

GEORGIA AND THE ANTICIPATION OF THE CRUSADE

(20s OF THE XVIIth CENTURY)

საქართველო და ჯვაროსნული ლაშქრობის მოლოდინი

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to analyze how the Georgian historical memory preserved the anticipation of the crusade of the salvation of the Eastern Christians by the Western Christians. This issue has not been studied in the Georgian scientific literature since. There are not any Georgian sources about it. One Italian source which is available to us, belonging to the Italian Dominican missionary Paolo Maria Cittadini from Faenza, clearly confirms the existence of this expectation in Georgia during this period, which even became a prophecy.

Paolo Maria Cittadini was in the Kingdom of Kakheti in June-July 1616. His purpose was to study the perspective of starting the activities of Catholic missionaries in Georgia. He was mainly in the Georgian clerical circle and recorded his observations in an extensive report, which was published in the form of a pamphlet in Rome in 1621. The author presented what he saw and heard mainly in the context of Georgian-Latin identity. This meant that he perceived the Georgian reality as a part of European civilization, and considered the Georgian church to be in accordance with post-Tridentine orthodoxy.

The analysis of the brief report brought by Paolo Maria Cittadini, which vividly illustrates the anticipation of the crusade in Georgia, gives us the basis to conclude: the Georgian Orthodox Church was the force that firmly preserved the liberating idea of the crusade, and it became a poem and a song among the people. This idea of liberation was connected with the spiritual guidance of Western Catholic Christianity under the leadership of the Pope. This hope was repeated in Georgian historical memory for centuries and it lived until the 20s of the 17th century. In the face of the destructive invasions of Shah Abbas I, the remaining Georgian clergy considered the Catholic fathers established in the Iranian empire to be a helping force in the task of saving Christianity. Georgian clerics understood well that by establishing Catholic missionaries in Georgia, they would be able to communicate with the Pope and through him with European missionaries. This could affect Iran and Ottoman relations with Georgia.

The Italian source gave us the opportunity to arise the mentioned problem as a fact and provided us with certain knowledge about the anticipation of the crusade, preserved in Georgian historical memory. This creates a prerequisite for the further studying of the problem.

Key words: Anticipation of the crusade; historical memory; Paolo Maria Cittadini; Catholic missionaries; Georgian-Latin identity.

მურმან პაპაშვილი

ისტორიის მეცნიერებათა დოქტორი, პროფესორი, ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის ჰუმანიტარულ მეცნიერებათა ფაკულტეტის შუა საუკუნეების ისტორიის კათედრა, საქართველო, ქ.თბილისი, ჭავჭავაძის გამზ.1.

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აბსტრაქტი

ნაშრომის მიზანია გავაანალიზოთ, თუ როგორ შემოინახა ქართულმა ისტორიულმა მახსოვრობამ დასავლეთის ქრისტიანებისაგან აღმოსავლელ ქრისტიანთა ხსნის ჯვაროსნული მოლოდინი. ეს საკითხი ქართულ სამეცნიერო ლიტერატურაში არ შესწავლილა. მის შესახებ ქართულენოვანი წყაროები არ მოგვეპოვება. ჩვენს ხელთ არსებული ერთი იტალიურენოვანი წყარო, რომელიც ეკუთვნის იტალიელ დომინიკელ მისიონერს პაოლო მარია ჩიტადინი და ფაენცას, ნათლად ადასტურებს ამ პერიოდის საქართველოში ასეთი მოლოდინის არსებობას, რაც წინასწარმეტყველებადაც კი ქცეულა.

პაოლო მარია ჩიტადინი 1616 წლის ივნის-ივლისში იმყოფებოდა კახეთის სამეფოში. მისი მიზანი იყო საქართველოში კათოლიკე მისიონერთა საქმიანობის დაწყების პერსპექტივის შესწავლა. ის ძირითადად ქართველ სასულიერო წრეში ტრიალებდა და თავისი დაკვირვებები დააფიქსირა ვრცელ რელაციაში, რომელიც 1621 წელს რომში ბროშურის სახით გამოიცა. ავტორმა ნაწილი და გაგონილი ძირითადად ქართულ-ლათინური იდენტობის კონტექსტში წარმოადგინა. ეს კი იმას ნიშნავდა, რომ მან ქართული სინამდვილე ევროპული ცივილიზაციის ნაწილად აღიქვა, ხოლო ქართული ეკლესია პოსტ-ტრიდენტული ორთოდოქსულობის შესაბამისად მიიჩნია.

პაოლო მარია ჩიტადინის მიერ მოტანილი მოკლე ცნობის, რომელიც რელიეფურად ასახავს საქართველოში არსებული ჯვაროსნული ლაშქრობის მოლოდინს, ანალიზი იძლევა საფუძველს დავასკვნათ: ქართული მართლმადიდებელი ეკლესია წარმოადგენდა იმ ძალას, რომელმაც ჯვაროსნული ლაშქრობის განმათავისუფლებელი იდეა მტკიცედ შეინახა, ხოლო ხალხში იგი ლექსად და სიმღერად იქცა. განთავისუფლების ეს იდეა კი დასავლეთის კათოლიკური ქრისტიანობის სულიერ წინამძღოლობას დაუკავშირდა რომის პაპის

მეთაურობით. ეს იმედი ქართულ ისტორიულ მახსოვრობაში საუკუნეების მანძილზე მეორდებოდა და, ირკვევა, იგი XVII საუკუნის 20-იან წლებამდეც ცოცხლობდა. შაჰ აბას I-ის გამანადგურებელი შემოსევების პირისპირ დარჩენილი ქართული სამღვდელთა ირანის იმპერიაში დამკვიდრებულ კათოლიკე მამებს შემწე ძალად მიიჩნეოდა ქრისტიანობის გადაჩენის საქმეში. ქართველ სასულიერო პირებს კარგად ესმოდათ, რომ საქართველოში კათოლიკე მისიონერების დაფუძნებით ისინი კავშირს შეძლებდნენ რომის პაპთან და მისი მეშვეობით ევროპელ მესვეურებთან. ამას კი შეეძლო გავლენა მოეხდინა საქართველოსთან ირანისა და ოსმალეთის ურთიერთობაზე.

იტალიურენოვანმა წყარომ მოგვცა საშუალება დაგვეხედავინა აღნიშნული პრობლემა, როგორც ფაქტი და მოგვეცა გარკვეული ცოდნა ქართულ ისტორიულ მეხსიერებაში შემონახული ჯვაროსნული ლაშქრობის მოლოდინზე. ეს ქმნის წინაპირობას პრობლემატიკის შემდგომი შესწავლისათვის.

საკვანძო სიტყვები: ჯვაროსნული ლაშქრობის მოლოდინი; ისტორიული მეხსიერება; პაოლო მარია ციტადინი; კათოლიკე მისიონერები; ქართულ-ლათინური იდენტობა.

Introduction

The first crusades (XI-XIII centuries) gave rise to the anticipation of the Crusade as the liberation of the Eastern Christians by the Western Christians. It was filled with a new reality in the following centuries (XV-XVI centuries) by the endless Western plans of the anti-Ottoman coalition. The concept of the crusade prevailing in European states, in particular in the rhetoric of the Holy See, survived until the beginning of the 17th century (Binz, L. E. 2013: 93). Not even in this century did his spirit die out in Europe. It is true that the unity of the Christian states of the West against the power of the Ottomans became an ideal that was difficult to achieve, but the Christians of the East, including Georgia, were waiting for the crusade until the beginning of the 18th century. It is significant that in the mentioned centuries the activity of Catholic missionaries in Georgia was to some extent connected with the crusader-liberating idea of the West and it was perceived as a continuation of the crusades.

Until now, there has been no work of any kind in Georgian historical memory about loyalty to and anticipation of the Western Crusade. Thus, this theme belongs to the non-researched number of problems in Historiography. Based on an Italian-language source, we can now say that the anticipation of the crusade turned it into a prophecy in Georgian historical memory, which instilled hope for the future in Georgia, which had no alliance with Iran and the Ottoman Empire. This partially filled the gap of the problem.

Methods

The research methodology is based on the scientific objectivity and the principles of historicism. The scientific critics of the sources is the basic principle. The analysis of the text led us to the conclusion

that the author relied on reliable information received from first persons. Discussion of the analytical phenomenon by the short time chronological principle, provided us with the what factors created the author's sense of Georgian-Italian identity. Systemic-historical method plays an important role. The phenomena to be studied are discussed by the structural-functional analyzes which provided us with the opportunity to reveal the mechanism of each element. We considered it important to use the comparative method, as well as content-analysis and system analysis.

Results

The historical crusades of the 11th-13th centuries and the equally subsequent plans for an endless anti-Ottoman coalition in the West (XV-XVI) established in Georgian historical memory the ideal that Western Christians would definitely come to liberate Eastern Christians from Muslims.

The Georgian Orthodox Church turned out to be the force that firmly preserved the liberating idea of the European Crusade under the leadership of the Popes, and the Georgian people turned the centuries-old prophecy of the salvation of the Christians of the East by the West into a poem, and the church turned it into a hymn.

The Dominican missionary Paolo Maria Cittadini painted a positive picture of Georgians before the Europeans with his small work, which was printed in Rome in 1621. He connected what he saw and experienced with his own eyes with such positive passages that he created identical attitudes towards Georgians in the minds of Europeans. The author himself perceived what he saw and heard in Georgia as a part of European civilization.

Discussion

The problem posed in the work is based on the only Italian-language source, which was first introduced to the Georgian society in his fundamental work by M. Tamarashvili (Tamarashvili, M. 1902: 84-85), and then - in his footsteps Prof. I. Tabaghua (Tabaghua, I. 1986: 58-61). We also have the original copy of this source (Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, ff.476-479). Therefore, in order to maintain greater accuracy, we rely on our translation of this material. To date, researchers have not paid attention to the interesting information recorded in this source. In short, it did not become the subject of special study-analysis. Otherwise, the main value of this source is the issue presented in the title of this article.

In the context of the mentioned, before discussing the problem in detail, it is necessary to briefly touch on the identity and activity of the author of the mentioned source. This will help us establish logical connections between events. For this purpose, we will recall the following historical fact. It is known that the Catholic diocese founded in 1318 on the territory of Armenia later turned into the Catholic diocese of Naxijewan and in 1356 was subordinated to the Dominican master general. Pope Innocent VI gave it the following name - "Ordo Fratrum unitorum S. Gregorii Illuminatoris". Although the "unifying friars" refused to use the Armenian language in the liturgy, they submitted to the Dominican master general, but for two hundred years they remained an almost independent branch of this order. Thus, the union of the Armenian Apostolic Church with the Church of Rome turned out

to be unattainable. In the first and second decades of the 17th century, they vigorously tried to discuss this issue, which was resisted by the Armenian clergy, and as a result, tensions grew. In such a situation, the Holy See decided in 1614 to appoint the Dominican Italian missionary Paolo Maria Cittadini and Faenza as the archbishop of the Armenian-Catholic Diocese of Naxijewan. His primary task was to overcome the crisis among the Armenian Catholics at that time and clarify the issue of the union of churches (Paolo, L. 2021: 40-45). As an energetic person armed with orthodox Catholic teachings, he was able to ease the situation in the diocese and "cleansing this Christian vineyard from all errors" (Paolo, L. 2021: 46). *"Satisfied with his results, in 1616 Cittadini left the archdiocese to follow a military campaign of Shah 'Abbas in Georgia, and in 1620 went back to Italy after traveling to India and Persia (Paolo, L. 2021: 46). Returning to his homeland, Paolo Maria Cittadini published a 4-page pamphlet in Rome in 1621 - "Sincere Report on the Kingdoms of Georgia" (Sincera relazione de'Regni della Georgia)", which was the first printed work of this kind in Western Europe.*

As we can see, Paolo Maria Cittadini da Faenza followed another expedition organized by Shah Abbas I to Georgia in the spring of 1616 (Essays. 1973: 269). According to the author himself, in June-July of the same year, he was in Georgia (Kakheti Kingdom). The missionary himself does not tell us anything about the purpose of his visit to the kingdom of Kakheti. Based on the basis of his own work, it can be assumed that he aimed to study the perspective of the beginning of the activity of Catholic missionaries in Georgia. In connection with this, our attention is drawn to the fact that Paolo Maria accompanied the military army of Shah Abbas to Georgia. In our opinion, accompanying Paolo Maria Cittadini in this campaign was primarily one of the ways of pseudo-Christian insidious diplomacy of Shah Abbas I (Papashvili, M. et al. 2021: 315). It is well known in historiography how Shah Abbas behaved with special friendly love towards Christians, obviously in his political interests. Among many other similar facts, the following is noteworthy: the wily Shah assured Pope Paul V (1605-1621) that he would force his Christian subjects, Armenians and Georgians, to accept the Catholic faith (Rudi, M. 2010: 251). It was this pseudo-Christian diplomacy of Shah Abbas that made Antonio de Govea think that "the first and most important thing for the spread of the Catholic Church is the patronage and favor of the Shah of Persia, whose subjects are the poor [Georgians] and in particular the Armenians with their vassals" (Archivo General de Simancas E 2864 F .91). In 1616, right before the campaign in Georgia *...he ordered Juan Tadeo to translate the Psalms and the Gospels into Persian" (Rudi, M. 2010: 251). In the same year, Paolo Maria Cittadini announced to Rome, "...how, during a dinner party, he presented the shāh with a work with the writings of Cardinal Belarmino, adding that the ruler had parts of the text read to him. The shāh told him that he often read the Gospels, referring to the copy that he had received from the Carmelite fathers. On the same occasion Abbās indicated to this guest his great desire to travel to Rome and visit the pope." (Rudi, M. 2010: 253). In a word, based on his political goals to use the religious factor to ally with the Christians of the West against the Ottomans, Shah Abbas promised the Catholic missionaries "... complete freedom" (Rudi M. 2010: 251), and forced his subordinate Christian Georgians and Armenians to accept Catholicism (Rudi, M. 2010: 251). In this crushing campaign of Georgia, in which no philo-Christianity was felt (Rudi, M. 2010: 254), for Faenza, as a Catholic, in our opinion, Shah Abbas may have wanted to show that Orthodoxy is bad Christianity, that is, Georgians are bad Christians and , since this is so, he did not consider the Shah's action to be a general anti-Christian policy. This assumption is supported by an earlier such fact. In 1603, Shah Abbas*

I told Kakheti king Alexander II (1574-1605) through the mouth of the Georgian ambassador: "If he is a Christian, he should obey the Holy Roman Pope, because I know very well that he who does not do this is not a good Christian." (Archivo General de Simancas E 2864 F.91). It is true that Shah Abbas masked his political goals with such contradictory actions (Rudi, M. 2010: 267), but it is also conceivable that by spreading Catholicism in Georgia within the permissible limits, he aimed at religious disconnection and confrontation. We will not delve into this problem here.

As we mentioned, Paolo Maria Cittadini was in Georgia (in the Kingdom of Kakheti) in June-July 1616. In the meantime, it is felt that the attentive missionary got to know Georgia quite well, understood the nature of Georgians and recorded his observations in the aforementioned pamphlet. The subject of his interest was a brief study of the geographical location of Georgia, the entrance roads to Georgia from the other side, and economic activities (Archivo della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f.477). The author, wherever possible, is also engaged in searching for the Georgian-Italian identity. He writes succinctly about one of these facts: "On the hills, vines are planted in the manner shown (i.e. Italian - MP)" (Archivo della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide,"Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f 477). The second fact of identity can be considered his comparison of Georgian and Latin writing. "Georgians have some letters similar to ours, and their pronunciation seemed to me to be a little different from our [language]" (Archivo della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide,"Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f. 478). In this regard, it is difficult to say exactly what has the author in mind. It is well known that the Georgian script is completely different from the Latin script, and he could not see the similarity of the letters in it. Also, the Georgian language is completely different from Italian, and it is impossible to see the slightest difference in it. In connection with the latter, he may have in mind the orthography and orthography of the Georgian and Italian languages. Similarity. As the third fact of identity, the author brings the architectural comparison of the churches. "They have well-built churches according to our custom, but not so large with bells and bells" (Archivo della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209 , f. 478).

In the context of such an identity, the author shows great sympathy for the Georgians and writes: "The men are white in color, have beautiful manners and very refined customs... They have a curious mind and are fierce in temper"; And the women "... are tall and beautiful in body; they ride on horses and hunt with spears in their hands and carry a bow and quiver". (Archivo della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide,"Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f. 477).

After all that, Paolo Maria Cittadini openly assures us that the clergy of the Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of Kakheti were moving in the European direction. Let's give the word to the author himself:

"They have great respect for the Blessed Pontiff of Rome and recognize him as the successor of Christ in the country. As a sign of this honor, I, as a priest, was kissed on my hands and feet. They wanted to confess to me, which I did not want to agree to. They really wanted me to go to their churches, where I had to offer my hands to be kissed by priests, laymen and women. They competed with each other in caressing. They revealed to me some of the things they had done, and when they heard from me that

they had done badly, they humbly asked for my forgiveness and wanted me to give them a proper penitence." Whether or not I exposed some of the errors of the superstitions, they easily refrained from it." (Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f. 479).

If we consider the facts given in this quote to be true, we must say that the Georgian clerics made a great impression on the missionary Paolo Maria Cittadini, and the author also expressed it with a kind of expression. Against the background of the mood and aspiration given in it, the great desire of Georgian clerics and laymen to equip their children with western knowledge seems completely natural. *"They told me many times," writes Cittadini, "that if their priests would come to them, they would give them churches, houses, and other things; They would consider it a great mercy if we taught them and trained their children under our discipline" (Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f.479).*

We have no other materials to verify the information given in this source. As for why the Georgian clergy and laity received Paolo Maria Cittadini so warmly, we say, it was due to the following circumstances: the first factor here was the natural characteristic of Georgians - hospitality and excessive respect for strangers; Second, the interest and curiosity in the religious-cultural peculiarities of the European Catholic clergy; Thirdly, in the face of this crushing campaign of Shah Abbas I, it is impossible that the Georgian Orthodox clergy did not consider the political purpose of the Shah's patronage of the Catholic missionaries. In any case, this would not remain unknown to the Georgian clergy. This is indicated indirectly by the source itself. Georgian clerics, Father Cittadini writes, "as a sign of respect to me, as a priest who came from Rome to the Shah of Persia on behalf of the Pope...they declared their submission to me" (*Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f 478*). And here: on the basis of all the above reports, he may not have been believed by the subordinates of the Holy Throne, and, we think, therefore, the author deliberately chose the title of the pamphlet - "A Sincere Report about the Kingdoms of Georgia" - thus indicating to the addressees and the Italian society that he was not idealizing anything, he was only writing the truth. And they should accept it. Giving a high evaluation to Georgian Christians, Paolo Maria expressed hope that the advancement of Catholicism in Georgia had a great future. In the context of the received impression, such a mood had a basis, and the author, probably during his stay in Georgia for two months, perceived what he saw and heard as a part of European civilization. That is why several Georgian alphabets seemed to him similar to Latin, and there was a slight difference between Georgian and Italian pronunciations.

On the basis of Paolo Maria's evidence, we should consider his following statement as true, which we still do not have the means to check with the control material in Georgian. The missionary, who was mostly in the circle of Georgian clergy, writes:

"I have heard several times from their priests that there is one prophecy in them: Roman Christians would come at a certain time to liberate their country, which everyone would perceive as happiness. This prophecy became a verse in their country from the ancients, and it was sung to me many times." (Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, "Persia, Georgia, Mingrelia", vol. 209, f. 479).

Such is the concise statement on which the present work is based. The existence of such prophecies is confirmed by the Portuguese missionary Pedro dos Santos. The latter was met by the supreme head of the Armenian Church, later Catholicos Moses III Tateveli (1629-1632) in Yerevan in 1628. The latter heard from dos Santos whether the Portuguese Augustinian missionaries had settled in Gori, offered thanks to the Lord and considered this to be a sign of the prophecy heard earlier. "The time will come and Christians will come to Constantinople to open it" (Gulbenkian, R. 1987: 54). This allows us to boldly say that a similar prophecy actually existed in Georgia and Armenia.

It doesn't take much thought to see in this report how the expectation of the crusade from the West was imprinted in the Georgian historical memory. More specifically, the historical crusades of the 11th-13th centuries and the subsequent plans to organize an endless anti-Ottoman coalition in the West left in the Georgian historical memory the ideal that the Western Christians would definitely come to liberate the Eastern Christians. We think that this was given an impetus by the fact that other Eastern Christians also had similar expectations for this period. In the special literature, it is well established that in the 17th century, the concept of a crusade against the Ottoman Empire in European states did not lose its power, and leading it was the great duty of the Pope (Binz, L.E. 2013: 93-96). The war against the Muslims and the holy places remained the main concern of the Europeans in this century (Heyberger, B. 1994: 193) and in turn it was the clergy who maintained the crusading spirit the most (Heyberger, B. 1994: 194). In this case, the Georgian clergy could perceive the appearance of the Catholic missionary as preparation for the crusade.

The named source also allows us to make the following conclusion. In particular, the Georgian Orthodox Church turned out to be the force that firmly preserved the liberating idea of the crusade and turned the expectation of the salvation of the Christians of the East by the West into a prophecy. That is why the idea of liberation was connected to the spiritual leadership of Catholic Christianity. It is significant that the Armenian Patriarch Moses III Tateveli considered the establishment of Catholic missionaries in Georgia as a sign of the positive foreknowledge of the existing prophecies.

Finally, the Dominican missionary Paolo Maria Cittadini created a positive image of Georgians in front of the Europeans with his small work. Its publication also aimed at this. This small pamphlet, bound by the author with positive passages, could evoke similar sentiments in the historical memory of Europeans.

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