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Sketches of
Georgian
Church History



Archdeacon Dowling, D.D.

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SKETCHES OF GEORGIAN CHURCH HISTORY

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QUEEN TAMARA THE GREAT.

Frontispiece.]

[Page 103.]

SKETCHES OF GEORGIAN CHURCH HISTORY

BY

ARCHDEACON DOWLING, D.D.

CANON RESIDENTIARY OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, JERUSALEM ;
COMMISSARY FOR EASTERN CHURCH INTERCOURSE WITHIN THE
ANGLICAN BISHOPRIC IN JERUSALEM

LONDON

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“ O Georgia, thou pearl and ornament of the world.
What sorrow and misfortune hast thou not undergone for the Christian faith !
Tell me, what other land has had so thorny a path to tread ?
Where is the land that has maintained such a fight twenty centuries long,
Without disappearing from the earth ?
Thou alone, Georgia, couldst do it.
No other people can compare with thee for endurance.
How often have thy sons freely shed their blood for thee !
Every foot of thy soil is made fruitful by it.
And even when they bowed under oppression they always bravely rose again.
Faith and freedom were their ideals.”¹

¹ Prince Ilia Chavchavadze (born 1837) quoted by Mr. Oliver Wardrop in *The Kingdom of Georgia*, p. 152. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, Ltd., 1888.

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
OF
THE REVEREND JOHN MASON NEALE, D.D.,¹
“ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE MEN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS PRODUCED,
WHOSE MIND WAS RATHER OF THE
EAST THAN OF THE WEST,”
WHO ENTERED INTO REST
ON
THE FESTIVAL OF THE TRANSFIGURATION OF
OUR BLESSED LORD, 1866,
THIS LITTLE COMPILATION
WITH EVERY FEELING OF REVERENCE,
AND OF CORDIAL REMEMBRANCE OF KINDNESSES RECEIVED,
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY A PRIEST IN GALILEE.

See Appendix III.

INTRODUCTION

FEW of us are conscious of any mental association with the kingdom of Georgia even in these days of travel and of general information, and yet Georgia is a country with a past well worthy of study, from many points of view—literary, historical, ethnographical, religious.

It is little more than a century since the Great Frederick of Prussia, measuring the Powers of civilization, associated himself with this brave little kingdom in the phrase, “Moi en Europe—et en Asie l’invincible Hercules, roi de Géorgie.” Nevertheless the “Invincible Hercules” Irakli lived to see his country pass into the hands of Russia, of which empire Georgia is now a province. She precipitated her own end. After the fall of Constantinople, Georgia had been left without a friend. Some of her rulers sought personal safety by perverting to the Moslem faith, and her sufferings were unspeakable before the revival which followed when, in 1701, Vakhtang VI returned to Christianity. A Moslem ruler followed, and the country sought here and there for the protection of a Christian power. At one time it seemed likely that she would accept help from Rome, but that of Russia seemed less alien to her faith and traditions. In 1795 Tiflis was taken by Persia, a treaty with Russia was

made against the enemy, and in 1800 Georgia became an integral part of the Russian Empire. Such, however, is her vitality that, although no longer the kingdom of Georgia, she remains to this day a politically homogeneous region stretching from the Steppe of Baku to the Black Sea.

Georgia resembles Armenia in her patriotism, in the invincibility of her national sentiment, in the freedom of her soul, although her body remains in subjection; but, unlike Armenia—so it is reported by careful observers—she is grateful for the protection of her rulers, and so long as no attempt is made to crush her spiritual independence, is unlikely to exhibit intolerance of her chains. Georgia has been spoken of as the land of “Wine, Women, and Song,” and the gaiety of her light-hearted population has nothing in common with the morose self-consciousness of a subject race.

The country has been compared with Switzerland—a land of snow-covered mountains and pine-forests; of rushing streams, and fertile valleys; of brilliant sunshine, and of gardens and vineyards. She has great internal resources; resources which have received the hall-mark of commercial approval in that they are esteemed worthy of exploitation by the Rothschilds. The traveller in the Nearer East, who knows little perhaps of the name of Georgia, is nevertheless familiar with that of Batum, the port from which he receives the means of light and warmth; for, in Palestine especially, where fuel is scarce, the mineral oil of Georgia and the neighbouring countries is one of the necessities of life.

Batum, the entrance of Georgia, lies about the

middle of the eastern curve of the Black Sea, and is not more than a week's journey, overland, from England. It is a part of the patriotism of the people that the Georgian language is still in use, although Russian and Turkish are spoken as a natural consequence of historical conditions. It is still the language of song; folk-lore and ballads exist in abundance, and the poet Chavchavadze, of about the period of Wordsworth, achieved a reputation outside his own country. A library of Georgian literature has been presented to the Indian Institute at Oxford.

The kingdom of Georgia was approaching the height of her political power about the time of our Norman Conquest, and her Golden Age of literature was about a century earlier than Chaucer. The independence and individuality, so characteristic a feature of her history, were curiously illustrated even at a period of terrible trial and suffering. In 1239 Georgia was butchered by the hordes of Genghis Khan—300,000, it is said, having been put to the sword. In despair she turned to Rome, and Pope Gregory IX took the opportunity of her weakness to seek to convert her to Occidental views, but now, as on later occasions, wholly in vain.

The realization of the vitality and persistence of the kingdom of Georgia carries us back into remote ages. Her line of kings extends backwards 2000 years; her royal House of Bagrat is said to be of Hebrew origin, and to be descended from King David. They bore on their escutcheon his harp and sling.

Such being its foundation, it is not surprising that the fortunes of Georgia and of Palestine should

have been long associated. True to her characteristic homogeneity, Georgia—so it is said—was converted wholesale to Christianity early in the fourth century, although missionaries, sent by Constantine at a later date, seem to have supplied some of the instruction which must have been lacking to a faith embraced by royal command.

We hear, moreover, of preachers being sent from Syria in the sixth century, and as early as the ninth century the Church of Georgia had so far enlarged its borders as to have established a convent upon Mount Athos which even now ranks as the third in importance upon the Holy Mountain.

The first Christian king, Mirian—so says tradition—made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was received by Constantine with all the greater sympathy because Mirian, like St. Helena, had undertaken his pilgrimage in extreme old age. Some discrepancy as to dates must be ignored, if we accept the story, which may have arisen from the fact that one of the three royal portraits in the Church of the Convent of the Cross near Jerusalem is said to be that of King Mirian, to whom the foundation of the church—in reality of somewhat later date—has been attributed. The site is said to have been presented to him by Constantine.

This very interesting building, which has seen many vicissitudes, is probably not only the earliest foundation, but also the latest survival of the many Georgian foundations of the Holy Land. During the thirteenth century it was taken by the Sultan Beibars and became a mosque. It was recovered to the Christian Church in 1305. In its present condition it may be said to date from about 1643.

The extreme poverty of the Georgians early last century obliged them to withdraw from Palestine, and it passed into the hands of the Greeks, who have used it as a Theological College. Since 1908, owing to local difficulties between the Greeks, and the Arabs of the same "Orthodox" Church, it has unhappily fallen into disuse.

Another convent and church, that of St. John the Divine, built in the earlier half of the fifth century, still to some extent exists. It passed into the hands of the Franciscan Fathers about 1551, when they were turned out of their first settlement in the Church of the Upper Chamber. When they took possession of the Georgian convent it was known as the Casa Nova, or New House, and its foundations remain in the Hospice for Pilgrims which still bears that name, and which, though much enlarged and restored, has a history of great antiquity.

The Georgians may be considered as in some degree the predecessors of the Franciscans in their especial and sacred tasks of defending the Holy Places and the entertainment of pilgrims. They seem to have had establishments in various parts of Jerusalem; several, it is said, upon the Mount of Olives. They may also have been the founders of the church and convent known as that of the House of Simeon, now in possession of the Greek Patriarch, and described as Catamon. Baumgarten, writing in 1507 speaks of their establishment on Mount Calvary, and their own historian, Joselian, reports that they owned "half Golgotha." Their altar upon Calvary, and the Chapel of Adam below, were taken from them by the Greek Church in 1808.

Other points of contact with the Holy Land are more legendary. There is no evidence for the story that the Georgians were converted by St. Andrew, and that which associates Georgia with St. George is mere popular etymology. It is said that the tunic of our Lord was brought to the country by a Jew, and was the ultimate cause of the conversion of Georgia when, three centuries later, St. Nina of Cappadocia, who had learnt Christianity in Jerusalem, went thither in search of it and preached to the king and court. Such stories are interesting solely as links in the long chain of association between Georgia and the Holy Land.

The ignorance in regard to the history, geography, and literature of Georgia, which most of us would freely acknowledge, has not the excuse of lack of means to inform ourselves. It is now a quarter of a century since Wardrop published, in his interesting volume upon the "Kingdom of Georgia," a bibliography of some 325 volumes in various languages—English, French, and German, for the most part, with a few in Latin and Italian; and omitting, as not generally accessible, those in Russian, Georgian, and Turkish, conceivably—at least in recent times—more numerous.

Of these volumes, over one half are works of geography and travel; one quarter are history; and the remainder are concerned with language and literature. It is only in connection with religion and Church history that we are at a loss for material, except in so far as these subjects are casually included among others—a volume of sermons as literature, a translation by Malan of Joselian's *History of the Georgian Church*, or an

odd chapter in some ecclesiastical memoirs among history.

Hakluyt (1589) appears, as might be expected, as the earliest volume of travels, followed by Jenkinson, "and other Englishmen in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." The French and Dutch figure conspicuously among travellers of the eighteenth century, after which several Englishmen seem to have taken Georgia as an item in their journey to Persia. These include names so well known as Morier, Lyall and Sir Robert Ker-Porter. One intrepid missionary, in 1841, found in Georgia the frequently discovered hiding-place of the "Lost Ten Tribes."

As might be expected, the close of the Crimean War gave a fresh impetus to inquiry, and many travellers—French, English, and German, followed in the footsteps of Alexandre Dumas, who in 1859 published his specially interesting volume, *The Caucasus*. Dr. Gustav Radde, a corresponding member of The Royal Geographical Society, and Curator of the Museum in Tiflis, produced between 1866 and 1878 some half-dozen publications relating to exploration and research in Georgia. About the same time we find, among English travellers in that country, names so well known as Ashton Dilke, F. C. Grove, Douglas Freshfield, and Prof. James Bryce.

The Georgian language and literature have been the subject—mainly in the last half of the nineteenth century—of some thirty publications, French and (mainly) German; while Wardrop ends up his bibliography with the remark that "Mr. Morfill has catalogued the Georgian library presented to the

Indian Institute of Oxford by the Rev. S. C. Malan,¹ with whom he shares the honour of being the only Georgian scholar in England.”

It is unnecessary to emphasize, in this connection, the obvious difficulties under which Archdeacon Dowling has laboured in collecting some details of the history and characteristics of the Georgian branch of the Church Catholic.

F. R. S. G. S.

¹ Mr. Malan, late Vicar of Broadwindsor, Translator of Georgian, Armenian and Coptic documents has entered into rest.

T. E. D.

PREFATORY NOTE

BY THE SECRETARY TO THE HOLY SYNOD OF THE
PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

IT is of importance to read a book on a subject with which most persons are not familiar.

The Georgian Church has not, as yet, been thoroughly studied, and many students, and even scholars, know but little concerning its history. Therefore a new publication that has a direct bearing upon the chequered past of this Church is very welcome.

Of course the author does not exhaust the subject. He endeavours to give a concise, rather than a detailed, narrative. He enjoys the advantage of having had considerable experience in writing books descriptive of the several Oriental Churches, for he has lived for many years in Eastern lands, and through friendship has been brought into personal contact with learned clergymen and accomplished scholars.

Besides this, the book shows that the writer has taken great pains to be accurate; consequently it will be read with pleasure by those who are in doubt in Eastern Church affairs.

To us, the most interesting chapter is *The Georgian Church in Jerusalem*, but this section, from an historical point of view, has not as yet been care-



fully examined by scholars, for lack of necessary information.

How the first establishment of the Georgians took place in the neighbourhood of the sacred sites of Jerusalem, how they came into possession of several Greek convents, and then, how they became bankrupt, and, at this period what was the attitude of the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem—all these topics, so far, have not been clearly decided.

However, before long much light will be shed on this last point, as I have discovered in our central library some very interesting letters of the Patriarch Chrysanthos (c. A.D. 1707–1732) in which it is to be seen how our Church endeavoured to save the Georgians in the Holy Places from the bankruptcy to which I have referred, and how Alma Mater exhorted the Princes and Prelates of Iberia to spare no pains to preserve their own position in Jerusalem; but, alas, her voice has been “*vox clamantis in deserto.*”

All that I have to say about the book of my brother in CHRIST, and dear friend, Archdeacon Dowling, is, that it must be judged as a readable and useful *introduction* to a great subject, which is still, to a large extent, involved in mystery.

Occasional mistakes in any such beginning can well be corrected in a future edition.

T. PYTHAGORAS THEMELIS,
*Secretary of the Holy Synod
of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.*

*January 2, 1912,
Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate.*

PREFACE

THE reader will please to understand that these popular sketches of Georgian *Church* History do not profess to follow the fortunes and misfortunes of the Georgian *Nation*.¹ Further, they are not intended for theological students, but merely for Anglican readers of popular works.

Thoroughly accurate information about this National Church is difficult to procure. For example, the Russian, Candidate Plato Ioselian (Joselian), writing at Tiflis in 1835, goes so far as to state in his Preface to *A Short History of the Georgian Church*, translated and edited by the late Rev. S. C. Malan, "Hitherto Georgia has never had a history of her own Church." I have made free use of this book, but have found it difficult to reconcile several of the author's dates with those given in Mr. Oliver Wardrop's *The Kingdom of Georgia*, and others in Mr. A. H. Keane's Article on GEORGIA in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. X., 1879, upon which Mr. Wardrop's sole comment is: "Only remarkable for its typographical errors."

The reader must not place absolute reliance upon some of the dates affixed to this work. Armenians

¹ The earliest name of the country seems to have been *Kartli*. It is thus known by the natives to-day. The ancients (Greeks, Romans, and Armenians) knew it as *Iberia*. It has for centuries been called *Georgia*. In these "Sketches" the names *Iberia* and *Georgia* are used indiscriminately.

and Iberians strangely differ as to the exact years of several reigns and events. Accuracy, particularly as regards numbers, is not a characteristic of the Near East. The tendency is towards exaggeration.

When Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, 1911, was announced, I looked forward for guidance in verifying dates. But although it contains a lengthy article on *The Nestorian Church*, there is not a single line on Georgia!

A short article on "The Iberians, or the Georgian Church," appeared in the late Canon Benham's useful *Dictionary of Religion*, published by Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1891. Towards the close he adds a statement as to a fact which is quoted from Gardner's *The Faiths of the World*: "The only peculiarity which distinguishes it from the other branches of the Greek Church is that the baptism of children is delayed until the eighth year."

The information I have been able to glean with reference to the Georgians taking their share in the Crusades is so contradictory that Chapter XIV is headed: "Did the Georgians take part in the Crusades?" Since this chapter was written I have received the following private memorandum from A CLERK OF OXFORD: "I cannot find in the two histories of the Crusades that I possess, namely those of G. W. Cox, and Sybel, that the Georgians took any part in the Crusades, and as these histories are scarcely likely to have overlooked the fact if they did take any conspicuous part, I can only conclude that they did not."

Should a second edition of my book be required, no doubt this uncertainty will be removed.

A Georgian layman's Appendix IV (p. 127) reached

me unexpectedly after my manuscript was sent to the Press. There has been no opportunity of examining the statements. Several variations in the spelling have remained unaltered. A learned Georgian priest is really responsible for this little historical sketch of his country and Church.

I have been unable to procure copies of any Georgian hymns. Being a musical people, a selection of their ecclesiastical hymnody would have been an interesting addition.

My intention in preparing these *Sketches* for the Press is to try to widen the horizon of Anglican Church folk who are not familiar with Eastern Church history, by fixing their attention on brethren from afar, with whom few—if any, perhaps—were before acquainted. And here I wish to express my gratitude to the late Rev. Dr. Neale for creating an interest in my mind on behalf of this afflicted National Church. Never shall I forget two delightful visits I paid him at Sackville College, East Grinstead, between the years 1852–1855. How unhesitatingly I have made use of his learning will be noticed again and again in the following pages.

The reader will, I trust, make due allowances for mistakes and omissions when I explain that the whole of this little book has been compiled in a Syrian town of some 17,000 inhabitants, of whom only two residents are Englishmen, and as there is no available public library nearer than Beirût, seven hours distant by steamer, many a point of importance is necessarily omitted (such as the early liturgical Use of the Iberian Church), simply through want of necessary books of reference.

It will be noticed that on pp. 49 I have been

doubtful as to whether the celebrated St. Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch, did actually visit Georgia, but since my manuscript was finished I have received, through the courtesy of Mr. Oliver Wardrop, a copy of *Life of St. Nino*, Part I, by Marjory Wardrop and O. Wardrop, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900. The second paragraph in the Preface (p. 5) throws additional light on what has been written in Chapter IV concerning "the Patriarchate of Antioch and Iberia." The passage in question by the late Miss Marjory Wardrop is as follows:—

"THE GEORGIAN CHURCH AUTOCEPHALOUS. It has been asserted, not without authority, that the first Bishop of Georgia was only called John (Ioane, Iovane) because he was 'the Baptist,' and that he was in reality that Eustatius who was Patriarch of Antioch from 325 till 331, when he was expelled by heretics. In 1051 we find the clergy of Antioch claiming the patriarchate over Georgia, and about the same time Ephrem the Younger refers to Eustatius of Antioch as the first Georgian bishop. In any case it is certain that until the reign of Vakhtang Gorgaslan (end of fifth century) the Georgian Church was subject to Antioch; Vakhtang made it a national church, and it was solemnly declared autocephalous by the Sixth General Council. Practically, it is now swallowed up in the Russian Church, and the tomb of St. Nino, in the Monastery of Bodbé, has been surrounded by hideous modern buildings, and given into the care of Russian nuns, ignorant of the language and history of the country."

An enthusiastic authority on the *present* state of affairs has lately written to me as follows:—

“The spoliation of the Georgian Church, and the persecution of its clergy in recent times have excited indignation among all right-thinking religious people in Russia itself, and I hardly think any sketch of Georgian Church history would be complete without some reference to the action of the Holy Synod in destroying a National Church recognized by all the great Councils.”

Some of the legends which I have produced concerning St. Nina—several are omitted—are resolutely believed among Georgians. Although *we* may reasonably doubt their accuracy, they were invented from good motives, and innocently thought to be true. As is the case with many popular saints, truth and fiction are so closely interwoven in the various accounts that it is impossible to separate them.

A Fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, resident in the Near East, has carefully read through the whole of the chapters, and made useful suggestions. I am also greatly indebted to the same literary friend for the Introduction on pp. ix–xvi.

I cannot exaggerate my gratitude to Mrs. B. Dudley R. Baxter, of Haifa, for correcting the manuscript re-copied by Mr. Haigazoun Hagop Keshishian, a graduate of St. Paul's College, Tarsus.

Appendix V contains a few remarks on Georgian Church architecture.

*St. Luke's Mission,
Haifa-under-Carmel, Palestine,
June 1912.*

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THE GEORGIAN KALENDAR

There is a similarity between the Georgian and Byzantine Kalendars. The following saints, however, are commemorated by the Georgians. Some of them are also included in the Armenian Kalendar.

This list is compiled, with slight variations, from Joselian's *Georgian Church*, pp. 50-51, and Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, General Introduction, Vol. II. pp. 793-794.

- | | | |
|-------|-----|--|
| Jan. | 8. | St. Abo. |
| „ | 14. | St. Nina, the Illuminator of Georgia. |
| „ | 19. | St. Antony (Martqop'h or Martkobi, the Hermit). |
| „ | 26. | St. David III. <i>the Victorious</i> , King of Georgia, and Defender of the Faith. |
| April | 15. | St. Cychius and his Kinsmen, Martyrs. |
| May | 7. | St. John Zedaoni, and the thirteen Syrian Fathers. |
| „ | 9. | St. Shio, <i>the Anchorite</i> , of Mghvime. |
| „ | 13. | St. Euthymius of Ivéron Monastery, Mount Athos. |
| „ | 18. | St. David and Tarichan. |
| June | 21. | St. Archil, King of Daghestan, and Luarsab II, King of Kartilinia, Martyrs. |
| „ | 27. | St. George of Mount Athos. |
| July | 12. | SS. John and Gabriel. |
| „ | 29. | St. Eustathius, Metropolitan of Mtzkhètha (Mtzchet). |
| Aug. | 3. | St. Rajden (Persian) Crucified. |
| „ | 16. | St. Antony the Hermit (see also Jan. 19). |
| „ | 28. | St. Shushanika (Susanna) Queen and Martyr. |
| Sept. | 13. | St. Ketevan, Queen of Kachetia, Martyr. |
| „ | 15. | St. Joseph of Alaverdi (Allahwerdi). |
| „ | 16. | St. Isaac and Joseph. |
| „ | 18. | St. Birdzina and two brothers, SS. Shalva and Elizbar. |
| Oct. | 1. | Commemoration of the miracles wrought by the holy tunic of our LORD. |

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Oct.	2.	SS. David and Constantine.
„	5.	St. Gregory of Shandzai.
„	28.	St. Neophytus, Martyr.
Nov.	16.	St. Constantine, Martyr.
„	17.	St. Michael of Gobron.
„	19.	St. Hilarion.
„	29.	St. Abibos, Bishop of Nekress, Martyr.
Dec.	2.	St. Jesse, Bishop of Silcania (Tsilkani).

The following are movable.

- St. Shio, of Mgvime (another commemoration), Thursday before Lent.
- The Monks of St. David of Care-edja, Martyrs under Shah Abbas, Tuesday in Holy Week.
- St. Dodo . . . Wednesday of the seventh week after Easter.
- St. David of Care-edja, Thursday of the seventh week after Easter.

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¹ Inserted by permission of Mr. O. Wardrop.

SKETCHES OF GEORGIAN CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

EARLY GEORGIAN CHURCH TRADITIONS

1. *The Blessed Virgin Mary*
2. *St. Andrew the Apostle*
3. *St. Simon Zelotes*
4. *St. Clement of Rome*
5. *The Hebrew Youth Elioz.*

I. THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. The Georgian annals favour the tradition that when the division of countries among the Apostles for preaching the Gospel took place, Iberia fell to the lot of the Blessed Virgin Mary. As she was preparing to go into Iberia, an angel of God said unto her, "Depart not from Jerusalem, but abide there yet awhile; for the lot having fallen to thee to enlighten that country in the end, thine influence shall continue there; but thou shalt have to suffer a little in the land in which God appoints thee to dwell." Then she tarried a little longer in Jerusalem. Thus Georgia claims a legendary origin under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

2. ST. ANDREW THE APOSTLE. Nothing is really known of the life of St. Andrew the Apostle after the Ascension of CHRIST, but according to Hippolytus (died c. A.D. 240) he went to preach the Gospel in Scythia, Thracia, and Greece. The earliest accurate record as to the scene of St. Andrew's labours is the tradition preserved by Eusebius (c. A.D. 324), Lib. III. ch. i., that he went to Scythia.

On this Russia founds her claim to St. Andrew as her Patron Saint, in connection with his preaching at Kieff. St. Andrew's Cross is not merely the standard of Russia, but also of Georgia. Byzantine authors in their vanity forged, under the name of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, who was martyred under Diocletian, a list of twenty-two bishops, of whom they make St. Andrew the Apostle to have been first Bishop of Byzantium, and his successor, the Stachys mentioned in Romans xvi. 9, who held the office for sixteen years, and was succeeded by Onesimus. Georgian traditions, resting on the testimony of native and Greek writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, ascribe to St. Andrew the effectual preaching of the Gospel in Iberia, but a long and cruel persecution having commenced by King Aderkhi, A.D. 58, every trace of Christianity became obliterated.

According to St. Jerome (c. A.D. 420), *Ep. ad Marc*, 148, and Theodoret (c. A.D. 430), *ad Psalm cxvi.*, he is stated to have preached in Achaia (Greece); and Nicephorus (c. A.D. 802-828), ii. 39, in Asia Minor and Thracia.

All Western authorities seem to agree in assigning Patræ in Achaia as the place of his martyrdom, where he was nailed to an olive tree.

The Georgians, however, have a tradition that the Apostle was buried on the site of the present magnificent Justinian Cathedral of Pitzcunda, formerly the seat of the Catholicos of Abkhasia.

3. ST. SIMON ZELOTES. Joselian (p. 11) says: "We found that the tomb of Simon the Canaanite, the fellow-traveller of St. Andrew, and left by him in those wild regions for the confirmation of the Gospel—a tomb which is shown at the present day on the hills of Ap'hkhazia—soon became the object of pious veneration for the lawless tribes of the Caucasus."

There is next to nothing of trustworthy tradition about this Apostle, who is designated by two apparently distinct surnames in the New Testament, *Zelotes and Cananæus*, but these are, as is well known, identical in meaning. St. Simon is the least known of all the Apostles. The prevailing traditions as to St. Simon's labours associate him with the regions east of Palestine. The Armenian chronicler, Moses of Chorene (fifth century) remarks: "As regards Simon, the sphere of whose work was Persia, I can give no certain information, either as to what he did, or where he was martyred. Some declared that an Apostle named Simon died near the Iberian Bosphorus."

In the *Apostolic History* of the Pseudo-Abdius, the scene of St. Simon's martyrdom is given as Suanir in Persia, and the name of the Persian king as Xerxes.

In the Byzantium Kalendar St. Simon is not commemorated with St. Jude on October 28, but alone on May 10.

4. ST. CLEMENT OF ROME. Dr. Mahan, in his

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Church History of the First Seven Centuries, p. 255, Rivingtons, 1872, states: "It is generally conceded that Clement died in exile somewhere about the end of the first century." The Georgian Church, following St. Irenæus, A.D. 178, maintains that in the hundredth year after CHRIST the Roman Bishop Clemens was sent by the Emperor Trajan into banishment, to the barren shores of the Black Sea, to the Taurian Chersonesus along the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and was the means of carrying the glad tidings of the Gospel into many places of Iberia.¹ St. Clement's festival is marked on November 24 in the Byzantine Kalendar, indicated as that of "Our Father the Holy Martyr, Clement of Rome."

5. THE HEBREW YOUTH ELIOZ. Georgian tradition states that amongst the soldiers who parted CHRIST's garments among them was a young Hebrew, by name Eliozi (Eliozi), to whose lot fell the seamless robe, and who took it with him to Iberia.² Hence the emblazonment of the tunic in the centre of the arms of the kingdom of Georgia, with this inscription: "*Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout*" (John xix. 23). This seamless robe, according to the late Rev. A. H. Hore,³ was bestowed upon Russia during the Patriarchate of the great Philaret, A.D. 1619-1633, by whom it was placed in the

¹ The late Dr. G. Salmon, however, in Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 1911, under the heading of Clemens Romanus, p. 173, attributes the account of St. Clement's martyrdom to the ninth century.

² According to Georgian and Armenian historians Hebrews settled in Iberia before the time of Nebuchadrezzar.

³ *Student's History of the Greek Church*, p. 451. James Parker & Co., London, 1902. See also Wardrop's *Kingdom of Georgia* for another version of the tradition about Christ's Tunic, pp. 39-41.

Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin. In Hare's *Studies in Russia*, p. 228, the following extract from Mouravieff is quoted: "Philaret received from the Shah Abbas of Persia the Seamless Coat of our SAVIOUR, which, according to an ancient tradition, was brought into Georgia by one of the soldiers who parted His garments at the foot of the Cross, and was preserved for many ages in the Cathedral of Mtzkhètha. Abbas could not have selected a better guardian for such a holy relic; and the Tunic of our LORD, which was distinguished for the working of numerous cures in the Russian capital, was placed by the Patriarch in the Cathedral of the Rest of the Virgin, under the shade of a brazen tabernacle, near which he himself is laid down to his everlasting rest, A.D. 1633."¹

The Georgian Church commemorates "the miracles wrought by the Holy Coat of our LORD" on October 1.

¹ See Mouravieff's *History of the Church of Russia*, p. 185, and note, p. 395. Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1842.

CHAPTER II

ST. NINA, THE ILLUMINATOR OF GEORGIA

(*Fourth Century*)

GRANTING that the earliest traditions of the Iberian Church are wrapped in some uncertainty, the Christian religion was unquestionably established in Iberia through the preaching of St. Nina (or Nino or Nonna).¹ Whatever her real name was, for this is evidently a title of dignity, and answers to our *nun* (*νοννή*), she was made the instrument of converting the King, the Queen, and their Court, towards the commencement of the fourth century.² This holy woman, born in Colastri, a small town of Cappadocia, was the only child of Zabulon, and was brought up by a God-fearing old woman, by name Sarah Bethlehemlianka, keeper of the temple, but Nina was directed and established in the Faith

¹ Nino is the Russian spelling.

² Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I. p. 249, new edition, 1826, states that "a certain woman was carried into that country (Georgia) as a captive during the reign of Constantine the Great, and by the grandeur of her miracles, and the remarkable sanctity of her life and manners, she made such an impression upon the King and Queen that they abandoned their false gods."

Georgian annalists, however, do not speak of her as a captive, but as a simple missionary lady. Robertson's *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I. pp. 271-272 (John Murray, 1854), agrees with Mosheim in his sketch of Nina's early life. It seems that *she called herself a captive* merely to avoid inquisitive remarks.

by her uncle on her mother's side, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. An ancient Georgian tradition mentions Iobenal (Houbnal) as this Patriarch. But Macarius I was Patriarch of Jerusalem A.D. 313, and Maximus III (Maximonas) c. A.D. 335. Nina's parents having been without offspring, and having received her after a vow, consecrated her to GOD, and, in the course of time removed to the Jordan. Nina went to Rome with the blessing of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and at last decided on devoting herself to the work of preaching the Gospel in Iberia, known to her as the place where the blessed SAVIOUR'S Tunic was kept. With this intention in mind she was strengthened by heavenly visions, and Georgian historians relate, as an earnest of the success which awaited her, that she received at the hands of the Blessed Virgin Mary a cross made of the wood of the vine.¹ While on her way to Iberia she succeeded in turning many to CHRIST, and although when passing through Armenia she was exposed with SS. Rhipsimé and Gaiäne to persecutions, she escaped from the cruelties of King Tiridates I. In consequence of the second edict of Tirdat (or Tiridates), the son of Chosrow I, King of Armenia, hundreds of Christians were tortured or put to death. The most famous are the Virgin Proto-Martyr, St. Rhipsimé and her foster-mother St. Gaiäné, and their thirty-four companions, who are

¹ By order of King Teimuraz II., this cross was, during troublous times, taken to the mountains, and placed in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Anamûr. Afterwards it was removed to Russia, by the metropolitan Timothy in 1749, and given to the Princess Bakara Wakhtangovitsa, in Moscow. For its later wandering see p. 66.

annually commemorated in the Armenian Church on June 3 and 4. They were members of a religious community in Rome. Having become the objects of Diocletian's persecution—Rhipsimé having refused to become the wife of the heathen Emperor—they fled from Rome in a body, and took shelter in Armenia. But the Emperor's search-warrant soon followed and discovered them, and they were at first tortured, and then slain, and their corpses were thrown to wild beasts.

On reaching the borders of Iberia, A.D. 324, Nina planted the first cross on the Mountains of Djawakheti, and preached the Gospel in the town of Achal-Kalaki, Urbnis, and at last in Mtzkhètha, the capital of Iberia. There a festival in honour of the imported Persian gods Armaz and Zaden offered her an opportunity of beginning her mission with an earnest prayer to God; after which arose a dreadful storm, accompanied by unusual hailstones, that dispersed the Court and the people who were assembled at the feast. Three days after this event, ascribed by the heathens to the rage of their gods, St. Nina preached CHRIST in Mtzkhètha, and in His Name interceded successfully on behalf of the wife of the King's gardener, with whom she was staying, that a child might be granted to her. In that house she also healed the son of a widow by placing him on her bed, and covering him with her own sackcloth. This miracle drew upon St. Nina the notice of the King's wife, Sadka (Sophia), daughter of the late King Asphagor, who had long been suffering from a severe illness, and who had some knowledge of Christianity, but was not yet converted to it. St. Nina having restored her to

health, won to herself disciples from among the Queen's attendants; the Jewish priest Abiathar,¹ and his daughter Sidonia; the mother of the youth she had recovered from his sickness, and a courtier; and, lastly, she granted recovery of sight to the King himself, who had suddenly been struck blind at midday while hunting on the heights of T'hkhot'hi. The result of this cure was that the King, known by the name of Mirian, son of Shapour I, the first of the Sassanian dynasty (A.D. 265-318), renounced idolatry under the teaching of St. Nina, and was by her baptized (A.D. 332), together with his whole household, and with all the inhabitants of the capital. Mirian then sent an embassy to Byzantium, asking the Emperor, Constantine I, to have a bishop and priests sent to him. While awaiting the arrival of these Ecclesiastics, the King levelled his own vine-garden and built a temple, which was afterwards replaced by a noble edifice, A.D. 364-379, on the spot where now stands the Cathedral of Mtzkhètha.²

St. Nina, having witnessed the conversion of Iberia to the Christian Faith, withdrew from the noise of the world, and retired to the mountain pass of Bodbé,³ in Kakheti. The monastery of St. Nina at Bodbé was originally built by King Mirian immediately after her decease, and her tomb may still be seen in the present church (Wardrop, p. 81). Dr. Neale mentions the very small fourth-century church of Signach as possessing the remains of St. Nina. On a stone of the south door is the

¹ "The new Paul," who became a fearless preacher of Christianity.

² *A Short History of the Georgian Church*, translated by Malan, ch. i.

³ Originally a Hebrew settlement.

inscription: "I George restored it." This monarch was King Georgi. Bodbé is on one of the neighbouring hills near Signach. When at last she was about to enter into rest, she sent for the King and Queen, gave them her last request that the priest Jacob might be Bishop after John, blessed them, received the Body and Blood of CHRIST at the hands of the Bishop, and departed this life A.D. 338. On January 14 the Georgian Church commemorates "ST. NINA THE ILLUMINATOR."

In *The Age of the Fathers*, Vol. I. ch. viii. pp. 130-131, Dr. Bright gives the following sketch, which differs slightly from that already outlined by the Russian Joselian:—

"An instance in which that faith was commended to a barbarous people by unofficial zeal is supplied by the story of a captive woman, Nina or Ninia by name, whose profound devotional earnestness impressed, in the first instance, with a sense of some unearthly power the 'Iberian' or Georgian heathen among whom she dwelt. She seemed to live in prayer and fast, in vigil and thanksgiving; her bed was a sack spread on the ground. Why did she go through all this? The question was soon answered: This was 'the right way of worshipping the SON of GOD.' 'The SON of GOD, who was He?' Something of an answer was given when a mother, according to the simple custom of these poor barbarians, brought her sick child from one house to another in hopes of finding some one that knew of a cure. The foreign captive at last was applied to. 'I know of no medicine,' she answered, 'but I also know that CHRIST healed many—CHRIST the true and great GOD—and I

believe He will heal this child also.' She laid the little one on her rough bed, prayed over it, and presently restored it to the mother. The child from that very hour did well. A similar prayer of faith was followed by the recovery of the Iberian Queen from sickness. The stranger was warmly thanked, but answered, 'It is not my work, but the work of CHRIST, the SON of GOD, that made the world.' The King, whose name is given as Miran, offered her a reward; she put it aside, saying, 'You could but reward me by acknowledging my GOD.' He treasured up the saying. Next day, having lost his way while hunting amid a dense mist, he called first on his own gods in vain, then appealed to the GOD of the foreign woman, and saw his path lying clear before him. In due time he and his wife became converts, and afterwards active preachers of Christianity. Priests were obtained from Gregory, 'The Illuminator' of Armenia, or, by another account, from the Roman Empire; and Georgia, as we now call it, took its place among Christian lands, and looked back with grateful reverence to its 'illuminator' Nina. The story, as told by Rufinus, was learnt by him from one who had been a prince of the land whom he calls Bacarius."¹

¹ The legends in connection with St. Nina in Wardrop's *Kingdom of Georgia*, pp. 39-42, vary from those described by Dr. Bright and others. There is no allusion to St. Nina in Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, 1911.

CHAPTER III

MTZKHÈTHA

(Fourth Century)

ALTHOUGH Mtzkhètha, surrounded by mountains, at the junction of the River Aragwa with the Kùra, is at present only a poor village, it was formerly the capital of Iberia, before Tiflis became the seat of government.

Georgian chroniclers call it the most ancient town in the world. They assert that it was founded by Mtzkhetos, son of Karthlos, who lived in the fifth generation after Noah.

According to Georgian and Armenian historians, Hebrews settled in Iberia before the times of Nebuchadrezzar.

The city of Mtzkhètha was celebrated for its Cathedral, dedicated to the Twelve Apostles, and founded A.D. 328 by King Mirian on the very spot on which our SAVIOUR'S Tunic, brought from Golgotha by the Hebrew Youth Elioze, was found buried.¹ It was also the seat of the Metropolitan.

It was here that St. Nina, strengthened by heavenly visions, is said to have received, at the hands of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a cross made of the wood of the vine, which she planted at last in this Iberian capital.

In A.D. 378 Mithridates caused the wooden

¹ See p. 36 on the Hebrew Youth Elioze.

church, built by Mirian on his conversion to Christianity, to be replaced by a stone edifice. One hundred and twenty years later it was restored by King Vakhtang Gurgaslan, who was crowned in it, and placed a Bishop there. Later on, the same King made it the seat of a Catholicos.

The Rev. F. G. Cole, author of *Mother of All Churches*, has sent me an interesting note on this title of CATHOLICOS, which is worthy of consideration. It may be read with the article on CATHOLICOS by the late Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes in *The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 1875.

“In investigating the history of the Nestorians I found from Wigram’s *The Assyrian Church* a confirmation of the truth that the dependence upon Antioch of those National Churches outside the Roman Empire has been much exaggerated. I think that the very title Catholicos implied a quasi-independence of a Patriarchate. The Patriarchates followed the lines of the Roman divisions of empire. And when a National Church was formed *outside the Roman Empire*, it was difficult to place it, so that the tendency was for such a Church to become separated from the rest of the Church. I do not know how far this applies to Georgia, but I think it certainly applies to the Catholicates of Armenia and of the Assyrian Church. A schism was bound to take place in the case of war with the Roman Empire undertaken by these Nations.”

Mr. Malan, in his *Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, p. 33-34, confirms the above statements—

“The term and title ‘Catholicos’ is of Greek origin. In the Eastern Church it was given to

Bishops sent outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire, with full hierarchical powers over the flocks of their co-religionists, yet subject to the authority of the Ecclesiastics by whom they had been ordained and sent forth. Thus until the twelfth century there were subject to the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch two Catholicoi in the interior of Asia."

Archil (A.D. 413-461), son of Miridat IV, married Sandrekhta, whom he converted to the Christian religion. She built a Temple in Mtskhètha to the memory of the Proto-Martyr St. Stephen, and called it *Sion*.

During the reign of Queen Tamara—the golden age of Georgian literature (A.D. 1150-1174)—she called a Synod at Mtskhètha for the purpose of strengthening the Church, and harmonizing its institutions with the Greek Church.

Not until the later portion of the Middle Ages was the regal seat transferred from Mtskhètha, the ancient Grusinian residence, to Tiflis; and from that period, too, dates the decline of this once powerful kingdom.

When the Mongols invaded Iberia, A.D. 1176-1229, the Christians suffered severely. By order of Genghis Khan there was nothing left in Mtskhètha but traces of the walls and mounds of ruins; he slew all the inhabitants; and he witnessed himself the destruction, down to the foundations, of the Cathedral—a beautiful relic of ancient architecture.

The city received its last blow from Timor the Lame (by corruption, Tamerlane), the celebrated Oriental conqueror (c. A.D. 1400). The difficulty of defending it against enemies covetous of its riches

was so great that the Iberian kings of that period resolved to allow it to fall into decay. Numerous remains of churches, royal and episcopal palaces, scattered along the banks of the Kùra and Aragwa, and on neighbouring hills, attest the former greatness and splendour of the city.

Mtzkhètha, however, was not destined to be finally annihilated, for the pious King Alexander I (A.D. 1414–1442) refounded the Exarchal Church, which still exists with a dignity that would not have disgraced an earlier and a better age.

An earthquake damaged the cupola in the sixteenth century, which was repaired by the Queen Marianna, and by the King Vakhtang.

Many of the sovereigns, patriarchs, and ancient men of Georgia are buried in the Cathedral at Mtzkhètha, viz. George XIII, the last king of the country (A.D. 1800), the Queen Anna Abashidsé (A.D. 1749), and others.

In 1795 the city was captured and burnt by the Persians, but the famous Cathedral was spared at the entreaty of the Khan of Nachitschewan, who remonstrated against the desecration of the tombs of so many of Georgia's brave kings (Wardrop).

There are many ancient MSS. in the Library attached to the Cathedral, which was externally renovated in 1865, and stands on the site of the first Christian Church in Georgia.

A great many pilgrims visit Mtzkhètha on October 1–13.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH AND IBERIA

(*Fourth Century*)

“EARLY did Antioch begin to wrestle with the persecutors of Christianity. In the time of Constantine the Great, and of Bishop Eustathius, Sapor, King of Persia (c. A.D. 336), attacked Antioch, and many Christians became the victims of his persecution. Delivered from the Persian yoke by Constantine, Antioch began to extend the true Faith into Georgia. The King of Georgia and the people wished to be baptized; St. Eustathius, by command of Constantine the Great, set off to Georgia, with priests and clergy, and with Bacarius, the heir to the Georgian throne [who had hitherto been kept as a hostage by the Emperor Constantine]. They brought the Georgian King sacred presents from Constantine, some monuments of the LORD’S Passion, including the nail from the holy cross, now preserved in the Cathedral of the Assumption, at Moscow. This nail was transferred to Moscow from Georgia by King Archil in 1686. The King and his people were baptized, bishops were consecrated, priests established Divine Service, and by preaching accomplished the conversion of all Iberia to Christianity from the shores of the Black Sea almost to the Albanian Mountains, and from the Caucasus to the Persian dominions.”¹

¹ Neale’s *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, “The Patriarchate of Antioch,” Appendix II, p. 201. 1873.

The arrival of the saintly Confessor, St. Eustathius the Great (A.D. 325–331), twenty-fifth Patriarch of Antioch, in Iberia is not mentioned either by Greek historians or by any of the Byzantine writers. It must be remembered that the title of Patriarch first of all belonged to the Bishops of Antioch, even before the first Œcumenical Council (A.D. 325), at which the Patriarchate of Constantinople was established. All greater and lesser Asia, and all the countries of the East, were at first under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch. It has been supposed by *some* historians that St. Eustathius, who had been translated from the see of Berrhœa (Aleppo), Syria, presided at the General Council of Nicæa.

The following account by Joselian, taken from documents made over by Emperors of Constantinople and Kings of Georgia to the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos, is preserved there unto this day.

The Ecclesiastics from Antioch dedicated the first Temple to the name of the SAVIOUR, and the second to the Twelve Apostles. Having thus built up and established peace and concord in the new land of the Christian Faith, the Patriarch returned to Antioch, but not before he had consecrated the native Presbyter John as Bishop of Iberia.¹

¹ Whether *Eustace* of Antioch, sent by Constantine the Great to Iberia, as mentioned by Mr. A. H. Keane, under the heading of GEORGIA, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, is the same prelate as St. Eustathius the Patriarch who entered into rest c. A.D. 337, and St. Eustathius, Metropolitan of Mtzkhètha, commemorated in the Georgian Kalendar on July 29, is, I think, exceedingly doubtful.

Dr. Adrian Fortescue in his *The Orthodox Eastern Church* states that "Eustathius of Antioch came with priests and deacons, and ordained a certain John as first Bishop of Iberia."

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Joselian, p. 203, when mentioning the name of John I as the first "Archbishop" of Georgia, has evidently antedated his consecration.

Originally dependent upon the Patriarchate of Antioch, this daughter Iberian Church, *beyond the Roman Empire*, continued in subjection till c. A.D. 556, when Pharsman III severed this ancient connection, a separation which was finally completed by the Catholicos Saba in A.D. 601. And yet, strangely, even to-day, Gregorius, the present Orthodox Syrian Patriarch of Antioch (whose Cathedral is at Damascus), terms himself *Patriarch of Iberia*.

His official title is "The Most Blessed and Holy Patriarch of the Great-Divine City *Antioch*, Syria, Arabia, Cilicia, IBERIA, Mesopotamia, and all the East. Father of Fathers, and Pastor of Pastors."

In the course of time the allegiance of the Georgian Church was transferred to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, with whose consent Archbishop Peter received the title of Catholicos of Mtskheta and all Georgia, becoming an independent ruler of an autocephalous Church, having thirty-seven Suffragan Bishops assigned to his jurisdiction.

Palmer, in his *Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies*, remarks "that there are satisfactory means of ascertaining the order, substance, and generally the expressions, of the Solemn Liturgy used all through the Patriarchate of Antioch and Jerusalem before the year 451; that the Liturgy thus ascertained coincides with the notices which the Fathers of that country give concerning their Liturgy during the fifth and fourth centuries; that this Liturgy was used in the whole Patriarchate of Antioch in the fourth century with little variety; that it prevailed in the

third century, and even in the second. The Liturgy of St. James in Greek and Syriac may therefore be considered to be derived from the most primitive times.”¹

It may therefore be safely concluded that the Orthodox Iberian Church included among their *earliest* office-books the Liturgy of St. James (both in Syriac and Greek).

¹ *Origines Liturgicæ*, by the Rev. William Palmer, vol. i. p. 43. Rivingtons, 1845.

CHAPTER V

THE GEORGIAN CHURCH IN JERUSALEM ¹

(*Fourth Century*)

KING MIRIAN (according to Georgian tradition) wishing to acquaint himself with the sacred places, went by the advice of St. Nina to Jerusalem, where he had an interview with the Emperor Constantine, and begged of him the site in Jerusalem called *Lotosa*, whereon to build a Convent to the name of the Holy Cross.

My authority for this last statement—an unreliable one—is the Russian Joselian, p. 35, but the late revered Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Wordsworth), in his lengthy article on CONSTANTINUS I—Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, 1911—makes no allusion to the Emperor's visit to Jerusalem. The Emperor "had wished once," he said, "to be baptized in Jordan, but GOD had decided otherwise."

The Georgians, though at the present day scarcely known in the Holy City, yet claim special attention, next to the Greek Church, not by reason of their orthodoxy and consequent intercourse with Orthodox Eastern Churches, but on account of their early establishment in the neighbourhood of the sacred sites at Jerusalem, and the great importance which formerly belonged to them.

¹ This chapter (since revised) appeared as an Article in the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1911.

The Convent at Jerusalem, dedicated to the "Holy Cross of our Salvation" (of the Holy Cross)—*Deir el-Musallebeh*—is said to have been founded by the Georgian King, Tatian, in the fifth century. He is one of the three Georgian kings depicted over the inner portal of the church. The Convent was built apparently on the land previously granted to Mirian, the first Christian ruler of Georgia, by the Emperor Constantine I (A.D. 265–342), out of sympathy with his having undertaken, like Helena, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at an advanced age. It is situated in a shallow stone wady, about one and a half miles west of the city walls. It derives its name from the Holy Cross, the wood of which is supposed to have grown near this spot. The *Church* of the Holy Cross, according to the Rev. T. P. Themelis, was probably built by the Emperor Heraclius, A.D. 610–641.

In the flourishing days of Georgia, *i. e.* the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Convent was adorned with many learned men—this being their head-quarters. During the troublous times of Georgia, and the massacre of Georgian monks by invading Ethiopians, the Convent of the Cross passed into the hands of the Armenians. My friend Mr. Themelis takes exception to the statement that the Armenians became *possessors*. Some Armenian monks, he says, lived for a fixed period of time in the Convent, as well as Jacobites in 1508, and Nestorians in 1565. The King of Georgia, having asked it of the Sultan of Egypt himself, restored to the original possessors this ancient pile of buildings. It was formerly only one of at least eleven religious houses in Palestine belonging to Georgia. Destroyed by the Samaritans, rebuilt by St. Sabas (c. A.D. 491),

and sacked by the Saracens (A.D. 1099), it was eventually sold to the Orthodox Greeks by the Georgian monks.

The present seventh-century church contains an exceptionally fine specimen of mosaic decoration which covers the floor of the old Georgian building. It long bore traces of the murders of the Christians who had sought shelter within the Sanctuary, when Chosroes II, the Persian King, and his heathen army broke in upon them. The great purple stains, no longer visible, testified to the fate of these martyrs, while at the same time giving us some certainty as to the age of this most interesting mosaic. Accurate information is so scanty in connection with the Georgian occupancy in Palestine that some of the following details about Golgotha must be accepted with hesitation.¹

But one thing is clear. The Georgians were at once among the wealthiest and most influential of the Christian communities in Jerusalem. As, however, their native land declined in its far-off mountain home, so also did its representatives in the Holy City. The Greeks and Armenians gradually bought up their convents and properties, and to-day the Georgians are dependent upon the former for hospitality when their pilgrims visit any of the sacred shrines.

We find among other works of the Emperor Justinian, in the middle of the sixth century, that he repaired the convent of the Iberians in Jerusalem,

¹ Dr. Neale complains (*Hist. H. E. Church*, Vol. I. p. 61) that the accounts of the Georgian Church are deplorably inaccurate and ignorant. I am indebted to the Rev. T. P. Themelis for most of the details about Golgotha.

and another of the Lazi, a tribe of the same family, in the desert of Jerusalem.

During the occupancy of the Mamelukes,¹ the Patriarch of Jerusalem bravely received the Georgians, and gave them two Convents: St. Nicholas, next the Patriarchate, and Holy Cross. Eventually they also obtained the following Convents: St. John the Theologian, St. Theodore, St. Demetrius, St. Thekla, and St. Catherine. The Armenian Convent of St. James the son of Zebedee, originally founded by the Georgians in the eleventh century, was sold by them to the Armenians four hundred years later.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century King Bagrat, Curopalat of Georgia, received from the Greek Emperor one half of Golgotha, and set over it his own Bishop.

The fortunes of Cata-Monas (a place of retirement), the country official residence of the Orthodox Greek Patriarch, seems in olden days to have been associated with those of the Convent of the Cross. Catamon, traditionally the family dwelling-place, and enclosing the estate of St. Simeon (Luke ii. 25), became with the site of this Convent, A.D. 1177, the property of Vakhtang, the Iberian King, who built and established there a religious house. Georgian inscriptions were discovered by the Greek monk Abramios in 1859.

In A.D. 1308 the Georgians, having been helped by the Greeks, occupied the whole of the Sanctuary of Golgotha. The Latins sometimes associated this portion of the Church of the Resurrection with

¹ It is said that great numbers of these celebrated Mamelukes were Georgians.

Spaniards, not an unusual mistake, as Spain was anciently called Iberia, the principal river being Iberus (Ebro). In A.D. 1350 Rudolph von Suchen states that the Iberians possessed the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. In A.D. 1475 the Iberians are reported to have taken Golgotha under their protection. When the prosperous days of Georgia began to wane, one half of Golgotha was purchased partly by Greeks and partly by Armenians.

In A.D. 1507 the German Councillor Baumgarten, who visited Jerusalem, speaks of the Iberian establishment on Mount Calvary. At the commencement of this century they enjoyed immunities which were conceded to no other Christians in Jerusalem. Their pilgrims, according to the Rev. George Williams (*The Holy City*, Vol. II. pt. ii. ch. 6), were free from those vexatious imposts which others had to pay, and their men and women entered the Holy City in *full* armour, with their banners displayed, in martial array, nor did the infidels dare to molest them. They ranked fourth in the Church of the Resurrection, and owned the Chapel of the Discovery of the Holy Cross.

The Franciscan Convent of St. Salvator was first occupied by the fraternity during the latter part of the sixteenth century, after their expulsion from the Coenaculum in A.D. 1560. St. Salvator, partly rebuilt, probably occupies the site of the famous Iberian Convent, erected by King Vakhtang (A.D. 446-449).¹

The advancement of the Franciscans in Jerusalem has been contemporaneous with the decline of the Georgians, who were their predecessors in the care of the Holy Places.

Hanauer's *Walks about Jerusalem*, pp. 31, 32.

In A.D. 1606 the Orthodox Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius V, by paying a liberal sum of money, once more secured Golgotha for the Iberians.

It is strange that in the late Dr. C. Schick's excellent historical *Guide to the Church to the Holy Sepulchre* there is not the slightest allusion to any Georgian occupancy in Golgotha.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the late Rev. G. Williams states that King Vaktang VI sent a present of 2000 tomans¹ as an offering to the Holy Sepulchre.

Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (c. A.D. 1672), secured all the Jerusalem property of the Iberians for the Greeks.

In the nineteenth century the aged Superior of the Convent of the Cross was murdered by Arabs.

No attempt has been made by Russia to restore to the Georgians their former privileges in the Church of the Anastasis, viz. the Chapel of Adam, and one of the altars on Calvary, of which the Greeks came once more into possession after the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by fire in 1808. As a matter of fact the Russians themselves have no vested rights in this historic church. As has been already stated, at one time the Georgians possessed at least eleven religious houses in Jerusalem, chiefly upon the Mount of Olives (c. A.D. 809). To-day there is not, according to Nicandros, the Metropolitan of Ptolemais, a single resident Georgian within the Holy City. Only pilgrims from Tiflis visit Jerusalem for the Easter festivities.

¹ Toman = Persian coin, value a little over 3s.

There are many Georgian manuscripts in the library of St. Constantine, Jerusalem.

In September 1879, at the large Greek Convent of St. Constantine, the late Herr Schick discovered a stone in the corner of a wall, on which was a large and very well-cut inscription. Prof. Zagarelli, of St. Petersburg, pointed out, in 1881, that it was of considerable importance to Georgian history, as it proves the long continuance of the Georgians within the Holy Land by the fact that at various times they built and supported convents. The Professor also drew attention to its importance palæographically, as being a specimen of the ancient Georgian ecclesiastical characters. The following is the translation—

“CHRIST. Holy Nicholas be thou intercessor with CHRIST for the Queen (=Princess) of Kachetien, Elizabeth, formerly Helena.”

This Helena here mentioned is doubtless the daughter of the King of Kachetia, David II (A.D. 1604),¹ and sister of Teimuraz I (1605–1665).

She first journeyed (c. 1615) to Persia, and later (1625) to Jerusalem, where she founded the Convent of St. Nicholas, in which she became a nun, under the name of Elizabeth, or, according to some inscriptions, Anastasia.²

¹ Lynch, in *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, Vol. I. p. 365, gives David II a much earlier date.

² Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement*, April 1883, pp. 112, 113.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARMENIAN AND GEORGIAN CHURCHES

(*Fifth Century*)

THE *Armenian* Church inserts the name of St. Nina in its Kalendar on June 11, thus claiming her as one of *its* Saints.

The Georgian version of the Holy Scriptures is ascribed to the sixth century, but according to Armenian tradition was the work of St. Mesrob, the founder of Armenian literature, who also invented, it is said, the Georgian Alphabet.¹ Georgian historians, however, ascribe the invention of Georgian letters to P'harnavaz I, the first King of Iberia, 302–237 B.C., a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The Georgian characters are of two kinds—civil and ecclesiastical.

In A.D. 580, on the decease of the Georgian Patriarch, a dispute arose respecting his successor. Not being able to come to an agreement, the Georgians wrote to Moses II, A.D. 551–594, the Armenian Patriarch, authorizing him to select and consecrate a fitting head for their National Church. Moses thereupon nominated Gurion, a scholarly and pious ecclesiastic, who, although a Georgian by origin, had been appointed some time before a Bishop in Armenia.

¹ St. Mesrob's reputed dwelling-place was at Palu, in the Kurd country. The district of Mush claims to have been his birthplace.

Immediately after his election he returned to Georgia and caused a correct account of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, with its "XXX canons of the holy and fourth Synods of Chalcedon," to be brought from Constantinople, and a precise translation of the Code of St. Leo to be made.¹ These documents being carefully examined, the Georgians and some neighbouring nations consented to acknowledge the decisions of the Council.

The following year Moses became so feeble through old age that he appointed a Vicar in the person of the Vardabet Vertanès. Moses' successor was Abraham I, A.D. 594-617. This Armenian Patriarch disapproved of Gurion accepting the Council of Chalcedon. He had previously written thrice to him to decline receiving it. Gurion's reply is worthy of reproduction: "I am astonished that you are at variance with all the other Churches of CHRIST, which declare that the Creed of the Council of Chalcedon is precisely the same with that of the three other Councils." Abraham, not believing the Council in question to be orthodox, and being unable to persuade Gurion against it, convoked a Synod of Bishops in Duin, when they anathematized him, and all those who accepted it. Thus they isolated the Armenian Church from all those who approved the Council of Chalcedon.

Gurion, on being informed of this action of the Armenian Patriarch, was much grieved, and complained to the Emperor Maurice, who immediately

¹ See "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church," second series, Vol. XIV., *The Council of Chalcedon*, pp. 243-295. Oxford, 1890.

ordered an Assembly to be held at Constantinople, to which he invited both Greek and Armenian prelates. Abraham sent his Vardabets Vertanès and Gregory as his proxies, with nineteen Armenian Bishops. After careful investigation and much deliberation, the Council of Chalcedon was declared Orthodox, but Vertanès and Gregory refused to recognize this decision, and returned to Armenia.¹

Until the Council of Chalcedon the Armenian Church was in close union with the Eastern Church. But in the sixth century the greater portion of the Armenian Church fell apart from the Greek by rejecting the fourth Œcumenical Council. As a matter of fact it was impossible for them to send deputies to this Council, of whose decisions they therefore remained in ignorance.²

In A.D. 1089, the flourishing period of the nation, it pleased GOD to raise to the Throne of Georgia the illustrious monarch, St. David III (the Reformer). He all but reduced the Armenians to Orthodoxy in the Council of Ani, after victoriously storming this city. John III, Catholicos of Iberia, presided over the Synod, with the assistance of three of his learned bishops. These prelates might have been inclined to recognize the orthodoxy of the Armenian bishops present at the Synod, but the Armenian people, having received information of this opinion, would not hear of the least alteration in their Faith; consequently the Synod rose without any results. Ani,

¹ *Armenia and Armenians*, Vol. II., by the Rev. Dr. James Issaverdenz, pp. 103-105. Venice, 1875; and the *Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, Mahan, pp. 34-35. Rivingtons, 1868.

² For further information on "The Orthodoxy of the Armenian Church," see the Author's *The Armenian Church*, pp. 60-64. S.P.C.K., 1910.

once the capital of Armenia, contains an interesting cathedral, built by the Georgians A.D. 1251, to whom the city then belonged.

Again, c. A.D. 1147, the Church of Constantinople made fresh efforts under the Emperor Michael Comnene to induce Armenian bishops to give up every cause of difference between themselves and Georgians, but, eventually, they did not succeed.

Both in Armenia and Georgia the chief ecclesiastic is called "Catholicos."¹

In Russia the Government of the Armenian Church, so far as the Eparchy of Georgia is concerned, as settled by the Emperor's will on March 11, 1836, extends over churches in Georgia, Elizabethpol, etc. The Archbishop lives in Tiflis, and has three vicars—(1) in Elisabethal; (2) in Achaltzich; and (3) in Imereti.

¹ See ch. iii. p. 45.

CHAPTER VII

TIFLIS

(*Fifth Century*)

BEFORE attempting to give a slight outline of continuous Georgian Church troubles in Tiflis, it may be well to mention that this City of Tiflis, or rather Tp'hilis, on the Mtewari or Kùra, was built by King Vakhtang, surnamed Gurgaslan (wolf-skin), who transferred his capital from Mtzkhètha, the ancient Grusinian residence, to the warm mineral springs of Tp'hilis-Kalaky, where he erected several churches in the fifth century. This city, according to Joselian, p. 60, was made a royal residence, and became the seat of government under Datchi, 34th King of Georgia, A.D. 499. Thielmann, on the other hand, asserts that Tiflis did not become the regal seat until the latter portion of the Middle Ages, and from that period dates the decline of this once powerful kingdom.

In A.D. 570 the Persians took the city, and made it the residence of their rulers, but retained it for only ten years.

Tiflis underwent successive plunderings and devastations at the hands of the Greeks in A.D. 626, and one of the commanders of Omar, A.D. 731.

About A.D. 750 the royal residence (the Windsor of Georgia) of Tiflis was exposed to the invasion of Mervan, the last and fiercest Caliph of the Omniades, the Prophet's vicegerent upon earth.

The Persian barbarians revelled in the despair and lamentations of the citizens. They defiled the sanctuaries, offered violence to religious women, slew the priests, and sprinkled their blood upon the altars. It was during this time of woeful tribulation that the two brothers David and Constantine, powerful princes, suffered martyrdom for their courageous confession of CHRIST.¹ A countless host of martyrs contended for the faith, among whom was Shushanika (Susanna) Queen of Rhan, the wife of King Alexander, and the sister of Archil, King of Dahestán, who entered the palace of Tiflis as a bride at the age of sixteen years (see ch. x).

In the course of time Tiflis fell repeatedly into Arab hands. Their last expedition was during the reign of Bagrat I.

In A.D. 1064 the Seljuks under Arp-Aslan destroyed the city and slaughtered the inhabitants.

George II ascended the throne A.D. 1072, and during his reign Tiflis was again devastated by the Seljuks, the King himself being forced to fly. With his valiant son and successor, David III, the country from Tiflis to Ani was freed, A.D. 1123, by Ivan Orbeliani. When, in 1177, Demna had attained his majority, the nobles desirous of supporting the young prince's claims called upon Ivan to place him on the throne.

George III died in 1184, and was succeeded by his only daughter, the great Queen Tamara. In A.D. 1618 under the monster Shah Abbas "the Cruel," whom infidel historians have dignified with the title of "the Great," the martyrdoms increased. Having won victories in Georgia during his long

¹ See ch. xxii, Sermon by Bishop Gabriel, of Imereti, p. 121.

reign, treading under foot everything in his way to Tiflis, he butchered the population, reducing to ashes towns, villages, churches and monasteries. The Christians, feeling no confidence in their military affairs, put their whole trust in GOD. The churches were filled with earnest suppliants. Fasts were proclaimed, and, preparing for death, they partook of the Blessed Sacrament. Shah Abbas burned them by thousands. At last Shah Abbas I, having slaked his thirst for blood, began to feel GOD's hand heavy upon him. Proclaiming great admiration for Christianity, he offered the valuable hilt of his sword, and with other gifts he acknowledged the Christian courage of the Georgians.

St. Ketevan, Queen of Cachetia, suffered the most cruel martyrdom for her firmness in the Christian Faith on the arrival of Shah Abbas the Cruel. The Church commemorates her death on September 13 (see ch. xx).

Rostom, Tzarevitch of Georgia, who was brought up in Persia, and who embraced Islam, mounted the throne of Kartalinia A.D. 1634, bringing with him every kind of vice. He imprisoned Eudemon I, the fifty-seventh Catholicos, and ordered him to be thrown down from the highest rock in Tiflis, a height of upwards of three hundred feet. This aged prelate, despising the cruelty of the King, ceased not night and day by prayers and with tears to exhort the wailing city to abide true to the faith of their fathers. Rostom's queen, Maria, however, protected the Church to the utmost of her power.

The last and most heavy trial of the Church was the irruption of the Persian armies under Mahomed-Khan in 1795. They took Tiflis, almost

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all the property of the royal house, and reduced the palace and the whole of the city to a heap of ruins. The most horrible atrocities were committed. The Catholicos St. Dositheus, who had not come out of the Synod of Sion, was thrown from a balcony into the river Kùra, and they plundered his house, setting fire to it. An end was put to these horrors only when there remained not a living soul in Tiflis.

The Bagratian monarchs claim descent from David by his adulterous intercourse with the wife of Uriah!

The Cathedral of Tiflis, an example of the typical Georgian Church which still stands in the midst of the city, traces back its origin to the eleventh century, but in the interval it has suffered much and often. It was formerly the seat of the Catholicos, and is now of the Georgian Exarch. In it is preserved in front of the altar the cross of St. Nina, formed of vine branches bound together with the saint's hair—the most precious relic in Georgia. St. Nina was strengthened by heavenly visions, and according to an ancient tradition received at the hands of the Blessed Virgin Mary a cross made of the wood of the vine. Armenian historians have a great deal to say about this cross, called the cross of Nina. The Georgian Prince Alexandrovitch, Bakhara's grandson, offered it, in 1801, to the Emperor Alexander I, who sent it back to Tiflis as a relic of the Georgian Church. From that date it has been preserved by the side of St. Nina's picture in the cathedral church of the Synod of Sion.

Churches in Georgia that are not domed, and

are dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, are called *Sion*. The reason of the name is not certain.

Tiflis consists of three towns: Tiflis, Cala, and Isni (or Nisani), separated from each other by the Kùra and other streams. It contains several fine churches, such as St. David, St. George, the Holy Trinity, the Transfiguration, the Raising of the Cross, etc.

The late Rev. E. L. Cutts, D.D., who went by desire of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Assyrian Christians, visited Tiflis in 1877. He states, "In the town we found a considerable Christian population. The poorer Nestorians go in large numbers to Russia, much as the Irish used to come to England at harvest time in search of work; and some of them settle in Russia. About Erivan, for example, there are two or three Nestorian villages, and about Tiflis others. Tiflis is the centre of the floating Nestorian population."—*Russia, Past and Present*, by Henrietta M. Chester, pp. 331–334. S.P.C.K., 1881. The present population consists of 160,645 souls. "Sixty-two distinct languages," say the ethnologists, "are spoken in its streets."

Additional information concerning the present condition of Tiflis may be found in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Russia*, etc., pp. 397–399, 1875; Thielmann's *Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey*, Vol. I. ch. iv. John Murray, 1875. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIII., 1888; Wardrop's *Kingdom of Georgia: Tiflis*, pp. 8–33. Sampson, Low & Co., 1888.¹

¹ Mr. Lynch in *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, Vol. I. 1901, has an interesting photograph of a *stoled* Armenian nun in Tiflis.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THIRTEEN SYRIAN FATHERS

A.D. 541–555¹

(*Sixth Century*)

DURING the reign of P'harsom III the Georgian Church became independent of Byzantine authority, although the Catholicos of Mtzkhètha and Iberia submitted to the judgement of the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

A great impulse was given to Christianity in Georgia at this time by the arrival of *the thirteen Syrian Fathers*. An air of mystery surrounds them. They are said to have reached Mtzkhètha by crossing the river dry shod. These thirteen champions of the Faith astonished not only the wondering people, but also the Catholicos Eulabius himself. They infused new life into the Church. "Their advent and influence suggest the coming of the friars into England."—*Dr. Adeney*.

The re-conversion of Lazis and Ap'hkhazes, and the inhabitants of Colchis, who had been forced into temporary apostasy by the Caucasians was one of the firstfruits of this increase of vigour.

¹ Some Georgian writers place the arrival of the Syrian Fathers in A.D. 440 or 445. The list of their names, etc., as given below, is taken from Joselian. There is no allusion to them in Neale's *Patriarchate of Antioch*. Rivingtons, 1873.

Hymns of thanksgiving in their honour are still sung in Georgian churches. Besides special days set apart in their honour, their general feast is kept on May 7.

Their reputed burial-places are marked by churches still standing.

Georgian historians have preserved the names of all these men, and the lives of some of them. They were (1) Ioane, or John, the chief, and teacher of all the others; (2) Abib, Aviv, or Abibos; (3) Antoni, or Antonius; (4) Davith, or David; (5) Zenoa; (6) Thathé, or Thaddæus; (7) Ise, or Jesse; (8) Ioseph, or Joseph; (9) Isidore; (10) Michael; (11) Piros; (12) Stephanes; (13) Shio; and the Deacon Elias, the constant fellow-traveller with John. These men, sent to the Eparchs with directions from the King and Catholicos, chose for their abodes places suited to the preaching of the Gospel, thus—

1. *Ioane, or John*, the oldest of them all, settled on the rugged hill Zedaone, not far from Mtzkhètha. After pulling down the remains of the heathen temples there, this champion of the Faith shed forth from his narrow cell the gifts of GOD'S blessing on the people that came to him. His saintly life and miracles are still commemorated by the Georgians on May 7. After his decease a church was dedicated to his memory on that same spot, the ruins of which still exist.

2. *Abib, Aviv, or Abibos of Nekress*, who, at the request of the Catholicos and King, accepted the Bishopric of Nekress, reduced the number of fire-worshippers, and brought back to the Faith the inhabitants of the Caucasus. The chief of the fire-worshippers, however, seized Aviv, stoned him to

death, and cast his body for food to wild beasts and birds of prey. The remains of this martyr were eventually laid in the Cathedral of Mtzkhètha. His festival is celebrated on November 29.

3. *Antoni*, or *Antonius*, settled on the wooded hills of Martkobi, and from that solitude he obtained the name of *Martkobi the Hermit*. After living a long time unknown, he was at last discovered by stag-hunters, subsisting on doe's milk and seated on a pillar, struggling against death. A church was afterwards built on that spot. His memory is revered, not only on January 19, but also on August 16.

4. *Davith* or *David*, was the founder of the Garedja hermitage, renowned until A.D. 1780 for the number of hermits, of grottos hewn in the solid rock by their hands, and for the variety and riches of its churches. Garedja was celebrated for many a worker of miracles, one of which, a very strange one, is recorded by Wardrop, p. 19. The feast of this saint is kept on the Thursday of the seventh week after Easter.

7. *Ise*, or *Jesse*, was consecrated Bishop of Silcania (Tsilkani) against his will, but at the request of King Pharsom III. This saint, renowned for his sanctity and miracles, ended his earthly life at Tsilkani. His feast is celebrated on December 2.

8. *Ioseph*, or *Joseph*, after having preached the Faith to the inhabitants of Eastern Kakheti, sowed its seeds also among the mountains, which, however, were soon destroyed by the rough mountaineers. Unable to endure any traces of heathenism, this holy man pleaded with the Catholicos and King for more churches, and increased zeal in maintaining the

Faith undefiled. The festival of St. Joseph of Alaverdi is kept on September 15, and his relics rest in the large temple of Alaverdi, the most spacious of all Georgian churches built during his lifetime, and dedicated to St. George. It was rebuilt at the close of the ninth century by Cyricus, the Lord of Kachetia. Since then a violent earthquake in A.D. 1530 overturned the tower, which was restored by King Leo. It fell again, and was rebuilt by Queen Tamara with imperishable timber. The dedication of this temple has been changed, and it is now called the Cathedral of the Exaltation of the Cross of Alaverdi.

13. *Shio*, surnamed *The Anchorite*, was remembered for his humility and miracles while living in a cavern hewn by himself in the rock. Tradition says that he was fed by a dove which brought him food in his retreat. The great ecclesiastical historian Evagrius was led to betake himself to that solitude, and to request Shio to admit him into it. Evagrius built a church and hermitage on this spot, and dedicated them to the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹ St. Shio, the Anchorite of Mghvime, is commemorated on May 9 and on the Thursday before Lent.

The particulars of the lives of the other six Syrian Fathers were lost during the Persian and Turkish incursions into Georgia, but hymns of thanksgiving in their honour are still sung in the Churches. Besides special days set apart for the honour of some of them, their general feast is kept on May 7.

¹ Dr. Neale states that this "Cathedral of the SHIO-MIGVEM-SKY Monastery was built by St. David the Restorer."

CHAPTER IX

THE GEORGIAN BIBLE

(*Sixth Century*)

DR. GINSBURG speaks of the Georgian Bible as one of the oldest Versions of the Holy Scriptures extant.

Prof. F. C. Burkett says: "The Georgian Version shows signs of having been originally made from the old Syriac."

This Version is supposed to have been translated, c. A.D. 570, when the Georgians, stimulated by the example of the Armenians, sent young men of talent to Greece in order to study the Greek language. On their return they translated the Holy Scriptures from the Syriac, and the Church Books from the Greek.

According to *Armenian* tradition this Version was the work of St. Mesrob, who also invented the Georgian alphabet in the fifth century. For the translation labours of St. Mesrob see "Notes on the Armenian Church," by the Rev. Theodore Isaac, Priest of the Armenian Church, in *The Cowley Evangelist*, Oxford, 1898, pp. 174-175. The Armenians possessed a vernacular edition of the Holy Scriptures c. A.D. 396-430.

Scrivener assigns the whole of the Iberian Version to the sixth century. But the Gospels, at least, had been previously translated.

Archil, son of Miridat IV, A.D. 413-440, married a non-Christian woman, named Sandukhta, or Sagdukt, whom he converted to the Church. For her sake, and for her own especial use, the New Testament was then, for the first time, translated into the Georgian language.

The earliest Georgian Bible is composed in the ecclesiastical (Kuzuri) or ancient literary dialect, with a script consisting of thirty-eight letters, approaching the Armenian in appearance. This venerable version has shared in all the troubles to which Georgia has been subject.

The entire Books of Ecclesiasticus and of the Maccabees were lost in the many revolutions of the country, passages disappeared from different parts of the volume, and the whole text got into a state of confusion.

Dr. Bebb (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*) states that the earliest period of literary activity lasted from the fifth to the ninth century, and to it belongs a papyrus Psalter assigned to the seventh or eighth century.

The *next* period, from the tenth to the twelfth century, is known as the Classic period. To this belongs, according to Dr. Bebb, the oldest dated copy of the Gospels, assigned to A.D. 936; a MS. dated A.D. 974, of the Acts, and Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, and the earliest MS. of the whole Bible (now in part defective in the Pentateuch) dated A.D. 985 in two volumes. This last MS. is preserved in the Iberian Convent on Mount Athos.¹ To the same period belongs an important MS. of

¹ As a matter of fact this Athos Georgian Bible does *not* include the New Testament.

the Prophets, at Jerusalem, assigned to the eleventh century. In this the Minor Prophets precede the Major; in the Athos MS. this order is reversed.

The chief centres of literary activity were the Convent of Mount Sinai, where a Georgian MS. Psalter of the seventh or eighth century is preserved; the Convent of the Cross; Mar Saba, near Jerusalem; and Mount Athos; each centre having a characteristic style of writing.

The Convent of the Cross library, and that of Mar Saba, are *now* catalogued in the library of St. Constantine, Jerusalem.

It was only in the beginning of the eighteenth century that Prince Vaktangh published at Tiflis the Psalter, the Prophets, and the New Testament, and split up the text into chapters and verses.

In the course of time the text conformed to the Russian translation. Some doubt has been thrown on the value of the Moscow edition of the Georgian Scriptures because of a suggested corruption from the Slavonic.

Probably the Slavonic Version was used to supply gaps in that of the Georgian edition, the Georgian Church having held close communion with the Slavs of Christian Russia. The Slavonic Version was made from the Greek in the ninth century, and is too late to represent any ancient type of text.¹

Georgian types were cast at Moscow, and the first edition of the entire old Ecclesiastical Version appeared in 1743. From this edition the *Moscow*

¹ *The Church Quarterly Review* of October 1895 contains a valuable [Article on the *Russian Bible*, by the Rev. Dr. L. J. M. Bebb, and Dr. William Kean, the British and Foreign Bible Society's Agent at St. Petersburg, has entitled one of its popular Centenary pamphlets *The Bible in Russia*.

Bible Society reprinted the New Testament in 1816 under the superintendence of the Georgian Metropolitan, Ion, and of Archbishop Pafnat, with types cast from the very matrices which had been used for the former edition, and which had escaped the conflagration of the city at the time of Napoleon's invasion (A.D. 1812).

Another edition was published in the *civil* character (mkedralikhele), or "the Hand of the Warrior," consisting of forty letters.

In 1862 the late Rev. S. C. Malan issued an English translation of the Georgian Version of St. John's Gospel, and the British and Foreign Bible Society publish Georgian editions of the Pentateuch, Psalter, and New Testament, as well as a 16mo copy of the Gospels in paper covers.

Mr. Malan praises the Georgian Version for particles even brighter than the Greek ones, and for a double use of the pronouns, which gives great force to many renderings.

The Georgians call their Scriptures by different names—

1. *Biblia*, the Bible.
2. *Zminda Zerili*, the Holy Scripture.
3. *Samkto Zerili*, the Divine Scripture.
4. *Zeghni Zuelisa da Akalio Aghlkmisa*, the Books of the Old and New Testament.
5. *Dabedeba*, Genesis; after the first Book of the Bible.

The Rev. Dr. Spöer, of Cairo, has kindly supplied me with the following extracts from Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, fourth edition, Vol. II. pp. 156–158.

The translation of the Georgian Bible was made

from a Greek text—the most perfunctory examination suffices to prove it.

Georgians do not allow that the Armenians are in any way responsible for either version or alphabet.

Scrivener knows of only one complete manuscript, the one at Mount Athos.

The Vatican Library has a codex of the New Testament on parchment in majuscule, at least of the thirteenth century.

There are three ancient codices at Tiflis in uncials on parchment.

The Georgian Bible was printed in 1743 at Moscow in large folio, only the New Testament and Psalms of this edition were printed at various times.

There is no proof that this Georgian edition of 1743 was conformed to the Slavonic Version. Other Georgian Bibles were printed at St. Petersburg in 1816 and 1818.

Scrivener infers from the absence of particles, in which the Georgian language is much richer than the Greek, that the Georgian Version was made from a primitive text, in which editors had not yet begun to smooth away the sudden transitions.

For additional information concerning Georgian Versions of the Holy Scriptures, see Neale's *Hist. H. E. Church*, General Introduction, Vol. II. pp. 826–828; *The Book Above Every Book*, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1909–1910, p. 17; and the same Society's *Annual Report*, 1910, pp. 113–114. The specimens of Georgian types, John iii. 16, on page 76, are extracted from this Society's *The Gospel in Many Tongues*, 1904.

Grusinisch. **GEORGIAN.** Géorgien.
 (Georgien.) (Georgia and the Caucasus.) (Géorgie.)

რამეთუ ესრეთ შეიყარა ღმერთმან სოფელი
 ესე, ვითარმედ ძეცა თვისი მხოლოდშობილი მოჰსცა
 მას, რათა ყოველსა, რომელსა ჰრწმენეს იგი, არა
 წარჰსწყმდეს, არამედ აქუნდეს ცხოვრება საუკუნო.

94. GEORGIA (*Civil char.*) (*Georgia and
the Caucasus.*)

რამეთუ ესრეთ შევიყარა ღმერთ-
 მან სოფელი ესე, ვითარმედ ძეცა
 თვისი მხოლოდ შობილი მოჰსცა
 მას, რათა ყოველსა რომელსა ჰრ-
 წმენეს იგი არა წარჰსწყმდეს, არა-
 მედ აქუნდეს ცხოვრება საუკუნო.

St. John iii. 16.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY SPECIMENS OF TWO GEORGIAN
 VERSIONS.

[Page 76.]

CHAPTER X

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SUSANNA

(*Eighth Century*)¹

THE condition of Georgia was now, A.D. 750, deplorable. Shushanika (Susanna), the wife of King Alexander, Prince of Rhan and Tiflis, and sister of Archil, King of Daghestán, with a countless host of martyrs, received the crown of martyrdom. Archil, however, having kept up a guerilla warfare against the Moslems, died in a good old age, and in peace.

During King Alexander's reign

THE BATTLE OF THE SEVAN² .

is celebrated as the most disastrous overthrow of the Cross by the Crescent. The Caliph Mervan, the fourteenth, the last and fiercest of the house of Ommiyah (who deserved, by his successful Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of THE ASS of Mesopotamia, owing to the Arabic proverb praising the courage of the warlike breed of asses who never fly from the enemy), was the Prophet's vicegerent upon earth.

¹ Joselian (p. 87) states that "the Armenian Church places St. Susanna's martyrdom at an earlier date," "and calls her the daughter of the Armenian General Bardan. She is feasted in the Armenian Martyrology on December 25." But in Neale's *The Armenian Gregorian Calendar*, Hist. H.E. Ch. Vol. II. ch. ii. sect. 4, I fail to find her name mentioned.

² North-west of Lake Gokcha (or Sevan).

At the same time St. Eustathius, the Catholicos of Mtskhètha, ruled over thirty-seven Archbishops and Bishops, with great power, knowing no superior save God, and the seven Œcumenical Councils.

At first in the Palace of Tiflis, Queen Susanna seemed inclined to relapse from the Orthodox Faith, owing to the effects of certain Armenian immigrants who endeavoured to spread Monophysite doctrines, but Kyrion, Catholicos of Georgia, enabled his flock to continue steadfast in the true Faith.

The Battle of Sevan was lost through the treachery of Mekhitar, an Armenian spy. His suggestion was to turn the course of the river Zenghi, at Sevan, by throwing down a rampart of rock, and forming with it a dam in the bed, so that the whole Persian army could march across the dry bed of the river. Mekhitar accomplished his wicked design, and claimed five thousand pieces of gold and a grant of land at Tiflis of the annual value of five hundred more.

Before the battle commenced, the Catholicos Miridates celebrated the Holy Eucharist on a temporary altar in sight of the whole Georgian army. Had the Georgian forces, taken by surprise, been in a safe position to resist the advance of the enemy, their line of defence might possibly have been made good. As it was, the battle was lost before it was begun. Never was any stratagem so unexpectedly and completely successful.

During this awful suspense Queen Susanna was in the palace at Tiflis. News soon reached her from the camp at Sevan, of which the Catholicos Eustathius was president. A soldier from the army announced that the Christian forces were utterly

destroyed, that King Vakhtang of Abkhasia was dead, King George mortally wounded, and King Constantine of Mingrelia a prisoner.

The Queen, her three children, and their nurse, were speedily removed to the town of Gori. The news of their flight had already reached the city, and Athanasius the bishop, and all the clergy in procession, met the exile on the brow of the hill. Thus conducted—the priests and the deacons thundering out Psalm xxi.—they proceeded to the Episcopal residence for a few hours of repose.

It was not without a special cause that the Catholics St. Eustathius hurried the Queen's departure. He knew that her beauty, celebrated all over the land, had reached the ears of Mervan, and had been one reason why he had determined on advancing at once against Tiflis.

St. Susanna was resting, at the close of her third day's journey, in the old town of Khoutarma, when the notes of a trumpet threw her little guard into alarm.

Although urged by the Lord Aderkhi, one of the courtiers at Tiflis, to continue her flight, she bravely replied: "GOD do so to me and more also, if aught but death part me and him"—referring to her husband, King Alexander, a prisoner.

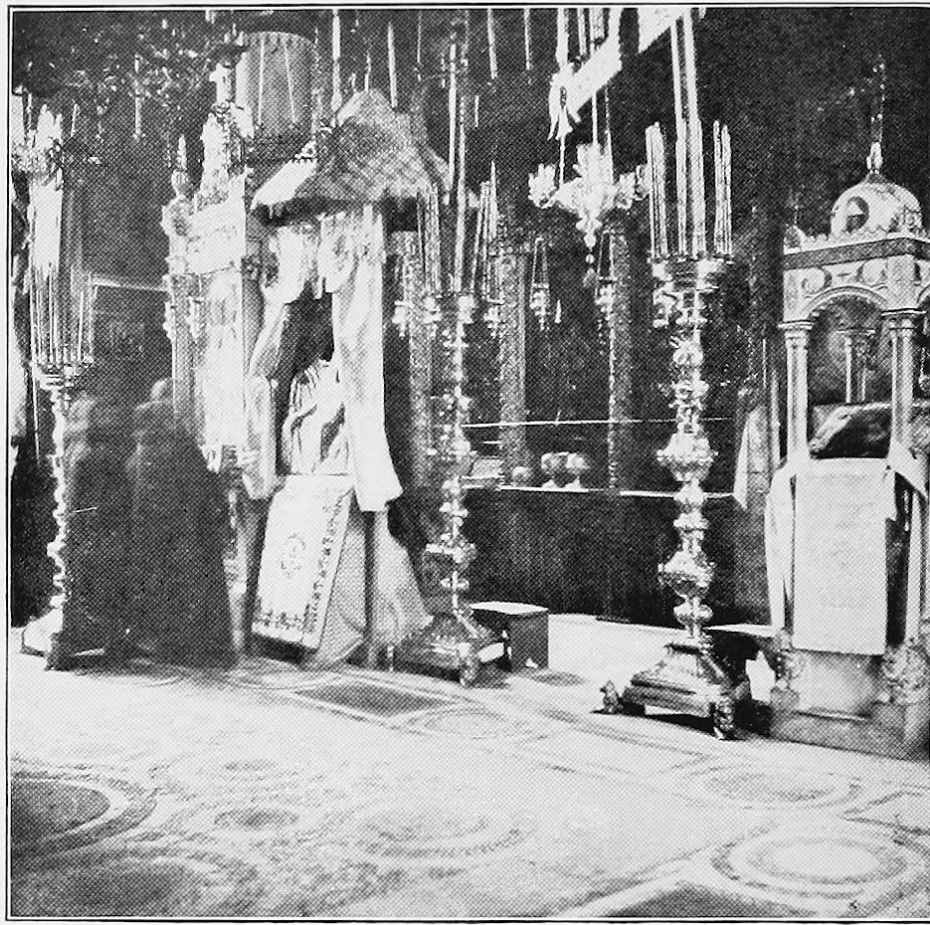
The scene now changes to the Palace at Tiflis, where St. Susanna's attendance was required in the Hall of Lilies by "the Vicegerent of the Prophet." Mervan, in his gorgeous robes, as heir to the Caliphate, was seated there in state. Susanna stood before him alone, refusing to follow his advice to dishonour her husband, and to sin against GOD. "Have your choice," said Mervan. "Ho! without

there! Let this lady be carried back to her apartments, and see that she be not permitted to leave them." A chain was produced, and the blacksmith stapled one end into the wall, fastening the other, by a kind of collar, to the right arm of the Queen. Poor little Ketevan, her babe, was brought in to her mother. A very light chain was fastened round one of her ankles, and stapled in like manner to the wall. She starved before her mother's eyes, and so entered into rest.

Mervan, baffled alike by mother and another child, Tamar, gave order that they should be beheaded together. In the Hall of the Palace the block was set up which was to send Susanna and her daughter into Paradise. At the request of the Queen her child was first beheaded, and then, immediately, the axe fell, and St. Susanna was reckoned among the martyrs, her precious memory being commemorated on August 28.¹

¹ Most of the few outline historic facts recorded above are culled with full permission of the publishers, from *The Lily of Tiflis, a Sketch from Georgian Church History*, being the fourth of a lengthy series of Historical Tales, in Monthly Volumes, issued by Messrs. John Henry & James Parker, Oxford, in 1859. It has since been translated into Russian, and has had a wide circulation in that language.

There are three allusions to *The Lily of Tiflis* among the *Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D., edited by his Daughter*, pp. 301, 309, 311, Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. When Dr. Neale was asked to lunch at King's College, Cambridge, in 1861, by the late Rev. George Williams, in the course of conversation his host asked: "By the way, Neale, when were you in Georgia?" Dr. Neale replied, "Never," at which Mr. Williams expressed great surprise, remarking that he thought from the descriptions in *The Lily of Tiflis* the writer must have been there. In 1861 Dr. Neale informed his friend, the Rev. B. Webb, that he was working hard at Georgian, which "Agnes" (his eldest daughter) "is learning with me."—*Letters*, p. 331.



INTERIOR OF THE PRINCIPAL CHURCH AT IVÉRON—THE HOLY
PATRIARCHAL AND NGÄL MONASTERY OF THE IBERIANS.

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CHAPTER XI

THE GEORGIAN MONASTERY AT MOUNT ATHOS

(*Tenth Century*)

DURING September 1890, I visited the Twenty Monasteries on Mount Athos, more especially Ivéron, "the Holy Patriarchate and Royal Monastery of the Iberians." Ivéron, or Iberon, is the third in importance among the four greater monasteries on the Mountain of the Monks—the other three being the Laura, Vatopedi, and Russico (St. Panteleëmon).

Just below the monastery is the fortified port which Commenus calls the Port of Clement.¹ There was an earlier monastery called *Clementos*, existing c. A.D. 880. Scarcely anything is known of this monastery, but it is mentioned often enough in documents of the tenth century to show that it is not a mere figment of the writers of the life of Peter the Athonite. One of these documents states that the Monastery was handed over to a certain John the Georgian, the founder of the Monastery of Ivéron.²

This Georgian Monastery, situated on a noble site near the seaside, is a tenth-century structure. One tradition attributes its foundation to Theophana, wife of the Greek Emperor Romanus II. It was

¹ *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks*, p. 131.

² *The Early History of Mount Athos*, by K. L., "The Guardian," August 1, 1906, p. 1274.

restored by the Iberian Prince Tornicius, who, having served gloriously in the Greek Army, became a monk and withdrew to Mount Athos.¹ It was partially destroyed by fire in 1865. The monks, a goodly number, follow the *Idiorhythmic* rule. About 170 of these are Greeks. On September 4, 1890, the Librarian informed me that there were 200 monks, all told. During the Middle Ages the old *Koinobite* system was exchanged for an *Idiorhythmic* rule. By this means the Abbot (who was formerly an absolute and lifelong ruler) was abolished, his place and functions being taken over by a committee of varying size, the members of which were known as *Prohistamenoι*, while the actual executive work of the Abbot was carried out by two members of this Committee called *Epitropoι*, who discharged their functions in annual rotation. Together with this change, the prohibition of private property was abolished. Monks were allowed to possess money, and to spend it as they wished.²

Prof. Kirsopp Lake states that the *Georgian* monks prove their connection with their native land by a method of reckoning time which differs from that in use within the other nineteen large monasteries.

The large central church, built in the form of a Greek cross, is dedicated to the "Repose (*Κοίμησις*) of the Virgin."³

¹ Joselian, p. 98, asserts that Ivéron was at first founded by three monks, formerly kings of Georgia, John, Euthymius, and George. See also Mr. Athelstan Riley, p. 133.

² *The Early History of Mount Athos*, by K. L., "The Guardian," August 8, 1906, p. 1309.

³ Dr. F. C. Clemow, of Constantinople, has an excellent photograph of the interior of this church in his article entitled *Easter*

It has a central cupola. Cupolas are constantly recurring features in the Caucasus. The church stands by itself in the centre of a great court. It is ornamented with columns and other decorations of rich marbles, together with the usual large fresco paintings on the walls.

The famous Icon of the Madonna, on the north side of the Iconostasis, black and featureless, has a weird history, which an Ivéron tradition ascribes to St. Luke.¹ In the vestibule a fresco, painted in accordance with traditional types, depicts the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. St. Athanasius is introduced as a young man stooping down to write the Creed, while Arius is in the act of disputing between his two great adversaries, Spyridion and Nicolaus.² On the

Day on Mount Athos, "The Treasury," Vol. VII. p. 107. He has kindly allowed me to reproduce it on p. 81.

¹ Mr. Athelstan Riley, pp. 139, 140, tells the extraordinary story of how the Georgian hermit Gabriel was deemed worthy to receive this famous Icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which appeared to him from the sea, over against Mount Athos, during the reign of the Empress Theodora, c. A.D. 842. Travellers in Moscow will remember that outside the Sunday Gate, Vosskreosenkàya Verota, stands the little Chapel of the Virgin, where the Tsar makes his first visit when he approaches the Kremlin. This chapel of "The Shrine of our Lady of Iberia" contains the famous picture or Icon, brought from Mount Athos during the reign of the Tsar Alexis Michailovitch, A.D. 1645-1676. It is venerated beyond any other in Moscow, and Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare in his *Studies in Russia*, pp. 286-288, speaks of it as "the palladium of Moscow."

² Spyridion of Tremithus in Cyprus, the patron saint of Corfu, and Nicolaus, Bishop of Myra, in Lycia. Nicolaus I. is said to have waxed so indignant with Arius at the Council of Nicæa that he inflicted a box on the heretic's ear. St. Nicolaus is the patron saint of Russia, where he is known as St. Nicholas of Mojaisk, and is greatly beloved in England. The cathedral of Newcastle is dedicated to him, as are also many churches in seaport towns, such as Great Yarmouth and Liverpool. The *Byzantine* font in Winchester Cathedral has the story of St. Nicholas of Myra carved on it. See *The Letters of Peter Lombard* (Canon Benham), pp. 16, 27-30. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1911.

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right hand of this group is a band of Arians, dressed as philosophers, some of whom are coming into the council chamber to recant their errors, while the rest are being driven into a prison by a man armed with a club. It must be remembered the ultimate appeal of the Orthodox Eastern Churches is not to Holy Scripture, but to the Seven General Councils.

The daughters of Eve have not disturbed this "Mountain of the Monks" for six hundred years.

CHAPTER XII

THE IVÉRON BIBLE

The Ivéron Library is a remarkably fine one, perhaps altogether the most precious of all those which now remain in the holy mountain. It is situated over the porch of the central church—a usual position.

On September 4, 1890, I searched in vain through this library for the celebrated Georgian Bible, described by Mr. Athelstan Riley in his *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks*, p. 141, as St. Ewlhym's Bible. Nicephar, the Librarian in 1817, quoted by Mr. A. Riley, states that "the Manuscript of the Georgian Bible which we possess in our Library is in the handwriting of St. Euphemius [Euthymius] the Georgian . . . the Chrysostom of this nation." Curzon does not seem to have recognized this Bible when visiting the Library in 1837. *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant* (reprint), p. 264, 1897. And Dr. Clemow, in his *Easter Day at Mount Athos*, "The Treasury," Vol. VII., as well as Prof. K. Lake, in his *Notes on a Recent Visit to Mount Athos and on some Manuscripts there*, are silent as to its existence.

This manuscript copy of the Holy Scriptures is in two volumes, $16\frac{5}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It was described at some length by Prof. A. A. Tsagereli in 1883, and is referred to by Mr. O. Wardrop in *The Journal of*

Theological Studies, July 1911, pp. 593–597. The parchment, according to Prof. Tsagereli, is fine, white and well preserved. The script is large, legible, ecclesiastical and almost identical in both volumes, despite the fact that there were three scribes, contemporaries, Michael, George and Stephen. Both volumes are written in two columns, twenty-six lines to the page. According to Prof. Tsagereli, from the size, the handwriting and the notes, it is evident that the manuscript was written by the three above-mentioned scribes at the same time for the great warrior-monk Tornikius, A.D. 979.¹ It may be traced to the Monastery of St. John Baptist, on the site of the ancient Clementine Monastery, still called Ushk by the Greeks.

It was bound by Stephen, one of the scribes. Probably it was then complete. But it fell to pieces afterwards, and thus the missing sheets and books were lost. The binding of both volumes is of strong wooden boards, covered in black leather. At present Genesis lacks six sheets, and begins at ch. xii. 9.

The chapters and verses were not indicated in either volume, but are given by the copyists of the Dadian's copy of 1851.

After Genesis follows Exodus complete, but in Leviticus there is a gap from ch. xi. to the end; Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua are completely lacking, also eighteen verses of ch. xix. of Judges.

The first volume ends with Judith, though three

¹ During the reign of the widow Empress Zoe, the Iberian Prince Tornikius, who served gloriously in the Greek Army, became a monk, and helped to rebuild the monastery Ever, in honour of the Repose of the Theotokos.

sheets of Tobit are sewn on to it, but judging by the handwriting it is to be supposed that they are of later date. In any case the writing of Tobit is not of the same century as that of the other books of this Bible.

The second volume begins with Samuel.

The whole of the first volume was written by Michael; the four books of the Kings (1, 2 Samuel and 1, 2 Kings) by Stephen, and the rest by George, son of Gelasi.

It is one of the finest and best-preserved monuments of Georgian literature. Like the Georgian Bible in Jerusalem, it shows very few traces of use.¹

¹ There are 150 Ivéron manuscripts in the Library of St. Constantine, Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XIII

GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS AT THE IVÉRON MONASTERY ON MOUNT ATHOS ¹

TWO copies of THE PSALTER.

Τὸ Ψαλτήριον in its smaller edition is divided into twenty portions, called Καθίσματα, ὄr sessions; one of each is said at one service.

The whole is read through in a week. Each Catesma is divided into three parts, called Επάσεις, or stations. At the end of the latter only the Glòria is said, and Allelujah three times, with three reverences. The Psalter follows the LXX. numeration.

SIX copies of THE GOSPEL.

Τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. The Gospels at the Liturgy embrace the four Gospels only, printed in one volume, from which the Gospel for the day is read by the Deacon. Each day has its proper Gospel. Attention is first specially invoked by the Priest with the two exclamations: "Wisdom stand up; let us hear the Holy Gospel," and "Let us attend." After the reading of the Holy Gospel the choir says: "Glory be to Thee, O LORD, Glory be to Thee."

THREE copies of THE APOSTLES.

Ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *Apostosle*, contains the Epistles

¹ This list of manuscripts of books is extracted from Mr. O. Wardrop's article in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1911. For many of the *Notes* in this chapter I am indebted to J. N. R. Robertson, G. V. Shann, J. Gennadius, Dr. Neale, Dr. Littledale and the Rev. F. G. Cole.

proper to the Sunday services and different festivals, said by the Reader, standing at the royal doors.

The Apostles at the *Liturgy*, from the LORD'S Day of the Pasch till that of Pentecost, are taken from the Acts of the Apostles, but during the rest of the year from the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles.

Three copies of THE HOROLOGĪUM.

Τὸ Ὁρολόγιον, *Horologium* or Readers' Manual, which corresponds to the Western Breviary, contains the Canonical Hours for the use of the choir, and with it are bound some of the more frequently used troparia, or antiphons, from the other service-books.

The *Troparia* answers rather to the antiphons of the West than to the hymns. They follow the *Hirmos*, and the term is doubtless derived from the verb *τρέπω*, to turn. The *Troparia* turn to the strophes of the *Hirmos* as to a model.

Three copies of THE PARACLETICON.

Παρακλητικόν, a most important office-book, containing the ferial hymns set to each of the eight tones. Sunday is the day of the Resurrection; Monday of the Holy Angels; Tuesday of the Fore-runner; Wednesday of the Theotokos and the Cross; Thursday of the Apostles and of St. Nicholas; Friday of the Passion; Saturday of All Saints and of the Departed.

The composer of the germ or nucleus of the Paracleticon, the *Octoëchos*, or book of eight moods (*ἠχοὶ*), was St. John Damascene,¹ c. A.D. 750. It gradually increased to its present large bulk, and is believed

¹ St. John (El Mansar) of Damascus, the last but one of the Eastern Fathers.

to have been finally arranged by St. Joseph of the Studium,¹ c. A.D. 830.

Eight copies of THE TRIODION.

Τὸ Τριώδιον, *Triodion*, a very important book for the use of the Readers and choir.

The *Lenten Triodion*, a Canon of three Odes, contains the penitential comminations from the Sunday of the "Publican and Pharisee," which is the Sunday preceding that of Septuagesima, until Holy Saturday; and the *Ferial Triodion*, or *Pentecostarion*, the joyful news from Easter Day until the first Sunday after Pentecost, which is not the Festival of the Holy Trinity, but of that of All Saints.

One copy of THE SYNAXARY.

Ὁ Συναξαριστής, *Synaxaristis*, Book of the Lives of the Saints, in four volumes, lections abbreviated from the *Menologion*. The *Menologion* is simply that which the Latins call the Martyrology. The Synaxary begins from September 1 and ends with August. These lives are only read in monasteries at Matins.

One copy of THE METAPHRASST (translator).

Ο Μεταφράστης, a literal translation from the Greek, written by Theophile, A.D. 1081, during the reign and by the command of the Georgian King George II. The Metaphrast is for the whole month of September.

¹ A Sicilian. A monk of the Studium, a monastery in Constantinople. A note attached to Hymn No. 414 (Revised Edition, No. 224) in the *Historical edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern* states that "the Greek cannot be found." Two more free translated versions of the Greek by St. Joseph the hymnographer, are also inserted in *H. A. and M.* (1) No. 423, and (2) No 441 (Revised Edition). See the late Rev. R. M. Moorsom's *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern*, p. 92, on "O happy band of pilgrims." Parker & Co., 1889.

Thirteen copies of THE MENÆUM.

Τὸ Μηναιῶν, a folio month-book, containing the proper troparia, etc., for all the fixed services of all Saints' days and festivals as they occur in the kalendar throughout the year. It is composed of twelve volumes, one for each month, and is the most important of the office-books next to the Holy Liturgies. The Menæum is extremely puzzling, and of considerable length. Each day is appropriated to the memory of at least one saint, and very often two, three, or more.

Two copies of HYMNS IN HONOUR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. XI. and XIV.–XVI. Centuries.

One copy of LIFE AND TWENTY-SIX WORKS (SERMONS, COMMENTARIES, ETC.) OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT, Archbishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 370–379.

Mr. Wardrop describes this handsome parchment miniscule as being perfectly fresh and complete, in strong leather binding. It is a copy by Saba, of a translation by St. Euthymius, from the Greek MS. written in A.D. 981 in the Georgian Monastery of St. John the Divine at Athos.

St. Euthymius's life was written by his disciple Basil, and is preserved on Mount Athos.

One copy of LIVES OF SAINTS. It contains the life of St. Bagrat, written by his pupil St. Evagrius, and three others.

One copy of LIVES OF GREEK SAINTS.

One copy of LIFE AND TRANSLATION OF RELICS OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, A.D. 398–404, written at Athos in the Church of St. John Baptist, during the abbacy of Saba, *i. e.* before A.D. 980, by Iovane.

One copy of LIVES OF SAINTS. Dated A.D. 1002. Contains the lives of fifteen saints. This parchment

manuscript, Mr. Wardrop states, is written by Aquila Mtbevari in the reign of King Bagrat III by the King's command.

One copy of LIVES OF SAINTS, in parchment. Legible miniscule. It contains the life and teaching of St. Macarius and life of St. Bagrat. This MS. was written by Isaac, A.D. 1030.

One copy of LIFE OF SS. VARLAAM AND MARTHA, mother of St. Simeon Stylites.

One copy of LIVES AND TEACHINGS OF THE SAINTS. A beautifully preserved parchment MS. of the tenth century. It contains the life of St. Sabas,¹ monk at Jerusalem, A.D. 524, and a discourse of St. Basil the Great on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

One copy of LIVES OF GREEK AND GEORGIAN HOLY FATHERS, to the number of eighty or ninety. This beautiful miniscule parchment of the tenth century contains very important, little-known lives of several Georgian saints.

One copy of LIVES OF TWELVE GREEK SAINTS, translated by St. Euthymius, A.D. 980.

One copy of LIFE OF SIMEON STYLITES, AND TEACHINGS OF SS. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND BASIL THE GREAT.

Three copies of different LIVES AND WORKS OF THE HOLY FATHERS.

One copy of LIVES AND LABOURS OF THE SAINTS, in twenty-one chapters.

One copy of LIFE OF ST. GREGORY.

Four copies of COMMENTARIES OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

¹ St. Sabas, Abbot of Mar Saba, between Jerusalem and Jericho, was born A.D. 439, and entered into rest, A.D. 531, aged 91 years.

Prof. K. Lake refers to "the immense number of MSS. of the Georgian version of Chrysostom," and adds: "There is no one in the monastery who knows anything about them."

One copy of TEACHINGS OF SS. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND EPHREM SYRUS¹ (Deacon of Edessa).

Mr. Wardrop describes this as a splendid parchment of compressed uncial script. The MS. was written in A.D. 977, in the Georgian Lavra of Ushci (oshci) at the Church of St. John the Baptist, while Saba was Prior, by Stephan. The notes contain interesting historical facts about Tornikius, the builder of Ivéron, and mention his military campaign and victory over Sclerus.

One copy of THE LADDER OF ST. JOHN CLIMACUS.

This parchment manuscript is very well preserved, in strong leather binding. In the Preface Mr. Wardrop informs us that St. Euthymius says that the abbreviated translation formerly existing was called *Clemaksi*, but he has entitled it *Cibe* (*the ladder*).

Mrs. Arthur Bell refers to St. John Climacus, Abbot of the Monastery on Mount Sinai, whose emblem in art is a ladder, and who takes his second name from a book written by him in Greek, to which he gave the title of *The Ladder of Paradise*, and in which he enumerated thirty steps as leading to perfection in the religious life.² He entered into rest at an advanced age early in the seventh century, and

¹ Ephraim the Syrian, ascetic and poet, a friend of St. Basil the Great, generally styled the *Edessene*, born c. A.D. 308, entered into rest c. A.D. 373.

² *Lives and Legends of the Greek Hermits and Fathers of the Church, with other contemporary Saints*, p. 281. George Bell & Sons, 1902.

is commemorated in the Byzantine Kalendar on March 30.

One copy of TEACHINGS OF ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA [A.D. 368] AND OTHER FATHERS. X.–XI. Centuries.

One copy of TEACHINGS OF ST. BASIL, ARCHBISHOP OF CAPPADOCIA, ST. ZOSIMUS [a fourth-century Palestinian hermit who was with St. Mary of Egypt when she died] AND ST. EPHREM SYRUS.

One copy of TEACHINGS OF THE HOLY FATHERS. It is in great part an autograph of St. Euthymius.

One copy of HEXÆMERON in the handwriting of St. Euthymius. A history of the six days' work of creation, as given in the Book of Genesis.

One copy of COMMENTARY ON HOLY WRIT AND HYMNS TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. Corrected in many places by St. Euthymius, and in one place a note asking for the readers' prayers. X. Century.

One copy of WORKS OF THE FATHERS: GREGORY THE DIVINE, BASIL THE GREAT, AND JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Written by the scribe Arsen in the Iberian Monastery while one George was Prior. XI. Century.

One copy of DOROTHEUS ON MONASTICISM AND THE PEARL OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. X.–XI. Centuries.

Two different copies of WORKS OF THE FATHERS. X.–XI. Centuries.

One copy of TEACHINGS OF ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA AND OTHER FATHERS. X.–XI. Centuries.

One copy of ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. XIV.–XVI. Centuries.

One copy of COMMENTARY ON THE APOSTLES. Paper, XIV.–XVI. Centuries.

One copy of WORKS OF EPHREM SYRUS, etc. Paper, XIV.–XVI. Centuries.

One copy of HEXÆMERON OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT AND TEACHINGS OF ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA.

One copy of TEACHINGS OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Paper, XIV.–XVI. Centuries.

One copy of WAKHAST'S HISTORY OF GEORGIA. 1811. Presented to the Iberian Monastery by Candidate Plato Joselian, September 23, 1859.

Prof. N. Marr went on a mission for the Russian Government in 1888 to Athos, to examine and report upon the Georgian MSS. of the Ivéron Monastery. The results were published under the title of *Hagiographic Materials in the MSS. of Ivéron* at St. Petersburg, 1900. He gives a list of five parchment codices and eleven other publications, viz. the Lives of Pancratius of Taoromenium, Eustathius, Thekla, Demetrius, Eustratius, and his comrades Auxentius, Eugenius, Orestes and Mardan; the Lives and Sayings of the Fathers of the Desert; the Life of Martha, mother of Simeon, and the Life of Barlaam the Ascetic.

The Professor adds that several codices lie, or are stacked pell-mell, on the floor of the Library, exposed to damp and vermin.

They are of rare antiquity, great value, and are beautifully written. In a few years they will have perished. And Mr. Wardrop (p. 606), in his list of these Iberian MSS., adds this significant *note*: "All the *paper* MSS. at the Iberian Monastery are in bad, broken leather bindings."

Note.—I have not the advantage of seeing the *Catalogue of the Greek MSS. on Mount Athos*, Vol. I, by Prof. Lambros, originally undertaken on behalf of the Greek Parliament (in 1880) and since published by the Cambridge University Press in 1895.

CHAPTER XIV

DID THE GEORGIANS TAKE PART IN THE CRUSADES?

(Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Centuries)

JOSELIAN, in his *Short History of the Georgian Church*, ch. vi. p. 110, states that "History tells us that the Georgians, although separated from Europe, were yet near enough to it to share in the spirit which at that time roused the whole of Europe, and with it they also took up arms for the Crusades. Flattered at the thought of conquering the world, and of rescuing the grave of our LORD from the enemies of Christianity, Georgia sent a few troops on that expedition; but those courageous defenders of the Faith were wrecked in the Black Sea. This untoward accident, however, did not hinder fresh attempts on the part of the Georgians.

The glory of the victories, and the report of disasters carried here and there over the world, and as the Greek writer (*Anna Comnena Hist. of Emp. Alexis*) says, shaking the whole of Europe to her foundations, led the Georgians to set on foot another expedition. The success thereof is not known; but the Georgian Crusaders probably joined the Syrian Christians and the Armenian princes, who went forth on an expedition after the victory of the Saracens, and who joined it under the name of the Captains of the West." ¹

¹ Archdeacon Sinclair, *The Churches of the East*, p. 33, 1898, 96

The following extracts are translated from Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*, Vol. I. p. 131 : "Another Christian power had developed in the vast regions of Iberia or Georgia.

"William of Tyre¹ celebrates the bravery and the services of the Georgian people, who about the middle of the twelfth century checked the power of the Persian nations, and closed the passage of the Caspian ports to the barbarians of Tartary." In Vol. III. p. 5 he adds : "Rumours of Frederick's preparations had reached the peoples of Georgia. The Queen of this country wrote to the head of the Church of Rome that the Constable (chief of army) of her kingdom and a great number of her subjects were only awaiting the arrival of the German Emperor² to fly to the help of Palestine. The Georgians were considered a warlike people; they were feared by the Moslems; their pilgrims had the privilege of entering Jerusalem without paying the tribute imposed on other Christians . . . but the Tartar invasion prevented their leaving their own territory."

If Michaud's statement is correct, it probably explains why there is no allusion to the Georgians in Stevenson's *The Crusades in the East*, 1907, and Besant's and Palmer's *Jerusalem the City of Herod and Saladin*, Chatto and Windus, 1908.

Mr. Walter Gordon, M.A., who constantly studies in the Bodleian Library, informs me that he has

Eliot Stock, under the heading of the Eleventh Century, speaks of Armenia and Georgia being conquered by the Turks in 1065.

¹ William of Tyre, at the end of A.D. 1174, became Chancellor, and in June, 1175, was consecrated Latin Archbishop of Tyre.

² Frederick II of Germany took the Crusader's vow, A.D. 1215, on the day when he was consecrated king.

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read through more than one account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders on July 15, 1099, without finding mention of Georgians or Iberians.¹ Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. VI. pp. 7-191, 1789, is also silent. So that it seems that Joselian's remarks must be received with hesitation.

Archdeacon Ward, of Alexandria, has drawn my attention to Dean Stanley's following nine words: "The Nation [Gruzia] bore a considerable part in the Crusades."² Gibbon speaks of the *Iberians*, and it appears that they were known by the name "Georgians" only since the Crusades among the Latins and Orientals.

¹ Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Vol. I. p. 63, asserts that the second Georgian armament was more successful than the first, and shared the peril and glory of the capture of Jerusalem.

² *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 12. London, John Murray, 1884.

CHAPTER XV

THE BAGRATIDIAN DYNASTY

(*Eleventh Century*)

A CURIOUS circumstance is that some of the best families in Georgia are of foreign origin, *e. g.* the Bagrats, the royal family, who were once Hebrews, and claim to be descended from David.

The race of the Bagratides ascended the throne towards the end of the sixth century. Because this dynasty draws its origin from the King-Prophet David, the Kings of Georgia took the title of "Son of Jesse," "David," "Solomon," etc. On their arms were emblazoned the sling that served to kill Goliath, David's harp, a pair of scales (an emblem of the wisdom of Solomon), and a lion on which rested Solomon's throne. All round this coat of arms is the inscription taken from Psalm cxxxii. 11. *The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; He will not turn from it; Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne.*

These royal descendants of David are said to have quitted Jerusalem *c.* 500 B.C. Davith, or David III. King of Georgia, and defender of the Faith, of the Bagratidian line, ascended the throne A.D. 1089. He was known as *David the Reformer*. Mr. Wardrop describes him as *David the Renewer*, and refers to this Bagratidian monarch as David II; as also does Mr. Malan, in his *Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, p. 18.

The frequent attacks of Persians and Turks required at this time a king of strong mind and firm in character. So that we are not surprised to find authorities agreeing in describing this reign as the flourishing period of the Georgian Church. Having boldly attacked the Turks, and driven them out of every part of his dominions, St. David may well be spoken of by Dr. Neale as the Victorious, and as the Illustrious Monarch whom GOD raised up for the relief of His Church in Georgia. After his victory over the Armenians, and the stoning of their city Ani, he all but reduced the Armenians to Orthodoxy in the Council of Ani,¹ although, owing to the enmity between Armenians and Georgians the Synod eventually rose without any results.

Joselian and others record how St. David rebuilt cities, fortresses, and churches, purged both Church and State of many abuses, including heretical teaching, liberally encouraged education, and promoted the translation of Greek works into the Georgian language.

But the good deeds of King David were not limited to Georgia. He sent rich presents to Jerusalem, to the Ivéron Monastery on Mount Athos, to Cyprus and Mount Sinai. At Mount Sinai he built, at his own expense, a church attached to St. Catherine's Monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Catherine of Alexandria, and placed a metropolitan there. Nor when, full of years, he changed a corruptible for an incorruptible crown, did the effects of his labours cease. The

¹ Ani became the royal residence and capital of the Armenian kingdom of the Middle Ages under Gagik II, A.D. 974, when Sarkis I was Catholicos.

Byzantine Cathedral of Gelati was founded by this mighty potentate of his time *c.* A.D. 1100, and close to the Church is a ruined Chapel which contains his tomb. The extraordinary dimensions of the stonework are noticeable. One stone measures fourteen feet by seven feet. Popular belief will have it that it was laid by St. David himself. Well may he be remembered among the Georgian saints—his feast-day being kept on January 26.

Nelson's Encyclopædia, Vol. III., gives the following brief summary of the "Bagratidæ, or Bagratides, a dynasty of Armenian rulers, of whom the first was Ashod I 'the Great,' who was recognized as sovereign prince of Armenia by Haroun al-Raschid in A.D. 885. The Bagratides were overthrown by the Seljuks towards the end of the eleventh century, though a branch line ruled over Little Armenia until 1375. Another branch ruled in Imereti, in Georgia, down to 1810."

There seems to be uncertainty about several of these Bagratide sovereigns. Bagrat I (or Pancrat) took the title of King of the Ap'hkhazians and Curopate of the Georgians *c.* A.D. 841. At the beginning of the eleventh century Bagrat III commenced to build the celebrated cathedral of Kutaïs. He intended it for a masterpiece of art and decoration. Bagrat IV (David Curopulates, the adopted son of Bagrat III, A.D. 1089–1126) built the splendid monastery of Khakhul.

During these flourishing eleventh and twelfth centuries the Georgian Church was adorned with eminent men. Among them are especially remarkable—

1. *Arsenius* of Ikaltska, theologian, physician,

metaphysician, and poet, called from the caves of Shiomginsk to be court chaplain.

2. *Ephrem*, the younger, his school-fellow.

3. *George*, founder of the High School in Tiflis, and translator of various books of the Holy Scriptures from the Greek.

4. *Theophilus* the Georgian "creator of hymnology."

5. *John Taitcha*, whose writings are said to be still extant in the Iberian monastery at Mount Athos (but are not quoted by Mr. O. Wardrop in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1911, pp. 593-607).

6. *Demetrius*, the ascetic of Garedj.

CHAPTER XVI

QUEEN TAMARA THE GREAT

(*Twelfth Century*)

QUEEN TAMARA, the national heroine of Grusinia, of the Armenian house of the Bagratides, succeeded her father George III A.D. 1174, and reigned twenty-eight years. This second half of the twelfth century has been reckoned the golden age of Georgian literature, both ecclesiastical and civil. Mr. Wardrop (from whom I freely quote) speaks of this period as the happiest and most glorious in the history of the country. The Queen had the good fortune to be surrounded by wise counsellors and brave generals.

After proclaiming Iberia an imperial government, she brought under her rule the whole of Ap'hkhazia, all the inhabitants of the mountains, Imereti, Karthalinia, and Kakketh.

Her missionaries travelled far and wide, and numerous churches were erected, including the Temple dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Albani. Thus it was that her many virtues and brilliant rule secured for her the title of *Mep'he*, "king."

She called a Synod at Mtzkhètha, for the purpose of strengthening the Church by the establishment of ceremonies in harmony with the Greek Church.

She raised an army of 300,000 troops, and twice routed the Turks in pitched battles.

Treading in the footsteps of David III she sent presents to many places in the Greek Empire. Offerings were also forwarded to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and the Ivéron Monastery, Mount Athos.

Religion was the moving force in all that she undertook. When a large booty was captured, a portion of it was always set aside for the Blessed Virgin Mary. She daily spent much time in prayer, and made garments for the poor with her own fair, queenly hands.

Her literary talents were of no mean order. When she had won a battle, she could, like Deborah, tell forth her triumph in a sweet, glad song to the LORD of Hosts, and one at least of these psalms is still preserved; but it is chiefly as the inspirer and patroness of poets that she is famous.

The epic, which is now looked upon as the greatest masterpiece in the Georgian language, has happily escaped with but few mutilations. Joselian attributes to this Queen the poem entitled "The Man in the Panther's Skin," wherein Shota Rustaveli, her treasurer, is represented under the appearance of an old man. But Mr. Wardrop, who has given much attention to this poem, ascribes it to Shota Rustaveli, himself a native of Rustavi, near Akhaltsikhe, and in the following remarks I follow the author of *The Kingdom of Georgia*.

History tells us very little about Shota Rustaveli. He received his education in Athens, and when he returned to his native land he wrote his great work, and became secretary to Queen Tamara. In the course of time he became a monk, and fell asleep in the Holy Cross Monastery, Jerusalem, where his portrait may still be seen. Tradition says that

the poet was passionately fond of his royal mistress, and this assertion seems to be borne out by many passages in the poem.

During nearly seven centuries of ceaseless struggles for freedom, the Georgians have kept this great work fresh in their minds. It has inspired them with hope and courage in the darkest hours, and at the present day it is as great a favourite as it ever was. Not only are many of its verses household words in cottage and hall, but there are not a few Georgians, especially among the women, who know every word of it by heart; indeed, there was a time when no woman was allowed to marry unless she could repeat the whole poem. The reason for this extraordinary popularity is to be found in the fact that this composition is a thoroughly national one in its smallest details.

The plot is fully described by Mr. Wardrop, (pp. 140-145). It seems that this poem has not been translated into any European language, although fragments of it have been published in Russian and Polish magazines. German critics, by the publication of a carefully collected text, have also prepared the way for those who may wish to make this national epic better known in Europe. In A.D. 1212, wearied by her continual campaigns, and sorrow-stricken at the decease of her devoted husband, Prince David Soslan, an Osset and her greatest general, the good Queen departed this life, and left the throne to her youthful son George IV, surnamed *Lasha*.

According to popular but not very accurate belief the Queen is supposed to have been buried in the monastery on the heights of Wardzia, situated on

the left bank of the river Kùra. Dr. Neale states that her body reposes in a south chapel of the Cathedral at Gelati, nine *versts* from Kutais. Her Majesty was the benefactress of this remarkable retreat. To my surprise I have failed to find her name mentioned in the Georgian Church Kalendar.

CHAPTER XVII

QUEEN RUSUDAN

(Thirteenth Century)

QUEEN RUSUDAN, the beautiful daughter of Queen Tamara, was born A.D. 1195. During her reign overwhelming calamities afflicted the country. The Mongols under Genghis Khan reduced Mtskhètkha to a heap of ruins, including its noble Cathedral. All the inhabitants, estimated at 300,000, were slaughtered. Her Majesty at last submitted to the Mongols, and sent her son, David IV, to the great Khan as a hostage.

Genghis Khan left the bleeding country in hopeless confusion, and his invasion meant ruin to the Church. Yet innumerable martyrs and confessors glorified God.

Queen Rusudan had scarcely begun to recover before the Turks commenced their incursions. In despair, the Queen appealed for help to Pope Gregory IX, A.D. 1239. It was during this reign that the relations of Georgia with Western Christendom commenced. In fact the schism between Byzantium and Rome only began to be felt in Georgia in the thirteenth century.

The Queen begged the Pope to protect her from the infidels. Instead of military assistance, Gregory sent her seven monks of the Dominican Order of

Preachers (*patres prædicatores*), whose errand it was to proclaim the arrogant intentions of Rome. Although rejected by the Queen, these Latin ecclesiastics gradually obtained a footing, and finally received permission to start a Bishopric of their own at Tiflis, with the Bishop Johannes Florentinus, one of their order, at the head of it.

In his letter the Pope regretted his inability to comply with the Queen's wishes, while, with the usual crafty diplomacy of Rome, he ceased not to flatter her Majesty, by praising the faith of the Georgians, and their good name as Christians, in order to try and persuade the Queen and her people to submit themselves to the chair of St. Peter. But even when the predecessor of Gregory IX, Honorius III, A.D. 1216, made similar propositions to Queen Rusudan, she expressed her decided unwillingness to submit to the Roman claims.

CHAPTER XVIII

SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE ON ST. GEORGE AND THE GEORGIANS

(*Fourteenth Century*)

IN *The Book of Sir John Maundeville*, A.D. 1322–1356, ch. x., Bohn, 1848, when describing the “Christian Sects in the East,” there is a ludicrous reference to the Georgians after this fashion—

“There are others who are called Georgians, who were converted by St. George,¹ and they worship him more than any other saint, and to him they cry for help, and they come out of the realm of Georgia. These people have their crowns shaven; the clerks have round crowns, and the laity have their crowns all square; and they hold the same Christian doctrines as the Greeks.”

See also *The Book of Sir John Maundeville*, p. 178, and particularly pp. 258–259.

¹ The claim put forth for St. George as a missionary and patron saint of Georgia is due to ignorance of the origin of the kingdom's name, and wholly without foundation. Georgia is derived from the Persian *Gurj*. So we have Gurjistan = Gurgland = Georgia.—*Dr. Adeney.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

(*Fifteenth Century*)

WE read that at the Council of Florence, A.D. 1439–1442, Georgia was represented with Russia. The Georgian Church sent two prelates, viz. Dorotheus, Metropolitan of Trapezus (Province of Pontus), the Metropolitan Gregorius (*alias* Joannes), and a royal Minister.

The Metropolitan Joannes (called Gregorius by Isidore in his description of the Council), seeing the wiles of the West,¹ and the plan of reunion with the Church of Rome under Pope Eugenius IV, and the Greek Emperor John VI, Palæologus (when it was necessary to sign a decision), escaped secretly from Florence, went to Venice, and thence through Constantinople to Georgia. Between John VI, Palæologus and Eugenius it was a barter of temporal gain from first to last.

It is strange that there is no allusion to the presence of Georgians and Armenians in Basil Popoff's *History of the Council of Florence*, edited by Dr. Neale. Masters, 1861.

Georgia was also represented at the Council of Basle, A.D. 1431–1449, one of the objects of which was the reunion of the East and West.

¹ Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes' *Letter to Archbishop Manning*, 1869.

CHAPTER XX

ST. KETEVAN, QUEEN OF KACHETIA, MARTYR

(*Seventeenth Century*)

ST. KETEVAN was not the least illustrious, though the most unfortunate of those sovereigns, who during the seventeenth century suffered a most cruel martyrdom under the Persian Shah Abbas I, surnamed the *Great*.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century Georgia was divided between two great Moslem powers—Persians and Turks.

In A.D. 1586, Alexander II of Kachetia was harassed by the invasions of Shah Abbas, and the royal martyrdoms, under the inhuman rule of this monster, increased.

King Georgian of Kartalinia was poisoned by order of Shah Abbas, A.D. 1629, because he would not embrace the religion of Mohammed.

Luarsab II, A.D. 1603–1616, King of Kartalinia, was strangled for his confession of the name of CHRIST in the presence of Shah Abbas the *Cruel*. Luarsab's feast is celebrated on June 21.

Simeon, son of Luarsab, and King of Kartalinia A.D. 1619–1629, was also strangled in the presence of Shah Abbas. Shah Abbas has left behind him a name famous in history. Among other enterprising deeds he entered into a treaty with our Queen Eliza-

beth. But the martyred Queen, of whom Dr. Neale writes so touchingly in his beautiful Palm Sunday story, *The Followers of the LORD*, reprinted in 1905 by the S.P.C.K., was one of many sovereigns delivered into his wicked hands, and yet has left scarcely any name behind her outside her own country.

During the reign of St. Ketevan, Queen of Kachetia, East of Tiflis, Georgia was divided into three kingdoms, Imereti, Kartalinia, and Kachetia.

King Teimuraz I, anxious to be at peace with the Shah, felt compelled to send St. Ketevan, his mother, as a hostage to Shiraz, then the capital of Persia. The Queen, after a weary ten years' imprisonment, was ready to sacrifice herself for the welfare of her nation. On September 13, A.D. 1627, she was greatly comforted in prison by the priest Heraclius, who informed her that on that same day the executioners, by order of the Shah, would put an end to her life on earth by tortures. When Khangar-Khan, the Persian General-in-charge, arrived in front of the Castle, it is recorded, to the eternal honour of three Latin Augustinian Missionaries, that when they heard of the Queen's sentence of death, they waited on Khangar-Khan, and offered him twenty thousand roubles, which they promised to collect in Europe, in return for her life. They were driven away with many an insult, so that after this they could only intercede on her behalf.

"Queen Ketevan," said Khangar-Khan, in a harsh, unfeeling voice, "the answer you have heretofore so often given, as by word of mouth, so also by letter, to the king of kings, the brother of the sun and moon, the ever-victorious Shah Abbas,

might well be counted sufficient to show your obstinacy, and to leave no place for further questioning. But such is the serene clemency of that most excellent and gracious prince, that he yet once more demands of you, by my mouth, whether you will leave the accursed superstition of your forefathers, in which case he will promote you to the highest honours of his kingdom, or whether you are content to abide such tortures as his just vengeance shall decree in the case of your refusal."

"I might well ask," said her Majesty, "by what right I, a sovereign princess, have been now for so many years shut up in prison, and am here threatened with judgement and execution? How many times your master has broken his word to me, GOD knows; very heartily I forgive him for all, and the rather that this his last act, cruel though it may seem, will indeed be his kindest."

"I did not," said Khangar-Khan, "come to thee to hear insults heaped on the great King. I will, therefore, pray you to answer my question by yea, or nay. I ask once, but I will ask no more."

"Then, by GOD's grace," said the Queen, "you cannot inflict so much on me for your hatred to my dear LORD, as I am willing to bear for His love."

"Then let the executioners see to it," replied Khangar-Khan; "for I have done."

"Now, my daughter," said Heraclius, in a low voice, "look wholly to Him; think only of Him; He is able to bring you through; He will bring you through; but take not your thoughts off Him for one moment, lest Satan should win the advantage over you."

And as two of them laid hands on her, and pro-

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ceeded to despoil her of her robes, he said, "Even thus you are more like Him, my daughter; He has gone the very self-same road. Think that He Himself is looking down upon you; think what great honour He will reap in your victory; think of the vast number of angels and saints that stand round you like a cloud, eager that you may be among them."

"I do, I do believe it, my father!" said the Queen; "but oh, now pray for me!" for the other two executioners were raking from the fire a vast quantity of red-hot nails, and arranging them on the sand, so as to form a kind of bed. Heraclius and the two Christians (Luarsab and Sadi) knelt, so also did the Latin friars without the palisade.

The four torturers approached, and raised the Queen in their arms. "Now then," said one of the men; "all together!" and they laid Queen Ketevan down on the fiery bed. The crowd had expected to hear a scream of agony; but all was silence. For a few moments Heraclius continued in prayer. Then, noticing the motion of her lips as she prayed, he rose, advanced a little nearer to her, and repeated in their native Georgian, which the bystanders could not understand, the whole of Luke xxii. 41-44.

"An' it please your Highness," said one of the executioners, "the iron is cooling."

"Let me see that you succeed better this time," replied the Governor.

They brought heated bars of iron, and laid them across her body, and still her lips moved in prayer. And almost as her soul was in departing, they set a red-hot crown of iron on her forehead, and so they killed the body, and after that had no more

that they could do. For long before the iron diadem had cooled on her brow, her LORD presented her with the blessings of goodness, and set a crown of pure gold on her head.

One month later the city Allahwerdi in Georgia was full of joy and exultation. The King and Queen were on foot at the gate of the city, while the Archbishop and his clergy moved forward in procession, chanting Psalm cxviii. And as they thundered out "*Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the LORD,*" the open hearse drew nigh that bore, ransomed by the Latin friars, the precious remains of the martyr Queen. And so, with song and jubilee, they ascended to the Metropolitan Church, where the body of St. Ketevan, Queen and martyr, awaits the LORD's second coming in the Church of the Holy Cross at Allahwerdi.¹

Her festival is celebrated on September 13. The biography of Queen Ketevan and her martyrdom was published in Georgian at Paris in 1833, at the expense of the Asiatic Society of France. Her martyrdom has also been sung in Georgian in the verses of Prince Dimitri Bagratian.

I have closely followed the account of the martyrdom as given by Dr. Neale, and this Palm Sunday (1850) story, republished in 1905, is quoted with the kind permission of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*.

¹ Abbreviated extracts from *The Followers of the Lord*, pp. 22-27.

CHAPTER XXI

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. *Vakhtang VI.*
2. *Heraclius II.*
3. *George XIII.*

1. VAKHTANG VI.—After the death of the Persian monster, Shah Abbas, Georgia suffered severely from the attacks of Persians and Turks, till at length the pious sovereign Vakhtang VI, A.D. 1701, ascended the throne. He restored entirely, though temporarily, the property of the kingdom, and raised his dear “Gruzia” once more to a first-rate power. He secured the happiness of his subjects by making a series of laws which were in vogue until 1841, when Russian laws were in great measure introduced. These laws were known by the name of the *Code of King Vakhtang*. This Code was divided into eight parts, and was formed on a religious basis, allaying warlike passions, and setting limits to the laws of war.

He reinstated the Catholicos Nicolai VI, a prelate renowned as a theologian and philosopher, who had been unjustly deposed by the Tzarevitch Heraclius, and after the decease of Nicolai, Vakhtang entrusted the chair of Catholicos to his brother Domentius III. Joselyn (pp. 165–188) records his building of new churches, and the restoration of others; the calling

together of a Synod for settling the Orthodox Faith; the regulations of Church discipline; the restoration of monasteries and ancient hermitages; and his bringing a printing-press to Tiflis for the publication of cheap liturgical and devotional books. He opened schools in which children of the better class were taught the Holy Scriptures and Philosophy; he secured sufficient maintenance for Monastic institutions; he sent valuable offerings to Ivéron, Mount Athos, and a costly present of gold to the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. At last, unable to resist Shah Nadir, he felt compelled to abdicate, *c.* A.D. 1714, and retired to Astrachan, where he entered into rest.

2. HERACLIUS II. King of Kartalinia and Kachetia, A.D. 1762–1796. This monarch threw a last gleam of glory over the dynasty by his heroic struggles, procuring rest for the Church. During his reign, A.D. 1783, Georgia came under the protection of the Russian Empress Catherine II, and the Emperor Paul I. It was their attachment to the national religion that induced the Georgians to call in the aid of the Christian Muscovites against the proselytizing attempts of the Shiite Persians—a step which ultimately brought about their political extinction. Previous to this reign, Latin missionaries were indefatigable, and exercised influence in both Church and State. The Catholicos Antoni I opposed the innovations, for which he was deposed in a National Council. He fled to Russia, and placed himself under the protection of the Holy Governing Synod of All the Russians, and was promoted to the vacant see of Vladimir. This exceptionally learned prelate was eventually recalled from Russia to

re-occupy his former throne. He translated several works for the enlightenment of the School at Tiflis and Telaw, and was thankfully recognized as a zealous defender of the Orthodox Faith.

Under Heraclius II the ties between Russia and Georgia were drawn closer together. The Catholicos became a member of the Holy Governing Synod and lost his power, though retaining the title, until 1810. Russia compelled the last Catholicos, Antonius II, to abdicate in 1810. He was appointed in 1788, and died at Nijni-Novogorod, on the Volga, November 21, 1828, aged sixty-eight years.

The badge (according to Joselian, p. 206) which in ancient times distinguished a Catholicos from other bishops was : (1) two seraphim made of strung pearls and other precious stones, and sewn on the skirts of the black cape; (2) a cross in front thereof; (3) a black velvet cloak, with silver streamlets; (4) a mitre with a cross on the top, and edged all round with a fretted crown; and, (5) while officiating, two panaghias with a cross. Above these, the Emperor Paul I bestowed on Antonius II a white cape with Seraphim.¹

The office of Catholicos has since been abolished, and the Exarch of Gruzia (Georgia) is now an ex-officio Member of the Holy Synod of Russia, and in the Bureau of the Holy Governing Synod of Gruzia and Imereti the Exarch is President, being assisted by three Archimandrites—two from Gruzia, one from Imereti—and one Proto-pope.²

¹ See a list of ecclesiastical vestments in the Holy Eastern Church by Neale, *H. E. Church*, Vol. I. ch. viii.

² *The Organization of the Orthodox Eastern Churches*, by Margaret G. Dampier, pp. 22, 23. A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1910.

Most of the Monasteries were dissolved, and the Russification of Church and School, as well as the suppression of the Georgian language, have been carried on ever since, regardless of public feeling and protests.

3. GEORGE XIII ascended the throne A.D. 1797, and reigned for three years. This last monarch found his subjects powerless in their hopeless struggles with the enemies of their Faith. In the fear of GOD, and trusting to His providence, George formally ceded, in 1800, his country to his co-religionist the Emperor Paul I.

Paul having died suddenly, it fell to his successor, Alexander I, to issue a proclamation on September 12, 1801, that he would protect the Georgians, being of the same Faith as himself. The remaining tribes, Imereti and Gurian, were forcibly made subjects, but not till 1878, when they were compelled to follow the example of Georgia, and become an integral portion of the Russian Empire.

“So,” remarks Dr. Adrian Fortescue,¹ “AT ONE STROKE THE GEORGIAN NATION AND THE GEORGIAN CHURCH WERE WIPED OUT.”

¹ *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 305. London, Catholic Truth Society, 1907.

CHAPTER XXII

SERMONS BY GABRIEL, BISHOP OF IMERETI

(*Nineteenth Century*)

IN 1867 the late Rev. S. C. Malan translated from the Georgian a volume of fifteen sermons by the venerable Gabriel, Bishop of Imereti, published by Saunders, Otley & Co. Fourteen of these sermons were preached at Kataïš, the capital of Imereti.

The contents of these truly *Evangelical* discourses are on Faith, Eternal Punishment, etc., to which are added an exposition of the LORD'S Prayer, and of the Beatitudes, by the same prelate, intended for the Ossetes,¹ and for other inhabitants of the Caucasus. They are still deservedly popular in the original, which was published in 1862 at Tiflis.

Although there is nothing brilliant in any of these sermons, so unlike in this respect from the remarkable *First Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Meguerditch I, Catholicos of All Armenia*, 1893, reprinted in full in *The Armenian Church*,² pp. 28–33, yet the general tone of the book reminds one of Bishop Walsham How's *Plain Words*.

Contrary to what would have been expected, there are scarcely any local allusions in this volume, with one noticeable exception in No. 12, on the text, "And

¹ The Ossetes are a mountain tribe, dwelling north-east of Imereti, which has particularly attracted the attention of ethnographers and philologists.

² *The Armenian Church*, by Archdeacon Dowling. S.P.C.K., 1910.

why call ye me, LORD, LORD, and do not the things which I say?" (Luke vi. 46).

The following is the passage, which may be thought by some to savour of superstition :—

"If, my brother, thou wishest to know how thou mayest keep GOD'S commandments, look at the great example set before thine eye; look at that case [the case containing the remains of the twin martyrs David and Constantine], and consider why the LORD gave such grace to the saints David and Constantine, princes of Argweth, that their remains, more than a thousand years old, should be among us free from decay and still fresh, while the body of every man after death returns to the earth and into dust. It happened in the days of dreadful misfortunes for our land, when the infidel and cruel enemy Murwan-qru, came with a large army and laid waste our country, and forced Christians to embrace Islamism. Then some that were weak in the faith and timid, fearing the cruelty of the foe, denied the faith; but the valiant David and Constantine were enabled manfully to resist the enemy, and, although they fell into the hands of Murwan-qra, they bravely confessed the faith of CHRIST, they patiently endured many cruel torments, and then received the crown of martyrdom. Thus did these saints prove by their conduct and deeds the truth of their faith and hope in CHRIST. Brethren, let us also be followers of these sainted youths, let us also in our actions fulfil what we have heard in His Gospel for the day. If not, then to us also the SAVIOUR addresses this bitter rebuke: 'Why call ye me, LORD, LORD, and do not the things which I say?'"¹

¹ During the time that Georgia was exposed to the invasion of Murwan Abul Khazim, the last Khalif of the house of Ommiyah,

(c. A.D. 730), the two brothers SS. David and Constantine, powerful princes of Argweth, a district of Imereti, on the river Kwirila, suffered martyrdom for their courageous confession of CHRIST. Brought before the Persian tyrant, after being beaten, they were at last condemned to perish in the river Rion. These sainted men received their sentence with joy, they begged that they might be buried when dead, and prayed to GOD that those who should touch them, and those who should call upon them by name, should be cured of their diseases. Their bodies, which had been cast into the river, were afterwards found lying face to face on the bank, and were laid by pious Christians in a wooden coffin in the eleventh-century church of the monastery at Motzamethi. Even at present their relics cease not to work wonderful cures on those who piously venerate them. Bishop Gabriel preached the sermon above quoted at this monastic church. The Georgian Church commemorates the martyrdom of these two saints on October 2.—*Joselian*.

APPENDIX I

THE RITES OF ANIMAL SACRIFICE

A FOOTNOTE in Mr. F. C. Conybeare's *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 84, states that in Georgian or old Iberian service-books we find the same rituals of animal sacrifice as in the Armenian. To-day in Georgia the Deacon, who is chosen by the people, slays the animal, usually a sheep, at the funeral banquet. The face, forehead and nose of the animal are smeared with a red dye, tapers are lit, and tied to its horns with paper fillets. The animal licks the exorcised salt before it is slain.¹

There is an interesting notice of this custom in Dr. Wigram's *In Prester John's Kingdom*, "The Treasury," February 1911, p. 470.

Writing on "the Assyrian Patriarch and his people," he refers to this rite of animal sacrifice as being still performed in many churches, with the full semitic ritual that was venerable when Moses purified it for Israelitish use in the desert. The good Christians who practise it are amazed at European surprise; why should it be thought odd that they continue to do what St. Paul practised, on one occasion at any rate?

The observance of the sacrificial law was still maintained to some extent among the Jewish

¹ See "Prayers for Animal Sacrifices," *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 413, 414. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1905.

Christians, and the Apostle on one occasion associated himself with four men who went through a purification ending in offering (Acts xxi. 2, 6).

“St. Gregory, in writing to St. Augustine” (*Ep.* xi. 76), “recommends that the heathen sacrifices of oxen should be allowed to accustom the people gradually to the change of ritual, but that they should be made on Saint’s days” (*Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV. p. 39: Article on FOOD).

Throughout Greece when a new building is being erected the ceremony of the foundation sacrifice is performed.¹

¹ See *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, by Mary Hamilton, D. Litt., ch. viii. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1910.

APPENDIX II

THE GEORGIAN CHURCH IN CYPRUS

THE Alexandrian Patriarch Kyprianos, A.D. 1767–1783 (formerly a Cypriot Deacon), states that the Georgians possessed some Monasteries near Alamino, in the district of Mazoto, Cyprus. Their principal colony was at Nicosia, but he adds: “No representatives of this sect (!) are to be found, however, in the island at the present day.”—*A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, by J. Hackett, B.D., p. 523. London: Methuen & Co. 1901. See also p. 247, etc.

APPENDIX III

AN APPRECIATION OF THE LATE REV. DR. NEALE

THE present generation of Anglican Church-folk may like to be reminded that Dr. Neale, after departing this life, worn out with incessant work, at the age of forty-eight years, left behind him in 1866 the splendid reputation of being known as—

A student of the Eastern Church.

A translator of Greek hymns.

A student of Oriental languages.

A learned Theologian.

An incessant traveller—for literary purposes.

A hymnologist.

A composer of Christmas and Easter Carols.

A foremost Liturgicist.

A Church Restorer.

A founder of a Sisterhood.

An author of more than fifty books.

A skilled Catechist.

A co-founder of the Cambridge Camden (afterwards the Ecclesiological) Society.

A mystical Commentator on the Psalter.

A winner of the Seatonian Prize on ten occasions.

A teacher of Church History and Doctrine to children by means of "truth embodied in a tale."

APPENDIX IV

AN APPEAL FROM THE GEORGIAN CHURCH TO THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

“The Georgian Church, independent and autocephalous for sixteen centuries, now enslaved by a Christian Church of the same rite which, despite canonical laws and despite the treaties between the Georgian Kingdom and the Russian Empire, has suppressed all the rights of the Iverian Church since the union of Georgia with Russia, appeals to your Holiness [the Patriarch of Constantinople] to listen to the sad story of the violation and abolition of our ecclesiastical rights, and the consequent indifferentism amongst the Georgian people, in the hope that your Holiness will raise his voice against this injustice which a Christian Church could never expect, not only from another Christian Church, but even from a non-Christian Power.

“Georgia adopted Christianity in the fourth century, and as at that time Byzantium and Syria were the most enlightened countries, the Georgian Church was in close spiritual union with them, and developed under their supervision. At the beginning the Georgian Church was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Antiochian Church. The bishops of the Georgian Church were sent from Byzantium and Antioch, but nevertheless from the outset the Georgian Church endeavoured to have their religious service in their own language, and they translated

the sacred books into Georgian. In 381 the Georgian Bishop Panthopilos was present at the Council of Constantinople. In the fifth century, in the reign of Wakhtang Gargaslan (449–499), with the consent of Anastasius I, Emperor of Byzantium, the Archbishop of the Georgian capital, Mtskheta, was elevated to the rank of *Catholicos*, but as the Georgian Church was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, the first Catholicos, Peter, was sent from Antioch; he was not independent, but under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch. Generally during the fifth and sixth centuries the Georgian Catholicos was under the jurisdiction of the Antiochian Patriarchs, consecrated by him, and received the holy oil (myrrh) from him; whilst the Patriarch received the income from property bequeathed by the Georgian royal family and nobility.

“During the sixth century, in the reign of Pharsinan (542–557), the Catholicos of Mtskheta and of the whole Iverian Church was elected by and from among the Georgian clergy; for consecration they went to Antioch.

“In the seventh and eighth centuries, when Antioch had fallen and been taken by the Mussulmans, the Georgian Church became autocephalous.

“The Antiochian Patriarch Theophilactus (744–750) made a convocation of all Antiochian bishops, and their Council decided to grant to the Council of Georgian bishops the right to elect a Catholicos from among themselves, who had the right to appoint and consecrate bishops; but the Patriarch reserved to himself the right to send an Exarchos for the control of the Georgian Church. At this Council the Georgian John was appointed first Georgian Catho-

licos of the autocephalous Georgian Church, which was to mention in its prayers the Patriarch of Antioch. The latter received yearly a thousand gold pieces from the Georgian Church.

“From the ninth century Georgia began to develop politically and ecclesiastically. The Kings, David Curopalat, Bagrat III, George I and Bagrat IV, made Georgia powerful, and the Catholicos of the Georgian Church was elevated to the dignity of Patriarch of the Church of united Georgia.

“From the eleventh century the Georgian Church ceased to pay monetary tribute to Antioch. The Antiochian Patriarch Theodosius (1057–1076) authorized the Georgian Patriarch to prepare the holy oil.

“The Council of Antioch, under the presidency of Patriarch Peter (1053–1057), recognized the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. From this time the name of the Antiochian Patriarch was mentioned in the prayers of the Georgian Church, not as a sign of ecclesiastical dependency, but as of ecclesiastical friendship and solidarity. The successor of Patriarch Peter of Antioch, Theodosius, again declared the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. *At the same time the Antiochian Patriarch was informed that the Georgian Catholicos would rule in his Church independent from the Patriarch of the East.*

“Thus the autocephaly of the Georgian Church was a fact recognized by ecclesiastical canon of the Greek Orthodox Church. In the twelfth century the famous Byzantine canonist, the Antiochian Patriarch Theodore Valsamon, residing in Constantinople, in his analysis of Chapter II of the Resolutions of the Œcumenical Council of Antioch mentioned the Iverian Church among the autocephalous Churches

I

of the East; he said that the Archbishop of Iveria was recognized as independent by the Antiochian Council. The Byzantine canonist, Mathias Vlastav, who compiled the famous 'Elementary Syntagma,' says that the Iverian Church is not dependent on any Eastern Patriarchs, and that the Antiochian Council authorized the Georgian Catholicos to consecrate the bishops. The Byzantine author, Georges Codini Curopalati of the fourteenth century, also states that the Byzantine Patriarch always addressed himself to the Iverian Catholicos as 'beloved brother and collaborator.' The Iverian Catholicos was addressed by the Byzantine Patriarch as 'most divine Archbishop, Catholicos of all Iveria, in the Holy Ghost, our beloved Brother.'

"And so from the eleventh century the Georgian Church was autocephalous, and ruled according to the will of the people and the kings. During the reigns of David the Restorer, and Tamara, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the Church reached its highest glory; it never disregarded the ecclesiastical law and never usurped the rights of others. The Georgian Church developed its jurisdiction, it convoked its own ecclesiastical councils. It is true, after the political division of Georgia in the fourteenth century, the Church was also divided, and at the end of that century Western Georgia elected its own Catholicos; but this concerned only the internal administration of the Church, and was the result of the political situation, and never touched the foreign ecclesiastical relations.

"Since 1319, when in Western Georgia Arseni was elected Catholicos, two Catholicoi existed in Georgia, the heads of the Church of Eastern and Western

Georgia. The facts are stated by the Patriarchs, Macarius of Antioch (1648–1672), Dositheos of Jerusalem (1669–1707), and Chrysanteus of Jerusalem (1707–1731). These Patriarchs fully recognized the titles of both Catholicoi. Dositheos entitled the Catholicos of Western Georgia ‘Most divine orthodox Catholicos of Imerethia, Odishi (Mingrelia), of Guria, Abkhasia, and all Western Iveria, Lord Gregorius, in the Holy Ghost, our beloved Brother.’ The title of the Catholicos of Eastern Iveria was ‘Most divine Catholicos of Karthli, Cakhethi, Albania and Eastern Iveria.’

“Such were the rights of independence of the Georgian Church obtained by and according to the universal canonical laws of the Eastern Churches, and enjoyed by her until the beginning of the nineteenth century. All this is confirmed by Greek, Arabic, Georgian and other sources, and by the general history of the Christian Church, the canonical laws and their history; besides, it is proved by modern historians and the researches of those Russian, Georgian and European scientists who are interested in this very important question of canonical law and of the Iverian Church.

“At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in 1801, Georgia, exhausted by incessant wars in defence of Christianity against the Mussulman neighbouring Powers, made a voluntary international treaty with the Russian Empire. From the time of this union, in violation of all the guarantees of the treaty, the autocephalous Georgian Church was oppressed. Her autocephaly was abolished, contrary to all canonical law, her property was sequestrated, and the Georgian language, little by little, banished

not only from the administration of the Church, but even from divine service in our historical cathedrals.

“In 1783 the Georgian King Iracli II concluded a treaty of protection with the Russian Empress Catherine. By this treaty the autocephaly of the Georgian Church was recognized, and the Catholicos Antonius was nominated a member of the Russian Holy Synod, and by a special paragraph of the treaty the independent administration of the Georgian Church was recognized, as well as her independence of the Russian Church. Catholicos Antonius restored the unity of the Georgian Church, but in 1810 he was invited to St. Petersburg, and never allowed by the Russian Government to return. This was the first act of direct violation of the treaty. On June 30, 1811, the dignity of the Georgian Catholicos was abolished, and a Russian Archbishop Varlam, with the title of Exarchos of Georgia, was appointed. Since that time the martyrdom of our Church begins.

“A new Russian clerical administration committed such acts as never were done by Arabs or Mongols during their invasions. From the beginning of the introduction of the Russian *régime* in Western Georgia, Russian generals persecuted the Metropolitans of Koutaïs and Gelati, and killed the latter, whose body was put in a sack and buried near the road to Gori; the former was taken to Russia, and the ancient bishoprics of Georgia were suppressed. The Georgian autocephalous Church had fifteen bishops in Eastern Georgia, eleven in Western Georgia; but now in all Georgia there are only three bishops and two vicars. From 1811 fifteen monasteries and eight hundred churches were closed, and the property of the Iverian Church, valued at over

100 million roubles, was sequestered by the Russian Government. After this act of expropriation the customary embezzlement, mismanagement and corruption of Russian officials began. The golden casket in which the text of the treaty was preserved in the historical Cathedral of Sion at Tiflis was secretly taken by the Russian Exarchos Isidor to St. Petersburg in 1857. With the permission of the Russian Exarchos Eusebius, a precious eleventh-century text of the Gospel was taken from the Monastery Gelati, and stripped of its precious stones and returned with false stones; from the Sion Cathedral poods¹ of precious stones were taken away; the cathedral and monasteries at Mtzkhet, Alaverdi and Bodbe, where St. Nina lies buried, were robbed. All the old historical, precious sacred books and manuscripts with artistic pictures and illuminations were carried off; the famous holy picture of the Madonna, of a value of 50,000 roubles, was stolen from the Metekhi Cathedral at Tiflis; by order of the Exarchos Palladius, Sabingus took the best of Georgian holy pictures, under the pretext of restoring them, and despoiled them of their jewels.

“All these facts are known and recognized by Georgian and honest Russian Orthodox persons.

“No Russian Exarchos of Georgia and Russian ecclesiastical administrators knew the Georgian language, the language in which during sixteen centuries Christian literature was flourishing. In the schools and churches Russian is used, a language not understood by the Georgian people. The Russian Church and language are used in Georgia as an instrument of Russification, and not for the purpose

¹ Pood = 40 pounds.

of spreading Christianity and morality. In consequence of all this misrule, the Christian religion, for which the Georgian nation fought for sixteen centuries, now has become estranged from the people, and cases have even occurred of conversion to Mussulmanism.

“The Georgian clergy and nation are alarmed for the future, and in the name of Christianity and ecclesiastical tradition appeal to the Christian world for the protection of one of the oldest autocephalous Churches against the violation of their treaty rights guaranteed by ‘Our Imperial Word.’

“But the Russian Government persecutes every Georgian who dares to raise his voice in defence of his national Church. Even the bishops of our Church are persecuted, as the famous learned Bishop Cirion, who energetically defended the rights of the Georgian Church, was transported to a Russian monastery, imprisoned and ill-treated; broken in health by his solitary confinement, he was at last released. The same fate befell the Archimandrite Ambrosius.

“The present Emperor, Nicholas II, in 1906 ordered that the ecclesiastical council might discuss, among other matters, the question of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church.

“The preliminary conference was held in St. Petersburg in 1906 to arrange the programme of the Council. At this conference the rights of autocephaly of the Georgian Church were defended by Bishops Cirion and Leonide, supported by the Academicians and Professors Marr and Tsagareli, the greatest authorities on Georgian history and literature. The intolerance and ruffianism of the Russian delegates forced the Georgian delegates to leave the confer-

ence, and the question of autocephaly was left open.

“After that the Holy Synod tried to abolish the Exarchate of the Georgian Church, and to divide Georgia into small bishoprics in the Russian way, but this step for the definite destruction of the Georgian Church is postponed.

“Our Georgian Church, so persecuted at present, during its independent existence was always on friendly terms with the Antiochian and Byzantine, as well as with the Roman Catholic Churches. Roman Catholics were tolerated in Georgia; the Georgian Kings were in friendly correspondence with the Pope; Roman Catholic missions were allowed to make propaganda freely in Georgia. The work of the Georgian Church was magnificent; numerous rich monasteries testify to this in Palestine, on Mount Sinai and Mount Athos, whence learned theologians, historians and philosophers spread the light of Christianity. The influence of the Georgian Church in Palestine was great, and, as is known from Church history, the Georgians took a great part in the spreading and defence of Christianity during the Crusades and mediæval times in Palestine and elsewhere.

“In the name of Christ and Christianity we implore all the leaders of the Christian Churches, and amongst them your Holiness, to defend the rights of our Church from oppression by the Russian Government, and to oblige the latter to re-establish the autocephaly of our Church which we enjoyed during eight centuries, and which was recognized and accepted by the Russian Government by the treaty of union, but violated in 1811 and up till the present.”

APPENDIX V

GEORGIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

GEORGIAN Church architecture combines in a certain degree: (1) the style of the period of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, A.D. 428, and (2) the period of the contest of Constantinople and Persia till A.D. 884. It retains the Byzantine Narthex, and does not reject Piers; it adopts the Armenian tower, and to a certain extent the niche. Its own peculiarity consists in arcading the exterior of its churches.

In Georgia and Armenia the pointed arch is indigenous; their architects understood it in its most difficult form, the Ogee.

One distinction between Georgian and purely Armenian churches is that the latter have usually octagonal towers; but, when they are round, the conical head is very low, and the windows free and far apart. Georgian towers are always round, the spires are high, and the windows, much slimmer and larger than those of Armenian churches, stand thick together.

Unlike Armenian churches, where the *one* altar is exposed to view, the Georgians, following general Eastern usage, make use of the Iconostasis, which is perpetually confounded with the rood-screen in Anglican churches, instead of being compared to what in fact it represents, the altar rails.

In Georgian ecclesiology the Byzantine and Armenian styles of architecture are blended.

The small size of the average Georgian church as compared with an ordinary Anglican parish church is noticeable.

The Orientation of the churches is universal.

The Font is a far less conspicuous ornament than it is in the West. It seldom possesses any beauty.

Bells are common. One is hung either over the doors at the west end, or over the lychgate.¹

¹ Adapted from Neale's *Ecclesiology of the Holy Eastern Church*: General Introduction, Vol. I. pp. 165-314.

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