷ It was also noticed that the concept of love by Rustaveli is mainly based on the definitions of Maximus' *Capita de charitate*.²⁸ Another work by Maximus, *Ad Joannem cubicularium*, is called by the modern theologian the 'encomium of love' both splendidly expressed and profound in its combination of philosophical and practical teachings.²⁹ In this tract the abstract definition of love and practical teaching about it are related to each other praising love as a superior virtue to all other virtues, as a means of deification moving man with grace to divine perfection. The testament of Avtandil may be also called

the hymn to love, namely, charity as the sound ground for love to God based on both the Epistles of Paul and the treatises of Maximus.³⁰

The parallels of Rustaveli's concepts with Maximus' definitions are quoted below:

1. According to Maximus, the love for thy neighbour and for God, and vice versa, is the main aim of man's life (Max. Charit. 1, 13. 15-16. 23. 42; 2, 7. 9; Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 401D-404A). The perfect love for God and the true love for a neighbour are not different from each other but are intimately interrelated and support each other in their own functions. Neighbourly love is included in the love to God and unites man with God (Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 401C7-D12). According to Maximus, suffering and kindness for a neighbour belong to charity, though the lack of them indirectly separates us from God (Max. Charit. 1, 38).³¹ Fulfilling this type of love means the conversion of an old man into a new one making it possible to participate in supernatural divine things (Max. Thal. 59; Amb. 7. PG 91, 1077AB. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 405D4-498A1).

Avtandil perceives divine love through charity which is the door to eternity for him (არ დავიწყება მოყვრისა. v. 798, 1—“keeping his faith with his brother [lit.: not to forget thy neighbour].” v. 789, 1; მოიქცამს დაღება თავისა. v. 702, 3—“never forsake him [lit.: I do sacrifice myself for him].” v. 693, 3; პირისპირ მარცხვენს, ორნივე მივალთ მას საუკუნოსა. v. 797, 4—“He will look at my face and shame me, when we meet in the great Hereafter.” v. 787, 4; სიყვარული აღგვამალღებს—“Love exalts;” see above: v. 791/782, 3). Based on this theological concept Avtandil's (and consequently Rustaveli's) concept of love differs from social humanism, feudal φιλασθαπρία and friendly φιλία based only on respect for each other, namely of vassal and patron or the friends of kindred spirit; whereas the theological concept of love is a union in God which is above all other feelings of love like the term ἀγάπη which acquired a new spiritual meaning in the New Testament.³² That is why it is natural that Rustaveli often uses the terms მოყვარე, ძმა related to

25. Norden, E., *Die antike Kunstprosa von VI Jahrhundert V.Chr. bis die Zeir der Renaissance*, Bd.I, Bd.II, Leipzig, Berlin, 1918, p509.

26. Sidorov, *Introduction to the Writings of Maximus the Confessor*, I, p64 [in Russian].

27. Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, edited by Vakhtang VI in 1712, reedited by Shanidze, A., Tbilisi, 1937, p338 [in Georgian]. Nozadze, V., *Theory of Love in Rustaveli's Poem*, Paris, 1975, p130 [in Georgian]. Nozadze, *Theology in Rustaveli's Poem*, pp 488-89 [in Georgian].

28. Gamsakhurdia, *Rustaveli in English*, p91 [in Georgian].

29. Louth, A., *Maximus the Confessor*, London, New York, 1996, p84.

30. Maximus' writings—*Capita de caritate* among them—are translated into Old Georgian but *Ad Joannem cubicularium* is not found among these translations. The heuristic works, however, are not yet completed and it may yet be possible to discover this text. In any case, regarding Rustaveli's education he may have been aware of all these works in the original as well.

31. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp 314-15.

32. Florenski, P.A., *Pillar and Confirmation of Truth*, Moscow, 1990, pp 402-06, 412-13, 417 [in Russian]. Treu, K., ‘Φιλία und’ Ἀγάπη. Zur Terminologie dere Freundschaft bei Basilus und Gregor von Nazianz’, in: *Studii Clasici*, III, 1961, pp 412-27. On the

the terms of New Testament πλησίον, ἀδελφός (neighbour, brother) etc.³³

2. According to Maximus, divine love, 'agape', leads a human being to contemplation (Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 393 B9; Charit. 1, 10-12. PG 90, 964A4-10) and is the way to deification (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ—Maxim. Charit. 1, 69. PG 90, 976A11-12; Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 396B1-5, 407C; 393C1-2; 401C7-D2). Thus, divine knowledge (ἡ θεία γνῶσις), the [heavenly] light of [mystical] knowledge (τὸν τῆς γνῶσεως φωτισμόν. Charit. 1, 31) is perceived by love (διὰ ἀγάπης. Charit. 1, 47.69). It is charity that brings man to gnosis and illumination (Charit. 1, 46.81-82).³⁴ The idea is based on Paul's definition that love is superior to knowledge (I Cor. 8, 1; 13, 2; Ephes. 3, 19). According to Maximus, too, knowledge is not presented as superior to charity but vice versa, love is superior to it since man is unable to know God fully (Charit. 2, 1); it is by means of love that knowledge of God attracts the pure mind (Charit. 1, 32), and knowledge in its turn is necessary for love (Charit. 1, 9.19; 4, 60.62. Amb. 7. PG 91, 1073C).³⁵ Thus, according to the Holy Fathers and Maximus, love is a door and bridge to God (ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς Θεόν. Ign. Ephes. 9, 1; ἡ ἀγάπη ... πρὸς Θεόν ... τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ περιπατοῦντα ἄγουσα ... Max. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 396B1-5). It is the only reason for salvation. Nothing pleases God without love. God became man and man becomes God through the mystery of love (Max. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 407C; cfr. Joh. 4, 9-10; Philip. 2, 7; τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης μυστήριον τὸ ἡμᾶς θεοὺς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ποιοῦν. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 393C1-2). As scholarly literature interprets it, the concept of theosis by Maximus is the bridge over the ontological gulf which exists between Creator and all beings created by Him.³⁶

For Avtandil the concept of love as a worldly charity is also the bridge leading a person to divine love and deification (ხამს მოყვარე

interrelation of 'philia' and 'agape' in Rustaveli's poem see Khintibidze, E., 'On the Interpretation of the Concept of Friendship in Rustaveli's Poem', in: *The Medieval and Renaissance Opinions in Rustaveli's Poem*, Tbilisi, 1993, pp. 129-65 [in Georgian]. Bezarashvili, *Divine Love and 'Contemplative Beauty'*, I, pp. 74-5 [in Georgian].

33. See *Symphony of Rustaveli's Poem*, Tbilisi, 1973 [in Georgian]. Schmoller, A., *Handkonkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

34. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, p. 16. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, p. 41.

35. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 321-22. As mentioned above, *gnosis* and *agape* are closely related to each other in Eastern Christian mysticism; see Losski, V.N., *Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, Moscow, 1991, p. 156 [in Russian].

36. Sidorov, *Introduction to the Writings of Maximus the Confessor*, p. 300, n. 23 [in Russian].

მოყვრისათვის თავი ჰირსა არ ღამრიღად, გული მისცეს გულისათვის, სიყვარული გზად და ხიდად. v. 703, 1-2—"A friend never spares any pains to assist a friend who is troubled. Heart should be given for heart, and love be the bridge of true friendship." v. 694, 1-2). Cfr. also above the praise of Apostoles' concept of love by him.

3. It is noteworthy that according to Gregory the Theologian and Maximus the Confessor, praxis, as the first stage of life in God, is no less important than theory as a higher stage. Both are deeply interrelated in their writings (Max. Ambig. 10. PG 91, 1108AB. Thal. 54; Quinq. cent. I. PG 90, 1341-1344). Practical philosophy is purification of man's heart and soul perceiving worldly love as the sublime virtue, and then theoretical contemplative activity is God's cognition (Max. Thal. 3; 51; cfr. Gr.Naz. Or. 20, c. 12. PG 35, 100B). Praxis is preparation intended to liberate the mind for its higher activities, whereas the mind is elevated towards God through contemplative understanding (Max. Thal. 3), leading to wisdom, incorruptible knowledge (Max. Gnost. 1, 20. PG 90, 1092A). It is considered that *vita practica* has a far more important role in Maximus' thinking than it had ever in the writings of previous fathers such as Evagrius.³⁷

For Avtandil the wisdom of philosophers has no value without practical activity and here he implies charity (მე რად გავწირო მოყვარე, ძმა უმტკიცესი ძმობისა?! არა ვიქმ, ცოდნა რას მარგებს ფილოსოფოსთა ბრძნობისა! v. 790, 2-3—"What shall avail me the lessons instilled by the wise in all ages, philosophy's golden treasure, making us one with the angels, if I abandon the friend who is dearer to me than a brother?" [lit.: if I will not practically be active?] v. 781, 2-3).³⁸ The harmony of virtue and knowledge implies here that neither sensible nor theoretical knowledge is important without fulfilled love. The practical activity and virtue also means giving the treasure to the poor in order not to be consumed in eternal fire of abyss in the next world (see Avtandil's testament: მიეც გლახაკთა საჭურჭლე. v. 803, 2—"spread them [i.e. treasure] among the poor." v. 794, 2; ნურა ნუ გშურს საქონელი ჩემი ჩემთვის წარსაგებლად, შენგან კილე არვინ მივის

37. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp. 338-43, 337, n. 46.

38. The term 'philosophy' had both of these meanings in the Middle Ages. On the meanings of the term philosophy see Hunger, H., *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, Munich, 1978, pp. 4-11, 42-54. Wolfson, H.A., *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, I, Cambridge (Mas.), 1956, p. 17. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, I-II, Graz, 1958, p. 1678, s.v. φιλοσοφία: Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. φιλοσοφία, φιλόσοφος.

ცეცხლთა ცხელთა ღამავსებლად. v. 804, 3-4—"Let not your hand be sparing, freely distribute my treasure, there is none other but you [i.e. Shermadin, a vassal of Avtandil's] to assuage the flames that consume me." v. 795, 3-4, etc. cfr. Psal. III, 10; Matth. 19, 21; Luc. 18, 22; Prax. 20, 35; I Tim. 6, 18-19).

4. Divine love is considered by Maximus as the first and superior to all other virtues (μέγα οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἀγάπη, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἐξαιρετὸν ἀγαθόν—Max. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 401 C7; cf. Thal. 40. Amb. 21. PG 91, 1249 B). According to Maximus, holy love is the blessed passion (Charit. 3, 67) that will be replaced by laudable passion of love for God and for one's neighbour in restored man (Charit. 3, 71). It participates in divine things (Thal. 59; Amb. 7. PG 91, 1077AB). In this sense it is considered that love lasts forever and only it can bring man to mystical union with God.³⁹

Rustaveli also calls sublime love the first (i.e. supreme) love; the human mind is not fully aware of it (see the above verses from the prologue to the poem). According to Avtandil's testament, love brings man to sublimity (see above for the Apostle's concept of love about sublimity quoted by Avtandil). Ascent to Heaven by means of good deeds and charity implies prolonging love and transforming its worldly nature into the divine one as is said in Nestan's epistle (both letters, Avtandil's testament and Nestan's epistle, were written while expecting death, which is why they have a content of testament; cfr. Nestan's epistle: ვში მზრდელად სიყვარულისა v. 1297, 4—"I shall cherish the blossoms [lit.: love] for ever." v. 1284, 4; ღღისით და ღღით ვხედვიდე მშისა ელვათა კრთომასა. v. 1304, 4—"Gaze in eternal delight on the rays of the sun in its splendour." v. 1291, 4).

5. Love is eternal according to Maximus and the other Holy Fathers (ἢ δὲ ἀγάπη εἰς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας. cfr. I Cor. 13, 8). It is the only virtue of all other 'theological' virtues that will not fail after detachment in the next world, because in itself it includes all other virtues and these virtues result and end in charity (ἢ δὲ ἀγάπη εἰς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας—Charit. 3, 100. PG 90, 104 8A; cf. Thal. 54; Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 393C-396B). Theological virtues—faith, hope and love—are the instruments on man's way from the beginning to the end but charity alone brings man

to beatitude, rendering the others unnecessary (Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 393D-396AC). Moving a human person to mystical union with God, love also connects time and eternity with each other (Max. Charit. 3, 100. PG 90, 1048A). Maximus frequently praises love, which in his opinion is a cause for inspiration and aspiration, a contemplative light, a reason for enjoying the sublimation of feelings: love gives wings to the mind, to the soul for final communion with God (QuDub. I, 10).⁴⁰ "Nothing is so like God, so mystic, and so sublime leading man to deification, than divine love" (Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄντως τῆς θείας ἀγάπης θεοειδέστερον, οὐδὲ μυστηριωδέστερον, οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις πρὸς θέωσις ὑψηλότερον ... Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 393B9). "The love to God inspires the mind [lit.: gives the wings to a man as intelligible being] for eternal union with God" (ἢ μὲν εἰς Θεὸν ἀγάπη εἰς τὴν θείαν ὁμιλίαν ἀεὶ φιλεῖ πτερῶσαι τὸν νοῦν. Max. Charit. 4, 40. PG 90, 1055D1).

Avtandil also speaks about eternity and Heaven reached by means of love. Love as a sublime and high virtue is defined in the same way in his testament as in the prologue to the poem. This testament is also characterized by arguing the relation of the worldly and the eternal, present and future. The final aim of it is the union with God, attaining the eternal place with Him. Having elevated the wings of the soul through the virtues, man flies from the worldly to holy desires, to higher love and aspiration. Avtandil's words bear witness to this:

ღამსხნას ხორცსა და სოფელსა, სხვად ნურას შევიცვალე,
კვლა ცეცხლი ჯოჯოხეთისა, ნუმცა მწვავს, იგი ალები,
მომცეს მკვიდრივე მამული მუნ ჩემი სასურვალე.
ღამსხნას ბნელსა და ნათელი შემმოხოს გესთა გენისა,
მუნ ღამიუნჯოს, წამალი სადა ძეს წყლულთა ღხენისა ...
ფრთენი მომეხსნეს და ძალი მომეცეს აღმაფრენისა.⁴¹

Let the detachment from the flesh and earthly world not be the reason for consuming me in the flames of abyss/hell; let Him grant me prominent and desired place there; let me be free of darkness and cover me with [i.e. eternal] light of Heaven [lit.: of the upper world]; let me stay where the remedy for my wounds shall heal me, where the

40. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp 311, 316.

41. These verses from Avtandil's testament 976-977 are present in most of the manuscripts of the poem, but not in the edition of 1957 (the English translation is mine), see *The Variants of the Manuscripts of 'The Knight in the Panther's Skin'*, II, Tbilisi, 1961, pp 511-12 [in Georgian].

39. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp 311, 316-17, 320. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, p41.

wings and the delight power of flight shall be given to me (cfr. Psal. 54, 6-7).

6. Deified love shall overcome all difficulties and transfigure the human person, revealing the true glory of the image of God in him.⁴² With this divine grace a person becomes perfect and attains the sublime accomplishment.⁴³ The soul purified from the passions is delighted by divine love (Max. Charit. 1, 34). Love is also an instrument of perceiving God by means of conquering of the earthly pleasures (Max. Charit. 4, 100; 2, 48; 1, 21. Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 397B). According to Maximus, the mind inspired by love makes a person free from attachment to worldly things and events and enables him to contemplate the eternal light (Max. Charit. 1, 10-12. PG 90, 964A4-10). As scholarly literature notes, dispassion (ἀπάθεια—Charit. 1, 2) implies purified love, according to Maximus' definition, since passion is an impulse of the soul contrary to nature (Charit. 1, 35; 2, 16), i.e. it is that is in accordance with unfallen nature.⁴⁴ Thus, unlike the negative meaning of passion which it had in Byzantine ascetic tradition, Maximus calls the human desire of divine love as beatific, bringing mind to spiritual contemplation (τοῦ μακαρίου πάθους τῆς ἁγίας ἀγάπης. Charit. 3, 67).

Avtandil is also being purified by love when he speaks about leaving the worldly things and governing passions (მომეც დათმობა სურვილთა მფლობელთ გულისთქმათაო. v. 809, 4—"Give me, O Ruler of hearts, the strength to master my passion." v. 800, 4) in the prayer [which is closely related to his testament]; the same is meant in the words of his testament (ღარიბი მოვეკვდე ღარიბად. v. 802, 2—"let me fall ... wretched unshrouded [lit.: if I die as poor in poverty]." v. 793, 1-2), which means leaving the material welfare overpowering the passion of being attached to these earthly events on the mystical way to divine contemplation.

7. Theosis is fulfilled with the help of divine grace (Maxim. Ambig. PG 91, 1308A-D). Worldly goods and love become eternal through divine love and the grace of the Holy Spirit, and this is the action of heavenly energy in the earthly events.⁴⁵ According to the Holy Fathers, contemplation is related to divine wisdom, God, illumination, beauty

42. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, p85.

43. Losski, *Mystical Theology*, pp 161-62.

44. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, p41.

45. Losski, *Mystical Theology*, pp 161-62. [in Russian]. Minin, *Mystical Theology*, pp 361, 368, 370 [in Russian].

and love. As mentioned above, love was called beautiful by Clement of Alexandria, and contemplation was separately called beautiful by Gregory the Theologian. But all these three concepts are mentioned together by Maximus. According to him, love is the way to the beauty of the Divine Trinity, making a human being a contemplator of it (Αὐτὴ [i.e. ἡ ἀγάπη] ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα, δι' ἧς ὁ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἁγία γίνεται τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τοῦ ἀπροσίτου κάλλους τῆς ἁγίας καὶ βασιλικῆς Τριάδος θεατῆς γενέσθαι καθίσταται ἄξιος ...—Ad Joan. cub. PG 91, 404 A1-10). All these three concepts: divine love/'agape', beauty/'kallos', and contemplation (expressed by means of the active form 'theates'/contemplator) are presented here. See also: "The beatific mind leaving all earthly things is sweetened by contemplation of divine beauty" (Μακάριος ὁ νοῦς, ὁ πάντα τὰ ὄντα περάσας, καὶ τῆς θείας ὠραιότητος ἀδιαλείπτως κατατροφῶν. Max. Charit. 1, 19. PG 90, 964D7).⁴⁶

After the poetical quotation and periphrasis of the words of the Apostles about love, the stanza praising the three hypostases of God is presented in Avtandil's testament through the terms 'Creator' implying God the Father, 'Power' as the helper of human beings implying the Son, according to the symbols and epithets of patristic texts, and *distribuat*; *segregans*, implying the Holy Spirit who defines the concepts for created beings (ვინ ღამბადა, შემღებამცა მანვე მომცა ძლეველ მგერთა, ვინ არს ძალი უხილავი, შემწე ყოვლთაღ მიწიერთაღ, ვინ სამღვარსა დაუსაზღვრებს, მის უკვდავი ღმერთი ღმერთაღ, etc. v. 792/783).⁴⁷ The next verse confirms the descent of divine grace and energy from the transcendental sphere to the worldly one and spreading over it:

რაცა ღმერთსა არა სწადდეს, არა საქმე არ იქმნების,
მზისა შუქთა ვერ მჭვრეგელი ია ხმების, ვარდი ჭკნების;
თვალთა გურფა საჭვრეგელი უცხოდ რადმე ეშვენების;
მე ვით გავძლო უმისობა, ან სიცოცხლე ვით მეთნების (v. 793)

What the Almighty decrees not, no mortal can force into being,
The rose and the violet must wither, deprived of the *life-giving*
sunlight.

Beauty was sent among mortals for the eye to discern and rejoice in

46. Symeon the New Theologian is quoted in the scholarly literature as mentioning divine love being a reason for contemplating sublime beauty; see Minin, *Mystical Theology*, pp 366-67, n. 1; 368, n. 1; 379 [in Russian].

47. These verses are interpreted in the scholarly literature from the theological point of view; see Gamsakhurdia, *Rustaveli in English*, p49 [in Georgian].

[literally, v.l.: the *beautiful contemplation* is strange and *wonderful* to eyes].

How can I live in his [lit.: its] absence? How can I savour life's pleasures?

(v. 784).

All three concepts are here: divine love (praised by Apostles, i.e. life-giving light without which man cannot live), divine contemplation (ჭურჭა საჭკრეტელი—'the beautiful thing for contemplation'), and divine beauty (უცხოვ რადმე ეშვენების—'that is strange and wonderful'). They are presented as in Maximus' text above. On the metaphorical level Rustaveli (i.e. Avtandil in his testament) speaks of the love of a friend (Tariel), comparing it to the life-giving rays of the sun for the violets and roses. It means that Avtandil tries to revive Tariel's soul with love since it is dead without the warmth of the sun (it is noteworthy that the image and symbol of the sun, its rays, light and warmth are frequently used in patristic literature to denote God in general, the unity of the hypostases in the Trinity, and the hypostases themselves, namely, the Holy Spirit, giving life to created beings).⁴⁸ So at the level of mystical content, Rustaveli speaks about the beauty of the subject matter of contemplation ("the beautiful thing for contemplation is [sent] to eyes to discern and rejoice"—taken from V. Urushadze's translation; cfr. v.l. "that is strange and wonderful"). I interpret the subject matter of contemplation as divine love (in its ontological, gnoseological and ethical aspects) praised by Avtandil while quoting the concept of love by the Apostles in the above verses of the testament.⁴⁹

48. Florovski, G., *The Eastern Christian Fathers of the Fourth Century*, Paris, 1931, pp 108-09 [in Russian]. The examples from patristic texts are also quoted in: Nozadze, V., *The Theory of the Sun in Rustaveli's Poem*, Tbilisi, 2006, pp 154-55 [in Georgian].

49. It is noteworthy that the theological meaning of this verse is understood correctly and translated well into Russian by Shalva Nutsubidze conveying approximately the similar concepts: красота нетленным видом возвышает благородно, i.e. "beauty in its incorruptible way inspires virtuously" (v. 784). Shota Rustaveli, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, translated from Georgian into Russian by Nutsubidze, Sh., Tbilisi, 1988, p121. In his translation N. Zabolotskii also attempts to render the metaphysical meaning but through the concept of goodness: Всякий взор к добру стремится, нет достоинства во зле, i.e. "the gaze, v.l. contemplation is trying to attain goodness, there is no virtue in evil" (See *Shota Rustaveli*, translated by Zabolotskii, N.A., Tbilisi, 1987, p152). The concept of beauty is transferred by V. Urushadze, too, but the function of it is rendered by her as rejoicing the eye losing its metaphysical meaning. The same metaphysical meaning is also misunderstood in M. Wardrop's translation: "every lovely thing is desirable for the eye to gaze on" (v. 774. See *The Man in the Panther's Skin. A Romantic Epic by Shota Rustaveli, A Close Rendering from the Georgian Attempted by Marjory Scott Wardrop with a Preface by Sir Oliver Wardrope*, Tbilisi, 1966, p181).

Thus Rustaveli implies here the concept of contemplation (the words θεωρία in Greek and ხედვა, ჰერეგა in Georgian had a double meaning: physical seeing as well as spiritual seeing, i.e. comprehension).⁵⁰ The concept of contemplation is mentioned in relation to beauty and both imply love for thy neighbour expressed by means of sacrificing oneself that unites man with God.

All human feelings of love become complete, sublime and beautiful only by means of uniting with divine love that is regarded as eternal and beautiful for cognition. Only divine love and grace make even the perfect worldly things and events gentle, giving them the true life and eternity. In scholarly literature it is interpreted as transforming natural desires into the supreme gift of love and light,⁵¹ leading man's soul to God;⁵² also on this level of human desire the heavenly grace of divine love helps him.⁵³

Avtandil's belief is based on the eternal things, the grace of which, i.e. the beauty of higher love, is perceived by him. That is why he does not want to live without it ('how can I live in its absence?'), he does not want to lead his life in the previous manner, in the dead world which is not illuminated by the life-giving spirit, expressed by a poet with the metaphor of roses and violets dying without the sun ('the rose and the violet must wither, deprived of the life-giving sunlight'). The reason is that Avtandil's religious feeling (as according to the explications of the Holy Fathers) is not only the knowledge of words, i.e. the dogmas, but the practical activity, i.e. spiritual life in God's grace, and hence feeling eternity in himself.⁵⁴

As it is noticed in modern theology, the feeling of love and sacrifice makes a person accomplished.⁵⁵ Besides, feeling the eternity of love is the reason of true spiritual happiness and the reception of divine beauty.⁵⁶ The metaphysical nature of the feeling of friendship is also discussed in scholarly literature: it is not only psychological and ethical, but also ontological and mystical. Love and friendship are interpreted as

50. Bezarashvili, *Divine Love and 'Contemplative Beauty'*, II, pp 86-89 [in Georgian]. On the influence of the terminology of Georgian Hellenophiles, mainly of the philosopher Ioane Petritsi on Rustaveli's terminology, see *ibid*.

51. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp 39-40.

52. Thunberg, *The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, pp 312-14.

53. Florenski, *Pillar and Confirmation of Truth*, pp 443-44 [in Russian].

54. Cfr. Minin, *Mystical Theology*, pp 375-76 [in Russian].

55. St Justin (Popovich), *Mysticism of Russia And Slavs*, in: *Dostoyevsky about Europe and Slaviansstvo*, translated from the Serbian by L.N. Danilenko, St Petersburg, 1997, p22 [in Russian].

56. St Justin (Popovich), *Explications on the First Epistles of the Apostle John*, Moscow, 1998, p95, 89 [in Russian].

cognizing oneself in God by man with the help of a friend.⁵⁷ That is why it is only natural that perfect friendship and beauty of love for thy neighbour bringing man to God, to eternal life and illumination are called 'beautiful contemplation' in Avtandil's testament.

Therefore, all the functions of divine love characterized in patristic literature are presented in Rustaveli's poem: love for God and for neighbour, love as sublime and first among other theological virtues, love as the door to gnosis and theosis, i.e. the bridge to sublimity, also the beauty of divine love and the beauty of contemplation related to each other. Thus the concept of the beauty of love and contemplation analyzed above are based on Eastern Christian theology in Rustaveli's poetry. The love for neighbour and the concept of beauty that will save the world were the ideals of Dostoyevsky's novels, based on the soteriology of Eastern Christian mysticism. That is why some scholars regarded Dostoyevsky's world outlook as a sound ground for the spiritual mission of Russia and Slavs in general ('*Slavianstvo*').⁵⁸ The same problem, i.e. the significance and beauty of divine love and its contemplation, was touched upon by Rustaveli long ago in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Studying this in greater depth needs to be the subject of further research.

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57. Florenski, *Pillar and Confirmation of Truth*, p438 [in Russian].

58. St Justin (Popovich), *Mysticism of Russia* [in Russian]. The acceptance of Dostoyevsky's phrases differs in the scholarly literature: it is considered that in V. Solovyov's aesthetics beauty saving the world has a Messianic charge; see P. Couvée, 'Aspects of Sublime and *Istinmost*' in Contemporary Russian Poetry', in: *Aesthetics as a Religious Factor in Eastern and Western Christianity (Eastern Christian Studies, 6)*, Leuven, Paris, 2005, p89. Analyzing beauty in the service of the holy is also studied, for which see A. Nichols, Hans Urs von Balthasar & Sergii Bulgakov on holy images in: *Aesthetics as a Religious Factor*, p24. Dante and Dostoyevsky, however, are mentioned as transferring theological themes via literary-metaphorical means, although Dostoyevsky is regarded by some scholars as never speaking on Orthodox beauty: for him beauty is not a magic force that will save the world and the person. According to these scholars, Dostoyevsky is aware of the ambiguous nature of beauty, which is clearly seen from his novels; see W. van den Bercken, 'The Ambiguity of Religious Aesthetics: Reflections on Catholic and Orthodox Religious Art', in: *Aesthetics as a Religious Factor*, pp 38, 50.

DAVID QIPSHIDZE AND HIS RESEARCH ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

Eter Kavtaradze

The name of David Qipshidze is the most closely associated with the history of research into the life and activity of Maximus the Confessor. An extensive review of the documents in Qipshidze's personal archives has shed light not only on the significance of his contribution but also revealed the origins of interest in Georgian scholarly circles towards this great Byzantine theologian.

According to the archives it was Qipshidze who was part of the first archaeological attempts to find Maximus' burial place as well as to collect and record the folklore material associated with him. He was also the first Georgian scholar who *in situ*, at Jruchi¹ Monastery in Western Georgia, copied out and described with archaeographic precision the manuscript² there that included the Georgian translation of Maximus' Life and his works.

Qipshidze was part of the St Petersburg School of Georgian Studies and graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of St Petersburg Royal University, majoring in Georgian-Armenian philology. He began his scholarly activities early, during his student years, under the supervision of Nikoloz (Niko) Marr. This was a time when St Petersburg University came to be a centre for Georgian studies and thus it was here that the cultural activities, begun by the Georgian princes (who had

1. A village in the province of Imereti (Western Georgia).
2. Manuscript H 1663, now kept in Tbilisi, in The National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia. Previous to D. Qipshidze N. Kondakov and D. Bakradze in 1890 included the short information about this manuscript in *Description of the Georgian antiquities, kept in several monasteries and churches of Georgia*, St Petersburg, 1890 [in Russian].

emigrated or been exiled to Russia during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) and representatives of the Georgian community in Russia, was continued. It should be noted that it was during his university years that Qipshidze began to study Maximus' life; however, he was not destined to continue his research since he died prematurely in 1919 at the age of 29.

The life of Maximus was a source of constant interest in the scholarly and theological circles of St Petersburg. The details of Maximus the Confessor's death in Georgia attracted the attention of the Georgian and Russian scholars active in St Petersburg, and kindled still greater interest in the Georgian versions of Maximus' *Vita*. One of the documents preserved in Qipshidze's archives presents a highly illuminating account of why and how the issue of carrying out archaeological excavations in order to find Maximus' burial place was put on the agenda. This is a paper presented at the meeting of the Georgian Learned Society of the University of St Petersburg, held on October 27, 1914. Qipshidze writes:

... A comprehensive biography of the life of Maximus the Confessor has not been written so far, and yet Maximus' personality is of great interest to researchers of Byzantium in general and ecclesiastic history in particular. Perhaps it is due to the latter that to this day the works of the scholars of the Russian Theological Academy occupy the foremost place in the not very extensive scholarly literature about Maximus.

The best work on [Maximus'] life belongs to Elpatievsky, a holder of the Professor Scholarship of Kiev Theological Academy. The single [volume of] Maximus' biography, composed by Elpatievsky, consists of 900 pages.³ The second volume of the work is intended to be a review of Maximus' literary activity. But despite the presence of such a voluminous work, much remains unclear about the final year of his life after his expulsion to Georgia. Nor do scholars have any definite data about the exact place of his death. Father Korneli Kekelidze, Inspector of Tbilisi Eparchial School for Girls and a former student of the same Theological Academy of Kiev,⁴ sought to find answers to the above subjects on the basis of Georgian sources.

Maximus the Confessor's *Vita*, preserved in the Georgian

translation [by Euthymius the Athonite—E.K.], is longer than the surviving Greek original and provides additional information about Maximus' life and his burial place. It suggests that Maximus may have been buried in Himar. In one of the twelfth-century manuscripts containing the Synaxarian Life of Maximus it is written that Himar is Muri.⁵ Vakhushti Bagrationi also says that 'the church of St Maximus is in Muri, it is where Maximus was interred'.⁶ Apart from that in Muri [Lechkhumi District, near the township of Tsageri] there exists an oral tradition according to which Maximus lived there, was killed by a peasant from Dekhviri [a village to the south of Tsageri] and was buried where now the small church of St Maximus is erected on the land belonging to the Dadianis.⁷ According to the Greek recensions of *Vita Maximi* this is the place where Maximus spent the last period of his life.

From all the data mentioned above, K. Kekelidze arrived at the conclusion that there is no doubt that Muri is the place where Maximus found his eternal peace. In this connection M. Brilliantov, Professor of the St Petersburg Theological Academy, brought up the question at the Synod of carrying out archaeological excavations in the vicinity of the church at Muri in order that this issue may be studied thoroughly. The Synod gave its consent and commissioned Professor Marr to carry out the project. As Professor Marr could not stay in Muri over the summer, he entrusted Nikolai Tikhonov, Evsevi Mikeladze and David Qipshidze with the task. The work lasted from June 25 till July 17, and the excavation has yielded some results...⁸

5. Here D. Qipshidze refers to the information, preserved in the article of K. Kekelidze (Georgian Sources about Maximus the Confessor, Studies, vol. 7, Tbilisi, 1961, pp. 14-54; in Georgian). In this article, on the pp. 32-33 K. Kekelidze states that Schemaris, where Maximus died according to the Greek sources, is identified as the fortress Muri (Tskhe-Muri); among other data, Kekelidze bases himself on the information provided by the 12th-century Georgian manuscript (mentioned by Qipshidze) A 222 which contains the Great Synaxarion translated by George the Athonite (11th c.); on the margin of the leaf of the mentioned manuscript, across the place in the main text, where the death of Maximus is recounted, there is a colophon, in 12th c. handwriting, where it is stated that "St Maximus' relics are buried in [fortress Muri] near Tsageri".

6. Vakhushti Bagrationi, Georgian prince, prominent 18th-century historian and geographer. For the cited passage see: Vakhushti Batonishvili, *A Description of the Georgian Kingdom*, Tbilisi, 1941, p. 149 (in Georgian).

7. Noble family name from Western Georgia. In some periods of Georgian history, Dadianis were the ruling family of Samegrelo (region in west Georgia). They also possessed lands in Lechkhumi region.

8. Literature Museum (Tbilisi), no. 18175-kh(3). The excerpt lacks the beginning and the end.

3. This work by Elpatievsky seems to be lost; despite all our efforts it was not possible to find it in the libraries and archives of Russia up to now.

4. Subsequently to become a renowned Georgian scholar.

The document stops here and although it is a draft, we may assume that Qipshidze read the complete text of the paper at the session of the Georgian Learned Society, an event that is attested in his diary.⁹ Although the final version has been lost,¹⁰ which no doubt would have provided us with further information about the Muri expedition, we are fortunate that brief recordings made in the field journal by Qipshidze during the expedition have survived. We learn from these records that the expedition intended an in-depth study and to this purpose they wrote down all the available folklore material associated with Maximus, and they also surveyed and described the churches, monasteries and fortresses of this province. The personal journals kept by Qipshidze during the expedition are an important part in the research of Georgian materials associated with the life of Maximus the Confessor.

*

June 26, 1914: Esiko [Evsevi Mikeladze], Nikolai Nikolaevich Tikhonov together with his wife and I left Kutaisi and started on our journey to Muri to excavate the remnants of St Maximus' monastery. Night caught us on our way there. From Orbeli we continued the way on foot, as we could not get horses due to the donkey-like obstinacy of the local *esauls*.¹¹ On approaching Muri we nearly drowned in the mud. We were accompanied by Estate and Iudith. Estate was of great help on the way there. He is a Svan by origin,¹² Shervashidze is his family name; he is a former serviceman. From them I learned a dozen words and a few phrases and wrote them down.

June 27: We saw the small church of Muri, then we went to Tsageri where we visited Father Margiani and Colonel Enkel, Head of the District. In the evening we found a couple of labourers (for a remuneration of one rouble¹³ each) to start work on the next day, which was Saturday.

9. Literature Museum (Tbilisi), no. 18175-kh(1).

10. From the minutes of the 1919 session of the Caucasian Historical-Archaeological Institute (Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, f. 4, item no. 1, case 2, pr5) it is clear that together with other materials this paper was handed over to the Institute by D. Qipshidze's sister Ekaterine Qipshidze. In the Institute archives, now preserved at the Georgian Academy of Sciences, there are no works of David Qipshidze at present.

11. Esaul—local official, executive officer.

12. Svaneti—mountainous region in west Georgia, neighbouring Lechkhumi region.

13. Currency used in the Russian Empire.

June 28: Two labourers brought eight others. So we started work with ten men. We dug a trench discovering bricks, tiles, shards of wine jugs, human skeletons and burnt lime.

June 29: At six o'clock Father Margiani officiated at a public prayer for the success of our work, it was attended by many people, B. Enkel among them.

June 30: Twenty-two people have been working since morning, deepening and widening the trench dug yesterday to the west of the church. A new trench was begun to the east of the church. Apart from what was discovered yesterday, tile shards, bricks mixed with lime, a wall or a foundation built of cobbles and lime were also unearthed.

July 1: Today, to the east of the church, three arshins¹⁴ deep in the ground we found three human skeletons and four vessels (of this shape),¹⁵ three broken, one intact [at this place in the journal is inserted a drawing of the vessels].¹⁶ I took a photograph of an intact one. I think this strange ceramic cylinder, without lid or bottom, must be the support for a brazier. At noon we received a telegram from N. Marr sent to the governor of the district.¹⁷

In the evening we were invited by the local high society—noblemen, functionaries and others—to a banquet in honour of Nicholas Theodorov, Chairman of the Kutaisi Circuit Court, who was inspecting the district. Tikhonov and I went, Esiko stayed behind and continued working; he discovered a clay pipe as thick as a round 0.25-litre bottle; the exact length of the pipe is 44 cm, the circumference 42.5 cm.¹⁸

July 2: At a depth of 1.5 arshins at the bottom of a rock, a coin was found (with the letter M on one side, on the other side there was a king's face and a crown, worn away). In Tikhonov's opinion it is

14. Arshin—unit of measurement equal to 28 inches.

15. A drawing is presented.

16. This one and the photos mentioned further were lost together with the material from the Muri expedition.

17. The text of the telegram is cited; Marr writes that on July 12 he will be in Kutaisi and asks to be met at the station with horses.

18. The exact dimensions of the pipe follow: inside 36.5 cm, inside circumference of the rim, at the top 30 cm; diameter at the middle 11 cm, 9 cm at the top, 7 cm on the outside; thickness 0.5–5 mm.

Greek. To the left of the church, at a depth of 2.5 m, almost opposite the doorway, was discovered an earthenware jug¹⁹ placed at the head of two skeletons. Under the ash-tree at the north-eastern corner of a tiny church, a hewn stone²⁰ of about 3-4 *arsbins* was discovered, meant to be incorporated in the arch. There was a glazed pottery shard nearby. Pieces of green glass were found near the same ash-tree and in the trench dug along the foot of the rock.

July 3: In the morning Alexi [Gogidze], a watchman and I started on our way to Orbeli to invite the topographer Bakradze [to make topographical measurements for the excavations]. He had not arrived from Kutaisi yet, so I left a note for him. Then we took an opportunity to visit and take photographs of Orbeli.²¹ Two fortresses turned out to be quite good in negatives. During my visit to Orbeli, parts of a hewn, hexagonal stone column were found by the members of the expedition in Tsageri, then they discovered a tomb but they did not open it. In the evening Niko Marr informed Avsel Karlovich and Father Margiani about it. They arrived, very happy. They thought it had to be the remains of St Maximus. The opening of the tomb was postponed till 8 o'clock of the next day. Avsel Karlovich and Father Margiani promised to be present.

July 4: We opened the tomb in the presence of Father Margiani and Avsel. In it there were seven human skeletons. To the west of the church, broken pieces of a column and a whole tile furnished with angles and edges were revealed (see the picture [attached to the journal]). In the evening we asked the priest Samuel Dashniani to officiate at the service for the repose of the souls of all the dead whose remains were discovered on the site; all the bones found today and before were collected and buried in a good tomb. At 6 o'clock, when all the labourers had left, I wrote down a number of legends about St Maximus narrated by Sophrom Svanidze, son of Gabriel.

July 5: We had a break, stopped working and took a walk around Tsageri. I took a photograph of the Gate to Svaneti,²² 'beyond

19. A drawing is attached in the journal.

20. A drawing is attached.

21. On the border between the provinces of Svaneti and Lechkumi (Western Georgia).

22. Locals call the narrow corridor between the rocks the 'Gate of Svaneti'.

which the law cannot reach'. In the evening Sevasti Gabiani informed us that there was an old monastery in Sairme, about 2-3 versts²³ away from the village of Alpani.

July 6: In the morning we were visited by Bekolia Kvirikashvili, from whom I heard and recorded another legend about St Maximus.

July 7: Avsel Karlovich is greatly worried that we have stopped working. Today he specially came to talk it over with us. He promised he would order to send to us as many labourers as we needed if we continued digging within the church enclosure or in the courtyard of the manor house of the Dadianis. He said that our presence in the district had to be as fruitful as possible: "The correspondence about the project has been going on for six years, and now you, experts on this, at long last are here and if nothing is discovered all this affair will be forgotten." With these words he meant that either the remains of St Maximus or the ruins of this brilliant monastery had to be found, so that the site would be declared the saint's tomb. This is the most significant and essential wish of Avsel Karlovich's and, as he says, allegedly of the whole district as well. But we refused to take on any more labourers despite all this . . .²⁴

July 8: Early in the morning, at 5 o'clock, Ivane Murtskhvalidze, a labourer, and his friend came and asked us whether we were working that day. "The boss," he said, "called us, fifteen people [to come here]." I (Esiko and Kolia²⁵ were asleep) answered that we were not going to work that day. The others went in the direction of the church shaking their heads. Near the church there were about fifteen people. At 8 o'clock Avsel Karlovich himself came to the church. Kolia and I met him. He tried to persuade us that the work should be started, he said he would hire the labourers and so on. Nikolai refused point blank: "You needn't bother. Whenever we need it we will find workers, do everything as best as we can, and we ourselves will be responsible for everything." This is how our rather awkward conversation with Enkel ended.

23. A verst is about 3,500 feet.

24. Here the text stops.

25. Esiko and Kolia: Evsevi Mikleadze and Nikolai Tikhonov.

Nikolai and I started on our way at the foot of the mountain. We were walking with all our equipment towards the tower which is erected on the rock of Muri (there are three fortresses in all), to the southwest of the church. On our way there, we saw: a) a relatively new wall built of white stone, now destroyed; and b) an old wall, extending along the path, it seems to have been built to reinforce the road. The old Svaneti road must have been laid across this mountain, on the left bank of the river Tskhenistsqali. Now the road runs along the right bank of the river. In the narrow corridor between the rocks, called the Gate to Svaneti, there is an iron bridge, the so-called Muri Bridge: Muri is situated on the left side of the river Tskhenistsqali. It is the name of one section of the village Chkhuteli; this section is bordered by the river Tskhenistsqali in the west, a small creek—on the east and the south, in the north it is enclosed by the rocky Muri Mountain, on which there are the ruins of three fortresses.²⁶ A narrow path runs along the Muri Mountain, crosses the creek and then follows the foot of the mountain. From the highest point of the pass the snow-clad mountains of Svaneti can be seen. A very beautiful view!

We turned off our way and went up the incline of a snow-covered mountain. We could hardly reach the top. The fortress was not visible: we must have passed it when going up, it was obscured by the shrubbery. With great difficulty we went down to the fortress. It would be more correct to call it a tower—it is a small three-storey square structure built of stone, rock rubble and lime. The lime is brittle, especially near the door of the old wall mentioned above. It is plastered with lime mixture. There are no ornaments or inscriptions. In the west wall there seems to have been a window and a door equipped with a bolt; in the wall there is a socket for the bolt to slide in. In the south wall of every floor there are two or three windows. On the north a human palm is imprinted on the plaster.

From this place Nikoloz and I took a photograph of Muri. At noon we took a short cut to the church. In the evening we visited the wooden church of Chkhuteli, which, in 1885 was in Dadiani's yard, subsequently Dadiani presented it to the village. The church is domed, it is erected on top of a hill with a linden growing within its enclosure. There is a balcony running around the church, in the

east it has a conch furnished with three small windows. In the south, north and west walls there are quite plain wooden doors, one in each; the walls made of wood are quite plain. In the interior the floor is wooden too, in front of the chancel screen a boulder is placed, it bears no inscription. As they say, the priest Samuel Dashniani's parents are buried there. They keep a beautiful copper bugle which is 84 inches long. They blow the bugle every Saturday evening. Dashniani said that there were such bugles in other churches too. Mention should also be made of the three-stepped (the height of each step 28 inches) wooden chancel screen adorned with painting and Georgian inscriptions. Unfortunately we were not able to study the painting well as we were short of time; at dusk we were already at home.

July 10: We resumed work with three people. Nothing new has been discovered. At 7 o'clock in the evening Kurdiani called for us. He was going to Kutaisi to meet Marr. Nikolai [Tikhonov] gave him a letter for Marr. Avsel Karlovich is preparing a separate apartment for Marr. He is somewhat angry with us.

July 11: Three people worked. I think the plan of an old building has become clear. We continued digging and discovered the foundation of a small structure, which must be a chapel attached to the old church in the north.

July 12: In the annex at the depth of 42 inches, a font and remnants of a brick floor were found. On the chancel elevation a burial was revealed. I took photographs of the tiles, broken pieces of stone and part of the foundation wall in the south.

July 13: Esiko and I visited Tskheta and Dekhviri.²⁷ The goal of our expedition was to have a close look at the Church of Tskheta, and to write down a legend of St Maximus and description of the procession associated with his name. We can consider our goal to have been achieved. The church proved to be interesting; although built not earlier than the seventeenth century. I photographed the window recessed in the middle of the west wall; it is enclosed by ornaments of animal and plant motifs. Elderly people made some

26. Traditionally the local population calls them 'Stop', 'Repulse' and 'Beat Them' (აღკვეთა, დაუხვდია, დაპყრობა).

27. Tskheta, Dekhviri—villages in the Lechkhumi province (Western Georgia).

corrections to the legend. In the evening Niko [Marr], Alexandra Alexeevna and Valodia came to see us.²⁸

July 14: Niko was in a cheerful mood. He had a look at the ruins, liked them very much. He pays great attention to the legends.

July 15: Alexandra's condition hindered Niko from going to Svaneti. Today Nikolai (Tikhonov) hurt his eye.

July 17: I visited the church of Tskheta again. At a height of 4 arshins²⁹ from the ground level in the northeastern corner of the east wall there is a stone painted red, blue and green, with mortar poured over it. The church may have been built with the material brought from some other good building. There are two more stones covered with painting, on one of these stones a leg and some garments can be discerned, there is also a fragment of the partially survived inscription: ქ. ხელი: სული რითელის... ["Ch[rist], hand: soul of Ritleli..."].³⁰

*

So, of all the days spent in Muri the expedition worked for only nine days on the excavations themselves. In Qipshidze's notes there is no indication as to why the excavations stopped, nor was it possible to find any other documents explaining the reason.

Qipshidze's interest in Maximus was not limited to his work on the archaeological expedition. In August, 1914 he was at the Monastery of Jruchi. In his field journal he writes:

August 23: On my arrival at the monastery I was met by the Archimandrite, Father Gabriel Abashidze, from the village of Chala.³¹ The monastery impressed us greatly by its location. The archimandrite proved to be an excellent host. He brought me the manuscripts at night. I saw St Maximus' Life included in a large volume,³² written in the *nuskha-khutsuri* [angular] script of the

28. Niko Marr's wife and son.

29. 12 inches.

30. Literature Museum (Tbilisi), no. 18175-kh(1).

31. A village in Imereti province (Western Georgia).

32. The manuscript (H-1663) is now preserved in the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia.

tenth-eleventh centuries. The manuscript is not dated.

August 24: Today I have finished reading the Life of St Maximus the Confessor. The manuscript is extremely long (686 pages) and, aside from [the Life], also contains three further works by St Maximus.³³

August 25: I was writing all day long. In the evening Father Gabriel took me to see the threshing floor and monastery buildings. Special note should be made of the barn made with single, whole boards of oak. The bell-tower was built of the so-called Pontiko stone as father Gabriel called it.

August 29: I have finished copying the Life of St Maximus.³⁴

*

Qipshidze had no opportunity to publish this text, though it is apparent that he was greatly interested in all the manuscripts containing the Georgian version of the *Vita Maximi*. He recorded in his journal all the data available to him concerning other manuscripts containing the Life of Maximus.

In 1918 Korneli Kekelidze published the Georgian translation of the Life of St Maximus the Confessor by Euthymius the Athonite.³⁵ The publication was prepared on the basis of three manuscripts: Martvili no. 1 (present Q-34), Jruchi no. 4 (present H-1663), and manuscript no. 636 of the Ecclesiastic Museum (present A 636)—all three manuscripts are kept in Tbilisi, at the National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia. To a certain extent Qipshidze's name is associated with Kekelidze's publication since he had made the original copy of the Jruchi manuscript. It is noteworthy that the learned circles in St Petersburg knew about Qipshidze's copy. In Kekelidze's archives³⁶ there is a letter

33. Here the extensive description of the manuscript follows. More recent descriptions of the manuscript in question are available in: Description of the manuscripts of the State Museum of Georgia, Manuscripts of the former Museum of Georgian Ethnographic-Historical Society (H collection), vol. 4, composed and prepared for the publication by E. Metreveli, Tbilisi, 1950, pp 90-91 (in Georgian). See also note 2.

34. Literature Museum (Tbilisi), no. 18175-kh(1).

35. Kekelidze, K., *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1918, pp 60-103 (in Georgian).

36. K. Kekelidze Arch. no 592. National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia.

from Sergei Oldenburg dated 1915, from which we learn that Marr informed Kekelidze about the books and manuscripts, among which the copy made by Qipshidze is also mentioned. Following Marr's advice, Kekelidze would have referring to its data in his publication of the Jruchi Manuscript.³⁷

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There exists a rich folklore tradition in Lechkhumi that is associated with Maximus. According to the Letter of Anastasius Apocrisarius, a follower and disciple of Maximus, the saint predicted his death and died on August 13, in the year 662.³⁸ The local population believed in his ability to work miracles which facilitated emerging legends and traditions as well as the Muroba and Gogashoba rituals associated with his name. This is how Maximus came to be part of the folklore in Lechkhumi district and Georgia in general. The legends, traditions and rituals recorded must be considered as the greatest achievement of the Muri expedition. Qipshidze's personal achievement was to create one of the first comparatively complete recordings of folklore material associated with Maximus carried out on an academic level. These records are currently preserved in the Niko Marr Fund at the St Petersburg Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences.³⁹

Folklore did not fall within the sphere of Qipshidze's scholarly research, and yet he made an immense contribution to the collection of folklore material, since he considered folklore to be one of the most significant sources for the study of Georgia's history. His archive materials include every genre of folk literature: legends, traditions, poems, fairytales, riddles. The material is expertly recorded, with the name of the informant and an exact reference to the place and date the material was written down. Qipshidze did not dedicate special efforts to collecting this material but carried it out in parallel with his other activities; that is why the recordings are found on both the pages of his journal and in his scholarly writings. The result of such an attitude has created a valuable

37. In the introduction to his publication K. Kekelidze writes, "Of this manuscript (Jruchi no. 4) we take Maximus the Confessor's Life, which was copied by David Qipshidze, a student of Petrograd University on the commission from the Academy of Sciences. We were handed over D. Qipshidze's copy by the Academy" see: K. Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, pxxx.

38. Maximus the Confessor and his companions, Documents from Exile, ed. by P. Allen and B. Neil, Oxford University Press, 2002, p136.

39. St Petersburg Academy Archives, fund 800, item 6, case no. 252.

record of the folklore associated with Maximus even though Qipshidze never studied this material from an academic viewpoint.

According to his records, it was only men who took part in the feast of Muroba while Gogashoba was mostly for women. It is noteworthy that his informants had actually witnessed the rituals. As one of them states: "It must be about 30 to 35 years since we haven't taken part in Muroba." Qipshidze explains that this is how the elderly people had calculated the time since the ritual was lost. Treating every detail with exceptional scrupulousness, he even provides the name of the peasant who was reputed by tradition to be Maximus' murderer:

Since the time when I wrote down this legend from the priest Dashniani for the first time, some people named Chabukiani as St Maximus' assassin while others thought it was Kareishvili. I asked each of these present in what form had they heard the name. Then I asked two young men, Kvirikashvili by name, who explained to me that these family names were the same [i.e. the Chabukianis were nicknamed Kareishvili]. This was confirmed by Archvadze, an 80-year-old man, Sophrom Svanidze's miller.

Then I happened to be among the representatives of the local high society at the dinner given in honour of Peter Theodorov, Chief of the Kutaisi District Court. We were also invited. Before dinner I met a certain Chikovani, a local nobleman; we started talking about our work. I asked him about the problem mentioned above; he explained that the murderer was Chabukiani, but dubbed Kareishvili.

One of the Chabukianis was said to have been a very swift, nimble and energetic man. When his master sent him on an errand, he was back when nobody thought him even to have got to his destination, and that is why his master called him 'Kareishvili',⁴⁰ since he was as swift as the wind. [But] some said that they [the Chabukianis] were [in fact called so because they were] as light-headed as the wind. Thus these two family names turned to be essentially identical. One of our workers Giorgi Beridze told me the same version of the above legend.⁴¹

After confirming the identity of these family names the data of all the

40. Kari—wind in Georgian. Kareishvili—son of the wind.

41. National Centre of Manuscripts of Georgia, D. Qipshidze's Archives no. 9.

variants were collated and all the contradictions and vagueness were removed. Aside from the fact that Qipshidze's notes enable us to get acquainted with his working method, they also recreate the atmosphere of those days and vividly bring to life people of a long gone age—thus his work also acquires a literary value. As a representative of the first generation of Georgian researchers studying Maximus the Confessor, Qipshidze's contribution remains of special value.

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II

MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR IN GEORGIAN LEGENDS FROM THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES¹

Mikheil Chikovani

A legend is associated with the notion of the Christian monotheist mythology in general. If by the Greek term 'mythos' we mean the traditions with a plot concerning pagan deities, then to create a similar function for short oral stories with a Christian plot the concept of legend was introduced. Both genres denote narratives with a religious content, but myth is the oldest and acquaints the reader with the mythology of the polytheist epoch, while legend is a comparatively new phenomenon that accompanied the foundation of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and some other monotheistic religions. The independent emergence therefore of the pure Christian legends in Georgia can be dated to *circa* 337, i.e. from the time of the Conversion of Kartli. Oral narratives of this kind may have existed even earlier, alongside with the arrival of the (at the time) alien religion (i.e. Christianity), and mainly as circulating biblical or apocryphal stories. As the Christian religion became strengthened in Georgia, the genre of legend became common thus acquiring a more diversified character, frequently at the expense of the transformation of the old mythological stock. [...]

From the first spread of Christianity, which slightly preceded the official evangelization of Georgia, original Georgian legends began to appear along with those that were imported and 'Georgianized'. The

1. This article was first published in 1971, in Georgian (see: *Issues of Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi, 1971, pp 62-91). In this volume the paper is presented with abridgements (those places where passages from the original text have been omitted are indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets). The bibliography has also been updated for this volume. As the author of the paper is deceased, amendments have been made by the Iberica-Caucasica editorial board.

process of creating legends soon became widespread, particularly those about the power of churches such as Svetitskhoveli, Kashveti, Motsameta, Gelati, Ilori, Shemokmedi, Muri, Alaverdi and Ujarma, amongst many others. Stories in great number circulated about each martyr or an outstanding religious figure to the effect that they not only could tame wild animals, cure the sick or prophesy but also resurrect the dead, go to and from the Next World, reform those who had gone astray and so on. The traces of many such legends are preserved in Georgian hagiographic works or lections.

The faithful Christian considers legends as truth, depicting reality, and not fiction. Consequently the devout narrator is extremely careful not to change a legend's plot nor to introduce changes within it. He tries moreover to curb his fantasies when narrating the legend, not adding any elements but narrating only the plot which he would have heard from another narrator. [...]

Georgian legends created their own heroes which the faithful readily cloaked in divine attire, even turning them into the rulers of this or that natural phenomenon. Maximus the Confessor is a notable example. This Byzantine father was exiled to Georgia because of his opposition to the Monothelite heresy, and here he found both shelter and a place for his eternal rest. According to written sources Maximus settled on the bank of the river Tskhenistsqali, in the province of present-day Lechkhumi (Western Georgia) and died there. Many legends have survived in Lechkhumi that tell of the saint's social life, his mingling with the local population, instilling good in them and eradicating evil, and they also recount his moral purity and miraculous interment in Muri (also in Lechkhumi).

Valuable folklore texts were recorded in 1914 and 1969, which contribute to our knowledge of the last period of Maximus' life and enable us to restore the tradition that took shape in Western Georgia in about the seventh century. One part of the texts was compiled by David Qipshidze during the archaeological expedition to Muri, headed by Niko Marr. I came across the manuscript with Qipshidze's records on October 10, 1968 among Marr's archives kept in the Leningrad Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences (fund 800, descr. 6, no. 252).

Qipshidze's folklore narratives make it clear that in six villages of Lechkhumi there was a cult of Maximus the Confessor and that a dedicated feast was celebrated in the form of a public carnival until the end of the nineteenth century. This could also shed light as to why the Georgian national poet of the twelfth century Shota Rustaveli is

portrayed on the wall of the Jerusalem Holy Cross Monastery next to Maximus and not elsewhere. In the Holy Cross Monastery there would have been room to paint a more complete and larger portrait of Rustaveli, but in my opinion the unknown artist deliberately depicted the poet kneeling between the two religious figures most closely linked with Georgia: St John the Damascene, one of the outstanding church fathers, and St Maximus the Confessor, the holy father who had lived in the poet's homeland. [...]

But let us turn back to the folklore material on Maximus. From June 28 to July 18, 1914, shortly before the beginning of the First World War, Nikoloz Marr [the Georgian historian and linguist of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of St Petersburg Royal University, and a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences] was authorized by the Russian Holy Synod to carry out an archaeological study of the church of Muri as well as to conduct trial excavations of the whole complex in order to check earlier conjecture about Maximus' having been buried there. The excavations were of worldwide significance, because if any evidence corroborating Maximus' interment was discovered, Muri would become one of the sacred sites of Christianity and a place of pilgrimage.² The world war prevented the scholars from completing their work, and subsequently Maximus' small church fell into ruin and the adjacent cemetery stopped functioning. Now it is an open space near the Muri bridge,³ where, close to the famous three fortresses, there starts the spring providing water to the township of Tsageri.

Fortunately the 1914 expedition was able to take photographs of the church and the vicinity of Muri and also of the narrator-informants, thanks to the photographer N. N. Tikhonov. In Marr's archives there exist references only to the images, the photo-materials proper (Q 706) being kept at the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.

Since the legends themselves about Maximus were widespread among the local population of Lechkhumi province, they should be assigned their due place in old Georgian folklore. Maximus is always presented in divine attire, he is the ruler of weather and the pastor and spiritual instructor of the people. He battles all that is immoral, and especially important is his participation in growing and protecting crops. He does

2. Brilliantov, A., 'On the Place of the Death and Interment of St Maximus the Confessor', *Khristianski Vostok*, vol. 6, issue 1, 1917 [in Russian].

3. M. Chikovani describes the situation as he witnessed it in 1970. At present the church is restored, reopened and functioning. [—Ed.]

not allow people to graze their livestock in cornfields or anywhere where crops grow in general or in hay fields. The legend tells of the confrontation between Maximus, who takes care of righteous folk, and a jealous peasant. The latter, though he has worked all day long, at night drives his livestock into other people's cornfields, allowing them to graze there till morning, thus ruining the crops.

Maximus warns the peasant to give up this evil practice and not to ruin other people's cornfields, and to not work on church feastdays. The recordings on the legends of Maximus have never been published and therefore here they are presented as a first attempt at their publication,⁴ beginning with the texts collected in Muri.

Legends of Maximus the Confessor

I. St Maximus (nobody knows who he was and where he came from) went from village to village in this country.⁵ People everywhere welcomed him with respect. In the village of Dekhviri there lived a certain peasant, Chabukiani by name, who was a wicked man. At night he drove his cattle into other people's cornfields to graze but St Maximus drove them out and locked them up in his cattle-shed. In the morning Chabukiani found his cattle hungry and was very angry. In addition to that, Maximus punished this wicked man in other ways. When the man started threshing his corn, Maximus turned into mist and covered the corn in dew, and therefore threshing had to be stopped. But on the threshing floors of his neighbours it was very hot and the corn was threshed very easily.

Once Chabukiani drove his cattle into another peasant's cornfield and lay in waiting, armed with a gun. St Maximus drove the cattle out, remaining invisible. Chabukiani was very angry and shouted loudly: "Who is doing this to me?" St Maximus answered him from the mist: "Do not you do this!" Chabukiani did not see anybody and fired his gun towards the mist. The mist lifted and St Maximus appeared. Then Chabukiani exclaimed that he had killed a holy man and he tried to hide the body. He buried him in such a place that nobody could find him, but Maximus would not stay there; then he carried the body to another place but Maximus did

4. Later on some of these records were published by E. Kavtaradze in her study *David Qipshidze (Life and Activities)*, Tbilisi, 1992 [in Georgian].

5. Here a small part of Lechkhumi is meant, i.e. the Dekhviri community, associated with Maximus' name.

not wish to remain in the ground there either, his corpse always came out. For the third time he [Chabukiani] carried him to the church in Tskheta, but he would not stay there. Then one of the local women had a vision, she saw St Maximus who told her: "I shall not stay anywhere. Bring unbroken, not castrated bulls, tie me down on a sledge, let the bulls go and wherever they stop then there must be the place where I must be buried." She told the priest about the dream. The priest gathered the people and they did what they had been told. The bulls went through the forest, walked around the church of Chkhuteli, and then went straight to Muri and stopped in the place where there is a church now. Maximus had also told the woman that the bulls should be killed on the site they had stopped, that their meat should be boiled on the fire of the sledge used as firewood and that the people should be allowed to eat it. They did so; the bulls were miraculously boiled on the fire of one sledge (how much wood could it have had?). The people, greatly satisfied, went away.

Narrator: the priest Samuil Dashniani, aged 63, from the village of Chkhuteli, June 29, 1914, Muri, recorded by D. Qipshidze. Archives of the Academy of Sciences, f. 800, desc. 6, no. 252.

Another version of the legend has also been found in Muri that complements the general plot of the legend to some extent, providing a different interpretation of some of the details:

II. "This is what I have heard, *Batono*:⁶ St Maximus lived in our land (Tsageri, Dekhviri, Chkhuteli) but he spent most of the time in the village of Dekhviri (what he did, what he engaged himself in, I don't know, I've never heard about that, and I also do not know where he was from by origin).⁷ But when Maximus lived in Dekhviri, there lived a man there too, who had two family names: one was Chabukiani, the other Kareishvili. This family clan still lives here. They say that Kareishvili was a man who never observed church holidays and worked even then; he never cared about other people's crops, he would let his cattle graze in their cornfields and

6. Polite address to a man in Georgia.

7. These are in reply to questions from the interviewer who insisted on finding some proof of Maximus' Greek origin, yet all the twenty people he had interviewed could not say anything about this. This is why Qipshidze writes that the legends have emerged independent of the text of *The Life of Maximus*.

they ate their wheat, corn or whatever. Quite often Maximus forbade him to do this, he would tell him not to do it as it was sinful, it was against God. But the man never obeyed and insisted on doing the same. Very often it happened that in fine weather, when it was very hot everywhere, terrible rain would pour on Kareishvili's threshing floor, he was very upset: "What on earth is the matter? The weather's sunny everywhere, but it's raining on my threshing floor?" St Maximus revealed him the reason. "This happens to you," he said, "because you are a bad person." Later on, when Kareishvili drove his cattle into some other person's cornfield to graze, St Maximus saw it and admonished him. Then Kareishvili killed him (but I've never heard with which weapon) and buried him in the place called 'Churistsqali', at the head of the village of Dekhviri, where a big linden grows now (it is a tall tree with a hollow in it).

The next day he [Kareishvili] saw that the body was lying on the ground; he is said to have taken the dead man to some other place nearby afterwards and buried him there; big lindens stand there now as well as the village administrative office. The next day he saw that the corpse was lying on the ground again (he had climbed out of the grave), so the same Kareishvili took the dead body away and buried it in the village of Tskheta [Lechkhumi region] where St George's church is now situated (to my knowledge this church must have been built by Queen Tamar).⁸

The next day the corpse was again out, on the ground. When he saw the body, he took it away and buried it on an elevated place between the villages of Orbeli and Chkhuteli. (This place is now called 'eklesia' or church, there is a tall linden there, nearby there are ruins of some old building. I have seen people making a burial mound with stones from there.) Subsequently a woman had a dream. St Maximus appeared before her and told her: "Tie me down on to a sledge, harness a pair of unbroken bulls to it, wherever they go and stop, bury me there!" So they did: they made a sledge, harnessing a pair of unbroken bulls to it. The bulls moved very fast, like the horses harnessed to a cart, they passed the village of Chkhuteli and brought St Maximus here, to Muri. They buried him in the place where there is a small church now. Those men

8. Queen of Georgia in the twelfth century. During her rule Georgia enjoyed a period of political strength and cultural revival. There are plenty of legends in Georgia connected to her name.

killed the bulls and boiled the meat on the fire of the sledge, and the people ate the meat.

Narrator: Sophrom Svanidze, son of Gabriel, aged 50, recorded in Muri, near the village of Chkhuteli. He is the steward of the lands of the Dadianis,⁹ and it is he who restored the small church of Muri, dedicated to St Maximus. Recorded by D. Qipshidze, Archives of the Academy of Sciences (ibid.).

There was no population in Muri, just a few smithies and a tavern to provide shelter for Tsageri-Orbeli or Orbeli-Svaneti travellers, but in Muri there was the manor house of the Dadianis. At some distance, on the left bank of the river Tskhenistsqali, there lies the village of Chkhuteli, and on the right bank lies the township of Tsageri. The informants who related the legend were mostly from Chkhuteli, but since Qipshidze wrote them down on the site of the archaeological excavations in Muri, these variants were called Muri variants, I have therefore not changed this likewise.

III. Nobody knew who St Maximus was, he is said to have gone from place to place in Lechkhumi. If some wicked man did something bad he would not allow him to do that. This is why he was killed in the village of Dekhviri by that man, M(N)epariani. He [Mepariani] was a cruel man: he made his oxen work till night, at night he drove them into another peasant's cornfield. St Maximus drove the oxen out, and the oxen were found hungry in the morning... The murderer was frightened and there was the site of the ruined church near the village administrative office, so he buried [Maximus] there. When the cocks started crowing more often at dawn and it was getting light, [Mepariani] got to that place and found [Maximus] sitting on the ground; he took him to another place, to Tskheta and buried him there, but there, too, he found him sitting. From there [Mepariani] took the body where there are ruins of a church on the top of Orbeli mountain; so he buried him there; he went there again and again, [Maximus] was always sitting there. Then [Maximus] appeared before the murderer and began talking to him. [Mepariani] was told to bring unbroken bulls and a cart, to leave them there and then go away. He [Maximus] said he would get in the cart and go away, but the

9. Dadiani—a noble family from Western Georgia.

murderer was to follow him, and wherever the bulls stopped he should be buried there, then he would never get out... So the man followed the tracks of the cart, and here, near this church he buried Maximus and since then [Maximus] has never moved... Then the Dadianis decided to find out what kind of saint he was, and that's why they began to dig him out, but the saint did not wish to be seen. So the Dadianis were frightened and built a church dedicated to St Maximus here.

Narrator: Bekolia Kvirikashvili, aged 80, village of Chkhuteli, July 6, 1914, formerly a baker of the Dadianis, recorded by D. Qipshidze (ibid.).

IV. "On other people's threshing floors the weather is fine, but on his threshing floor there is torrential rain." St Maximus came as a cloud over Kareishvili's threshing floor. Kareishvili fired at the cloud, but a man fell down. He buried him three times, but he wouldn't stay buried until he had come to Muri, until he had got there on unbroken bulls.

Narrator: Giorgi Beridze, a labourer, working at the excavations. The Beridzes live in the village of Gveso, not far away (ibid.).

In order to write down these legends Qipshidze had visited the villages near Muri. He went to every one which the legends associate with Maximus. Of the six villages he recorded legends in Dekhviri, Tskheta and Muri. We have already encountered four legends written down in Muri, let us now turn to the other villages in order to reconstruct a full picture and determine how strong the tradition is.

V. Maximus is said to have been a holy man. Chabukiani (Kareishvili) was a vicious man, he led his cattle into other people's cornfields and hayfields, and let them ruin everything. Three times St Maximus intercepted him and warned him not to do that, otherwise God would punish him. But Chabukiani would not heed Maximus' words. That is why when the weather was fine on other people's threshing floors, on Chabukiani's it was nasty. Maximus appeared to him as a cloud. Again Maximus intercepted Chabukiani and said: "Don't you see the proof? Come to your senses!" Chabukiani fired his gun at Maximus and killed him. He buried Maximus in Churistsqali in the very place he had been killed. The next night he came back and found him standing there

so he took the corpse away and buried it in another place, where there is an old church, in Dekhviri, near the village office. He came the next night, but the corpse was up again. He took him from there and buried him on the top of a mountain, called Kokosha. The next night he found him out of the grave again. So he heaved him up on his back, carried him to Tskheta and buried him there.

The next night, the dead man was again out of his grave. Chabukiani took him [Maximus' body] and buried him on the top of Gvirgvinishi mountain. The next night he was out again... He hauled him up on his back again and buried him near the church in Chkhuteli... And again he was out of his grave. He carried him to Muri, where there is the church of St Maximus now, and buried him there. When he came back, he didn't find him out of his grave. Chabukiani came back again and again Maximus stayed in the grave. And so the murderer hoped that he would stay there and leave him. Subsequently Dadiani built a church there.

Narrator: Stephane Chabukiani, son of Peter, aged 75, a peasant from Dekhviri. He has taken part in the Muroba feast five times. Recorded by D. Qipshidze, July 17, 1914, in Muri (ibid.).

VI. St Maximus is said to have lived in this linden. He was killed by this cursed member of our family clan and buried on the top of Gvirgvinishi Mountain, in Tskheta, near the village office. The murderer was Rostom Kareishvili, a peasant from Dekhviri, about 50-55 years old (*ibid.*).

Dekhviri is two to three kilometres away from Muri; situated on the uplands on the plateau that separates the Lajanuri and Tskhenistsqali rivers. In this place there are ruins of a fortress where a certain Qurashvili showed great courage. All the toponyms and cult plants, mentioned in the legend exist here, as I have personally witnessed. In his diary notes, Qipshidze always explains the local toponyms and confirms their authenticity, and he frequently refers to their distance from the main towns and villages.

VII. Kareishvili killed St Maximus near the village administrative office, took the body and buried it near the linden (near Kapiton Akhvlediani's homestead). The next day [Kareishvili] found [Maximus] on his feet; so Kareishvili heaved him up on his back and buried him near the village office again. For the third time over

there, near the mountain, not far from the tavern, where the maize grows; for the fourth time here, near Tskheta, then on the top of Orbeli, at the linden, from there to Nakarebi, from Nakarebi he carried him down to the Chkhuteli church, but the dead man would not stay anywhere. Finally, he took him to Muri, where the dead man stayed and then the Dadianis built a church there (the real family name of the murderer is Chabukiani, dubbed Kareishvili).

It was a great miracle, *Batono*: however clear the sky might have been, if he [Maximus] turned his hand downward, it would start raining, if he raised it, it would clear up. (Kareishvili was a wicked man, he drove his oxen into other people's cornfields.)

From here he was taken away by unbroken bulls, and they did not stop anywhere until, on reaching Muri, the bulls stopped.

Narrator: Soso Akbulediani, aged 70, the village of Tskheta, July 13, 1914, at the enclosure of the church of Tskheta. Recorded by D. Qipshidze (ibid.).

VIII. St Maximus is said to have gone to different places. Like a traveller, he would not stop in one place. If someone did something wicked, he was angry, he did not like it either when people worked on church holidays or when the crops were ruined. In Dekhviri there was a certain Chabukiani (dubbed Kareishvili). It was his habit to drive his cattle into other people's cornfields to graze. He also worked on holidays and in July, on the 20th day, on the feast of 'Elioba' (St Elia's Day), he harnessed his oxen to the threshing-board and started threshing. At midday, a cloud like a column hung right over his threshing-floor. Whatever wheat he had, all was carried away by the torrent. Next to him, there was his neighbour's threshing floor where the [neighbour] was drying his threshed wheat, he cleaned it of chaff and put it away without any problem. After that [Chabukiani] was upset and wondered what had happened to him. He also noticed that he had an enemy.

The next day too—a working day—he started threshing, when he harnessed the oxen, again right over his threshing-floor a cloud appeared, then he fired at it, but a man fell down on the ground. The murderer was frightened that he might be hanged and immediately carried the dead man to Sakoria to bury him there.¹⁰ From there the [murderer] carried [Maximus' body] on his back to Tskheta and buried him in other places, but Maximus did not stay

10. Sakoria is in Dekhviri, a hill where the Dekhviri domed church is situated.

anywhere. There Chabukiani had a vision: the dead man told him to carry him away in an ox-cart, so he was taken away in a cart. They crossed the top of Orbeli mountain near the church of Chkhuteli and reached Muri. There the oxen died.

Narrator: Archil Silagadze, aged 52, a peasant, the village of Lesindi, he heard the legend from his grandfather. He had taken part in the Muroba feast. Recorded in the enclosure of the Tskheta church, July 13, 1914, by D. Qipshidze (ibid.).

IX. St Maximus lived in the hollow of a linden tree.¹¹ Kareishvili's oxen were in a cornfield. St Maximus drove them away but he couldn't be seen, he followed the oxen like mist. Kareishvili fired at Maximus and killed him. Kareishvili was frightened that he had killed a man and would be punished; he heaved this dead man on his back and (buried) him near the church of Dekhviri, in a place that is called Sakoria.

[Kareishvili] came again, found him out, heaved him on his back and buried him here. He came back and found him out of his grave again. He buried him at the foot of Pareuli, on the site of the ruined church, but Maximus didn't stay there either, and so from there [Kareishvili] took him to Chkhuteli, Sachitebo. But when [Maximus] would not stay there either [Kareishvili] carried him to Muri, there he did stay.

Narrator: Melkisa Mindadze, a peasant from the village of Tskheta, July 3, 1914, Tskheta church. Recorded by D. Qipshidze. Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, f. 800, descr. 6, no. 252.

There are a few more texts recorded by Qipshidze, but since I was unable to copy them they are not presented here. The nine variants that are included here, however, attest to the fact that the personality of Maximus the Confessor is firmly established in the folklore of Lechkhumi and that the tradition was very strong before the Communist Revolution (in 1917). In the thirties of the twentieth century I heard the abridged versions of this legend and it may be said that the old tradition has retained its place in the folklore until recently.¹²

11. In Churistsqali, where Maximus was killed and first buried, there is a thousand-year-old linden with a big hollow. A man with a sword could easily climb into it and live there.

12. The earlier publication of the legend belongs to K. Kekelidze ('Georgian Sources on Maximus the Confessor', *Studies in the History of Old Georgian Literature*, vol. 7, Tbilisi, 1961, in Russian), the next belongs to M. Alavidze (*Lechkhumian Folklore*, Tbilisi, 1952), [in Georgian].

Here I will present one completely new recording that proves the endurance of old folklore traditions:

X. (*Kareishvili's story. Sergo Silagadze from Lesindi tells me the story about Kareishvili heard from his old father Ambrosi Silagadze.—M. Chikovani*) In Dekhviri, Chvalbechi, lived a wicked man, Kareishvili. He let his oxen into other people's maize fields at night and ruined the crops. Nearby there lived Maximus, a devout and kind man. Maximus forbade Kareishvili to graze his cattle in other people's cornfields, and when he saw the cattle grazing in the cornfields, drove them away. He even punished Kareishvili in order to bring him to his senses: he brought rain on his threshing-floor when on other threshing-floors the weather was fine and the wheat was threshed in the hot sun. The angry Kareishvili fired at the cloud but Maximus was killed. Chabukiani-Kareishvili buried the saint on Sakoria immediately, but the corpse would not remain in his grave. A second time he buried him near the Dekhviri church, but he climbed out of the ground again. This is how the murderer was tortured!

Once [Kareishvili] had a dream. In the dream he was advised to harness unbroken bulls to the cart, put the dead body on it and in the place where the bulls would stop there Maximus should be buried. So Kareishvili did as he was told, and finally Maximus was buried in Muri.

This legend is still remembered by the locals. My father died in 1969, in January, nearly 90 years old. He knew many legends, among others he often told us Maximus' story.

Narrator: Sergo Silagadze, son of Ambrosi, aged 60, born in Lesindi, with a higher education. He travelled with me to Dekhviri, Lesindi, Tskbeta and Tsilamieri. Recorded by M. Chikovani, July 13, 1969, Lesindi.

Maximus the Confessor's legends are of local origin and no doubt they emerged after the saint's coming to Tskhenistsqali Gorge in the 70s of the seventh century, in the year 662. It is now necessary to single out the characteristic motifs and episodes present in the legends of Maximus, which from a thematic viewpoint have a parallel with the traditional motifs of Georgian folklore.

First of all we need to determine exactly how, when and where Maximus died. The existing sources do not provide a sufficiently clear

answer for this crucial question.¹³ Lechkhumi folklore states that Maximus was killed by a peasant from Dekhviri, and, as tradition has it, he lived in Dekhviri and was only buried in Muri. This part of the legend cannot be without real foundation since Dekhviri was a well-known fortified point in the feudal epoch and supposedly it was this elevated place where, prior to Muri, the religious and administrative centre was situated. It is noteworthy that in Lechkhumi, near the ancient places of worship there was always a thicket of tall thousand-year-old trees (some still remain in Utskheri [Gudula], Alpana [Shkhudala], Tskhukusheri [Sasakhle], Nakuraleshi [Didgori], Laskhana [Akhvledianebi], Gveso [Tsikhe], and in other places lindens, oaks or beeches standing separately have survived—cf. variant IX, Maximus lives in the hollow of a linden tree). Such [a multiplicity of lindens] was not characteristic of Muri. Here linden trees grew only in the courtyard of the manor house of the Dadianis¹⁴ but they were not as old. Hence it is difficult to make assertions about Maximus' death, although a definite version emerges about the murder. If this episode of the legend does not stem from some other earlier legend, like the episode of several cases of the burial, then it is possible that it would have had some real foundation and Maximus may be considered to have been the victim of some ideological struggle. At this juncture it also should be taken into account that the legend does not have any written parallel to provide grounds to believe that the oral version might have stemmed from it.

The basic motifs of the legend of Maximus the Confessor are therefore as follows:

1. Maximus goes from village to village (variants I, VIII).
2. The main place of his residence is the village of Dekhviri; he makes friends with the population and gives them advice (I, II, III, V, IX).
3. Maximus leads an ascetic life; according to one version of the legend he lives in the hollow of a 1,000-year-old cult linden (IX).
4. Maximus controls the weather and can change it: "However clear the day might have been, if he pointed his hand downwards, it would start raining, if upwards the weather would be fine again" (I, II, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX).
5. Sometimes the saint can change his appearance, wrapping

13. See Allen, P., & Neil, B. (eds.), *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp 135 & 163.

14. See note 9.

himself in mist and appearing as a cloud over the village, sometimes he covers the sinner's threshing floor in dew and prevents him from threshing (I), sometimes he pours torrential rain on the threshing floor of those who do not observe church holidays and continues working, and their harvest is washed away (II, VIII, X).

6. He observes all the holy days and church feasts and allows nobody to work on such days (II, VIII).
7. He does his best to protect cornfields (wheat, maize) and hayfields from being ruined, and punishes disobedient peasants, who usually graze their livestock in other people's cornfields and ruin the crops (I, II, VIII).
8. There is only one person in the village who opposes him, his family name is Chabukiani (Kareishvili), who never observes holidays, grazes his cattle in other people's cornfields and never follows Maximus' advice (I, II, III, V, VIII, IX).

Here the first part of the legend ends, narrating the conflict between the disobedient peasant and Maximus. In the second part, the tension reaches its peak and ends with the murder of the saint. The plot is extended by the episode of the miraculous burial of the saint: Maximus, according to the epic rule, was buried three times, but the corpse would not stay in the grave until it had been carried to Muri. Here the divine corpse calmed down and found his final rest as his wish had been. The second part of the legend is a logical continuation of the first and does not contradict the beginning of the story:

9. Maximus became a victim of the stubborn man from Dekhviri, the latter fired at the mist, but to his surprise it turned out that he had killed the saint (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X).
10. The murderer is afraid that the murder will be discovered, he hurries to bury the dead man as soon as possible and conceal the traces of his crime (I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X).
11. As in a fairytale, the dead man is buried several times but he never stays buried, and on coming back the peasant [who murdered him] finds him either sitting or lying on the ground (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X).
12. According to the epic rule the deceased was buried three times (Dekhviri, Tskheta, Chkhuteli), but he would not obey his fate until he had reached Muri (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI).

13. In the legend, motifs of the vision and the dream are also used (I, II, III, VIII, X).
14. In the burial, unbroken bulls take part, i.e. sacrificial bulls (I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, X).
15. In one version the bulls die on reaching their destination (VIII), in others as a sacrifice, they are killed and boiled over the fire of the sledge wood, their meat being distributed among the villagers (I, II).
16. Muri is the sacred place Maximus is eager to get to, and after his interment an annual carnival is instituted, a church is built and the Muroba festival emerges (I, II, III, V, VII).

As we see the legend of Maximus in its several variants has a complex structure. It unifies many motifs of a miraculous nature that are partly based on Christian beliefs. At the same time, if we examine the legend against the background of Georgian folklore and mythology, we find out that it also includes many motifs that are based on pagan beliefs and reflect pagan cults and traditions.

Among such elements is the association of Maximus' name with controlling the weather. The Georgians included the ruler of the sky and clouds in their pantheon as early as the pre-Christian times, who was called Pirmze or Lazare, sometimes Elia and Ilia. In Lechkhumi there was also such a cult, stemming from the beliefs common to the Georgians, and not only characteristic to Lechkhumi district. This was clearly expressed in the festival of 'Khvamloba', fixed on July 20—this religious feast was celebrated on Khvamli, the highest mountain of Lechkhumi, in order to ensure good weather. It is probable that part of Khvamloba was transformed into the festival of Muroba: the villagers of Dekhviri stopped going up to the summit of Mt Khvamli and instead created their own local community deity to take up the duty of guaranteeing fine weather. One particularly important function was transferred to Maximus, that of changing the weather for the better, i.e. stopping the rains and drying up the roads. According to general belief this ability, together with bringing rain, was associated with one and the same deity in the Racha-Lechkhumi region and the same is true for most of the other regions of Georgia. Here these functions seem to be differentiated, they belong partly to Maximus (sending sunny weather) and partly to Elia (sending rain) as in the past. Such a differentiation must be the reason for elevating Maximus to the rank of deity—this will be made more evident by the materials related to the Muroba festival, which I shall dwell upon further.

Another miraculous phenomenon must also be emphasized, namely the motif of burying the dead man several times. Chabukiani from Dekhviri buried Maximus three or four times, but whenever he went back to the grave, he found the man out of it. The irresistible wish to conceal his crime made the frightened peasant bury him again and again, but in another place. So he carried Maximus on his shoulders from one burial place to another within Dekhviri, Tskheta, Orbeli and Chkhuteli. The corpse would not stay in any one place. The peasant's hope was ruined! He had carried Maximus only to the traditional cemeteries so that the crime should be better concealed, but those places, evidently of the ancient pagan cult, were hardly suitable for a new Christian personage as a place of eternal rest. Against the background of such an ideological confrontation, psychologically it is easy to understand the development of the plot in the direction of Muri. Maximus' insistent striving to get to Muri can also be explained by the fact that Muri, which 'locked' the Tskhenistsqali gorge on the Lechkhumi-Svaneti border, in the distant past was famous for its caves and cold springs and therefore it seemed to be advantageous to establish a new Christian centre in order to strengthen the new religion.

The motif of burying the deceased many times is also traditional. It can be still attested, though in a different form, in Georgian fairytales, sometimes in the magical, sometimes in the everyday epos. Here some parallels may be noticed, such as the grateful dead man.

The legend about Maximus' burial says that the saint told the peasant to harness unbroken bulls to a cart or a sledge, to let them go as they wished and bury him in the place where they would stop. This episode has its parallel in the martyrdom of the dukes of Argveti, David and Constantine.¹⁵ In this martyrdom the divine voice from heaven says: "Take the corpses of the holy martyrs, take them eastward through the forest, and where the dawn will catch you, bury them there."¹⁶ Thus it was dawn when the grave-diggers reached Motsameta and the dead were buried there in the chapel that had survived the devastation inflicted on the church by the Arab army general Murvan-Qru (Marwan the Deaf).¹⁷ For quite a long time (eighth-eleventh centuries) the names of the hero martyrs were preserved only in folklore, and it was only later, during the eleventh century, that King Bagrat Kuropalates built the church in their memory.¹⁸

15. Georgian saints martyred by Arabs during the years 737-741.

16. *Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 1971, p262.

17. An Arab army under Marwan the Deaf's command invaded and devastated Georgia in the first half of the eighth century. [—Ed.]

18. The earliest extant hagiographic text dedicated to the martyrdom of David and

This material gives us grounds to conclude that Maximus' legend is not an isolated phenomenon, but it has every right to be included in the traditional folklore and is a characteristic example of the national Georgian repertory. Here I will present another example, this time from a fairytale epos which also proves that Maximus' legend is not isolated. Among the fairytales from Kartli¹⁹ recorded by Tedo Razikashvili there is a folk story 'The Brother and the Sister' which contains very similar episodes to those of Maximus' funeral with unbroken bulls and his burial in Muri:

A young priest, the king's son-in-law, prayed with great reverence and finished the liturgy he had begun in the morning only by the evening. When the liturgy was over, he came out and said to his congregation: 'I will die at a definite time tomorrow. Harness unbroken bulls to a cart, put my corpse there and let them go; in the place where they stop, build a church.' The people, surprised and terrified, stood staring at him; some cried, some laughed wondering at what he had said. The next day he did die at the time he had prophesied. They put his body in a cart, harnessed unbroken bulls to it and let them go. The people followed them to see where the cart stopped, the [bulls] went on and on, reached a certain place and stopped. The people who followed the bulls beat them, trying to make them move, but they would not budge. Then they removed the corpse and left it there, lying on the ground and left the bulls alone. The bulls turned back, almost flying in the air. So they buried the priest there and built a church, which became the place of worship.²⁰

This folk story also enables us to suppose that the miraculous burial of a devout Christian was quite a widespread plot in Georgia and that at different times it was associated with different figures. As a rule, the plot was not connected with someone random: traditional legends became firmly associated with historical persons in cases when these persons were popular and if similar activities were connected with their names. Associating similar adventures and cult with Maximus the Confessor was not mere chance—here too, the key must be looked for in his activities and life.

Konstantine dates back to the twelfth century. It is a metaphrastic recension; though it is stated in the scholarly literature that evidently there should have existed the earlier version which served as a basis for the twelfth-century revision. [—Ed.]

19. Kartli—region in Eastern Georgia.

20. Razikashvili, T., *Fairytales Collected in Kartli*, Tbilisi, 1909, p116 [in Georgian].

Now let us discuss another aspect of this legend. Did the cult of Maximus exist in Lechkumi and if it did, then by what kind of customs and traditions was it expressed? In my opinion, if such cult can be traced, the legend will gain firmer foundation and its association with the local way of life will be clear of any doubt. From the outset it is possible to provide a positive answer to the question and the textual material is available to corroborate this.

First of all I would like to discuss the name 'Muroba'. This is derived from the toponym Mur-i, just as 'Khvamloba' is derived from the name of the mountain Khvaml-i, or 'Iskelitoba' from Iskelita, 'Gogashoba' from Gogashi (the Lajanuri Gorge), 'Elioba' from St Elia. There are more analogous names of feasts in Lechkumi: 'Giorgoba' (feast of St George, St Giorgi in Georgian), 'Mariamoba' (feast dedicated to St Mary, St Mariam in Georgian), 'Kokhinjloba', 'Enkenoba' (from *Enkenistve*, the ancient Georgian name for the month of September), 'Ortsipoba' (from *or-Tsipobistve*, October), 'Tedoroba' (dedicated to St Theodore) and so on. Muroba does not seem to be a widespread name and so evidently is a local term. The records about the ritual of Muroba presented below belong mainly to Qipshidze and are preserved in Marr's archives.

Muroba

I. After this miracle [evidently the miraculous burial of St Maximus—M. Ch], it began raining very hard, and they could not thresh the wheat. St Maximus' murderer felt terrible regret. Then he had a vision. St Maximus appeared before him and taught him how people should pray to stop the rain. Then he told the people what to do. When rainy weather set in, the people from Dekhviri and other villages came to Muri and begged St Maximus to send them fine weather. I remember very well that people from Dekhviri came here. Each household in Dekhviri selected a wise man. They were to fast for a week and not to sleep with a woman.

On the fixed day they would tie twisted twigs round their necks and run barefoot in the direction of Maximus' grave along the same way the bulls had taken the saint there. They pulled down everything they came across on their way (fence, kitchen garden, or any other obstacle) and went on without stopping. Those who met them on the way were to take off their hats and join them. They would beat up anyone meeting them on the way who laughed. When running they sang and lamented: "Oh, oh, St Maximus! Grant us good weather! Intercede for us!"

This was performed in two parts: first, one chorus would sing one stanza and the other would repeat the same, then all of them would sing very loudly (there may have been about a hundred people). They were led by a priest.

Narrator: the priest Samuil Dashniani, recorded in Muri by D. Qipshidze. Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, f. 800, descr. 6, no. 252.

The song and chant were approximately as follows:

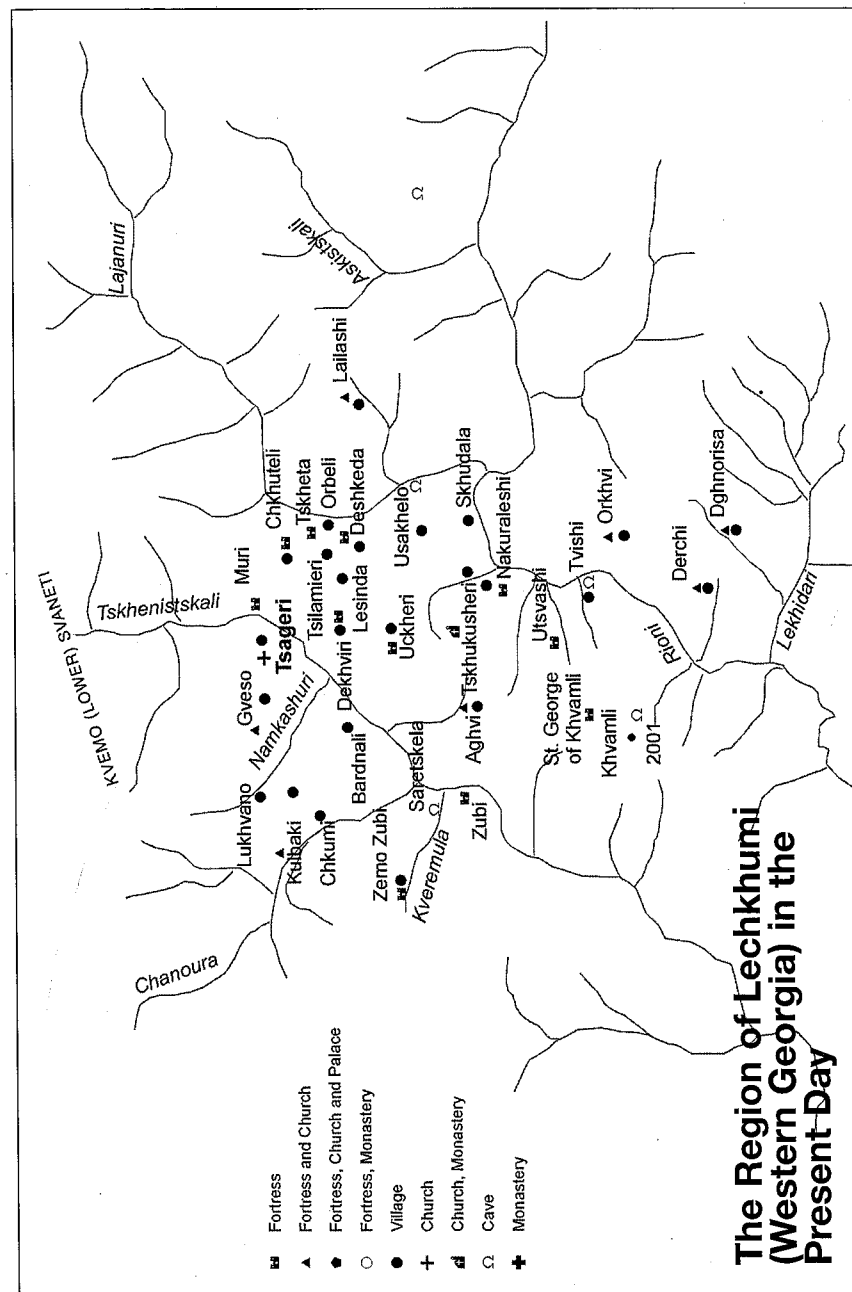
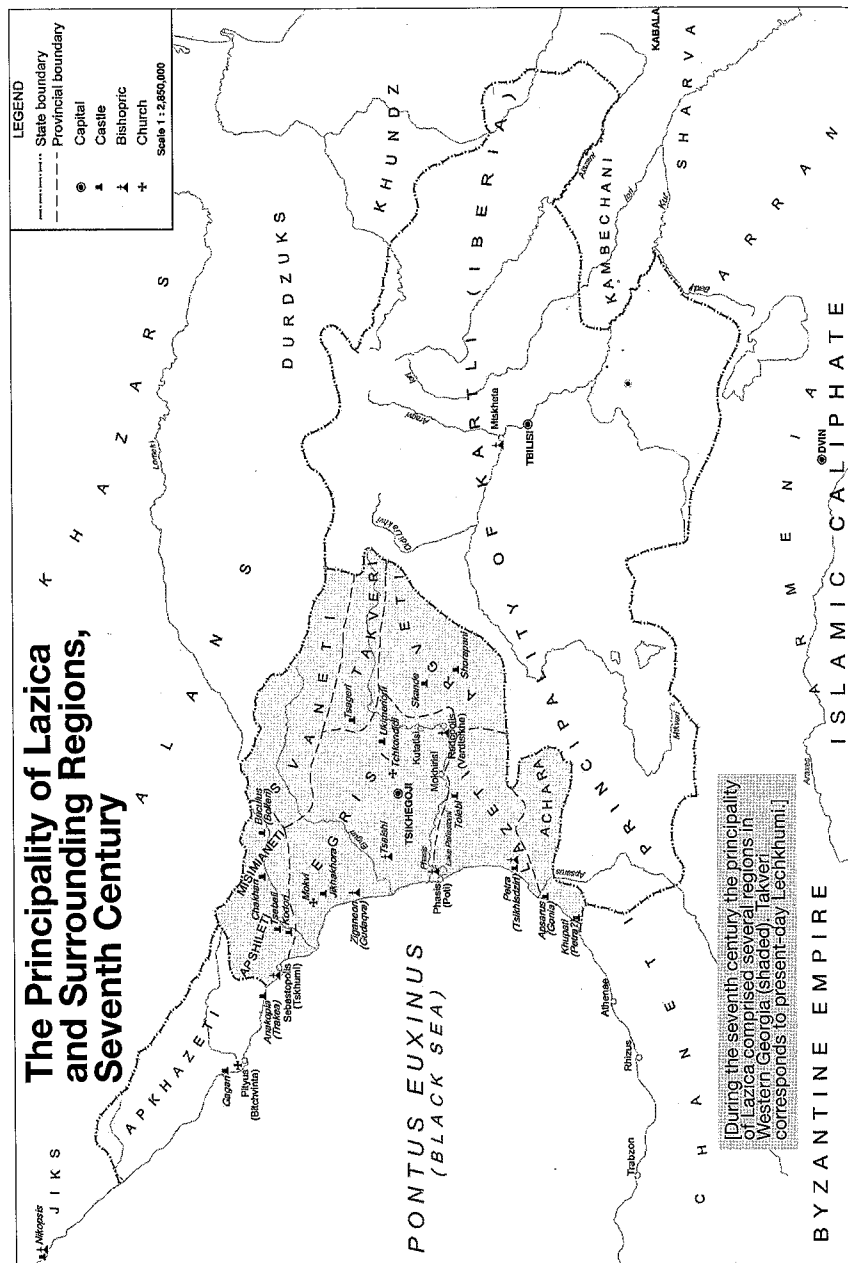
<i>Tsmi-da Max-i-mé</i>	St Maximus
<i>Da-ri gvi-bo-dze</i>	Grant us fine weather
<i>She-gvi-khve-tsie</i>	Intercede for us
<i>O-i-o-ho, ho</i>	O-i-o-ho, ho
<i>a-a-a-a</i>	a-a-a-a
(Ibid.)	

II. In my time there (in the church) were no decorations. Quite often, because of the lack of attention (there were no liturgies any more) it was not roofed; the walls, what you see now, were about a metre high. Inside there was a lot of dirt, rubbish; pigs lay there and it was in a terrible mess.

It was neglected. But still on the first Thursday after the Easter some people from the village of Chkhuteli would come, especially women, prayed and donated (candles, coins) to St Maximus, [as well as] some bread and a tray of food. They chose an old woman and asked her to bless them. The bread was taken by the old woman, and those who had been blessed had their own dinner. They had dinner and went away.²¹

In 1910 I decided to restore the church, to repair it. First the church enclosure was bought by Murtskhvalidze (a tavern-owner), I bought it from him in 1907. The walls had survived up to the height of one metre, the plastering was lacking. It is mostly built of cobbles, rock rubble and *spondio* stone (the latter is mainly used in window frames, doors and corners). I had it repaired and covered with a roof, I furnished it with a door; the windows were there, I only widened them, I had the exterior walls plastered with mortar

21. Qipshidze adds the note: "This tradition was called Gogashoba; now it is the first Thursday after Easter that is still called Gogashoba."



and then whitewashed with lime. In the interior I made an iconostasis, the ceiling, the floor; I bought nine icons... When I had decorated the church in this manner, I asked the bishop to allow me to have the church consecrated. He entrusted the bishop Margiani with consecrating the church in the presence of (two) other priests in February, 1913.

On the first Thursday after Easter the priest offers liturgy.²² People bring donations (candles, coins, trays of food, bread). The priest blesses them and takes the donated food and wine, they eat the food and drink the wine, sing and make merry. This is the Feast of St Maximus. It is not observed in any manner, besides the fact that the priest Ivane Margiani comes from Tsageri and celebrates a church service. Many people attend it. Sometimes a church service is on Sundays as well, although no definite days are fixed. Today the church is taken care of by the priest of Chkhuteli, Samuel Dashiani. It cost me 375 roubles to have the church repaired. It is still my wish to help the church as much as I can, if it is necessary in the future. I want both my wife and myself to be buried here.

Narrator: Soprom Svanidze, son of Gabriel, the steward of the Dadiani lands in Muri. Recorded by D. Qipshidze, 1914 (ibid.).

III. I have attended Muroba four or five times. When it was decided to go there, we were warned a couple of days ahead to keep chaste, not to sin. Five villages took part in it: Dekhviri (Chvalbechi), Tskheta, Laskhana, Tsilamieri, Lesindi. Every family was to send the head of the family, a chaste man: if he did not come, he would be fined. Women were strictly forbidden to participate in it. Two days were appointed for going to Muri: Monday and Thursday. In the morning a bugle was blown. It was the sign that all those participating in Muroba should get together under the big linden in Churistsqali. When we got there we knelt down and shouted: "St Maximus and the Lord! You have created earth and the sky. Give us fine weather." Then we got up and as we sang—"St Maximus, have mercy on us, give us sunny days! Oy, o-ho-ho!"—we headed for the village office, going through the cornfields, to where there are the ruins of a small church. Two groups were chanting in turn, each sang one stanza. The lead singer in the choir was to be a member of the Kareishvili family.

22. Qipshidze notes: "This is called Gogashoba, as some labourers informed me. The narrator M. Svanidze did not mention this name, he only described the feast."

Near the church we knelt down and began: "St Maximus, give us fine weather! Intercede for us!" Then we followed the road, went up the hill called Kokosha, and from there followed a narrow path to Tskheta. When we got there, we knelt down three times and prayed to God and St Maximus. When we started St Maximus' chant we began to run so fast that the priest could not catch up with us. So he [would start early and] went ahead of us and met us in Muri. From Tskheta, along the road, which is still there and runs at the foot of the mountain, we started for the peak of Mount Orbeli, Gvirgvinishi. Here we twisted hazel-nut twigs and wound them round our necks. Afterwards, having passed through the cornfields and courtyards, we reached the church of Chkhuteli and stopped there, then we knelt down and started praying. After that, once more passing through the courtyards and cornfields, we got to the church of Muri. If anyone met us on our way, they had to step aside or we would trample them. Quite a few got beaten up. When in Muri, we all knelt down and wept entreating St Maximus to grant us fine weather. The priest or the sexton, whoever might have happened to be there, entered the church and prayed to St Maximus for us (he was our mediator). Some time later he came out and told us: "You have gone astray, you have committed many sins; you neglect your relations, do not observe church holidays, you harm one another, you forgot God and St Maximus will not forgive you." We, crying and kneeling, with twisted twigs round our necks, implored the 'mediator' to intercede for us before St Maximus to help us, we prayed to God to forgive us. The 'mediator' went back into the church and soon came out and said that St Maximus was very angry and would not heed our entreaty as we were very sinful. We implored him with tears: "Let him forgive us this once and we will never sin again." He went in for the third time and came out after quite a long time and told us the happy news that St Maximus had forgiven us our errors but we were not to make any mistakes again. And if we did not sin again, St Maximus would send us fine weather. We promised to lead righteous lives. Then the mediator came out and untied the twisted twigs wound round our necks. After that we all got up and went to the manor house of the Dadianis. There we were treated to bread, beans, wine (three cups for each), we finished our repast and went home. The weather changed for the better immediately.

Sometimes, if Muroba was not observed, they would blame one

of the participants, saying that he had sinned with a woman the night before. Once they blamed me too (I was young then and liked to flirt with girls), but I swear I was not to blame. If Muroba failed once, we went there again and the weather was sure to improve. It must be about 30-35 years that we haven't been to Muroba (other elderly men's calculation is about the same—D.Q.).

The village of Dekhviri, narrator: Stephane Chabukiani, Churistsqali, July 14, 1914; recorded by D. Qipshidze, the Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences, f. 800, descr. 6, no. 252.

IV. The days for going to Muri were Monday (preparations starting on Saturday) and Thursday (preparations starting on Tuesday). The priest, barefoot, was walking ahead of us. I remember very well that the priest Athanase Latsorieli and the deacon Luarsab Gelovani accompanied us.

Narrator: Rostom Kareishvili, Dekhviri, recorded by D. Qipshidze (ibid.).

V. Once a great number of people (about 100) gathered and headed for Muri. A man with a bugle was walking ahead. At that time near Dadiani's manor house Russian soldiers were stationed.²³ They thought it was an uprising—they took up their arms and came forward to meet us. People did not touch them, just walked by and continued their way in the direction of Muri to observe their tradition. They knelt down and started praying. Then the Russians were sure that we were not going to do anything dangerous; when they saw how piously we were praying, they also came and started praying together with us imploring God to send us fine weather.

Narrator: Luka Silagadze, aged 60, the village of Dekhviri, July 13, 1914; recorded by D. Qipshidze, ibid. f. 800, no. 252.

VI. When bad weather set in June and it kept raining in summer, six villages (Lesindi, Deshkeda, Tskheta, Laskhana, Dekhviri/Chvalbechi and Tsilamieri) chose a wise man from every household. If there was no elderly man in the family a young boy could go, but women were not allowed to take part. Before leaving we had to keep chaste (it was forbidden to sleep with a woman). The chosen men got together in the place where Maximus was first buried and,

kneeling down, prayed to him: "St Maximus, grant us fine weather!" The priest, barefoot, with a censer in his hand, walked ahead of us; all of us, also barefoot, followed him. Near the village administration office, at the hill, in Tskheta, in all the places we all prayed again. On the top of Mount Orbeli near the cross, we implored him once more and then we were to tie twisted twigs around our necks. Then we sent another boy ahead of us, and we did not say anything. If we came across any kind of fence on our way, we were to pull it down; if we met someone on the way, we made them kneel down and implore God, from whichever families they may have been. And so we went to the church of Chkhuteli observing all these rules. There we again prayed to St Maximus to send us fine weather. We went into the church through one door and came out through another. After that we went to Muri, where Maximus was buried.

The priest entered the church and prayed there for a short time (he was our mediator), then the sexton came out, told us not to break the holiday rules and avoid evil deeds and went back into the church; he did the same a second time, then a third time the priest himself went out and said, that Maximus had forgiven us our sins but we were not to make any mistakes in future. Fine weather would set in.

Narrator: Archil Silagadze, the village of Tskheta, recorded by D. Qipshidze (ibid.).

Finally, in order to get better acquainted with the more recent situation, let us look at the legend obtained in 1969.

VII. During threshing time the weather is usually rainy and misty in Lechkhumi. If it continued raining for a long time, people from the villages of Dekhviri, Chvalbechi, Laskhani, Lesindi, Tsilamieri and Tskheta got together and carried St George's icon out of the Tskheta church. Men, advanced in age and specially prepared for this occasion, took part in the procession. Preparations meant that they were not to sleep with a woman for one week before the procession. They would wash and put on their best clothes. Anyone who had been noticed doing evil could not participate, nor could those who had been suspected of stealing and those who were pugnacious. Former prisoners were not allowed to participate either. Nobody wore a belt. The priest, clad in his full attire, walked at the head of the procession. They were walking silently,

23. In 1801 Georgia was annexed by Russia and became part of the Russian Empire. [—Ed.]

noiselessly; they put twisted hazel-nut twigs round their necks and went to Muri via Laskhana. There they knelt down at St Maximus' church and prayed to him: "St Maximus, grant us fine weather, Ohoho!" On going back they left the twigs there. After that, the rain stopped and fine weather set in.

Maximus was a man, he is said to have lived in Dekhviri. In Dekhviri also lived a certain Kareishvili (Chabukiani), who, at night, drove his oxen into other people's cornfields to graze. Maximus forbade Kareishvili to ruin the crops. He drove the oxen out of the cornfields and in the morning Kareishvili found his oxen hungry. He was very angry at that, but he wouldn't stop. Maximus brought rain on Kareishvili's threshing floor, punishing him for his wickedness. Therefore, when there was cloud over the threshing floor, Kareishvili fired at the cloud, but Maximus fell dead on the ground. The frightened peasant buried Maximus secretly near the lindens in Dekhviri. The next day Kareishvili found him out of his grave and buried him again on Sakoria mountain, but neither there did Maximus stay buried in the ground; for the third time he buried him in a lake, threw him in a swamp, but Maximus did not stay there either.

Meanwhile everything was revealed. People suggested that they should put Maximus (on a cart) to which unbroken bulls were harnessed and bury him where the bulls would stop. They let the bulls go and they took him to Muri, then stopped and the dead man was buried there. After that he never came out of his grave again. They ask Maximus to send fine weather. Now in our village there is nobody who has taken part in the procession going to Maximus' chapel. But my father participated in Muroba.

Narrators: Razhden Gasviani, son of Gigo, aged 75, collective farmer from Chvalbechi; Diomide Chabukiani (Kareishvili), son of Simeon, 45, high school education, a collective farmer from Dekhviri; recorded by M. Chikovani, July 13, 1969.

The festival of Muroba described by the common people does not greatly differ from other religious festivals (Khatoba), which is well known on the example of the highlands of Eastern Georgia.²⁴ In Muroba we need to

24. Khatoba is derived from the word *khati*, 'icon', and refers to local religious feasts, normally with Christian content and dedicated to a Christian saint, e.g. St George, although the feast can contain many folkloric or pagan elements. Khatoba feasts were widespread in the mountainous regions of Georgia, where people from all the

differentiate between two aspects: one is the observation of the annual feast dedicated to St Maximus which fell on the first Thursday after Easter and was known as Gogashoba (II), the other is a seasonal ritual which was usually held in summer, whenever it was necessary, if the rainy weather persisted threatening the ripening of the crops (I, II, III, VI, VII).

Both in the legend and the description of the tradition it is emphasized that, as at Lazaroba [religious festival dedicated to St Lazarus], people appealed to St Maximus' church in Muri to send them sunny weather. It is this function that I consider to be the main feature of the cult of Maximus. If, in the highlands of Lechkhumi and Racha (regions in Western Georgia) as well as in Eastern Georgia, in order to be sent fine weather they prayed to the same deity and asked for rain and mud, then here in Maximus' case the functions were redistributed: sending rain was entrusted to one deity (the common tribal festival of Khvamloba), while fine and sunny weather was entrusted to another (the local Muroba festival). It cannot be excluded that Gogashoba might have been older than Muroba, like Khvamloba and Iskelitoba. What provides grounds for this theory is that Gogashoba existed as an annual calendar feast, which was also observed in Muri.

Proceeding from this it may be assumed that in the seventh or eighth centuries and later on, after Maximus' cult had taken shape, the functions of the weather deity were redistributed, the ancient feast of Gogashoba was superseded by Muroba and these two festivals began to fuse, with the emphasis on Muroba, i.e. on Maximus' name. [...]

*

I have discussed Maximus the Confessor's image in the folklore and the rituals connected to his name. Maximus, a renowned philosopher and religious figure who was widely acclaimed in the Christian world, from the very outset was firmly established in Georgian folklore. A few words should therefore be said about Maximus' biography in connection with his stay in Lechkhumi; we should try to define how he found himself in Lechkhumi, where he took shelter and discover whether there are any written sources that can corroborate the transferring of the historical person into folklore.

The first Georgian scholar to conclusively link Maximus the

neighbouring villages head towards a church where there is kept the icon of the saint to whom the local feast is dedicated. Even today in some mountainous areas of Georgia Khatoba feasts are still celebrated. [*—Ed.*]

Confessor's name with Lechkhumi and Muri was the historian Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi. In his work, completed in Moscow in 1745, we read: "Above it (in Tsageri) there is a monastery dedicated to Maximus the Confessor and it is where Maximus the Confessor is interred."²⁵ In his opinion, Maximus' grave together with his church and monastery is situated at the foot of the fortress of Muri. Vakhushti describes Maximus' monastery in detail: "It is beautifully built, situated on the attractive site, now only a deacon takes care of it. Above it, on the Tskhenistsqali river, at the foot of the Caucasus stands the fortress of Muri, never seized or devastated. From there starts the road to Svaneti."²⁶ According to this description, Muri is referred to as one fortress, but in fact on the border of Lechkhumi and Svaneti the narrow passage through the Muri cliffs (Kldekari) is overlooked by three fortresses, which stand one next to another on the mountain chain extending towards the Tskhenistsqali, near the village of Chkhuteli. The local population mentions each by a separate name: '*Hka magas*' ('Attack them!'), '*Magrad dakhvdi*' ('Face them boldly!'), '*Ar gaushva*' ('Don't let them go!'). The church and the monastery are on level ground, at the foot of the central '*Magrad dakhvdi*' fortress, at the bottom of the rock where the famous springs of Muri start. It is said that from the main fortress, built on the top of the mountain, a secret tunnel runs down to the riverbank to provide the fortress with water and food.

Long ago before Vakhushti, as K. Kekelidze discovered, an anonymous person inscribed on the margin of a twelfth-century manuscript (A 222, now kept in Tbilisi, National Centre for Manuscripts) a note about Maximus' interment near Tsageri ("The relics of St Maximus are buried near Tsageri").²⁷

Thus Maximus' burial in Muri, apart from the folk tradition is also confirmed by the Georgian written sources. At the beginning of the twentieth century this supposition was strongly supported by Kekelidze, who in 1912 even published a version of a Maximus legend provided in 1910 by the local inhabitant of Tsageri, Iv. Margiani.²⁸ [...]

Greek sources provide a general description of the road that Maximus, whose tongue and right arm had been cut off, had passed through Lazica until he reached the fortress—his prison.²⁹ There Maximus, separated from

his companions, was placed alone in the fortress "near the tribe of the people called Alani".³⁰ In Greek the fortress' name is rendered in different ways: Σχήμαρις, Σχιμάριον, Σχιμάριον, Σχιομάριον, Σχημάριον; the same is in Latin: Schemarium, Schemaris, Scheomaris, Chimaris.³¹ According to the Georgian sources it is ჯიშარინ, ჯიშარეოს, ჰიშარ (Kimarín, Kimareos, Himar).³² The toponyms corresponding therefore to these names should be looked for in Western Georgia in the provinces once called Lazica (Egrisi) and Apkhazeti (Abasgia). But, so far, not a single toponym directly corresponding to these names has been attested by scholars (K. Kekelidze, S. Qaukhchishvili, A. Brilliantov, M. Alavidze).³³

In this situation other conjectures about the place of Maximus' imprisonment may crop up. First of all, it may be presumed that the Greek forms Skhimar/Skhemar/Skhimarin are transliterations of local name and not its translations. If this is so, a corresponding word must be found in the Georgian proper or other Kartvelian languages. Here my intuition prompts me that it may be the Svan³⁴ word *sgim*, meaning 'sour water' ('Vedza', 'Lashē' [local words denoting the sour water]) belonging to a group of mineral waters. Is there such a place in Lechkhumi, where a hardly accessible fortress is situated and where there is a mineral water spring? Yes, there is, but not in the vicinity of Muri. Such is the village of Dekhviri built on a mountain plateau, and folk tradition considers it to be Maximus' permanent residence. On the border of Dekhviri-Laskhani sour-salty water still flows and there are convincing traces of a fortified structure there. In addition, where the Dekhviri and Dekhviri-Tsilamieri watershed ends, there is a mountain chain with the remnants of two fortresses: the larger, presumably the main fortress, stands directly within the vicinity of Dekhviri, while the

30. *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisarius to Theodosius of Gangra*, Ibid., p135.

31. See: Kekelidze, K., 'The Georgian version of Theodosius of Gangra's *Hypomnesticum* and its scientific significance', *Studies*, vol. 3, Tbilisi, 1955, pp 279 [in Georgian]; Brilliantov, A., 'On the place of death and Interment of St Maximus the Confessor', p55; see also: Allen, P., & Neil, B. (eds.), *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia*, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 39), Leuven, 1999, pp 174-75, 215-16.

32. Kekelidze, *Studies*, vol. 3, p279, pp307-08; Idem., *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1918, p94 [in Georgian].

33. See: Alavidze, M., 'Shota Rustaveli and Maximus the Confessor', Collection of works *Shota Rustaveli*, Tbilisi, 1968 [in Georgian]; idem, 'Studies in Rustvelology', *Works of Kutaisi Pedagogical University*, vol. 29, 1966 [in Georgian]. Qaukhchishvili, S., *Georgica: The Data of Byzantine Authors on Georgia*, vol. 4, part 1, Tbilisi, 1941 [in Georgian]; Kekelidze, *Studies*, vols. 3; 7; Brilliantov, 'On the Place of the Death and Interment of St Maximus the Confessor'.

34. From Svaneti, a mountainous region in Western Georgia. The inhabitants of this region speak Svan, one of the four Kartvelian languages along with Georgian. [—Ed.]

25. Prince Vakhushti, *A Description of the Georgian Kingdom*, Tbilisi, 1941, p149 [in Georgian].

26. Ibid., p149.

27. Kekelidze, *Studies*, vol.7, p33 [in Georgian].

28. Ibid., pp 14-16.

29. See: *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisarius to Theodosius of Gangra* in: Allen, P., & Neil, B. (eds.), *Maximus the Confessor and his companions*, pp 134-136; *Commemoration*, ibid., pp 155 & 163.

other stands on higher ground on the Dekhviri-Lesindi mountain range. Historically these fortresses dominated the central part of Lechkhumi for quite a long time.³⁵

What do the Dekhviri fortresses look like now? By way of answer, I shall refer to some descriptions made *in situ*:

In Dekhviri there are three fortresses and the site of the fourth ruined one. On coming up from Tsageri we stopped in the section of the village called Chvalbechi. Those in the village administration office had informed as beforehand about their location and the present appearance. Soon a one-day expedition (M. Chikovani, Liana, Sergo and Demur Silagadze, Samson Qurashvili, the driver Meshveliani) saw the Dekhviri relics with their own eyes.

From below, from the Tskhenistsqali side we started going up the road, first we saw **Akhvlediani's fortress**. It has survived up to the height of about 4-6 m, standing solitary in the maize field and overlooking the Tskhenistsqali Gorge. [...] It has the shape of a rectangular tower and it must also have had the function of a watchtower. What has survived of it is the northern abutment, the southern part can be seen no longer. The foundation must be preserved in the ground, the walls seem to have been pulled down deliberately to use the stones as building material for houses or stone fences. Nearby there are three or four wine jars buried in the ground, with their rims broken off, all of them are covered in rough grass.

We headed for the mountain, situated to the east of Akhvlediani's fortress, went through a maize field and a sparsely populated settlement, we reached the high, conical peak, again passing through Akhvlediani's courtyard. [...] Around the peak of the mountain there are walls built with lime mortar. The fortress [**Dekhviri**] must have been situated around the mountaintop, enclosed with defensive walls. The nearby stone fences and houses (the ground floors are built of stone and mortar) are built with stones bearing the traces of lime mortar, which proves that they were taken from the fortress walls. About 40-50 m away from the top there still are remnants of the south wall. Trees, some quite old, grow on the ruins. The peak is round-looking like a huge loaf of sugar. There are several like that here: to the left on the north

side there is one called '**Qvavis Kedi**' ('Crow's mountains'); to the right, near the road to Utskheri, there is the so-called '**Natsikhari**' ('site of a ruined fortress'), all three of them [Dekhviri, Qvavis Kedi and Natsikhari peaks] clearly show that they have been worked on. The fortress where we are standing now is the central one, it overlooks the whole territory of Lechkhumi, towering over two gorges—Tskhenistsqali (Saretskela-Muri) and Lajanuri (Orobeli-Chileshi). Of all the three fortresses this is the most significant, **De-khviri** ('de' from *deda* 'mother', and *khviri* 'round'); the name of the village must have originated from it. [...]

From the main fortress we descended the southern slope of the mountain and followed the Utskheri road. At a distance of about 300-400 m on the Dekhviri-Lesindi watershed we visited another fortress, the third. It is almost completely reduced to ruins, only a wall, about 2-2.5 m high has survived; it also seems to have been round. Inside it a rectangular hollow can be seen. They must have been pulling down the walls gradually taking away the stones as building material, as in the case of first two fortresses. Women, hoeing in the field nearby, told us that there were many wine jars near the fortress, but we did not see them as they are obscured by the maize-fields. Conditionally the fortress may be called **Lesindi fortress**, though like others it is also built on the Dekhviri Plateau. At some distance from the Lesindi fortress there is 'Natsikhari' ('site of a ruined fortress'), crowned with an artificial cone.

The '**Qvavis Qedi**', '**Devkhiri**' ('**Dedatsikhe**') and '**Natsikhari**' are the fortresses situated along the same arc, occupying advantageous strategic positions and all of them are round, resembling a sugar loaf.

(July 13, 1969, Dekhviri)

Vakhushti Bagrationi confirms a special significance held by the Dekhviri fortress: "In the middle of Lechkhumi, on the bank of the Tskhenistsqali, on the cliffs there is a fortress, Dekhviri, the head of Takveri; whoever owns it keeps everyone in obedience."³⁶ The Dekhviri fortress is in the middle of the arc formed by the Lechkhumi fortresses—more than ten inaccessible fortresses and towers, such as Utsvashi, Utskheri, Usakhelo, Lailashi, Orbeli, Muri, Gveso, Saretskela, Derch-Dghnorisi and others, are oriented in its direction. In this

35. Dadiani, N., *The Life of Georgians*, Tbilisi, 1962, p191 [in Georgian].

36. Prince Vakhushti, *A Description of the Georgian Kingdom*, pp 148-49 [in Georgian].

respect, too, Dekhviri is the main fortress (Deda-tsikhe ['mother-fortress'], Deda-Khviri ['mother-round'], De-khviri) and it is quite possible that the historical-geographical name Takveri (Tav-kveri i.e. 'having a head like a flat round loaf') is associated with Dekhviri fortress and not with the other one (as Bagrationi supposed), which is built on a strategically advantageous hill, on the right bank of the Tskhenistsqali, in the Saretskela narrow passage through the rocks, at the mouth of the river Jonuli and which is called now by the local population 'Zubis Tsikhe' (Zubi Fortress), ("Over this ravine is the fortress Takveri, on the top of a high cliff, big and firmly built").³⁷

It could be proposed that it was one of the fortresses of Dekhviri that once bore the Svan name Sgim-Sgimari (due to sour springs flowing there) and thus was the place where Maximus was imprisoned. Anastasius Apocrisiarius, in his letter to Theodosius of Gangra, also points out that Maximus was locked up "in the fort called Schemaris".³⁸ The presence of the Svan toponym Sgim-Sgimari (from this would derive the Greek Skhimar) in the vicinity of Dekhviri is quite possible, because in this village and in its surroundings there still exist places bearing such names (Leshkeda, Lesindi, Lekarcha, Laskhana, Tsilamieri, Tsageri, Chkhuteli, Chvalbechi, Ledeshto, Leshvena, Nadeshtura and others).³⁹ The etymology of Dekhviri proper may be associated with *khvir*, denoting a large round wickerwork (basket, container). Since in the area several cylindrical fortresses were erected, each with an inaccessible enclosure, one of them, the largest, was called *deda-tsikhe* (mother-fortress) i.e. De-khviri. The fortress was compared as *khviri* (round) because it was not rectangular but round in appearance. The ruins that have survived to this day clearly show that the main fortress of Dekhviri was cylindrical and had no edges (people still use the saying "You've grown as fat as Dekhviri fortress").

This implies that the fortress in which Maximus was kept in and the place of his final burial are not the same. The theologian, whose right arm and tongue had been cut off, lived in a fortress built on a mountain topped with a round plateau—Takveri (*tavi*—head, *kveri*—flat round bread → *takveri*—having a round flat top, i.e. Devkhiri fortress, see above), a few kilometres away from Muri. This explains why his

37. Ibid. p148.

38. Letter of Anastasius to Theodosius, in: Allen, P., & Neil, B. (eds.), *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions*, p134.

39. Chikovani, M., 'The Etymology of Geographical Names', *Works of Tbilisi Pushkin Pedagogical University*, vol. 7, 1949; also Al. Ghlonti's article 'Lechkhum toponyms and lexis', *Georgian Folklore, Materials and studies*, vol. 3, 1969 [in Georgian].

followers Theodosius of Gangra and Theodore Spoudaeus were unable to climb to his burial place: "But we were unable to get there because of the difficulty of that mountain, that is to say the summit of the Caucasus, than which there is no loftier mountain on earth, and the winter season not to mention the confusion which occurred there among the people in those parts."⁴⁰ According to *Commemoration* as well as the *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra* it is evident that Maximus was initially buried in the place where he died.⁴¹

This information is also corroborated by Georgian folk legend—it was Dekhviri where Maximus was buried first by his murderer. The author of the *Commemoration* explains the reason for his not having visited the sacred grave as resulting from the following obstacles: a) both Maximus' dwelling and his burial places were located on the high lofty mountain; b) it was winter; c) at that time disturbances were raging among the local population.⁴² All this is plausible and probably true, and yet the man who wrote down this information had not personally witnessed Maximus' burial and hence the incidents described by him must have taken place at a later date. It should be taken into consideration that the brothers Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra were in Egrisi-Lazica, in the lowlands of the river Rioni and from there they tried to reach mountainous Lechkhum via the Rioni or Tskhenistsqali gorges during a frosty and snowy winter. They faced the high mountain of Khvamli and to get to Muri or Dekhviri in such a terrible winter could not be contemplated even if there had not been confrontation and disturbances among the local population (as mentioned in the *Commemoration*). Even in the relatively recent past, about 60-70 years ago, Upper Lechkhum in winter was cut off from the Imeretian lowlands for three or four months in winter because of the lack of good roads and heavy snowfalls. No wonder that a foreign author, being in the Colchian lowlands in such a harsh winter would have been unable to reach the frontier of Lower Svaneti and thus might imagine that Maximus' grave was beyond the highest peaks of the Caucasian mountains.

In folk tradition Maximus is considered to be a miracle-worker. His miraculous activities continued even after his death and so Maximus was included in the Christian pantheon. The traces of such ideas are also attested in written sources. In the *Commemoration* we read that on

40. Allen & Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, pp 162-63.

41. Ibid., p136; p162.

42. Ibid., p162.

Maximus' grave three lamps were lit for those who went there:

And we personally heard this from both many of the officials there and the local people, who told us confidently with oaths about the truly amazing nature of this miracle, and who had seen [the lights] with their own eyes. There is one of these, a *Comes* Mistrianos, himself from the same fort of Schemaris, who saw these [lights] not once or twice but many times while on nightwatch with his soldiers and was to tell everyone openly.⁴³

Thus the fortress where Maximus was kept and the township situated around it had a ruler and it was defended by the troops and noblemen. Maximus' ability to play miracles was confirmed, aside from the common people, with oaths by the individual whose obligation it was to watch over the exiled holy father and to carry out administrative duties. The information provided above in the *Commemoration* is also interesting for us from another viewpoint: it most certainly confirms that even during his lifetime Maximus was acknowledged as a holy father and a wonder-worker, and hence very popular and respected person. This must be a real foundation for the legends that took shape in Lechkhumi folklore in the 70s of the seventh century.

Together with Maximus, two of his disciples were exiled from Byzantium—the two Anastasii, Anastasius Apokrisiarius (died on October 11, 666)⁴⁴ and Anastasius the Monk (died on July 22 or 24, 662).⁴⁵ They were soon separated as already mentioned and Maximus was locked up in the Schimar-Chimarin-Chimareos-Himar fortress, corresponding to the round fortress of Dekhviri. Anastasius the Monk was first put in a fort called Scotoris, and then to another fortress in the Svaneti region. But he never got there as he died on the way.⁴⁶ The other Anastasius (Apokrisiarius) was imprisoned “in another fort whose name is Boucolous”, and afterwards he was taken to a fort called Thacyria, near Iberia⁴⁷ (according to the Georgian *Vita Maximi* the fort was in Apkhazeti, Western Georgia).⁴⁸ So Lechkhum-Takveri (Thacyria) as the region where Maximus the Confessor and his companions were kept is mentioned in the ancient Greek sources, and all that remains is to

43. Ibid., p162-63; see also p136.

44. Ibid., pp 25, 146, 154.

45. Ibid., p25; pp 134-36.

46. Ibid., p134.

47. Ibid., pp 134-36.

48. Kekelidze, K., *Keimena*, p94 [in Georgian].

discover the exact location of these fortresses. In my opinion the fortresses in which the three prisoners were kept lay in the territory of historical Takveri or today's Lechkhumi, at no great distance from one another in the inaccessible gorges of the Rioni and the Tskhenistsqali.

In my opinion, the toponym Boucolous (Bokele according to Georgian *Vita Maximi*)⁴⁹ corresponds to Boqervani, which now is an outer section of the village of Derchi with the ruins of a fortress and an old church. Boqer-van/Boqel-van could be rendered in Greek as Boucolous, and this is how it is presented in *Letter of Anastasius Apokrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra*.⁵⁰

As for the Takveri fortress, in Vakhushti's opinion, this is the fortress erected on the right bank of the Tskhenistsqali, today known as Zubis Tsikhe (Zubi fortress). It is this very fortress that Vakhushti thinks to be the Takveri fortress: “Above the Gordi, flowing into the Tskhenistsqali from the north, there is a ravine, starting in the Caucasian Mountains; over the ravine there is the Takveri fortress, built on a high cliff, very sturdy and firmly constructed.”⁵¹ After all the above that has been said about Dekhviri fortress, there remain some corrections that should be made in Vakhushti's conclusion.

One more toponym mentioned in the Greek sources evokes a number of associations: this is Moucourisis where on July 18, 662, both Anastasii were brought for a short period.⁵² As Kekelidze suggested in 1912, it may be situated in Senaki district.⁵³ Moucourisis is reminiscent of Nikorisdziri and may be its Greek transliteration; Nikorisdziri is situated in the Rioni Gorge on the right bank of the river between Tvishi and Tskhukusheri, near the road leading to Dekhvir-Muri.

It is evident that this explanation of the toponyms is preliminary and calls for more in-depth research, but my final conclusion is still that Maximus and his companions, exiled from Byzantium, found themselves in mountainous Lechkhumi: one in Bokeli-Boqelvani, the second in Nikorisdziri or in the nearby fortress (Orkhvi, Tvishi or Udsvasi), and the third in Takver-Dekhvir. The historical and folklore information above needs archaeological evidence. Then we will be able to say with more certainty which historical facts have formed the basis of the

49. Ibid., p94.

50. Allen & Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, p134.

51. Prince Vakhushti, *A Description of the Georgian Kingdom*, p148.

52. Allen & Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*, p136.

53. Kekelidze, K., *Studies*, vol. 7, p29 [in Georgian].

folklore tradition.⁵⁴ Thus the legends recorded in Dekhvir-Muri have revived the subject of Maximus the Confessor anew as the hypotheses voiced earlier have been complemented by a new one.

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54. Chikovani, M., 'Is Legend True or Not?', *Komunisti* newspaper, March 7, 1969 [in Georgian].

THE FOLKLORIZATION OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR¹

Geoffrey Carr-Harris

In 662 AD Maximus the Confessor, one of the most important Byzantine church fathers of the seventh century, after a long life of scholarship and controversy, was arrested in Constantinople and convicted of heresy. After losing his right hand and tongue to torturers, he was driven barefoot through the twelve districts of Constantinople and exiled to Lazica (modern-day Georgia), where he arrived early in June of the same year. At that time the Georgian Orthodox Church took a decidedly dyophysite position (of which Maximus was the foremost exponent at the time), but he apparently received a cool welcome; and, because of his age (over 80 years old) and weak condition, he was carried off to a mountain fortress on a stretcher woven out of twigs.²

The last period of Maximus' life, after his punishment and exile to Lazica, is reported in two contemporary Greek sources which were later translated into Latin: *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra*, written not too long before his own death in exile in October,

1. Author's note (2008): This is an article that I wrote in 1979 while I was a graduate student (aspirant) at the Tbilisi State University. A few years later, while working on my doctorate at UCLA in California, I used some of these materials in a paper on the theories of René Girard. I have taken the liberty of incorporating some of that paper into this article. I would like to thank Lela Khoperia of the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi for helping to update my references to the new materials available on Maximus.
2. For Maximus' biography, see for example: Nichols, A., *Byzantine Gospel: Maximus the Confessor in Modern Scholarship*, Edinburgh, 1993, pp 1-23; Louth, A., *Maximus the Confessor*, London and New York, 1996, pp 3-18; Larchet, J. C., *La divinisation de l'homme selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris, 1996, pp 7-20; Dalmais, I. H., 'La Vie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur Reconsidérée?', *Studia Patristica*, vol. 17, part I, 1982, pp 26-30; Brock, S., 'An early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 91, 1973, pp 299-346; Allen, P. & Neil, B. (eds.), *Scripta Saeculi VII Vitam Maximi Confessoris Illustrantia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii*, (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 39), Leuven, 1999, pp 1-25; Allen, P. & Neil, B., (trans./ed.) *The Life of Maximus the Confessor*, *Recension 3*, (Early Christian Studies, 6), St Paul's Publications, 2003, pp 4-34.

666,³ and *Commemoration*, a record of the trials in exile of Pope Martin I, Maximus the Confessor and their disciples and followers (Anastasius the Disciple, Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Theodore and Euprepus), written in late 668 or early 669 by Theodore Spoudaeus, soon after the *Epistula Anastasii* was received by him in 668.⁴ According to the letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius we learn that he had accompanied Maximus to Lazica, but that soon after arriving they lost touch with each other.⁵ The letter was actually written a few years later, after Anastasius had managed to gather information about the death of his master. From this letter we learn that Maximus lived only a short time in the mountain fortress, identified in the Greek source as *Schemaris*. He had not been there very long when he apparently prophesied the day of his death (according to later sources he managed to preach the truth even without his tongue!) and then died on the pre-announced day—August 13, 662.⁶

After Maximus' burial, his tomb was illuminated on successive nights by three miraculous lamps. Anastasius also notes that a few years later local residents living in the vicinity of the fortress swore that they had witnessed these miracles surrounding the death of Maximus.⁷ It is not necessary to know to which the folk actually swore concerning the events surrounding the death of Maximus; it is enough to recognize that he had created a lasting impression on the locals.

These 'historical' facts became an element of the Byzantine theological discourse. Maximus was remembered as a man of the world who had fought actively for his God and who could be tortured but not stopped, not shut up, since he (tonguelessly) prophesied his own death and died. Maximus was the Byzantine scapegoat: he was mutilated, paraded through the streets like a Greek *pharmakos* taking all the sins of the Monothelite church to the Diorthelite world at the eastern end of the Black Sea.

3. Allen, P., & Neil, B., *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp 40-1; 132-147.

4. Ibid. pp 41-3; 148-171.

5. Ibid. *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius*, p134.

6. Ibid. *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius*, p136; *Commemoration*, p162. The information that Maximus was talking and preaching even after his tongue has been cut out, is preserved only in the *Vita Maximi*, which is of a later date (tenth century) and not in *Letter of Anastasius* or in the *Commemoration*, which are contemporary witnesses. It is supposed that this miraculous ability was inserted in the *Vita* due to a confusion between Maximus and Anastasius; in the *Commemoration* it is Anastasius the Apocrisiarius (not Maximus), who attached a pen to his hand to write, and could talk without a tongue, see: *Commemoration*, p153.

7. Ibid. *Letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius*, p134; Theodore also wrote in his *Commemoration*: "We personally heard this from many of the officials there as well as from the local people", see *ibid.*, pp 162-63.

The miracles reported after his death may have helped to transform the heretic into a saint and it is interesting that the miracles were not taken from his earlier 'pre-scapegoat' life, but are events attending his death and burial. How Maximus became a church father can tell us a lot about the workings of the early church, but what interests us here are the legends and rituals connected to Maximus that are found near the place in Western Georgia where he spent the last month of his life.

The Historical Place

Locating the mountain fortress mentioned in the Greek sources was pursued with great interest among scholars both in Georgia and Russia in the early part of the twentieth century. K. Kekelidze⁸ was the first to collect and publish all the comparable fragments of the Greek and Georgian sources, and M. Brilliantov,⁹ repeated and extended the materials further.

Scholars concluded that the place referred to in the Greek source (*Schemaris*) was the fortress of *Muris Tsikhe* in the Lechkhumi region of present-day Georgia. This is a small low-mountainous area in the north-central part of Western Georgia. To the north of Lechkhumi is the high-mountainous area of Svaneti, and Muri fortress is actually on the Lechkhumi-Svaneti border (on top of the first of the higher mountains) overlooking Lechkhumi to the south. The river Tskhenistsqali ('Horsewater') flows out of a steep Svanetian valley beneath the fortress and enters Lechkhumi at a point called Muri's Bridge. It was not only the geographical and toponymic data which convinced Kekelidze that this was the final resting place of Maximus; this was corroborated by the unexpected finding that the local people in the vicinity of Muri's fortress prayed to a divinity named 'Maksime' or 'Maksine'.

Near Muri's Bridge (on the flat left bank) a small chapel, named after Maximus, and allegedly built over his grave, was 'discovered' by scholars. In the summer of 1914, an archaeological expedition (under the supervision of Nikoloz Marr) was in Lechkhumi searching for archaeological evidence to authenticate the theory that Maximus was actually buried in the area. With the ensuing turmoil of the First World War, the documentary materials were lost or destroyed, and the 'history' was not fully authenticated by archaeology.

8. Kekelidze, K., 'Information of Georgian Sources about Maximus the Confessor', *Collection of Works of Kiev Theological Academy*, 1912, pp 1-77 [in Russian].

9. Brilliantov, A., 'On the Place of Death and Interment of St Maximus the Confessor', *Khristianski Vostok*, VI, issue I, 1922 [in Russian].

The author of this article was very fortunate to visit this region in 1979,¹⁰ and in the local ethnographic museum in Tsageri, the central town of Lechkhumi, we were shown some materials from Marr's expedition of 1914: a few photographs of the newly refurbished Church of Maximus, Muri's fortress, and some local inhabitants at the time.¹¹ The memory of the last days of Maximus had not been lost to the folk in Lechkhumi, who still remember someone called 'Maksime'. One of the first inhabitants I met (a woman of the Chabukiani clan) told me that all the women who marry into their clan, since their ancestor, Chabukiani, murdered Maksime, continue to make an annual visit to the ruins of 'Maksime's Church' to expiate their eternal guilt.

On the 1,317th anniversary of this famous saint's death, I was shown to his final resting place. There were no obvious signs to tell the story, but amidst the ruins of the small chapel was a niche in a partially standing wall where I found (among other things) recently offered coins, candles, strips of red material, and holy breads—a vivid memory of Maximus.

While it is astonishing that this memory should be so long-lived, it was even more surprising to me that Maksime is so clearly remembered by the Lechkhumi folk as a *murdered* man, and that the (family) name of the actual murderer was remembered as one of their ancestors. In the historical accounts (as we have seen) Maximus died his own death, and there is certainly no hint of foul play. How do we reconcile the 'history' with these legends and rites? And why do these respective groups (the Orthodox Church and the local folk) seem to remember him so differently?

The Historical Times

When dealing with such long periods of time it is problematic to assume exact dates, but yet we cannot ignore a very significant historical phenomenon. According to Pavle Ingoroqva's research,¹² the first day of the old Georgian calendar (in use until the seventh century) was August 14. Is it coincidence that, according to the historical record, Maximus died on the last day of the old Georgian pagan calendar? Prophesying one's death to be on the last day of the year and then actually dying along with

the 'old year' as a wounded old scapegoated foreigner in a traditional agricultural community would leave its trace.

What would the locals have been doing on that day when this holy man from another world died in their midst? In the first volume of his *History of the Georgian Nation*,¹³ Ivane Javakhishvili discusses certain rituals that are associated with this date and states that "on August 14, a great number of worshippers from Kartli, Kakheti, Kiziqi, Tusheti, Pshavi and Khevsureti (provinces of Georgia) gather in the village of Atsquri". One of the elements of the feast day is that a representative of St George ('*Tetri Giorgi*' or 'White-George') falls down on the ground in front of the entrance to the church of Tetri Giorgi. Javakhishvili explains that this victim collects the sins of the community as they all step on him as they enter the church, and then as a sacrificial offering, he expiates their sins:

Just as in the time of Strabo, worshippers would step on the sacrificed slave in order to expiate their sins, so today, people entering the church of St George (Tetri Giorgi) will step on the slave lying on the ground in front of the church.¹⁴

Javakhishvili refers to other examples from Western Georgia and it is evident that many such rituals (i.e. people being purified of their sins by sacrificing a victim) associated with the end of the year were observed. Similar rites and rituals are attested in the customs and traditions of many peoples.¹⁵ It is important to remember that the old Georgian calendar ended with the harvest and began with the planting of wheat in August.¹⁶ And, as discussed above, Maximus' historical presence spanned this exact period: he lived through the harvest and died on the eve of the ploughing and sowing.

Another ritual that was performed in this area and at this period of the year is the Chabuki ritual of 'Gathering Macha'.¹⁷ We do not have much detail on this ritual in Lechkhumi, but we know that special small loaves

13. Javakhishvili, Iv., *A History of the Georgian Nation*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1960, p51 [in Georgian].

14. Ibid. p52.

15. See: Frazer, G.J., *The Golden Bough*, Macmillan, 1970, Gaster, T., *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1961, pp 26ff; Eliade, M., *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, New York, 1974, pp 321ff.

16. See Bregadze, N., 'Des Relations Existant entre le Calendrier Populaire Agrarie et le Calendrier Païen Géorgien', *Tradicia Prezemiana*, Poznan, 1978, pp 147-56. In the Near East on the last day of the New Year celebrations "they ploughed land, sowed seeds and were engaged in trade to ensure the next year's crops". Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1848, p333.

17. Gardaphkadze, P., 'Lechkhumi Folk Feasts', *Archives of the Ethnography Department of Iv. Javakhishvili Institute of History*, p100 [in Georgian].

10. In the summer of 1979, I participated in a research expedition to Lechkhumi, led by G. Jalabadze, and organized by the Georgian State Museum.

11. The originals (I was told in 1979) were in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Archaeology in Leningrad (Q 706).

12. Ingoroqva, P., 'The Old Georgian Pagan Calendar in the Fifth-Eighth-Century Monuments', *Bulletin of the Georgian Museum*, VI (1929-1930) pp 373ff; see also VII (1931-1932) pp 26off. Also see: VII, pp 320-26 [in Georgian].

were baked from '*macha*' flour, and then ritually fed to some young bulls, who were subsequently sacrificed and eaten. '*Chabuki*' in Georgian has the meaning of young man (youth, virility), and has a sense of defiance, and clearly in Georgian ethnographic material, this name is connected with the bull.¹⁸ The Chabuki (= 'Chabuki-ani' family) has an important relationship to Maksime; as already mentioned, the Chabukiani family are compelled to perform a yearly ritual because allegedly their ancestor killed Maksime.

Macha is an early species of a hulled hexaploid wheat (*Triticum aestivum* subsp. *macha*), endemic to the Racha-Lechkhumi area. Instead of the more common mode of harvesting (reaping with a sickle or scythe), the tassels of *macha* were gathered with the aid of two reaping sticks (about 50cm long) which were tied together at one end, with which the seed tops are broken off and put into baskets, all without cutting down the plants. As it is a hulled wheat, threshing cannot fully remove the chaff from the grain, and the spikelets remain attached to the seeds after threshing. A special hammer-and-bowl contraption was used to remove the husks from the seeds before milling into flour. *Macha* is reputed to have been baked into the most delicious of all breads and would also retain its freshness much longer than the breads baked with other flours. It was the first grain to ripen (one-two weeks earlier than the others), and would be sown in August soon after it was harvested, making it the first grain to be sown, needing virtually a whole year to grow.¹⁹

It would be reasonable to assume that at the time of Maximus' arrival in Muris Tsikhe more than thirteen centuries ago, the locals were bringing in the harvest after which they ritually fed their *macha* cakes to the *chabuki* (a young bull, or perhaps a young man). As Maximus died, the local folk were sacrificing their *chabuki*(s) to purify the community of their sins—sacrificing so they could begin their sowing.

The 'Going to Muri' Ritual

One member of Marr's expedition in 1914, David Qipshidze, collected some information from the people about 'Maksime'. One of his informants²⁰ described a ritual connected to the death and burial of

St Maksime, in which he becomes a central figure in keeping the wet weather away at this crucial time of the year. According to the oral narrative, a terrible downpour began after Maksime was buried and the inhabitants of the five or six small villages around Dekhviri would 'go off to Muri'. Each family would choose a capable man, usually the eldest and cleanest (holiest), who would have to fast and not touch a woman for a week before 'going to Muri'. The men would go barefoot and fix hazelwood saplings around their necks and would follow the path used by Chabukiani where he had tried to bury Maksime, stopping at these 'burial' places where they would pray to Maksime for good weather:

Oh! St Maksime!
Grace us good weather
Beseech God for us!
Vori vo ho ho!

Apparently, they would sing this refrain back and forth in two rounds (with Chabukiani always as a leading voice) and would end up bellowing it as they ran wildly and wrecking everything in the way (fences, walls, gardens, etc). Everyone encountered on the way had to kindly greet the group and join them, or else they would be thumped or crushed by the crowd. Upon arriving at Muri, they would kneel and weep and beseech Maksime for good weather. A priest would enter the chapel and 'communicate' with Maksime, but would soon come out and censure the people, saying that they no longer respect the laws of kinship, they break the rules of the fast and leisure days, do evil deeds and forget the Lord: "Maksime doesn't pardon you!" The assembled folk would increase their weeping and lamenting. The priest would go in and come out again with the same negative response to an increased reaction from the people. Often someone was found to have broken the fasting and celibacy law preceding this rite, and after receiving promises that the assembled would thereafter live clean and holy lives, the priest would enter a third time and come out announcing Maksime's pardon. They would shout and cry for joy, unfasten the saplings, and the weather would turn fine. This would be followed by a feast. "If in the unlikely case that the weather did not clear up, they would seek out the guilty man and set off a second time, and then it would surely turn fine."

The local meteorological conditions—"they say that rain and mist are common in Lechkhumi at threshing time"—obviously challenged the people to create rituals to help bring good weather, and while

18. See: Makalatia, M., 'On the Study of Some Issues Associated with the Cult of Water,' *Material on Georgian Ethnography*, vol. 16-17, Tbilisi, 1972, [in Georgian] p302: "...as the above material shows, the fertility deity, 'Chabuki', must have been the guardian of the hearth and as a symbol of masculinity possessed the attributes of a bull."

19. Bregadze, N., *Highland Agriculture in Western Georgia*, Tbilisi, 1969, p39 [in Georgian].

20. Priest Samuil Dashniani told this to Davit Qipshidze at Muri, summer, 1914. For the Georgian texts, see Chikovani, M., 'Maximus the Confessor in Seventh-Eighth Century Georgian Legends', *Problems in Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi, 1971, pp 62-91 [in Georgian]. See also Chikovani's article in this volume.

Maksime's onetime association with this period has been shown, the transformation from a Byzantine saint to a local rain deity²¹ requires some explanation. In this legend, the rainy weather (bad for threshing) seems to come as a direct result of the burial of Maksime and because he 'caused' it; Maksime returned after his burial (in a dream or as a deity) so he could instruct the people on what they must do to make it clear up. Most importantly, a member of the Chabukiani clan must be among the 'chosen', and morally pure, even though some sin will be discovered, and expiated. These men must expose themselves to suffering and subservience—barefoot and 'enslaved' with sapling 'yokes'—and madly race to Muri destroying everything in their path.

The mad hysteria, wailing, and lamenting seem appropriate to a ritual sacrifice. At the church they would 'kneel and weep and beseech Maksime for good weather', reminding us of the representatives of St George (Tetri Giorgi, mentioned by Javakhishvili) who were stepped on to take the sins of the community. Here the men are divided into two groups (at least so far as singing the ritual chant is concerned); a kind of ritual competition is suggested by this, and it is stated that the leading person (voice) in this competition must be a Chabukiani—the one who apparently killed and buried Maksime. The true violent and competitive aspect of the chanting is suggested by its degeneration into a chaotic bellowing. The breaking down of all the barriers, such as fences and walls, is perhaps symptomatic of the contagious aspect of violence discussed by the French literary critic René Girard.²² Although the ritual begins with certain chosen men, through violent reciprocity the whole community eventually becomes totally (and violently) involved:

The 'Dionysiac' state of mind can and, as we have seen, often does erase all manner of differences: familial, cultural, biological, and natural. The entire everyday world is caught up in the whirl, producing a hallucinatory state that is not a synthesis of elements, but a formless and grotesque mixture of things that are normally separate.²³

21. Maksime's association with trees and rain is an example of his identity as the spirit of the plant. On the trees see: Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, New York, 1959, p408ff. Eliade, M., *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, p265 and further, Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1848, p290, showing the connection between the plant spirit and water. With Frazer-Gaster (e.g. pp 475-8), the water motif is quite strong in the harvesting traditions.

22. Girard, R., *Violence and the Sacred*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1977, p30. For a general introduction to Girard's critical methods, see Harari, J., ed., *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1979, pp 56-60, 182-212, 434-35.

23. Girard, R., *Violence and the Sacred*, p160.

Girard provides us with his theory of the *mechanism of the surrogate victim*, which puts an end to this violent unanimity, and *reciprocal violence*. There is rain and chaos around Maksime's church until the guilty man is found. Our ritual leaves out the details, but clearly at one time the guilty person (who we know was a Chabukiani) was scapegoated and sacrificed as the surrogate victim. Girard shows how this mechanism creates differentiation out of indifferentiation, and with this he attempts to explain the origin of all structure and order—social order, religion, language, and meaning. Girard's theories will help explain the transformation of the historical Maximus into the Maksime of ritual and legends.²⁴

The Murder in Dekhviri

When the rituals and memory of Maksime were recovered, legends were also recorded, and a collection of these long-neglected texts, together with others collected in 1967, were published in 1971.²⁵ The following is literally translated material (except for the headings), presented as a schematic composite narrative drawing on all of the different variants and fragments²⁶ of this legend.

St Maksime: Nobody knows who he was or where he was from; he would travel from village to village (I, 1-2); It was impossible for him to stay in one place (VIII, 1-2). He was a holy man (V, 1) kind ... a believer in God and a lover of men (X, 4-5). One day he came to Dekhviri, it was the month of Mariam (August), the threshing period, and the people were threshing grain (Al. 3-4 cf. VIII, 5-6); Maksime used to live in the hollow of a linden tree (IX, 1, cf. VI, 1).

Chabukiani (Kareishvili): An evil (bad ... terrible ... unjust) man lived in Dekhviri (I, 3; III, 1-2; V, 1-2; VII, 11; X, 2-3). He had two surnames (II, 5-6, cf. VII, 7-8). He had the a habit of pasturing his cattle in another's grain fields, and of breaking the leisure laws (VIII, 4-5).

Maksime opposes evil: Maksime, unseen, would lead the bulls out invisibly (I, 5-11, cf. X, 5-7, Al. 8-9, 13). Whenever a man performed evil deeds, Maksime would censure him; breaking the leisure laws and not respecting the grain would really trouble him (VIII, 2-3).

Reconciliation impossible: Chabukiani would not listen and

24. For an example of Girard's application of his theory to Shakespeare, see his article in Harari, *Textual Strategies*.

25. Chikovani, M., 'Maximus the Confessor in Seventh-Eighth-Century Georgian Legends', pp 62-91.

26. The texts cited are according to the variants published by Chikovani; references are to the variant (Roman numeral) and the line numbers; the 'Al' variant is taken from Alavidze, M., *Lechkhumi Folklore*, Tbilisi, 1951, pp 31-2 [in Georgian].

continued his evil deeds (II, 11-12). He declared enmity with Maksime (VIII, 10). Maksime sought other ways to punish this evil man (I, 6-7). When he was preparing to thresh, Maksime turned himself into a rain-cloud (mist) and would soak the grain (I, 7-8).

Chabukiani kills Maksime: Chabukiani saw that no one was around so he shot his rifle at the cloud (I, 13-14). Down fell St Maksime's body (IV, 2-3).

Chabukiani tries to bury the body: He wanted to hide it. He buried it where no one would find it, but it wouldn't stay put; he buried it a second time, but each time he buried it, it would come up to the surface (I, 15-18). So was the murderer tortured (X, 12)! [All in all, there are some ten different places mentioned as 'burial places' in the different accounts; these are usually in or beside linden trees, by small chapels, on hilltops, etc]. The earth would just not receive this man!

Maksime teaches the people how to act: The murderer (or: an old woman) saw Maksime in a dream (VIII, 15). "He revealed to his neighbours (the priest) what had happened to him" (Al. 33; I, 22-23). Maksime appeared before them and said: "Put me on a sleigh, harness two unbroken (uncastrated) bulls (I, 20) to it and wherever they lead you, bury me there" (II, 33-35). Then kill the bulls, cook them with the wood of the sleigh and let the people eat the meat." (I, 26-27).

The people fulfil Maksime's wish: And this is exactly what they did. He was buried at Muri for good... The people ate the meat (II, 40). They were satisfied and went away (I, 27-29).

Maksime is clearly seen as a foreigner; he is a stranger from the outside and a man of God. Consistent with the historical record and the legend discussed above, he appears in August during the threshing season. Chabukiani (Kareishvili) is evil—a renegade: he does not pay proper attention to the grain by allowing the bulls to eat it and by threshing it (perhaps without the traditional rites and observations?); he does not respect the ancestral laws. Maksime punishes those who violate ancestral traditions. Maksime as *rain spirit* deity²⁷ protects the Maksime as *grain spirit*,²⁸ so the form of murder (the grain being threshed²⁹ or

eaten on the ground, or the mist being shot³⁰ at in the sky) seems interchangeable among the variants.

Chabukiani murders (eats, threshes) Maksime (wheat), just as we saw the *chabuki* eating the *macha* wheat; this is reciprocated when the cattle are expelled from the pasture, or when Maksime (rain, society) punishes Chabukiani on the threshing floor. The violence is repeated and reciprocated when Chabukiani shoots Maksime; he is killed, and killed, and killed... And Chabukiani is 'tortured' (X, 1-2) in his multiple attempts to bury the body, which always pops up again to the surface. Maksime, in constant motion, cannot be buried (sown). This is reminiscent of the 'reciprocal violence', already noted in the Going to Muri ritual: the Chabukianis retracing their steps to the multiple burial places, and the social order devolving into chaos. The only way out of this violent unanimity is by the 'polarization of violence onto a single victim who substitutes for all the others'.³¹

Maksime must teach the people how to end this chaos. The 'surrogate victims', two young, virile bulls (*chabukis*) must drag Maksime away in a sledge to cleanse the evils from the community, to wherever they end up, and where Maksime can finally be buried. The *chabukis* are slaughtered, and sacrificed, and the wood of Maksime's sledge burned to cook the meat which is eaten to bring reconciliation and order.

If the bulls are the 'surrogate victim' then why is Maksime being taken along for the ride? Why is he lying on the sledge? Could it be that the image of the historical Maximus, scapegoated from Constantinople and 'carried to Muri's fortress on a stretcher woven out of twigs' was somehow transformed in the imagination of the local folk into Maksime's final journey in myth and ritual?

First Fruits and the Bull as Surrogate Victim

The relationship between the bull, grain, scapegoat, and sacrifice has many parallels in other cultures. In his discussion of 'first fruits' rituals, Mircea Eliade³² points out that a certain sense of danger accompanies the consumption of a new harvest: there is a fear of exhausting the crop in question, and thus there is the risk of some reprisal by the force

27. In an unpublished article, Surguladze, I., 'The Rituals against Drought and Torrential Rain' [in Georgian] one of the aspects of Maksime, his association with the deity of weather, is clearly detailed.

28. See: Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, p497 and further.

29. It is evident that in the people's understanding threshing is identified with the killing of the spirit of cereals (see Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, p395 and "the Note", p468). If here Maksime is associated with wheat, then one aspect of his death may be seen as the murder the spirit of cereals.

30. Among Racha-Lechkhumi ethnographic material there is the following tradition: "When the oxen were let onto the threshing-floor, during the first threshing, the head of the family fired a gun". See: Bregadze, N., 'Customs and Traditions Associated with Field-crop Cultivation in Racha-Lechkhumi', *Matsne*, 1964, no. 2, p129. [in Georgian]. As a ritualised killing of the spirit of cereals, the gun was probably shot in the air and seeing the spirit (grain/rain) fall from the clouds is consistent within the discourse we are discussing.

31. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, p181

32. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, p347.

present in the crop. Fear of consuming the 'first fruits' means choosing a *surrogate victim*, someone who will stand in on behalf of the whole community, and who will eat the crop and then suffer the reprisals of being driven out, stoned, soaked in water or murdered. Only through this final sacrifice can society be purged of its fear.

A ritual of leaving the 'first fruits' to a bull or *chabuki* was noted above with the *chabuki-macha* ritual, and is found in other Georgian ethnographic material. In one example, the bridegroom (on the wedding night) must leave his bride to the *chabuki* (divinity), or great trouble will ensue.³³ The *chabuki* (young man) performs the deed, takes the 'contagion' (violence) upon himself, and then is ritually cleansed. This motif supports Frazer's well-founded reasoning on 'driving the wickedness' away.³⁴ In many cultures, after eating the 'first fruits' the 'consumers' as 'surrogate victims' must be driven out of the village, so that the community may be purified of the sin. The act of purification not only means expelling the guilty one but also driving away the (desecrated) first fruit (be it in the stomach of the scapegoat, the stuffed ox, doll or sledge). Frazer provides examples to the effect that the wheat may sprout only from the dead ox.³⁵ So Maksime is on the sledge as the 'first fruits', 'inside' Chabukiani (or oxen), and only after sacrificing the oxen can Maksime be buried and born again—or can the wheat be sown and sprout anew. It is important to note that in our materials the emphasis is on the *murder of the 'first fruits'* (Maksime) and there is *virtually no memory* of the murder of the *surrogate victim* (Chabukiani).

Bull vs. Grain

An interesting ritual that features the grain-bull relationship is the ancient Greek *Bouphonia* ("killing the ox") ritual.³⁶ Every year, at the time *when the threshing was nearly over* in Attica, grain was placed on an altar of the Acropolis, and oxen were driven around it. The ox who ate the offering was sacrificed and eaten, and its hide would be stuffed and harnessed to a plough. A complex ritual was then carried out to *punish*

33. Makalatia, 'On the Study of Some Issues Associated with the Cult of Water', p302.

34. See: Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, p602 and further.

35. According to some Mythaic monuments, the bull's tail ends with three ears on a stem; in one of these monuments the ears symbolize the blood flowing from the wounds inflicted by Mythras; see Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, p614. One of the North American Indian tribes believed "that the maize first sprouted from a drop of blood of the corpse of the Corn-Mother", Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, p486.

36. See: Robertson Smith, W., *Religion of the Semites*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp 286-291; Frazer-Gaster, *The New Golden Bough*, pp 523-524; Harrison, J.E., *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1908, pp 111-2.

the murderer of the ox, and then the murder instruments (the axe and knife) were thrown into the sea. Girard points out that the participants of *Bouphonia* must quarrel among themselves before turning their attention to the designated victim.³⁷

Underlying these rites there is a fundamental tension between the animals (men) and grain which can rupture into reciprocal violence at any time. The symmetry of this reciprocal violence means it cannot stop; killing the murderer of the murderer of the murderer... and the fear is that this infinite regression will never be stopped. The fear of this violent, undifferentiated chaos compels the *ritual sacrifice of a surrogate victim*, and the *final murder* is usually by drowning or burning so that one comes up against a 'murderer' that cannot, in turn, be murdered.

A well-remembered example of the familiar animal-grain opposition is the story of Cain and Abel: "Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground" (Genesis 4:2). The first competition is between their respective sacrificial offerings: did God prefer Cain's offering of the 'fruit of the ground' or Abel's 'firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof? Abel wins—he gains God's *respect*: "the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering, but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect" (Genesis 4:4-5). Cain then invites Abel out of town to a field (on Cain's turf, as it were), and it is there that "Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him" (Genesis 4:8). A respected commentator writes about this primordial act:

It is in the *field*, in the tilled soil, whose infertility has brought about the situation, that the slaying of the shepherd takes place, and the suggestion is that the slaying was a ritual one; it was not an impulsive one instigated by jealousy, but a communal killing intended to fertilize the soil by drenching it with the blood of the victim; in the words of the narrative, "the earth has opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood".³⁸

Here we find common themes in this grain-bull opposition; just as the bulls eat the grain at the *Bouphonia*, *chabukis* eat the grain, and Chabukiani murders Maksime, so Abel the 'animal herder' is victorious over the cultivator—the animal-spirit over the grain-spirit. This invokes reciprocity, and a second round: the sacrifice of bulls at the *Bouphonia*, Chabuki (bulls, youth) at Muri, and Abel on Cain's turf.

37. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, p98.

38. Hooke, S., *Middle Eastern Mythology*, Penguin, 1976, p124.

These rites depend on more than one murder: the murders can only be stopped with the *communal* killing of the surrogate victim. In the Bouphonia ritual and other harvest customs, it is the oxen, the (unwitting) murderers, who must be sacrificed. Abel must be sacrificed for his 'killing' of Cain (the Lord's 'respect' is perhaps a weak memory of Abel's eating of Cain's 'first fruits'). The Maksime myth-ritual, however, differs from the others significantly: the murder of Maksime (the 'first fruits' themselves) has remained vivid in the memory of the Lechkhumi folk. The *second* (reciprocal) slaying of the *chabuki* figure (the *remembered* murder in other cultures) has been virtually erased from the memory of the folk.

Remembering

Most of the rituals discussed here take place in the marginal period between the reaping (death) and the sowing (rebirth). The *Bouphonia* ritual forms a link between harvesting and sowing; the latter could not start until the bull is slaughtered (and resurrected), and the seed fertilized (re-created). Threshing takes place in this period, and perhaps shares certain marginal or liminal qualities with this seasonal change. Clearly, the historical Maximus appeared at this difficult time of year, or non-year, and his arrival forced some transformation in the existing discourse.

Man created chaos when he first ventured to eat the annual seed crops, but he learned how to recreate the life that was killed. This re-creation had to imitate the original creation, and "creation cannot take place except from *a living being who is immolated* ...The edible plants sprang from the body of an immolated being".³⁹ And since nature's continuous cycle cannot be interrupted even once, the annual sacrifice is instituted, the sacrifice of the surrogate victim, an *annual imitation* of the primordial murder. The function of the annual ritual, as Girard states, "is to keep violence *outside* the community",⁴⁰ and: "Whenever there is a potential for dangerous change, the remedy lies in ritual; and the rites invariably entail a repetition of the original solution, a rebirth of differences."⁴¹

This *created* continuity or new order of civilization (or *cultivation*) is founded upon killing and eating, but dependent on the people's remembering to keep the cycle going. Mircea Eliade explains religious sin as the people's forgetting this very thing: "Their whole religious life

39. Beane, W., & Doly, W., (eds.), *Myths, Rites, Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader*, Harper and Row, 1975, p250.

40. Girard, R., *Violence and the Sacred*, p92

41. *Ibid.*, p284.

is a commemoration, a remembering. The memory reactualized by the rites (hence by reiterating the primordial murder) plays a decisive role; what happened *in illo tempore* must never be forgotten. The true sin is forgetting."⁴²

Through the ritual, the possible outbreak of violence is controlled: it is dangerous to kill the grain, but is necessary for food; it is dangerous to spill blood, but necessary to fertilize the grain. By ritualising the necessity for each to be killed for the other, the cyclical violence is broken. With the establishment of the ritual, the original fear is forgotten, and the new fear is of forgetting to perform the ritualised act—the yearly sacrifice of the surrogate victim.

Sacrificial Substitution

The relationship between a historical event and a folk legend is complex. The historical 'origin' makes it possible to situate the problem; by locating the historical event, one can examine the mechanism which transforms history (fact, statement) into myth and legend (discourse).

From the materials collected about Maximus, Maksime, and the relevant folklore, we have been able to surmise a historical situation: Maximus the Confessor's arrival and death in Lechkhumi coincided with a year end (*chabuki*) sacrificial ritual. This 'historical' event became two different statements in the two discourses we have examined. In the Byzantine discourse Maximus is remembered as a saint who died his own death, while Maksime is remembered by the Lechkhumi folk as a sacrificial victim.

As noted above, fear of the 'first fruits' resulted in choosing a *surrogate victim*, who on behalf of the whole community, would consume the *fruits* and suffer the reprisals through which the community is cleansed. From our research it appears that there was this sort of *chabuki* ritual in Lechkhumi at the time of Maximus' sojourn there. The image of this great historical personage, the old, tortured holy man on the stretcher, quite possibly evoked great fear, and this at the very time when the folk were ritually remembering their fear of consuming the first fruits. We are suggesting that the fear and awe of the historical Maximus superimposed itself on their ritual fear, causing a transformation in the ritual, whereby Maximus (or now, Maksime) becomes identified with the first fruits, and the killing/eating/sacrifice of this new fear, Maksime, substituted for the ritual killing of the Chabuki.

Girard describes how this type of 'sacrificial substitution' takes place,

42. Beane & Doly, *Myths, Rites, Symbols*, p255.

when a *single outsider* substitutes for the surrogate victim, who had represented the *whole community*:

All sacrificial rites are based on two substitutions. The first is provided by generative violence, which substitutes a single victim for all the members of the community. The second, the only strictly ritualistic substitution, is that of a victim for the surrogate victim. As we know, it is essential that the victim be drawn from *outside the community*. The surrogate victim, by contrast, is a member of the community. Ritual sacrifice is defined as an inexact imitation of the generative act.⁴³

After reading Girard's description of the 'substituted' victim, there seems little doubt about whether Maksime is or is not a 'substituted' victim; indeed, we understand that it was the sacred aspect, the 'holiness' of St Maximus, which was so important to this transformation:

Victims are chosen from outside the community, from creatures (like animals and strangers) that normally dwell amidst sacred things *and are themselves imbued with sacredness*.⁴⁴

Because the victim comes from outside the community, from the realm of the undifferentiated sacred, he is too foreign to be immediately eligible as a sacrificial offering. If he is to become a true representative of the original victim he must first establish some sort of relationship with the group and be made to appear like an 'insider'—without, however, surrendering that sacred exteriority that remains his essential characteristic.⁴⁵

There was certainly something about Maximus (this holy outsider) as he arrived on his stretcher during the last days of the old year (perhaps similar to their dying grain spirit) that allowed the Lechkhumi folk to identify with him. While we cannot know how the relationship was established, it is clear that he was accepted as a part of the community. If Maksime has become the sacrificial substitute, then this will explain why he is remembered by the Lechkhumi folk as the primary 'sacrifice'.

We have only scant details of what physically and historically

43. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, p269. Emphasis added.

44. *Ibid.*, p270. Emphasis added.

45. *Ibid.*, p277.

happened to St Maximus in Muri, and a real discrepancy between the Byzantine sources (dying his own death) and the local folk sources (murdered and sacrificed). How he actually died cannot be known for sure, so no 'either-or' reconciliation is possible. What we can state however is that Maximus was sacrificed in the discourse. His tongueless 'statement'—his mutilated appearance, his age, his arriving on a stretcher, his timing—*prophesied* his death for Byzantium, but *foretold* his murder and substitutional sacrifice by the local folk.

Perhaps, in the final analysis, we too might attribute a 'miracle' to Maximus. By compelling themselves to remember this murder, the people allowed themselves to forget that which had been primary and sinful to forget. The great sin and guilt associated with forgetting to kill the *chabuki* every year was replaced by a new guilt and sin associated with remembering the one-time killing of Maksime.

Maximus the Confessor's Legacy in Lechkhumi

This powerful Christian figure from Byzantium has wrought a transformation from a *yearly sacrifice* of the *chabuki* victim to a *yearly remembering* of the final killing and resurrection of a divine man, which is, in essence, the Christian story: "Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more" (Romans 6:9, cf. Rev. 1:17-18). Maksime is remembered as a holy man who is killed by the people, and whose death allows the people to stop sinning, and live together in peace.

All our sources agree that this great Christian theologian had unstoppable energy; he could not be shut up, continuing his preaching to the very end; he was always moving, and as the folk put it, "a believer in God and a lover of men, it was impossible for him to stay still". As a result of the events surrounding Maximus' exile, death and attendant miracles, he became not only a saint but also a *confessor*. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*,⁴⁶ 'confessor' is "a title of honour to designate those brave champions of the Faith who had confessed Christ publicly in time of persecution and had been punished with imprisonment, torture, exile... remaining faithful in their confession until the end of their lives."

It was St Maximus the Confessor's ability to suffer through a virtual 'crucifixion' at the hands of his own church, and arrive at a specific place, Muri's Tsikhe, and at a specific time, between the harvest and the sowing, which made him into a Christ-like figure for the folk in

46. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, NY. 1907-1912.

Lechkhumi. Maximus was truly deserving of the honourable designation of Confessor, as it is precisely his *remaining faithful in his confession until the end of his life* which forced this transformation in the discourse of the local inhabitants. A transformation which, in its very essence, was a conversion to Christianity.

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MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR IN GEORGIAN TRADITIONAL CULTURE¹

Irakli Surguladze

Every social unit creates a culture characteristic of the level of its historical development, i.e. economic basis, way of life, legal institutions and so on. Since every independent social unit also bears ethnic features, these will be especially manifested in the cultural sphere that we call 'spiritual'. At the lower levels of development we can speak of the ethnic culture of tribes, while later, in the epoch of the foundation of states whose emergence implies the process of ethnogenesis (consolidation, migration, infiltration, assimilation and so on), national cultures, each with its own language, colour, psychological type, norms of behaviour, moral practice and ideals are created.

The specific features of Georgian spiritual culture unfold against the background of the ethno-genetic, political and economic-social development of the country. This spiritual culture—rituals, myths, cosmogenic/religious images, music, folklore, different genres of fine arts and so on—reflects all the stages that the Georgian people have passed on the way towards national consolidation.

Many characteristics of Georgian culture emerged and evolved in the historical provinces of Georgia. These features tend not to affect the results of deeper ongoing processes such as common language, religion and national psychological and behavioural type, rather their influence is felt most strongly in the superficial processes that condition the formation of cultural variants and characteristic features. Historically Georgian culture is an Eastern Christian culture with strongly pronounced western

1. This article was discovered in the archives of the noted Georgian scholar, historian, folklorist and ethnographer Irakli Surguladze after his death. The editors of this volume considered the article worth publishing although it remained unfinished by its author. Amendments to the bibliography were made by the editorial board.

tendencies in language, economy type, settlement patterns, social structure, fine arts, music, choreography and so on. Throughout the history of its existence, therefore, Georgia has been confronting through these features the Orient as an outpost of Christianity.

The contemporary spiritual culture of Georgians is evidently the result of a long and multi-stage historical development. It took shape by overcoming tribal, linguistic-dialectal and narrow provincial-ethnographic barriers—honed by a single, united Georgian state and literary language with Christianity as the state religion. This process was accompanied by continuous economic-political and ethnocultural contacts with the peoples who were historical neighbours.

In the everyday life of Georgians the images and beliefs, worked out by the agricultural society, have been attested, their most ancient stratum having emerged in the epoch of the genesis of agriculture; in the following period these images and beliefs became complicated under the influence of the official, state religions and during the last centuries they turn into an original system under the impact of Christianity as a dominating, guiding doctrine.

Such a religious system cannot be considered to be a result of superseding the deities of the pagan pantheon by Christian saints. The beliefs that emerged under the influence of Christianity are folklorized variants of the orthodox religion; in these variants the pre-Christian, non-Christian and Christian elements form an organically complete structure. It must be singled out as an independent stage in the history of the religious thinking of Georgians.

From the very beginning of their dissemination Christian symbols, in addition to their Orthodox meaning, acquired popular aspects and a syncretising process was set in motion. The same phenomenon took place in the case of the Virgin Mary, God, and the Holy Trinity. People perceive and interpret their images according to the local beliefs and notions, especially so in the cult of saints. A prime example is the cult of St George. The narratives about his life have been known since the third century, and in Georgia they appear since the sixth century (Tsebelda iconostasis).² Popular ideas about St George emerged in Georgia during the ninth-tenth centuries. The true folk image of St George is represented in the hagiographic work of Abuserisdze Tbeli (thirteenth century), and since that period the process of this saint's folklorization has continued rapidly, acquiring many archaic features along the way.

2. Tsebelda, a village in Apkhazeti, Western Georgia.

He is therefore a saint of a syncretic nature reflecting the diversified interests of society.

An analogous situation is attested in the process of deifying other historical persons or religious figures. This process seems to have been going on with regularity in Georgia and saw the creation of such images as St Tevdore (the guardian of livestock, especially horses), St David of Gareja ('The Watcher of the Fields') and St Barbara ('Granter of Sight'). Thus in the everyday life of Georgians the saints were assigned specific functions, of which the most distinguished is the function of 'ruling' the weather with St Elia (Elijah, 'Master of the Clouds'), St Lazare (Lazarus) and St Maksime (Maximus, 'Bringer of Good Weather').

Maximus the Confessor lived and was active in the seventh century. He is considered to be one of the most outstanding enlighteners of Christian doctrine and the greatest thinker of his time. He was punished in Byzantium—his arm and tongue were cut off—and exiled to Lazica (Western Georgia) in the year 662 together with his two disciples. But in Lazica they were separated and Maximus was taken to the fortress of Skhemari, or Schemaris, situated near the Muri bridge, where he was imprisoned and later died (opinions vary about the precise location of Schemaris).³

According to Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra, Maximus' contemporaries and followers who arrived in Lazica in 668, the local population was convinced of Maximus' sainthood and confirmed this with oaths that at night they saw three candles on the saint's grave:

Maximus . . . whose holy tomb also displays an abundance of lights each night, from the day he fell asleep up to now and forever, giving illumination to all and showing trust [which he enjoys] with God, as the preceding letter commends. And we personally heard [this] both from many of the officials there and the local people, who told us confidently with oaths about the truly amazing nature of this miracle, and who had seen [the lights] with their own eyes.⁴

3. For more, see: Qaukhchishvili, S., *Georgia, The Data of Byzantine Authors about Georgia*, vol. 4, part 1, Tbilisi, 1941, pp 51-56 [in Georgian]; Bandzeladze, I., Suramelashvili, M., & Ghurchulia, L., *Lechkhumi*, Tbilisi, 1983, pp 20-21, [in Georgian]. Kekelidze, K., 'Georgian Sources about Maximus the Confessor', *Studies in the history of old Georgian literature*, vol.7, Tbilisi, 1961 [in Georgian]; Brilliantov, A., 'On the Place of the Death and Interment of St Maximus the Confessor', *Khristianski Vostok*, vol. 6, issue 1, 1917 [in Russian]; Chikovani, M., 'Maximus the Confessor in Seventh-Eighth-Century Georgian Legends', *Issues of Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi, 1971 [in Georgian].

4. See *Commemoration*, in: Allen, P., & Neil, B. (eds.), *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, Oxford, 2002, pp 162-163.

It is therefore clear that the legends concerning Maximus' miraculous power were created immediately after his death. Over the following centuries they subsequently developed into a very interesting narrative as the legends and rituals associated with Maximus acquired the features characteristic of a cycle of martyred hero or mortal deity. These legends and rituals became firmly established into people's ideas and attracted scholars' attention at the turn of the twentieth century when they were recorded by Niko Marr, David Qipshidze and later by several other researchers.⁵

In Lechkhumi local tradition the name of Maximus is associated with controlling the weather and it is noteworthy that in Russia he has a similar association. The weather on the day of Maximus' commemoration, February 3, is believed in Russia to determine the abundance of crops for the whole year. When the moon appears misty from behind the clouds, the crops will be plenty in the barns, but if the dawn is fine frosts are to be expected, as was the tradition in Russian villages.

After Maximus' death, the feast of Muroba was instituted in the region of Lechkhumi (Western Georgia). When rainy weather set in, people would come to Muri from Dekhviri and other villages and ask St Maximus to give them good weather. It is noteworthy that many popular elements are absent from this good/bad weather ritual: when performing it people neither make dolls nor go from door to door. Additionally, Muroba was not observed in keeping with the liturgical calendar but was held when necessity arose.

The church feast of St Maximus in Lechkhumi was called Gogashoba and was celebrated on the first Thursday after Easter, which coincides with the first feast of Elioba (feast of St Elijah). I say the 'first' because the tradition was to observe Elioba every Thursday during the following three weeks. It is an interesting fact that it was the only day throughout the whole year that the liturgy was offered in St Maximus' church—no church services were celebrated in this church on other holidays.⁶

The legend of Maximus was created by combining a variety of elements typical of the Georgian tradition. The legend, as well as popular rituals related to Maximus, provides the grounds for quite a few

conjectures. Michael Chikovani, a folklorist who studied the legends associated with Maximus, noted:

Georgians had the master, ruler and leader of the skies and clouds in their pantheon even before Christianity: his name was Pirmze, sometimes also called Lazare, Elia or Ilia. In Lechkhumi, too, there was a cult stemming from such a common faith. It was very vividly expressed in the feast of Khvamloba. On July 20, on the highest mountain of Lechkhumi, a religious feast was celebrated in order to guarantee good weather. Part of Khvamloba seems to have grown into Muroba.⁷

Mzia Makalatia, an ethnographer, voiced a different opinion in connection with the legend, saying that:

Muroba cannot be considered to be a continuation of Khvamloba. In spite of the fact that in both cases a ritual associated with weather is performed, they must have been based on somewhat different notions. As legend has it, Maximus was granted such a supernatural power that 'however fine the weather may have been, if he turned his hand downward it started raining, if upward it would stay fine'. But if the weather was sunny, they did not perform the Muroba ceremony.

Proceeding from the above, Makalatia came to the following conclusion:

In the form of Maximus the Confessor's cult we deal with the most ancient belief according to which the dead controlled water and rain. The dead were attributed the power to cause rain . . . They may also have possessed the power to stop rain. Muroba is an obvious expression of the ritualistic practice associated with the dead.⁸

Scholars have paid special attention to the episodes of repeated burials and choice of the grave. It seems that the tradition of burying a saint in the place where weary oxen stopped of their own will was fairly widespread in

5. See Chikovani, 'Maximus the Confessor'; Kavtaradze, E., *David Qipshidze (Life and Activities)*, Tbilisi, 1992.

6. See Gardaphkhadze-Kikodze, P., *Georgian Folk Feasts (Racha-Lechkhumi)*, Tbilisi, 1995, p48.

7. Chikovani, 'Maximus the Confessor', p76.

8. Makalatia, M., *Survivals of the Water Cult in Lechkhumi: Material on the Ethnographic Study of Lechkhumi*, Tbilisi, 1985, p144.

Georgia. Such an episode, for example, is attested in the legends about the interment of the Georgian saints David and Constantine in Motsameta. Chikovani put forward the idea that “the motif of burying the dead many times is traditional. It still occurs in Georgian fairy-tales, though in a different form, it can also be present sometimes in a magical or an everyday epos.”⁹ Generally it was believed that oxen or bulls will go to a sacred place and lie down by themselves, sometimes carrying an icon on their horns and so on. In such places churches were built. In Georgia, legends like this are associated with the construction of many churches.

Episodes similar to those mentioned in the miraculous process of Maximus’ burial are attested throughout the Caucasus in the burials of those killed by lightning. Georgian highlanders considered those who have died in this way to be favoured by God. Therefore they were not so sadly mourned and in the past such a death was thought to be a cause for happiness. The Khevsurs, the inhabitants of Khevsureti, a mountainous region in Eastern Georgia, believed that those killed by a bolt of lightning were lucky and would go straight to Paradise since God would free them from all their sins. God invented lightning to use against the Devil and aims it only at the wicked, but if someone is struck by accident, they are considered to be saints.

The belief also exists throughout the Eastern Georgian highlanders which says that God has promised that those who are killed by lightning will be sent straight to Paradise, while amongst the Caucasian peoples in general it is believed that those killed by lightning are saints. The Abkhaz (Aphkazi, from Northwestern Georgia), for example, would sing a ‘divine chant’ to someone killed in this way as they laid them out on some support nearby and buried them where the lightning had struck—they would start singing and dancing, weeping was forbidden. Among the Circassians,¹⁰ death by lightning was considered a great honour and the dead person was buried on the same place where he was killed. During the burial, they would mention in their chants the names of Ilia [the local pronunciation of Elia] and their principal deity Shible. The Ingush¹¹ too were forbidden to mourn those killed by lightning. And Y. Rainegs,¹² when describing a church in the Ossetian mountains in the North Caucasus, adds that if in the area a person was killed by

lightning they were considered to be saints and would be buried by the whole family clan on the same place where they were struck. After this, they would celebrate their relative’s death for several days.

According to the Maximus legend, a wicked peasant fired a gun at the saint who either had turned into a cloud or was hidden in it.¹³ This legend reflects the beliefs about frightening away or warning off impending hailstorm clouds, where firing a gun came to supersede the old weapons of the thunderstorm deity, i.e. hammer, sword or arrow. The legend about Maximus, in fact, came into being at a relatively later date, which is substantiated by the fact that the cloud (i.e. saint) is punished by a human being, and it could only have taken shape during the epoch of the degradation of old ideas. However, it is clear that a number of the components fixed in the legend continued to retain their sacred character until comparatively recently.

In the Muroba ritual there is another point of particular interest. When addressing Maximus, the participants in the ritual say “grant us fine weather!”—which expresses his power and rights as those of the deity controlling sunny weather—followed by the entreaty “intercede for us!” (შეგვობვეწიე/*shequivhvetsie*). Here Maximus is represented in the role of a mediator, who must pass the people’s request to a higher body, i.e. God, whose competence it is to take final decisions about good weather.

Being a mediator between the people and the highest deity is typical of the beliefs and notions of Georgians. According to the hierarchical model, which was dominant in the beliefs and notions of Georgians, ‘God’s Children’ (ღვთისშვილები/*ghvtisshvilebi*) have direct contact with humans and at the same time they intercede for humans before God. Thus they were mediators between God and humans. Therefore, the beliefs and ideas related to Maximus in the local (Lechkumi) folklore tradition have taken shape under the influence of this hierarchy and within this framework Maximus occupied the place of ‘God’s Child’. This hierarchy must have emerged as a result of the clash between old and new ideas: the archaic deities, penetrating into the Christian scheme, arm themselves with the external signs of the new religion and occupy the lower level after the supreme deity and take up the function of a mediator between God and people.

Some may consider that the whole system came into being after the adoption of Christianity but this is an erroneous idea, for the institute of

9. Chikovani, ‘Maximus the Confessor’, p77.

10. The Circassians are a North Caucasian people.

11. The Ingush are related to the Chechens, and the inhabitants of Ingushetia (North Caucasus), a modern-day republic within the Russian Federation.

12. Rainegs, Y., (G. Gelashvili [trans./ed.]) *Travel to Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2002, p220.

13. For more on the legend, see Mikheil Chikovani’s article in this volume, p165, with texts on pp 168–176.

‘God’s Children’ is not characteristic of Christianity. ‘God’s Children’ are not incorporeal angels, many of whom serve the Christian God. The ideas about God and his Children penetrated into Christianity as a result of the process of mutual correlation between the old deities and the new religious system, and one of its manifestations is the legend of St Maximus.

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MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR AS MONK AND HIERARCH: SOME REMARKS ON HIS GEORGIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Brigitta Schrade

As described by Bishop Stephane of the Eparchy of Tsageri and Lentekhi at the Tbilisi conference dedicated to Maximus the Confessor, held in 2005, there is a remarkable representation of St Maximus in the village of Lashtkhveri in Upper Svaneti.¹ The wall painting in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel shows the famous defender of orthodoxy in the apse dressed as a hierarch within the row of holy bishops (ills. 1 & 9).

It is well known that Maximus had never been a bishop. The former secretary to Emperor Heraclius was a monk in Chrysopolis and Cyzicus, before being exiled as an opponent of Monothelitism and Monoenergism to Lazica (Western Georgia) where he died in 662 in the fortress of Schemaris (in the present-day district of Lechkhumi).² As a holy monk he is shown in other Georgian representations, such as in the wall painting of the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (ill. 2), on an icon of the Monastery of St Katherine on Mount Sinai

1. Bishop Stephane, ‘St Maximus the Confessor in Georgia: the places of his exile, death and burying’, paper presented at the First International Conference of St Maximus the Confessor in Tbilisi, Sept. 12–17, 2005.
2. According to his Greek biography, *BHG* 1234, vol. 2, p106 (also see *Epistula Anastasii apocrisiarii ad Theodosium Gangrensem*, *BHG* 1233d, vol. 2, p106). A Syriac version offers different information especially about his younger years: Brock, S., ‘An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 91, Bruxelles, 1973, pp 299–346. For different versions of his vita, esp. Larchet, J.-C., *Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580–662). Initiations aux Pères de l’Église*, Paris, 2003, pp 106–14. There is nowhere any hint to a position in the Church. On the contrary, the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, Chabot, J. B. (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Bruxelles, 1963, states clearly: “And he was not considered worthy of any of the ranks of the church of God.”, IV, pp 423f, following Brock, *Syriac Life*, p340.



The village community of Lenjeri in Upper Svaneti. Photo: R. Schrade.

(ills. 3 & 4), or in the Eastern Georgian desert monastery of Bertubani.³

What could have been the reason for representing him as a hierarch, a bishop among bishops, in a small village church in the mountains of Svaneti? Was it the error of a provincial painter? Was it his special veneration in this region that is close to Lechkhumi, the place where he had passed away? Or could there have been a theological reasoning behind this representation? In this paper, I will try to shed some light on the historical and theological background of the Georgian iconography of Maximus the Confessor, concentrating on his representation in the church of Lashtkhveri.⁴

The Church of the Archangel Gabriel is one of two painted churches

3. According to Antony Eastmond, Maximus is represented on the west wall of the rock-cut church, the painting which does not exist any more dates to 1212-1213. Eastmond, A., *Royal imagery in medieval Georgia*, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp 169-72, esp. p171, fn 204 and fig. 82 (after Chubinashvili).

4. This study does not aim at giving a survey of Georgian representations of Maximus the Confessor. For this, a more detailed study of church fathers in Georgian wall painting would be necessary.

in Lashtkhveri, a small village in the community of Lenjeri in the north-west Georgian region of Upper Svaneti. Situated in the valley of the Enguri river, Lenjeri looks somewhat out of the way today but it was never out of the world (see illustration, facing page). A road connects it via Ushguli with Lower Svaneti and Lechkhumi in the valley of the river Tskhenistsqali where the exiled Byzantine confessor spent his last days on earth. As we know from the scholarly literature⁵ one can find traces of a cult of St Maximus in and around the township of Tsageri⁶ where the places connected with him are to be found. These are based mostly on oral tradition that did not seem to have reached far beyond Tsageri. But the representation in Lashtkhveri could suggest that this was not the case.

The Church of the Archangel Gabriel, a small one-nave structure typical for Svaneti, (ill. 5) was built several centuries after the death of Maximus at the end of the thirteenth century⁷ and decorated between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸ It is famous for its façade painting showing scenes from the medieval epos *Amiran Darejaniani* by Mose Khoneli, the story of the hero Amiran and his friends fighting against monsters to defend weak and distressed people (ill. 6).⁹

This popular folk tale from the twelfth century in a secular way seems to parallel the Christian programme of the interior of the church: the triumph of Christ and the salvation of mankind by His incarnation and sacrifice. The theme of salvation is displayed in an outstanding wall painting (ill. 7) executed in the so-called Palaeologian style, the last important stylistic period of Byzantine art. Beside the traditional topics of Georgian-Svan wall painting, as the Dodekaortion with scenes of the life of Christ and the warrior saints—here George, Theodore and Demetrios—several new elements, especially in the decoration of the apse, attract the attention. Beneath the traditional Maiestas Domini with the enthroned Christ as Pantokrator,¹⁰ the Virgin and John the Baptist as intercessors, archangels and elements of the prophetic vision,

5. Chikovani, M., 'Maximus the Confessor in the seventh-eighth-century Georgian Legends', *Issues of the Greek and Georgian Mythology*, Tbilisi, 1971, pp 62-91 [in Georgian], see also: Bishop Stephane, 'St Maximus the Confessor in Georgia'.

6. Tsageri, a small town in the present-day Lechkhumi district in Western Georgia.

7. Mepiaschwili, R., Zinzadse, V., 'Mittelalterliche Architektur in Obersvanetien', in Schrade, B. (ed.), *Treasury of Svaneti* (forthcoming).

8. Aladaschwili, N., Alibegaschwili, G., Wolskaia, A., 'Wand-, Ikonen- und Buchmalerei in Svanetien', *ibid.*

9. Tschikowani, V. M. (ed.), Fähnrich, H. (trans.), *Das Buch vom Helden Amiran. Ein altgeorgischer Sagenkreis*, Leipzig/Weimar, 1978; Fähnrich, H., *Der Sieg von Bachtrioni. Sagen aus Georgien*, Leipzig/Weimar, 1984, pp 5-15.

10. Christ with his outstretched blessing right hand corresponds here fully to the type of Pantokrator defined by Wessel, K., 'Das Bild des Pantokrator', *Polychronion. Festschrift für Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 1966.



1. Apse of the Church of the Archangel Gabriel in Lashtkhveri with (from left to right) St Stephen, Maximus the Confessor, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom. Photo: R. Schrader.

we have not one, as usual, but two rows of church representatives. The upper row assembles apostles and evangelists. There is also included for the first and only time in Svaneti the Platytera, the Virgin Orans with a hovering medallion of the Christ Child on her chest. This iconographic type, known also in modern scholarship as *Episkepsis*,¹¹ can be seen here as a symbolic image of the incarnation: Mary bearing the Logos, and, by this, being the visible Church.¹²

Holy church fathers are represented in the lower register that is hidden partly behind the altar screen. To the left side from the window

11. The terminology is not always clear. While *Platytera* is doubted for its too broad meaning, see *LCl*, vol. 3 (1971), pp 167–68, *Episkepsis* refers also to the Annunciation, the visit of Mary by the Archangel Gabriel, and the descent of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the terminus is given also to other Marian types, as an Eleusa, Onasch, K., *Lexikon Liturgie und Kunst der Ostkirche*, Berlin/München, 1993, p148, ill. 40. For a definition of the terms and the development of the iconography, Pentcheva, B. V., *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania, 2006, pp 145–63, esp. pp 146–47 & p236, fn 5.
12. The perception of the Virgin Orans with a hovering medallion of the Child in this wall painting may have been similar to what Pentcheva, *Icons*, pp 154–57, describes for an icon, the *Blachernitissa*, that was miraculously unveiling every Friday in the Blachernai in Constantinople, being interpreted by Psellos as “a Mother of God with arms open to embrace the people inside her, into a ‘new sanctuary and inviolate refuge.’”

(ill. 8) we see according to their explanatory inscriptions (from left to right): ‘St Gregory the Wonderworker’, i.e. Gregory Thaumaturgos, the first bishop of Neocaesarea,¹³ ‘St Nicholas the Archpriest’, known also as bishop Nicholas of Myra,¹⁴ and ‘St Kiril’, who must be Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria.¹⁵

To the right side of the window (ill. 1), we read from left to right, starting always with ‘*ts’miday*’ (‘saint’): ‘Stepane’, ‘Maksime’, ‘Basili’ and ‘Ioane Okropiri’. This row therefore shows the proto-martyr and deacon Stephen,¹⁶ then Maximus (ill. 9), followed by the Cappadocian church father and bishop of Caesarea Basil the Great,¹⁷ and the bishop of Constantinople John Chrysostom.¹⁸ Apart from St Stephen who is depicted as a deacon, dressed in a deacon’s sticharion and holding the censor and an incense box, the three other figures are characterized as holy bishops, wearing the sticharion with the phelonion above and an omophorion (Basil) or the phelonion-polystavriion with the omophorion (John Chrysostom and Maximus). All three are blessing with the right hand and hold the Gospel in the left hand.

Initially one might ask whether the painter had not simply made a mistake with the inscription or confused the representations. The question of error as regards the inscription seems to be excluded. First of all, there is no suitable bishop called Maximus known in Georgian liturgical calendars who could have been inserted into this programme.¹⁹ ‘Maksime’ therefore can refer only to St Maximus the Confessor²⁰ who appears under this name, in its Greek or Georgian form, in Georgian synaxaria where he is characterized by the title of a martyr or confessor. Already the *Sinaiticus*, the calendar of Palestine-Georgian saints from

13. About 213–71. *BibSS* VII 214–7. For the titles of Gregory Thaumaturgos and the Georgian text basis of his cult, Van Esbroeck, S. M.-J., ‘The Credo of Gregory the Wonderworker and its Influence through Three Centuries’, *Studia Patristica*, vol. 19, Leuven, 1989, pp 255–66, esp. pp 262–66.
14. The dates of his historical life are unknown, *BHG* II No. 1347–64. The epithet ‘Archpriest’ refers to the tradition that he was consecrated as high priest by Jesus and the Mother of God.
15. Patriarch since 412, died 444. *PG* CXVII 263–66 511. Being without further epithet, it might be assumed that we have here the other important Cyril, i.e. St Cyril the Catechist, archbishop of Jerusalem (about 315–386). But Cyril of Jerusalem is not only represented very seldomly, he is also characterized by a round beard, while the patriarch of Alexandria, being part of most groups of the church fathers, is represented with a pointed beard as he is in Lashtkhveri. For the iconography, *LCl*, vol. 6 (1974), 19–22.
16. *Acts*, 6,1–8,2; *POr* XIX 689–99.
17. 329–379. *PG* CXVII 238.
18. 354–407. *PG* LXVII 5–82.
19. There are only martyrs, monks and later bishops named ‘Maksime’, *The Encyclopedical Dictionary of the Georgian Orthodox Church*, Tbilisi, 2007 [in Georgian], pp 563–65.
20. *BHG* II 105–7.

the tenth century, calls him 'amba maksimos aghmsar(e)b(e)lisay' ('Father Maximus the Confessor') for January 21, his commemorative day established later,²¹ and 'maksime m(o)ts'(a)m(i)s(a)y' ('Maximus the Martyr') on his original commemorative day, August 13, the day of his death.²² As 'Maksime' alone, without the epithet 'confessor' or 'martyr', he appears in the wall painting of the Holy Cross Monastery and on the icon of Mount Sinai.

To avoid any possible confusion, one should consider other Georgian representations of Maximus the Confessor in their corresponding context. Like the wall painting of Bertubani, which shows Maximus dressed as a monk together with the saints Mary of Egypt, Marina, Barbara, Katherine, Nino, Antony, Euthymius, Sabas, and Arsenius,²³ the icon from the Sinai represents the confessor as a holy monk amidst other saints (ill. 3). The precious work from the treasury of the Monastery of St Katherine²⁴ stands in its actual form for a triptych consisting of three icon tables, the outer ones being put to the wrong sides. Originally, there should have been two more tables of which at least a fragment with the representations of 'St Eptvime' ('Euthymius') and an as yet unidentified 'Davit the Kartvelian' has been preserved in the same monastery.²⁵ The icon tables, with marvellous paintings on a gilded underground, may be easily identified as Georgian as they have only Georgian inscriptions aside from the abbreviations for Christ and the Mother of God which are—as often with Georgian icons—in Greek. According to stylistic and palaeographic peculiarities, they can be dated to the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries²⁶ showing stylistic similarities to

21. Garitte, G., *Le Calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, Bruxelles, 1958, p45.

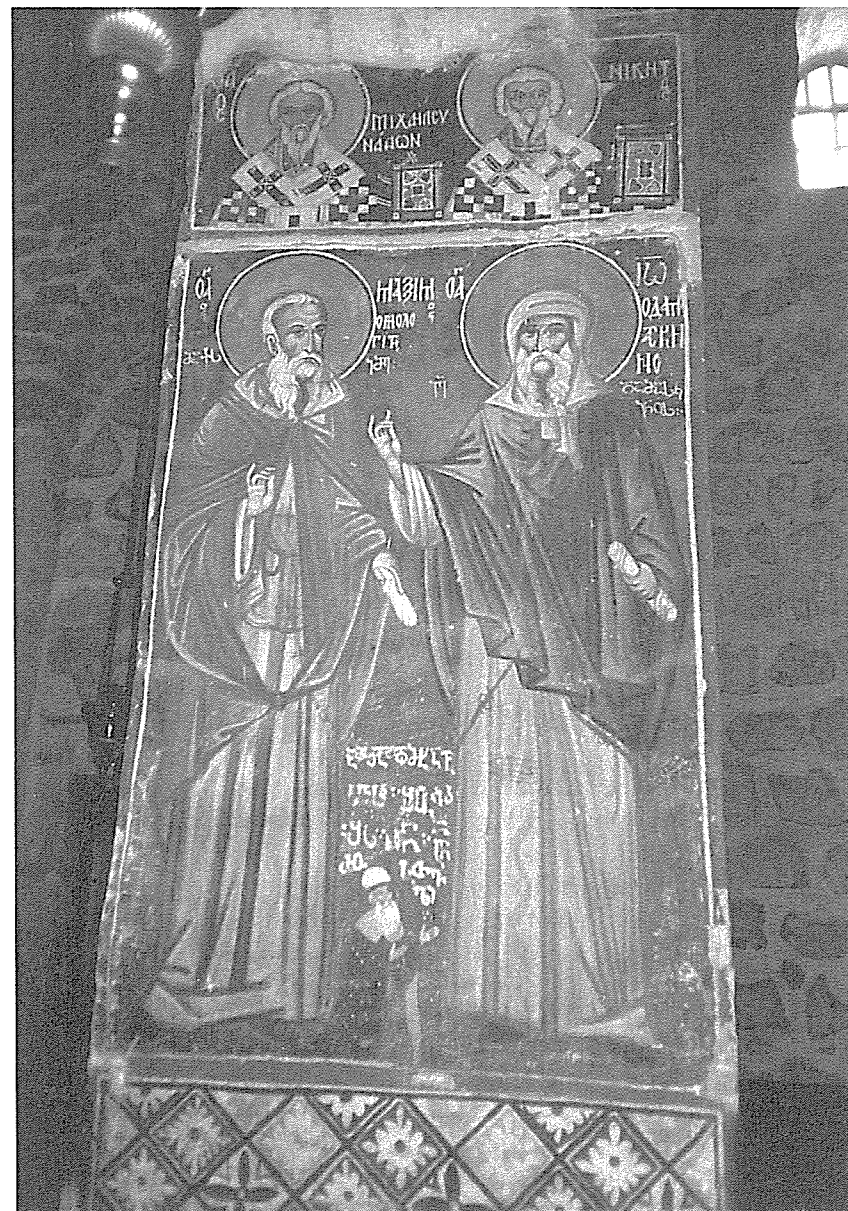
22. Ibid., p84. See also *General Calendar of the Orthodox Church*, Tbilisi, 2001 [in Georgian], pp 28, 129. For the change of his commemorative days, Voordeckers, E., 'L'iconographie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur dans l'art des églises de rite byzantin', in Schoors, A., Van Deun, P. (eds.), *Philobistōr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60)*, Leuven, 1994, pp 339-59, esp. 340-41.

23. Names of the saints according to Eastmond, *Imagery*, p171 fn 204, ill. 82. The only existing photograph by Giorgi Chubinashvili shows Maximus as an elderly monk with a not very long pointed beard.

24. I am very grateful to His Eminence Damianos Archbishop of Sinai for his permission to take a photo of the icon which was preserved in 2002 under glass in the narthex of the basilica.

25. Sotiriou, G. & M., *Icones du Mont Sinai*, vol. 1, Athens, 1956, p21, ill. 223, although there is no indication of other tables. But the upper row of the fragment and the three tables can only be understood as a Great Deesis with Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist, flanked by the archangels Gabriel and Michael, apostles and evangelists.

26. For the palaeographic dating of the inscriptions, I thank Professor Valeri Silogava. A dating according to stylistic criteria is supported by Sotiriou who ascribes the fragment to the Palaeologian period, Sotiriou, *Icones*, p21.



2. Maximus the Confessor (left) and John of Damascus (right) in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. Photo: B. Schrade.



3. Georgian icon tables with saints from the Monastery of St Katherine on Mount Sinai.
Photo: B. Schrader.

other icons in the Sinai collection²⁷ but also to icons in Svaneti, especially in Pkhotreri, and a triptych from the Georgian Monastery of Ubisi from the same period.²⁸

The Sinai icon assembles important saints of the Orthodox and especially the Georgian Church.²⁹ With the Great Deesis³⁰ as main motif in the upper row of the icon tables, the central icon depicts in the lower row, beneath the holy physicians Kosma, Panteleimon and Damian, eminent Georgian monk fathers: the founders of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, Ioane and Eptvime, together with their follower Giorgi. Eptvime and Giorgi Mtatsmindeli (Euthymius and George the Athonites) are known as outstanding authors and translators.³¹ While the right table shows beneath the evangelists Matthew and John in the upper part and the bishops Basil the Great, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus in the middle row, three warrior saints (George

27. Before all icons of the holy fathers of the thirteenth century from Mount Sinai, Lidov, A. M., *Byzantine icons of the Sinai*, Moscow-Athens, 1999 [in Russian], ill. 101, and all the Palaeologian group, Sotiriou, *Icones*, ill. 204-38.

28. G. Alibegashvili, 'The Georgian painted icons of the Palaeologian style', *Ars Georgica*, vol. 11, Tbilisi, 2001 [in Georgian, with Russian summary], pp. 86-94, p. 171, ill. 79-91. For Ubisi, Burtchuladze, N., *The Ubisi Monastery. Icons and Wall Painting. The 14th c.*, Tbilisi, 2006 [in Georgian, with English summary], ill. 15, also Mepisashvili, R., Tsintsadze, V., *The Arts of Ancient Georgia*, Leipzig, 1979, p. 283.

29. For the identification of the saints, I would like to thank Professor Valeri Silogava.

30. With Christ, Mary and John the Baptist (central table), Archangel Gabriel, Peter and Paul (here: left table), Matthew, John the Evangelist and Archangel Michael (here: right table). The fragment shows St Andrew and part of another figure with an illegible inscription.

31. Kaufhold, H. (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients* (2nd edn.), Wiesbaden, 2007, pp. 160-61.

and Theodore Stratelates, a third one has no inscription), the left table deploys again monk fathers.

There, we find also St Maximus in the middle row together with (from left to right) Antony, the great Egyptian monk father,³² and Sabas,³³ abbot of St Sabas near Jerusalem, a monastery of special importance for Georgians since at least the sixth century.³⁴ Below Maximus is represented St Shio (Shiomghvimeli), one of the so-called Syrian Fathers and founders of monasteries in Eastern



4. Maximus the Confessor on the icon of the Monastery of St Katherine (detail).

Georgia during the sixth century who has Bishop Peter and St Hilarion³⁵ at his side. All the holy monks, including Maximus, hold scrolls in their hands and wear monks' mantles.

In the same manner, as a holy monk, Maximus is represented in the wall painting of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (ill. 2). To his classical monk's habit is added only the grey epitrachilion that characterizes him as a priest-monk.³⁶ The wall painting of the monastery which can be dated in its different parts and layers to the twelfth, fourteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is now thoroughly studied by the Centre for the Exploration of Georgian Antiquities.³⁷

32. Died 356. PG XXVI 837-976.

33. Died 532. BHG II 226.

34. See esp. Mgaloblishvili, T., 'The Georgian Sabaites (*sabatsminduri*) literary school and the Sabatsmindian version of the Georgian Mravaltavi (Polykephalon)', in Patrîch, J., *The Sabaites Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98)*, Leuven, 2001, pp. 229-33 (with literature).

35. He could be the ninth-century Hilarion the Iberian who lived in different monasteries, among others in Thessaloniki, and became known by his Georgian Life, Peeters, P., 'S. Hilarion d'Ibérie', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 32, 1913, 236-269.

36. For the meaning of the epitrachilion, see Spitzing, G., *Lexikon byzantinisch-christlicher Symbole. Die Bilderwelt Griechenlands und Kleinasien*, München, 1989, pp. 132-37.

37. I would like to thank Professor Tamila Mgaloblishvili for her suggestions regarding this wall painting, especially the proposed dating.



5. Church of the Archangel Gabriel in Lashtkhevi. Photo: R. Schrader.

From these studies more detailed information is expected about the chronology of the programme. I will confine myself therefore to a few remarks on the meaning of this representation of Maximus the Confessor in connection with the icon of Mount Sinai.

As on the Sinai icon, Maximus appears in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in a well-defined context. In this painting, which includes the Georgian kings Mirian, Vakhtang Gorgasali and Bagrat IV as well as the previously mentioned two Athonites Euthymius and George—i.e. individuals who were of outstanding importance for the Georgian nation, especially the Georgian Church and the history of the Holy Cross Monastery³⁸—Maximus the Confessor is treated as being a part of

38. It was under King Mirian that Christianity had been introduced as official state religion in the first half of the fourth c., while Vakhtang Gorgasali made the first important steps towards the autocephaly of the Iberian Church in the fifth c. During the reign of Bagrat

Georgian history and spiritual life. Under the roof of the Orthodox Church represented here by the two church fathers Niketas, presumably the bishop of Chalcedon,³⁹ and Michael of Synadon, who was named 'confessor' and 'bishop' and was one of the members of the Second Synod of Nicaea (787) which again allowed the veneration of icons,⁴⁰ Maximus is depicted together with the outstanding monk, teacher and defender of icons John of Damascus,⁴¹ whose works held an eminent place in Georgia where the Church had never followed iconoclasm.⁴² Between them, we find the small adoring figure of Shota Rustaveli, the author of the twelfth-century national epos *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, who is supposed to have been buried in this monastery.

Thus Maximus the Confessor is depicted in all three representations in a monastic context. He is seen as a holy monk in Bertubani and on the icon of Mount Sinai, and as a monk and priest in the wall painting of the Holy Cross Monastery. All these images indicate that he was regarded as one of the spiritual fathers of the Georgians, and all the more so as the wall painting of the Holy Cross Monastery and the icon of Mount Sinai were closely connected with the Holy Land, the spiritual centre of Georgian Christianity. From the fifth century onwards, Georgians had travelled to the Holy Land, founded monasteries there such as the Monastery of the Holy Cross, or shared monastic life as they did in the Monastery of St Sabas or on Mount Sinai, creating by this a spiritual home for themselves, but taking the spirituality of the holy places also back to their homeland Georgia.⁴³

With this in mind, let us take another look at the image of Maximus

IV (1027-1072), who was known for his monastic foundations among others in Antioch, the Monastery of the Holy Cross was built. T.B. Virsaladze, *The wall painting of the Jerusalem Cross Monastery and the portrait of Shota Rustaveli*, Tbilisi, 1974 [in Russian, with French summary]. As the two Athonites are concerned it is noteworthy that they are also represented in the wall painting of the Bachkovo Monastery in Bulgaria, founded in 1083 by the Georgian Gregory Bakuriani, Great Domestikos of the Western Byzantine armies under Alexios I Comnenos. Euthymius (d. 1028) and George (d. 1066) are interpreted in this twelfth-fourteenth-century wall painting as defenders of the independence of the Georgian Orthodox Church and Georgian monasticism. Bakalova, E., *The Ossuary-Church of the Bachkovo Monastery*, Sofia, 1977 [in Bulgarian, with Russian, German, French and English summaries], p241 (English), ill. 82 & 83.

39. St Niketas, Bishop of Chalcedon, *Synaxarion CP*, 713, is usually depicted as bishop with a divided beard, *LCI*, vol. 8 (1976), p42, as he is in the Holy Cross Monastery. Otherwise, as the inscription names him Niketas only, this representation could also show the iconodule abbot Niketas of Medikon, *BHG II* 137, dressed as a bishop.

40. *BHG III* 50, *Synaxarium CP* 703-4.

41. Died 749. *BHG II* 17-9.

42. For controversies over iconoclasm, see Tarnishvili, P. M., *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur (Studi e testi 185)*, Città del Vaticano, 1955, p377.

43. Menabde, L., *Centres of Old Georgian literature*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980 [in Georgian]. For



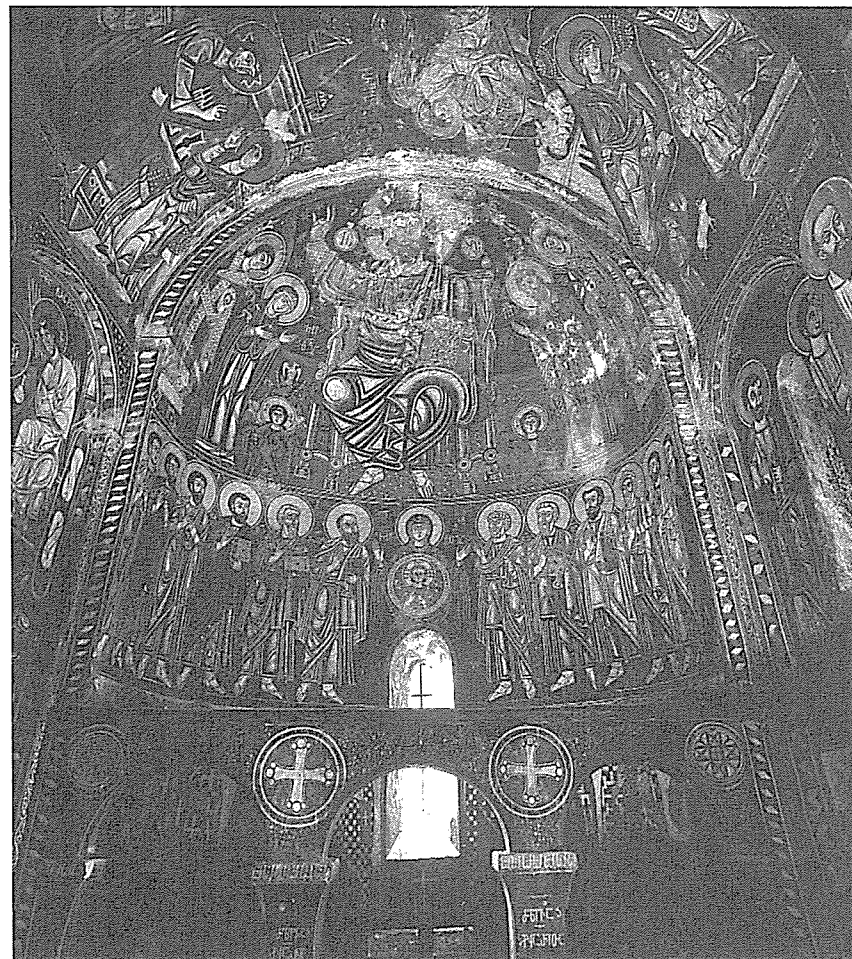
6. Amiran Darejaniani and his friends fighting against monsters. Copy of the painting on the northern façade of the Church of the Archangel Gabriel. Photo: R. Schrader.

in Lashtkhveri and return to the question at the beginning of this paper: if the inscription leaves no doubt about the representation, was it perhaps the error of a non-qualified painter who merely confused the image of another bishop with that of Maximus? Or might there have been another reason for changing the clearly defined typology of Maximus as a monk?

Simple confusion can be excluded not only as a result of the high quality of the programme of this wall painting, but also because of the time of its creation. The two churches in Lashtkhveri were painted between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a period when Svaneti was a safe place during the turbulent period of Mongol invasions in Georgia. Many church treasures, among them precious objects from the Patriarchal Church of Svetitskhoveli in Mtskheta, were hidden in Svaneti where local rulers and families supported Christian life that had strong roots in the communities.⁴⁴ It was especially during this period that churches were reconstructed and enlarged by an annexe, many of them repainted or, like the churches of Lashtkhveri, built and painted for the first time. In most cases, these paintings were executed by skilled masters who applied every known techniques and decoration system. Additionally, the wall painting of the Church of the Archangel

Mar Saba, Gagoshidze, G., 'Georgian churches dedicated to St Sabas the Purified', in Patrish, *Sabaite Heritage*, 363-384. On Mount Sinai existed in the ninth-fourteenth centuries "numerous, active communities of Georgian monks", Burtchuladze, *Ubisi*, p198.

44. Schrader, B., 'Byzantium and its eastern barbarians: the cult of saints in Svaneti', in Eastmond, A., *Eastern approaches to Byzantium (Papers from the Thirty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999)*, Aldershot, 2001, pp 169-197.



7. Decoration of the apse in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel. Photo: R. Schrader.

Gabriel—although its technical execution suggests a provincial painter—shows a fully developed programme connecting it with contemporary wall paintings from the Georgian lowlands.⁴⁵

At the same time, the painters of the Svaneti churches paid tribute to a certain conservatism in this mountainous region where the church architecture changed little over the centuries. Due to the small space in the single-nave churches they concentrated on the essentials of Christian

45. Aladashvili et al., 'Wand-, Ikonen- und Buchmalerei', op. cit.

dogma. The decoration follows, as is usual in the Orthodox Church, the liturgy but shows also clear preferences. Thus, in the apse, the most important liturgical space of the church, the conch was always reserved for the representation of Christ, and not the Mother of God as in other parts of Georgia. And there is no church without representations of holy warriors which were venerated as protectors of the villages. Within this system only single elements could be changed, corresponding to the dimension, importance and dedication of the church.

A good example for the Svanetian decoration system is the lately discovered wall painting in the Church of the Saviour in Ieli from the twelfth century (ill. 10).⁴⁶ The apse is the focus of the programme where the idea of the liturgy is clearly expressed: the enthroned Christ is presiding the liturgy from heaven announcing His Second Coming on earth. To his right and left sides, the Mother of God and John the Baptist pray for forgiveness of the sins of mankind, while on the wall of the apse, beneath Christ, the bishops act as His representatives on earth. At their sides, burning candles symbolize the celebration of the liturgy.

This apse programme was a standard formula for Svaneti in which only a few elements were changeable. The church fathers in particular could differ in number and choice. In Ieli we find, as in Lashtkhveri, a standard repertoire with John Chrysostom, Nicholas of Myra and Gregory of Nyssa, completed by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great. The special choice in this monastic church, with representations of the great monk fathers Sabas, Euthymius and Makarios on the north wall, was St Charalampios, known as martyr and bishop of Magnesia who appears often in a monastic context.⁴⁷ In Svaneti he is also represented in Ipari, close to the Monastery of St Quiricus (Lagurka).

Returning now to the representation of Maximus in Lashtkhveri (ill. 9), in parallel with Charalampios in Ieli, Maximus was the 'special choice' in Lashtkhveri. What could have been the reason for this?

The Church of the Archangel Gabriel like the village of Lashtkhveri itself was never connected with a monastery, nor had the village community of Lenjeri any special significance as a religious centre in Upper Svaneti.⁴⁸ It must have been the wish of the local population to

46. The wall painting of the tenth-century church in Ieli was restored in 2004 within the restoration programme of Stichting Horizon. The results of the 1997-2006 programme will be published.

47. BHG I 105. LCI, vol. 5 (1973), pp 485-86.

48. Important centres of this period were Ushguli (Monastery of the Mother of God, called Lamaria), Kala (Monastery of St Quiricus, called Lagurka), Mestia with Seti (Monastery of St George) and Laghami (Church of the Saviour) and Pkhotreri (Church of the Archangels).



8. Apse of the Church of the Archangel Gabriel with (from left to right) Gregory Thaumaturgos, Nicholas of Myra, and Cyril (of Alexandria?). Photo: R. Schrade.

have its own spiritual world that reflected the actual theological and artistic knowledge, as does also the second painted church in Lashtkhveri. The church dedicated to the 'Archangel of Mukheri' was built and decorated by a local family.⁴⁹ Its wall painting from the same period shows also a tendency to new elements: with representations of the donors, archangels with a rhipidion in their hands or a medallion with Christ-Emmanuel between them.⁵⁰

The intention behind the decoration of the Church of the Archangel Gabriel was evidently to create a splendid painting connecting worldly and ecclesiastical themes outside and inside this place of worship. While the story of the secular hero Amiran, displayed on the façade, reminded people of their moral responsibility in everyday life, a full theological

49. There are two representations of an 'Iveldian' with his wife 'Natela'. An inscription mentions that they "adorned the church with painting and icons", Silogava, V., *Written documents of Svaneti (Tenth to Eighteenth centuries)*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1988 [in Georgian], pp 99-101.

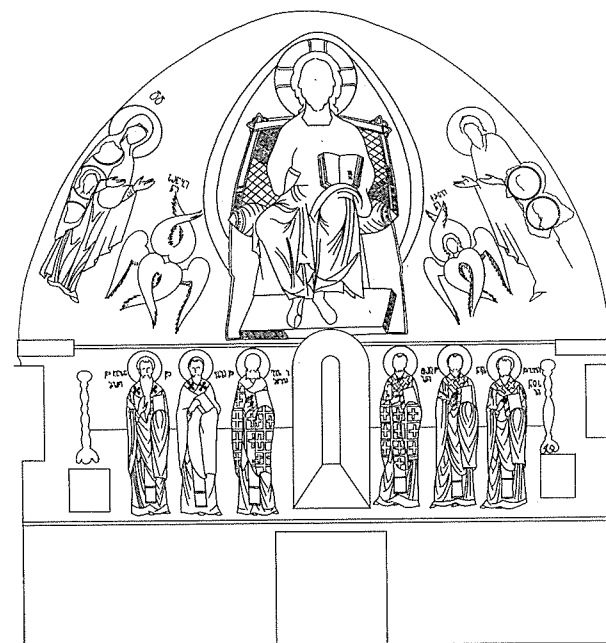
50. Aladaschwili, op.cit.

programme could teach the faithful inside the church. For its iconographic realization, all the elements known in Georgia at this time were used. Thus it includes together with classical Svanetian topics, such as the warrior saints, for the first time the fully developed theme of the Mother of God in narrative scenes in the vault of the ceiling and her representations in the apse, combined with the full number of the twelve disciples of Christ, which is usually reduced in Svanetian wall painting. The church fathers appear in a small number but this choice is theologically well founded. All of these are closely connected with the Mother of God on the one hand and the liturgy on the other. While Basil the Great and John Chrysostom stand for the two basic liturgies of the Orthodox Church, thus being traditionally represented in the apse,⁵¹ Nicholas of Myra in his turn symbolizes the mystery of the liturgy, and also represented as having received his consecration by Christ and the Mother of God.⁵² Also fitting this context is Gregory Thaumaturgos to whom was ascribed with the Credo a clear formula of Christian faith as



9. Maximus the Confessor in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel. Photo: R. Schrader.

one of the earliest creeds of the Christian Church.⁵³ According to Gregory's Passion—a long version of it is preserved in Georgian alone⁵⁴—he received the Credo through a vision. The formula that had appeared to Gregory at first on the wall of a church was confirmed in a dream where he saw John the Evangelist and the



10. Scheme of the apse of the Church of the Saviour in Ieli with the representations of (from left to right) Chbaralampios, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Nicholas of Myra, Gregory of Nyssa. Reconstruction: M. Buchukuri, A. Gelovani, Z. Sumbadze.

The idea of the heavenly transmission of the Credo is reflected even in the Georgian Chronicle, in the Life of King Vakhtang Gorgasali where the vision of Gregory is confirmed by the Georgian illuminatrix St Nino.⁵⁵

Maximus is represented in one row together with the two great liturgists Basil the Great and John Chrysostom. The confessor has Stephen the Protomartyr as a deacon, the helper of a bishop, at his side. By this he is put into a liturgical context. Moreover, he has contributed to the special theme of the Mother of God with a Life of the Virgin that is ascribed to him and has been preserved only in Georgian. This Life, translated from Greek by Euthymius the Athonite in around 980, has

51. When in the eleventh-twelfth centuries the composition of the 'Liturgy of the Holy Fathers' was developing in the lower part of the apse, Basil and John Chrysostom were always included together, at first frontally represented, later in profile celebrating the liturgy. Here, they are still frontal which corresponds to the late Byzantine example of the Kariye Djami in Constantinople from 1315/20, Underwood, P., *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 3, London, 1967, p246.

52. In Thessaloniki in Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos from the beginning of the fourteenth century, Spitzing, *Lexikon*, p137.

53. The short formula reads: "Three hypostases of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, on divine nature." (Bedjan, P., *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, vol. 6, Paris, 1896, p86.) Whether it can really be ascribed to him, as does also the Georgian tradition, is doubted. For the discussion, see Van Esbroeck, Credo, esp. pp 256-57.

54. In ms. Jerusalem Georgian 17, fol. 163-174. Ibid, p264.

55. Ibid, p264.

been found in twelve manuscripts and would have been distributed all over the country.⁵⁶

I think the representation of Maximus in the church of Lashtkhveri is not incorrect and is also not haphazard or misrepresented. It is not incorrect for the reason that there was no real dogmatic representation of St Maximus. His representation is missing from the so-called *Menologion of Basil II, Vaticanus graecus 1613*, from 986, because this does not include the month of August with his then established commemorative day.⁵⁷ Moreover, there is no clear description of him in the painters' manual of Mount Athos. Only the Stroganov handbook of icon painting from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth centuries shows him twice as a monk for his commemorative days.⁵⁸

Recent research by Edmond Voordeckers⁵⁹ and Peter van Deun⁶⁰ point to a certain iconographic neglect of the Confessor due to the fact that he belonged neither to the category of hierarchs and hymnographs nor to the group of martyrs of the Great Persecution or founders of monasteries.⁶¹ His first traceable representation in the *Parisinus graecus 923* dating from the ninth century (ill. 11)⁶² and the majority of his representations since the eleventh century depict him as a monk.⁶³ But there are also representations, discovered by Van Deun, which show Maximus as a bishop with a golden codex in his hand in the *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus graecus theologicus f. 1* from the fourteenth century (ill. 12)⁶⁴

56. Van Esbroeck, M.-J. (ed./trans.), *Maxime le Confesseur. Vie de la Vierge, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 478, *Scriptores Iberici*, t. 21 (Georgian text), and vol. 479, *Scriptores Iberici*, t. 22 (French translation), Leuven, 1986. For discussion of authenticity and literature, Larchet, *Saint Maxime*, pp 102-103.

57. Voordeckers, *Iconographie*, p342.

58. For January 21, Maximus is mentioned only as "an old man, bold" (Herthington, P., *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna* (Torrance, 1996 [reprint], p59). *Ikonommalerhandbuch der Familie Stroganow* (hrsg. vom Slavischen Institut München in Faksimile), München, 1965, p195 (January 21), p421 (August 13).

59. Voordeckers, *Iconographie*, op.cit.

60. Van Deun, P., 'Suppléments à l'iconographie de Maxime le Confesseur dans les arts byzantin et slave', in Demoen, K, Vereecken, J. (eds.), *La spiritualité de l'univers byzantin dans le verbe et l'image. Hommages offerts à Edmond Voordeckers à l'occasion de son éméritat* (*Instrumenta Patristica* 30), Steenbrugis, 1997, pp 315-331.

61. Voordeckers, *Iconographie*, p341.

62. Weitzmann, K., *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus Graecus 923* (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 8), Princeton, 1979, p249, pl. CLVI, ill. 725. Compare also Voordeckers, *Iconographie*, pp 352-53, and Van Deun, *Suppléments*, pp 316-17, esp. fn 8.

63. So *Vaticanus gr. 1156*, fol. 295, or medallions in Hosios Lukas in Phokas and Nea Moni on Chios, from the eleventh century, Voordeckers, *Iconographie*, p344 & pp 354-55.

64. Van Deun, *Suppléments*, p320, fn 22. Reproduction of the miniature, Hutter, I., *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 2, *Oxford Bodleian Library, II* (*Denkmäler der Buchkunst* 3), Stuttgart, 1978, p100, pl. 46.

and probably also as a young martyr.⁶⁵

The representation of St Maximus as a bishop using a kind of 'standard type'⁶⁶ is also not haphazard because the monastic context and his representation as a holy monk must have been known in Svaneti. The inhabitants of Svaneti, like those of the other regions of Georgia, also had close contacts with the Holy Land at the time when the church in Lashtkhveri was painted.

It is known from the colophon of a fourteenth-century gospel manuscript from the village of Lahili, not far from Lenjeri, that it was copied in Jerusalem by Iovane, son of Ktskhiani and a Svan by origin, for the church of Mukheri and sent personally to the abbot of Pkhotreri.⁶⁷

What we have here therefore is presumably another aspect of the great saint: the historical monastic context of his life was not important for his representation in Lashtkhveri. What instead counted and led to a 'shift of meaning' was evidently the theological importance of Maximus the Confessor for the Orthodox Church and the great influence of his works in Georgia where he had, among others, the honorary title of 'Philosopher'.⁶⁸

A similar shift of meaning may also be observed with other church figures in Svaneti wall painting. So one finds in Ieli, as well as in other



11. Maximus the Confessor in *Parisinus graecus 923*, fol. 146r. Photo: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

65. Van Deun, *Suppléments*, pp 327-28, although the thirteenth-century representation in Brixen may be a confusion with Maximus of Turin.

66. It was not unusual in Georgian wall painting to blur the iconography of church fathers to a more generalized typology, as for instance in the twelfth-thirteenth-century representations of the Roman popes Clement and Sylvester in Timotesubani church (Eastern Georgia) or of Sylvester and St Nicholas in Kintsvi church (Eastern Georgia), Privalova, E. L., *The wall painting of Timotesubani*, Tbilisi, 1980 [in Russian], pp 49 & 204, fn 158.

67. Silogava, V., 'Inchriften Swanetiens und Handschriften in Swanetien aus dem 10. bis 18. Jahrhundert', in Schrade, *Treasury*. The manuscript is now in Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts (former Institute of Manuscripts).

68. In the introduction to his *Vie de la Vierge*, Van Esbroeck, *Maxime le Confesseur*, vol. 479, t. 22, p1.

churches of Svaneti, 'Germane' as a second deacon together with 'Stepane'. While Stepane/Stephen is well-known as one of the first seven deacons to be consecrated by the disciples of Christ in Jerusalem,⁶⁹ the name 'Germane/Germanos' is unknown for a deacon in the calendars of Georgian saints⁷⁰ as well as in the known Byzantine iconography.⁷¹ Aside from a number of unidentified martyrs, the Georgian calendars record under this name only the eighth-century abbot of the Monastery of Zarzma⁷² and the patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (715-729) who was famous for his iconodule attitude and mediating role with the Roman Catholic Church.⁷³ One of the two, presumably Germanos of Constantinople, appears to have given his name to the deacon, a figure with a high symbolic value in Georgia where he appears in the chronicle *Moktsebay kartlisay* ('The Conversion of Kartli') as an unnamed deacon who guides the martyrs to the Lord, symbolizing by this the connection between heaven and earth.⁷⁴

Another example of a transfer of meaning, and with this of attributes, is the portrayal of St Andrew, who is reputed to have preached in Georgia on his way to the Scythians, as a bishop in the scene of the Koimesis, the Dormition of the Mother of God, in the wall painting of Ateni (Eastern Georgia).⁷⁵

The attributes of a bishop have also been given to Maximus whose works were translated together with his Life into Georgian since the tenth century, Euthymius the Athonite being his first translator.⁷⁶ Together with Euthymius, Maximus is represented on the Georgian icon from Mount Sinai, being included there, as we have already seen, in the row of Georgian spiritual fathers.

In the wall painting of Lashtkhveri, Maximus is again part of this row but under the aspect of his contribution to the liturgy that was closely

69. The *Acts of the Apostles* name him together with Phillipus, Prochoros, Nikanos, Timon, Parmenas and Nicholas of Antiochia, *Acts* 6,1-6. As a whole group they are represented in Timotesubani, see Privalova, *Timotesubani*, pp 50, 205 fn 161.

70. *General Calendar*, p221.

71. In Cappadocia and on Mount Athos we find Laurentius, Romanos the Melode or Euplus. Romanos the Melode is represented also in Georgia, so in Calenjixa, *LCI*, vol. 6 (1974), pp 49-53 (J. Boberg-M. Lechner).

72. *Encyclopedical Dictionary*, pp 195-96.

73. *Ibid.*, p196. *BibSS* VI 243-53. He is represented as one of the most important iconodules with three other patriarchs of Constantinople in the Hagia Sophia (Mango, C., *The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul*, Washington, 1962, p44), and also in Cappadocia (Restle, M., *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, vol. 3, Recklinghausen, 1967).

74. Thomson, R., *Rewriting Caucasian History*, Oxford, 1996, pp 93-94.

75. Cutler, A., Spieser, J.-M., *Das mittelalterliche Byzanz. 725-1204*, München, 1996, ill. 326.

76. Khoperia, L., 'Maximus the Confessor in ancient Georgian sources', *Studia Patristica*, vol. 36, Leuven, 2001, pp 134-39.



12. Athanasius, Makarios, Euthymius, and Maximus the Confessor (below, right) in Oxoniensis, Bodleianus graecus theologicus f. 1, f. 25v. Image courtesy of Oxford Bodleian Library.

connected with the Cappadocian Fathers and John Chrysostom and which helped to preserve the apostolic tradition in the Church.⁷⁷ His contribution to a living theology and, as a result, to liturgy, was unique. It was Maximus who formulated in his *Mystagogia*⁷⁸ the ideas of the Holy Church and the Holy Synax, the eucharistic liturgy, defining the building of the church and the meaning of its different parts. It was also he who suffered martyrdom for the Orthodox faith. This outstanding role is demonstrated in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts where Maximus is represented within the row of the doctors of the Church. Thus, the *Vaticanus graecus* 666 from the beginning of the twelfth century depicts him with John of Damascus, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria and Dionysius the Areopagite.⁷⁹

The high esteem of his works in Georgia—perhaps combined with his special cult in nearby Lechkhumi—would have also been the reason for representing him in the same context in the wall painting of Lashtkhveri as one of the most venerated Fathers of the Church, with all attributes of an ‘Episkopos’, a guardian of the faith.

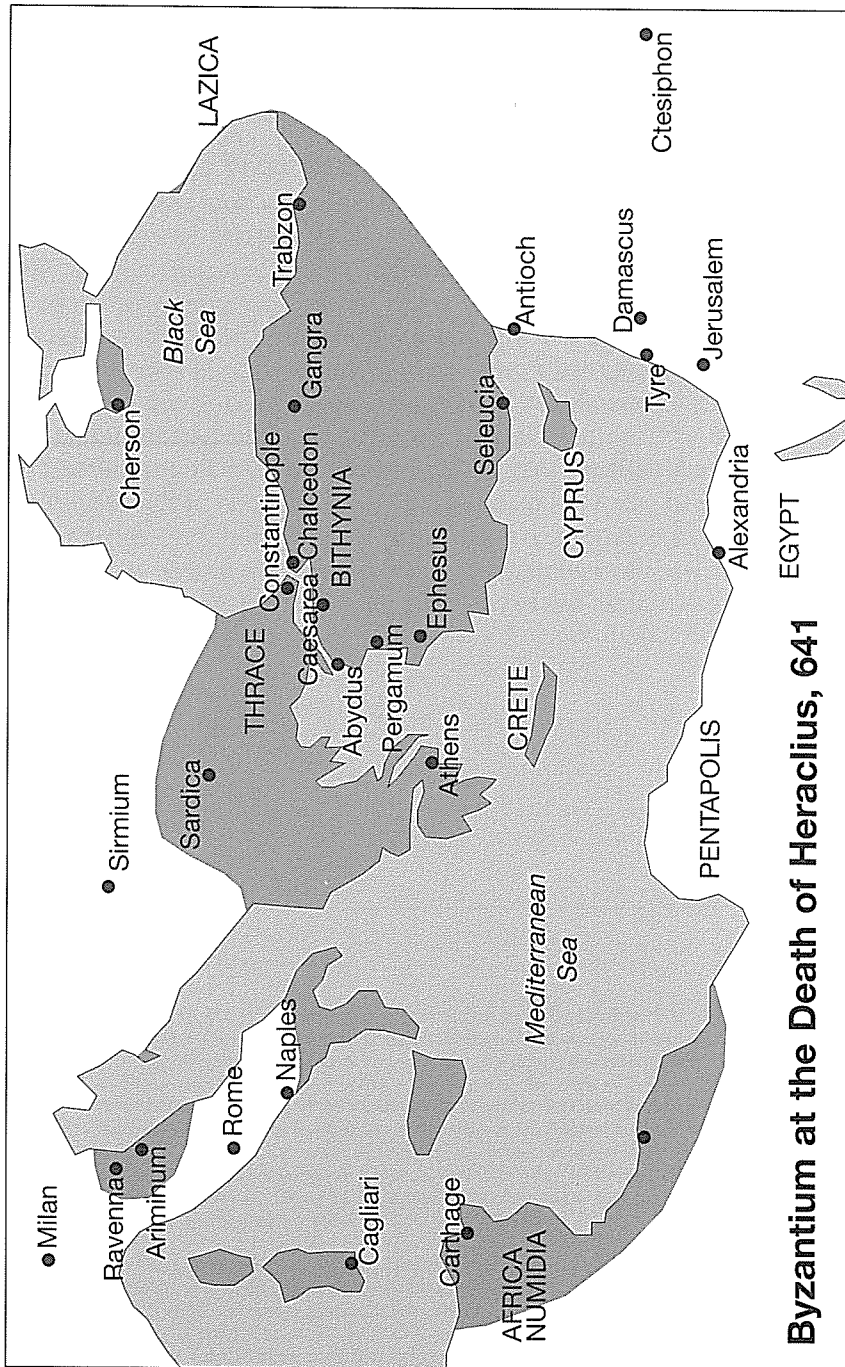
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77. Berthold, G. C., ‘The Cappadocian roots of Maximus the Confessor’, in Heinzer, F., Schönborn, Ch. (eds.), *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980*, Fribourg, 1982, pp 51-59. Berthold refers especially to Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa which permeate the works of Maximus who shares “their notion of theology as the confession of the mystery of Christ in the world”. For his theological importance, Karayiannis, Archimandrite V., *Maxime le Confesseur. Essence et énergies de Dieu*. Diss. Université de Fribourg, in *Théologie historique* 93, Paris, 1993.

78. According to Lela Khoperia (see her paper in this volume: ‘Maximus the Confessor: His Life and Works in Georgian Tradition’), the *Mystagogia* was not translated into Georgian nor has such a translation yet been discovered although the text was well known.

79. Van Deun, *Suppléments*, p342. That the theological context is taken into consideration in Georgian wall painting as well, is shown in the study of Mariam Didebulidze on the Church of St Nicholas in Kintsvi, Didebulidze, M., ‘On the Reflection of Theological Disputes in the Program of the Wall Painting of St Nicholas at Kintsvi’. *Georgian Antiquities*, vol. 6, Tbilisi, 2004 [in Georgian, with English summary], pp 116-41.

FURTHER READING



Key Dates in the Life of Maximus the Confessor

- c. 580 Maximus is born: in Constantinople according to Greek tradition, in Palestine according to Syriac tradition.
- c. 610 According to the Greek Life, after Heraclius' ascension to the imperial throne in 610 Maximus serves for a period in the imperial secretariat in Constantinople as a chief secretary. According to the Syriac Life, he was a monk in the monastery of Palaia Lavra (in Palestine). If the latter is true, Maximus probably left Palestine for Constantinople in 614, after the Persian conquests in Palestine.
- c. 617 A little earlier than 617 Maximus enters the monastery of Philippikos in Chrysopolis (now Scutari, on the Asian shore across the Bosphorus, just opposite Constantinople). By 617/18 he already has a disciple, the monk Anastasius.
- 624/25 Maximus probably moves to the monastery of St George at Cyzicus (now Erdek, on the southern coast of the sea of Marmara).
- 626 Maximus leaves Constantinople.
- 626-32 The life of Maximus during this period is obscure. He is believed to have travelled from place to place, spending some time on the island of Crete and also Cyprus.
- 632 Maximus is attested as visiting Carthage, where he is thought to have stayed at the monastery of Eukratas (he probably arrived in North Africa few years earlier, in 628-630 approximately).
- 645 Dispute held in Carthage between Maximus and the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople Pyrrhus on the issue of wills and energies in Christ.
- 646 Three anti-Monothelite councils are held in Africa, though it is not clear whether Maximus attends these councils or is already in Rome by this time.

- 645/46 Maximus' departure to Rome (according to the Syriac Life he stops at Sicily and other islands on the way).
- 649 Maximus participates in the Lateran Synod in Rome.
- c. 653 Maximus is arrested in Rome and escorted to Constantinople (according to the Syriac Life he arrives in Constantinople on his own).
- 655 The first trial of Maximus (and his disciple Anastasius) in Constantinople. He is sentenced to exile in Thracian Byzia (and his disciple to Perberis).
- 656 *August*: Dispute between Maximus and Theodosius, Bishop of Caesarea Bithynia on the subject of energies and wills in Christ (which takes place during Maximus' exile in Byzia).
September: Maximus is transferred to the monastery of St Theodore near Rhegium, where Theodosius returns to him, again asking him to re-enter into communion with the Church of Constantinople, which the Confessor refuses. After this Maximus is transferred to Selymbria for two days and thence to Perberis (in Thrace).
- 658 *April*: The legate of Patriarch Peter visits Maximus in Perberis in a renewed attempt of reconciliation.
- 662 The second trial of Maximus (and his followers) is convened by the imperial court in Constantinople. Maximus suffers mutilation (his tongue and right hand are cut off) and he is exiled to Western Georgia (Lazica).
- 662 *June 8*: Maximus and the two Anastasii arrive in Lazica where they are separated from each other.
- 662 *August 13*: Maximus dies in Lazica, at the fortress of Schemaris.

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Mari fortress, Lekkhumi district, Western Georgia
(photo by Father Elia Khalyfik)



Cave near Mari fortress, Lekkhumi district, Western Georgia
(photo by Father Elia Khalyfik)



St Maximus' church (believed to be his burial place) outside view, Lechkhumi district, Western Georgia (photo by Father Elia Khalifeh)



St Maximus' church, view from inside, Maximus' tomb is believed to lie under the altar, Lechkhumi district, Western Georgia (photo by Father Elia Khalifeh)



St Maximus' church, view from inside – altar with Maximus' icon, Lechkhumi district, Western Georgia (photo by Father Elia Khalifeh)



Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos (photo by Luanrshab Toqonidze)



Gelati Monastery, Western Georgia (photo courtesy of S. Kobuladze Laboratory for Photo Recording of Monuments of Art)

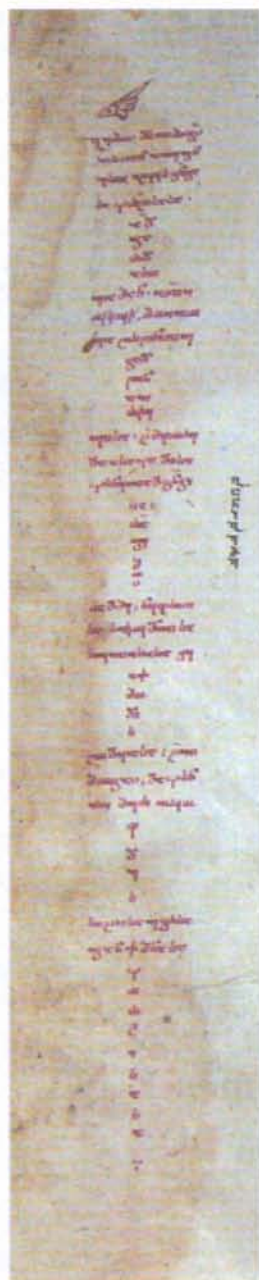
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Scholia from a margin of manuscript K14
(Kutaisi Historical-Ethnographic Museum, Georgia)

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