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Representations of George and his Female Counterpart in Caucasus Vernacular Religion and Folklore

I. The princess as junior partner. The miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon (see Appendix) is more than the ancient dragon-slaying motif with a new character added. The narrative of a hero rescuing a woman or women from a dragon has a long history, going back at least as far as ancient Iranian tales of combat against a dragon guarding vital resources, such as water, livestock or women (Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 136-164; Fonterose 1980: 515-520; Watkins 1995: 297-300; Kuehn 2011: 87-91; Aarne-Thompson 1961: #300; Thompson *Motif-index* B11.7.1; Basilov 1991; Skjærvø et al 2011). The theme lives on in Georgian and Azerbaijanian folklore, as in the following excerpt from a Georgian folktale:

(The protagonist, the youngest of three brothers, descends to a land beneath the surface of the earth, and arrives at the home of an old woman. She tells him:) “Our water is held by a dragon (*čveni c’q’ali ert gvelaşap’uč’iram*). If we do not bring it a sacrifice (*msxverp’l*) each day, it does not let us get water.” (The boy asks for two large wine-jars, and goes to the water source). He saw a beautiful (*mzetunaxam*) woman seated there, weeping. “Why are you weeping?”, the boy asked. “I am the daughter of the king, brought as a sacrifice. When the dragon comes it will eat me.” The boy said: “Let me rest my head on your knees, and when the dragon comes, wake me up.” The boy lay down and went to sleep. The maiden saw that the dragon was coming, but she felt sorry for the boy and did not awaken him. She began to weep. One of her tears fell on the boy’s cheek and he suddenly woke up. He jumped to his feet and asked her, “What is it?” “Look over there, the dragon is coming.” The boy grabbed his bow and arrow, and shot the dragon through the middle. He chopped up the dragon and scattered the pieces (Gogiasvili 2011: 170).

Unlike the maidens and princesses freed by the heroes of the *Shah-Nameh* and the *Amiran-Darejaniani*, or the boy in the Georgian tale just cited, the daughter of King Selinos is not a mere resource to be regained, nor a prize to be handed out to the victorious knight. She plays an active but secondary role in the subjugation of the dragon: Her belt is used to bind it, and she, not George, leads the dragon into the city. The scene of the princess leading the dragon on a leash, followed by St George on his horse, appears in the earliest known visual representations of the princess-and-dragon miracle, all of which are situated in Georgia: three frescoes from the late 11th to early 12th cc (Adiši in Svaneti (Volsk’aia 1969); Ik’vi in Kartli; Boč’orma in K’axeti); a mid- to late 12th c.

fresco in Pavnisi, in central Georgia; and a 13th-c. depiction of episodes from the life of St George in Ač'i, in Guria (Privalova 1977: 71-91, 139-140). The same scene is represented on several Georgian icons, including a celebrated 15th-c. cloisonné enamel image, and also a recently-discovered wall-painting in the Alaverdi monastery (Xusk'ivadze 1981: XLIX; Lomidze 2011). The wide geographic distribution within Georgia attests to the exceptional popularity of the legend at the time, but more importantly, the prominence of this particular episode, rather than the preceding scene, where the dragon falls at George's feet, or the following one, in which he slays it. Clearly the representation of the princess in the foreground, as co-participant in the dragon miracle, was of special significance to medieval Georgian iconographers, and presumably to their sponsors and audiences as well.

The earliest visual attestations outside Georgia of the scene of the princess with the dragon on a leash are from Slavic lands – a Russian fresco from Staraja Ladoga dated c. 1180, and possibly a Serbian church built c. 1168 (Lazarev 1953; Okunev 1927) – and with time this motif is incorporated into the normative iconography of St George. An 18th-century Russian manual for icon-painters specifies that in depictions of the miracle, the princess “holds the dragon with her belt, and leads the dragon with the belt into the city” (*pojasom deržit zmija i vedet pojasom zmija vo grad*; Filimonov 1874: 327-328). The dragon-on-leash motif subsequently appears in most medieval Greek and Latin accounts of the miracle, including that in the *Legenda aurea*, from whence it made its way into West-European hagiography and iconography. Ogden (2013: 397-403) draws an association between the princess's belt motif in the St George miracle and earlier narratives of saints (Marcellus of Paris, Samson of Brittany, Clement of Metz), who subdue dragons or serpents, then tie a belt or leash onto them. What is lacking in these narratives, however, is any notion of partnership between a female and a male protagonist in the task of subduing the dragon. The holy figure who invokes God's aid to defeat the dragon also performs the remaining acts in the sequence: removal of a belt or stole, tying it on the dragon, leading the dragon away.

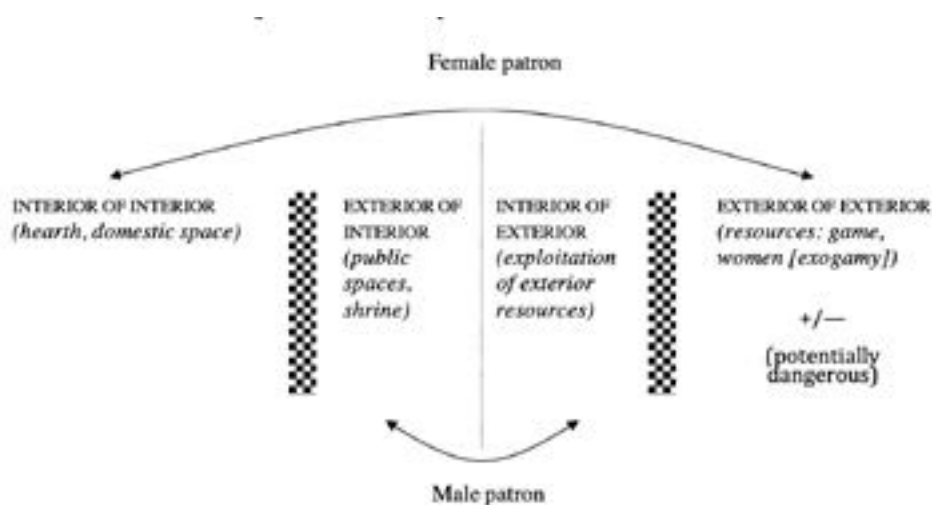
In this paper, I will present evidence in support of the hypothesis that the figure of the princess in the miracle narrative was drawn in part from vernacular representations of female divine patrons, as described in ethnographic accounts collected over the past century and a half in Georgia and neighboring regions. But before we can examine the figure of the female patron, it is necessary to review the characteristics of her male counterpart, who bears the name of St George.

2. Gender attributes and trajectories: complementarity and male dominance. Figures bearing the name of St George have been described in almost all regions of the Caucasus where Orthodox Christianity is, or once was, the religion of the elite. In the vernacular religions of highland Georgia, Abkhazia, Ossetia and – in vestigial form – the Northwest Caucasus, supernatural figures named after St George (Georgian *Giorgi*,

Svan *ǰǰərǰǰ*, Abkhaz *Airg'* and Ossetic *Wastyrǰi*) are invoked as the divine protector of men who leave the domesticated space of their communities for the sake of profit. As the patron whose primary function is to “mettre les espaces naturels à la disposition des hommes” (Charachidzé 1986: 183), the vernacular St George is the object of prayers and offerings presented by hunters, travellers, warriors, woodsmen, and even thieves and livestock rustlers (Charachidzé 1968: 471-490; Inal-Ipa 1965: 519; Chenciner 2008).

George, as the divine patron of men, is juxtaposed to female-gendered counterparts, known under various names in the central and south Caucasus. In earlier work on traditional Caucasian belief systems, I have represented the attributes of female and male divine patrons, and also the typical life courses of women and men, as distinctive trajectories in real and symbolic social space (Tuite 2006: 171). These trajectories, like the social roles of the two sexes, are complementary and equally necessary, but underlain by a fundamental asymmetry. Women were traditionally represented in ambiguous terms, due to their outsider origins, and periodic “impurity” (Charachidzé 1968: 279). Within the community, the men dominate public spaces, whether in ritual performance or communal governance (Tserediani et al 2018). As shown in the diagram below, the circuit associated with females, divine and human, is wider, anchored in the extremes of the domestic interior and the remote exterior. This latter space, whether associated with exogamy or the high-mountain hunting grounds under the patronage of the divine patron of game animals, is of ambiguous nature: necessary for the begetting of children and the welfare of the community, yet potentially harmful, being linked to impurity and danger.

Trajectories of women and men, and their divine patrons



(i) *Female trajectory.* The societies of the western and southern Caucasus are rigorously exogamous. Marriage is forbidden between a man and a woman known to have a common ancestor, or even suspected to have one. These societies also prefer for the bride to take up residence in the husband's family home, rather than the reverse. A woman's trajectory, as seen from the vantage point of her clan of birth, therefore, takes her from the female space in the home around the hearth (the interior of the interior), to entry, via marriage, into an unrelated family in another village (the exterior of the exterior). From the point of view of the latter group, the trajectory is in the reverse direction: a woman from the exterior enters the central space of their home through marriage to one of their men.

In the northeast Georgian highlands, women of childbearing age once performed a complete circuit of their trajectory, from domestic to savage space and back again, on a monthly basis. At the onset of menstruation, they left the home to spend a period lasting from five to nine days, in the menstruation hut (*samrelo*) or stable.¹ As a space associated with impurity, potentially danger-bringing and off-limits to men, the *samrelo*, although situated in or near the village, is symbolically situated in the savage exterior. After their period of isolation, women wash and change clothes, return home, but remain outside the house until nightfall, whereupon they complete their reintegration into the household.

(ii) *Male trajectory.* If the hearth and the innermost part of the house is women's space (Chartolani 1961), men dominate the public spaces in the village, especially on the occasions of religious festivals, political assemblies, and gatherings of elders and mediators to settle disputes. These public arenas constitute the "exterior of the interior", as shown in the diagram. It is also a recognized function of men, under the patronage of St. George, to go in search of profit, whether it be through hunting, warfare, commerce, or negotiation with another kingroup to obtain a bride. The exploitable spaces outside the community are what I call the "interior of the exterior".

(iii) *Divine patrons.* In the oral literature of the Georgian highlanders of Pshavi and Xevsureti, the divine female patrons of women are represented with trajectories mirroring those of human women, even as St. George's trajectory parallels that of the menfolk. The Xevsurian divinity Samdzimari is depicted as a female spirit of remote or even subterranean origins, who is called upon for aid in women's domestic affairs, such as the health of children and livestock, and the production of milk and cheese (Charachidzé

¹ In the cultures of the Caucasus, as in those of many regions of the world, female blood flow during menstruation and childbirth is believed to contaminate or counteract the power or "purity" (Geo. sic' minde) attributed to men and the gods. In Abkhazia, Ossetia and most parts of Georgia, women of childbearing age were excluded from participation in certain religious ceremonies, or barred from approaching sacred sites. As recently as the 1930's and 40's, women in the northeast Georgian districts of Pshavi and Xevsureti spent their monthly periods in the stable or in specially-built menstrual huts. They gave birth in rude, unheated cabins even further from the village, which men refused to approach under any circumstances (Tedoradze 1930: 140-150, 167-180). Eristavi (1986: 171-2) and Gabliani (1925: 140) refer to a similar exclusion of women at times of blood flow among the Svans.

1968: 559-616) One of the central shrines of Pshavi is dedicated to Tamar, a divinity based on a medieval Georgian queen of that name. This figure is invoked for the health of women and children, and for the well-being of the community, but is also imagined as dwelling far from human society, on a mountaintop or in the sky (Charachidzé 1968: 690-698). At the local level, within each commune of Pshavi, are sacred sites named after Mary, the Mother of God (*γvtismšobeli*), or a divinity of outside spaces named “the Mother of the Place” (*Adgilis-deda*). These figures as well are invoked for health, fertility, and aid in childbirth. In some areas of the Central Caucasus, where traditional religious practices take place at shrine complexes (rather than Orthodox churches or their ruins), peripheral sites named after Mary or the Place Mother are paired with central shrines dedicated to St George or his local equivalent. For example, in the northeast Georgian province of Pshavi, in the communes of Udzilaurta and Kist’aurta, boys are initiated at the principal shrine, whereas the initiations of girls and in-marrying women take place at a smaller shrine some distance away (Tuite & Buxrashvili 2000).¹

The relation and distribution of roles between the female and male divine patrons can take different forms, as shown in the following table. With respect to most domains of domestic life, the patrons have distinct spheres of activity. The two spheres overlap, however, when male actors “intrude” upon the external spaces which are under the patronage of the female divinity. Three variations on this theme from Caucasus folklore and vernacular religion will be discussed here: (i) the hunter in the high-mountain domain of the game patroness; (ii) Giorgi and his oracle companion in the land of Kajaveti; (iii) the tale of a young man happening upon a dragon and the woman who is about to be its victim, of which of course, the miracle of St George and the princess is the most celebrated representative.

<i>relation</i>	<i>distribution of functions</i>	<i>examples</i>
1. Separate domains	gender-linked division of roles and functions (e.g. fertility, health, dairy production vs. hunting, raiding, exploitation of nature)	Tamar and Lashara (Pshavi)
2. Competitive, conflictual	patroness of game animals vs. patron of hunters	Däl and Jgäräg (Svaneti)
3. Cooperative	cooperate (with female patron in subordinate role) vis-à-vis human protégés	Samdzimari and Giorgi (Xevsureti)

3. St. George and the seductive patroness of game animals. The trajectory associated with women, encompassing the extremes of interior and exterior space, reflects the fundamental paradox of women in virilocal Caucasian societies, as periodically impure (and thus potentially dangerous) outsiders who are nonetheless essential for the

¹ Examples of complexes with paired shrines dedicated to George, or his local variant, and a female patron include Rekom (Ossetia), Iaqsari (Pshavi), Xaxmati (Xevsureti), Mæt-tseli (Ingusheti, according to Berzhe).

continuity of the patrilineage. With respect to domestic space – the interior of the interior – female supernaturals are invoked for family health, prosperity and dairy production (for which women are responsible). The association of female divinities with necessary, but potentially harmful, outer spaces – the exterior of the exterior – manifests itself in diverse ways. Tamar and Samdzimari, as previously mentioned, are ascribed remote origins, celestial or chthonian. Doubtless the most captivating variations on this theme, however, are the patronesses of game animals.

The relation between St. George and the game patrons, whether represented as individuals or kingroups, finds particularly elaborate expression in the folklore of the Abkhazians and Svans, and – considerably transformed – in the oral literature of the Georgian mountaineers of Pshavi and Xevsureti. In Abkhazian traditional religion, the counterpart of Airg' (St. George) was Až^Weipšaa, depicted as an old man, deaf and blind, with numerous beautiful, golden-haired daughters (Gulia 1928; Salakaia 1991). The hunter's success depends not only on Airg', but also on Až^Weipšaa, since the latter and his daughters must grant him an animal from their herds to kill. In the words of an Abkhazian folksong, the fortunate hunter is he “to whom Airg' first gave the stick, to whom Až^Weipšaa first granted the liver” (Anshba 1982: 33); in other words, the hunter, who is under the protection of Airg', is allowed to kill an animal by Až^Weipšaa.¹ The female game spirits, such as the daughters of Až^Weipšaa, are depicted as seductively beautiful. They are reputed to have taken legendary hunters as lovers, in return for assuring extraordinary success at the hunt.²

The ambiguous nature – beneficial but dangerous – is particularly evident in portrayals of the deity Däl in Svan folklore. Golden-haired and bewitchingly beautiful, Däl bestows her affections – as well as hunting success – on the men she favors, but should they have sexual contact with a human woman, or slaughter too many animals, she can also bring about their ruin or even death (Tuite 2006). Svan folklore commonly represents the relation between Jgəräg (St George) and Däl as one of rivalry rather than collaboration (Virsaladze 1976: 138-140). The latter imposes strict limits on the number of beasts a hunter can kill, and only favors those hunters who respect norms of purity and ritual preparation.³ Jgəräg on the other hand is the patron of exploiters of nature, even those who pillage its riches without restraint. A popular ballad recounts how the legendary Svan hunter Chorla, having slaughtered more than his quota of ibexes, incited the wrath of Däl and her sisters – like the daughters of Až^Weipšaa, Däl is sometimes represented as one of

1 Not only do the two deities cooperate in assuring a successful hunt, they are thought to be related through marriage according to some accounts: “the girls of the Airg' clan are the daughters-in-law of the Až^Weipšaa clan” (*Airg'aa r-təpha, Až^Weipšaa r-taca*; Inal-Ipa 1965: 517; Anshba 1982: 27).

2 Cf. the Chechen and Ingush forest spirits known as *almaz* (Dalgat 1893), and the Mingrelian *t'q'ašmapa* (Canava 1990: 60-71). Mingrelian folklore also mentions an aquatic counterpart, *c'q'arišmapa*, “queen of the waters”, similar to Däl in many respects, although she prefers to seduce fishermen (Virsaladze 1976: 120-1).

3 Svan men would only go up to the mountains to hunt after abstaining from sexual contact, and assuring that no women in their households were having their menstrual periods.

a group of game patronesses with similar properties. They caused him to slip, and left him hanging for dear life from a cliff by one hand and one foot. Jgəräg interceded for Chorla, compelling Däl and her sisters to release Chorla (Chikovani 1972: 228; Charachidzé 1986: 185).¹

4. Xevsureti: the partnership of Giorgi and Samdzimari. The northeast Georgian highland province of Xevsureti, like some of its neighboring districts, remained largely out of direct control by the Orthodox Church and the feudal lords of the lowlands. Nonetheless, certain concepts and attributes of Christianity and feudalism were integrated into an ancestral belief system similar to those that are believed to have existed in the central and western Caucasus. The result of this thoroughgoing restructuration, or reformation – which was probably carried out several centuries ago, with ritual specialists playing a leading role – is a complex, sophisticated and elegantly structured cosmology quite unlike anything else in the Caucasus ethnographic record. Among the key innovations of this restructuration are (1) the reconceptualization of the relations between the human and divine worlds in accordance with feudal principles of hierarchy, dependance and land tenure (Bardavelidze 1960, 1974; Charachidzé 1968; Tuite 2002); and (2) professionalization and masculinization of the functions of establishing contact with the supernatural realm, through the presentation of offerings and spiritual possession (Tuite 2004). In other regions, contact with the supernatural was assured by heads of household and possessed persons of both sexes. In Xevsureti, the role of sacrificer came to be the exclusive privilege of male shrine priests (*xucesi*), selected from specific lineages in each community. The function of divine spokesperson was appropriated by authorized oracles known as *kadagi* (Ochiauri 1954; Charachidzé 1968: 113-133), whereas occurrences of possession in women were ascribed to demons (Charachidzé 1968: 167).

One of the most powerful shrine complexes in Xevsureti is Xaxmat'is-Jvari, situated near the pass leading from southern Xevsureti toward the main road to the North Caucasus. Associated with the site is a shrine-foundation narrative (*andrezi*), different and more elaborate than those linked to most other sacred sites in Xevsureti.² The *andrezi* of

1 Accounts from the western Caucasus also mention a male-gendered divine figure named *Æfsati* (Ossetic), *Afsaty* (Karachay-Balkar), or *Apsât* (Svan). In the former two regions, the guardians of wild game animals are said to be his daughters. The name *Æfsati* and its variants stems from that of the Christian saint Eustace (Eustathius), (Arzhantseva & Albegova 1999). Eustace is portrayed as a mounted hunter taking aim at a deer, within whose horns the figure of Christ appears. The Eustace cult, introduced from Georgia, was very popular in Alania, as attested by church frescoes and the remarkable petroglyphs on a “hunter’s stone” near Kiafar, seat of the rulers of western Alania in the 10th-11th c. (Arzhantseva 2012; see also Thierry 1985, 1991). The distribution of functions between the Eustace figure and the female game patrons (father-daughter, or patronage of different types of game), appears to be the consequence of the appropriation of a male-gendered figure from elite iconography into a belief system in which female divine patrons already existed (Tuite 2018).

2 In the typical Xevsurian *andrezi*, the divine being which is to become the community’s patron deity appears in the form of a luminous bird-like flying object, and selects the spot where the shrine is to be built (K’ik’nadze 2011)

Xaxmat'is-Jvari features *Giorgi* (St George), who led his divine army on a raid in Kajaveti, the alien land of the Kajes, a race of demonic blacksmiths with magical powers.¹ Giorgi was also accompanied on the raid by his *mk'adre* Gaxua Megrelauri.² The *mk'adre* (“one who dares”, i.e. comes in close proximity to a deity) is a legendary oracle with exceptional powers, and the prototype of the male shrine oracles (*kadagi*) who continued to serve as authorized spokesmen of their divine patrons until very recently (the last Xevsur *kadagi* died in the 1980s; T. Ochiauri, pers. comm.).

After defeating the Kajes, Giorgi brought back as war booty a herd of cattle, a collection of cups and metal-working tools, and three women of Kajaveti: the lovely Samdzimari and her companions Mzekali (“Sun-woman”) and Ashekali. Giorgi “baptized” them, and granted them residence at Xaxmat'i. Worshipped alongside George at the “believer-unbeliever” shrine of Xaxmat'is-Jvari,³ Samdzimari is invoked as the helper of women, especially during childbirth, and for the health and productivity of dairy cattle (Charachidzé 1968: 559-616). In addition to her tasks as the Xevsurian equivalent of the female-gendered divinities known throughout Georgia and adjoining regions under the names of Mary, Mother of God, or the Mother of the Place (*Adgilis-deda*), Samdzimari also appears in Xevsurian ballads as the supernatural lover (in a sense) of a series of *mk'adre* companions, who were said to have travelled to distant holy sites for as long as their special relationship to Samdzimari lasted (Charachidzé 1968: 141-144, 565-570; Ochiauri 1954: 105-8; K'ik'nadze 2011: 50; K'ik'nadze & Makhauri 2010: 27-28; Chikovani 1972: 105-7, 246; Fähnrich 1999: 68, 131, 241, 264; Tuite 2017). The first of these was Gaxua Megrelauri himself. Samdzimari, having taken the form of a human woman, cohabited with him. For this reason, Gaxua was not allowed to take a human wife (K'ik'nadze 2011 ## 43-44). St. George and the other divine patrons appeared to him in the form of doves, and took him along on voyages to holy sites such as Gerget'i, in the district of Xevi to the west of Xevsureti, and Targame in Ingushetia (K'ik'nadze 2011: 63-66).

As was discussed earlier in this paper, divine and human women are associated with the extremes of exterior and interior space. They not only circulate between these spaces but also bind them together: through her transfer from one kingroup to another via marriage, a woman forges a social link between the two groups, opening up new possibilities for mobility, hospitality and mutual support. Samdzimari, moving from the underworld of the Kajes to partnership with St George, is also attributed a special capacity for opening contact between the divine and human worlds (Charachidzé 1968: 570-574). Through their relationship with Samdzimari, Gaxua and the other *mk'adres* were granted

1 Several variants of this legend are reprinted in K'ik'nadze's collection of *Andrezebi* (2011: 41-47).

2 More precisely, George brought Gaxua's souls along, but not his body, which was left behind and began decaying. After their return from Kajaveti, St George restored to the souls to Gaxua's body, which came back to life. The Xevsur texts refer to “souls” in the plural (*suln uridebian*). On the concept of multiple souls in northeast Georgian traditional religion, see Bardavelidze 1949.

3 So called because not only Xevsurs and other Georgian highlanders, but also the nominally Muslim Ingushs and Chechens visited Xaxmat'is-Jvari and presented offerings.

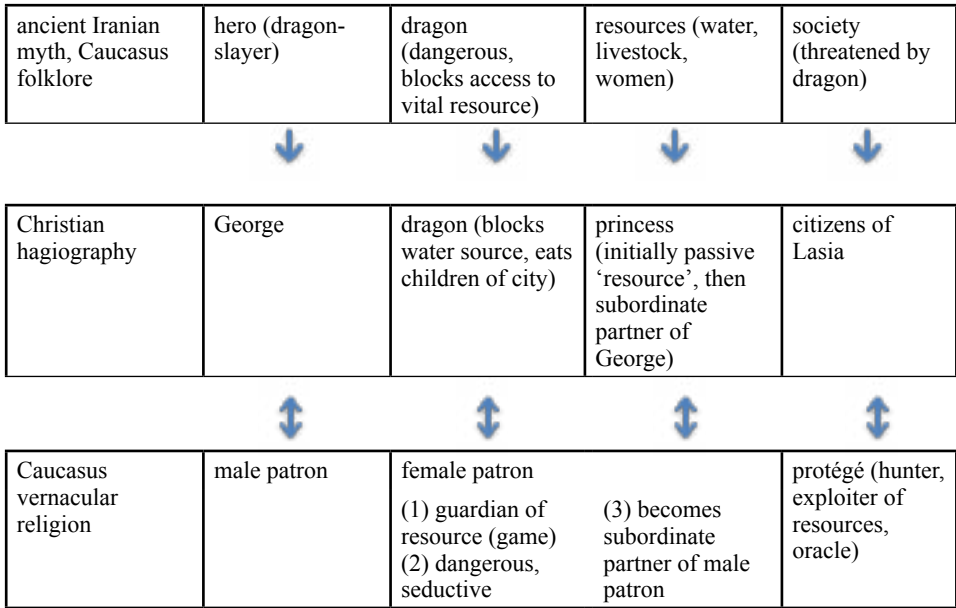
close access to their shrine patrons, whom they alone could see and converse with. As soon as they violated the vow of celibacy that Samdzimari imposed on them, however, both Samdzimari and the shrine patron deserted them and disappeared from view. Bach'uat Axala, for example, was abandoned by the patron of Sanebis Jvari after he felt attraction for a beautiful Chechen woman (Ochiauri 1954: 105-8).

K'ik'nadze (1996: 120) surmised that the motif of Giorgi bringing Samdzimari back from Kajaveti was ultimately derived from the narrative of St George rescuing the princess. In my view, the two narratives are indeed linked, although the relation between them is considerably less direct than he imagined. The *andrezi* of the campaign in Kajaveti would appear to be a transformed variant of the old Iranian myth of combat against a resource-hoarding dragon, in which the demonic Kajes as a group take the place of the dragon.¹ The Kajes possess wealth, in the form of metal artifacts, livestock and women, which Giorgi and the deities capture and bring back for the benefit of the community. Samdzimari herself is of underworld, demonic origin, but — like the princess — she is baptized into the true religion. It remains unclear to what extent the representation of Samdzimari was influenced by that of the princess in the Christian miracle narrative, or whether it developed independently, from a synthesis of the Iranian dragon myth and the Caucasian figure of the female divine patron. Some Samdzimari narratives published by K'ik'nadze 2011 (*№№* 44, 47) do in fact contain motifs obviously borrowed from some version of the princess and dragon miracle (including the dragon). What is clear is that Samdzimari came to be represented as a junior partner of St George, albeit a less lethal one than her Svan colleague Däl. The once-demonic Samdzimari was installed by Giorgi on the territory of one of Xevsureti's most sacred sites; and she is invoked alongside Giorgi by shrine priests throughout Xevsureti (K'ik'nadze et al 1998: 16, 40, 44; Tuite 2011: 202), even as human women are excluded from most religious functions. Her pacification and subordination to George is consistent with the professionalization and masculinization of divine functions in Xevsurian vernacular religion, as well as the more general principle, mentioned earlier, that the female role is complementary with that of the male figure, but also subordinate.

5. Conclusion. Well over a century ago, the Russian scholars Veselovskij (1880) and Rystenکو (1909) pointed to the Caucasus as the likely site of the emergence of the princess-and-dragon story. What I hope to have demonstrated here is that particular attributes and motifs associated with the princess figure were drawn neither from the Iranian resource-hoarding dragon myth, nor chivalrous romance, nor folktales of the type cited at the beginning of this paper, but rather from a source that had hitherto escaped notice: the divine patrons of women, external spaces and game animals in the vernacular religions of the Caucasus highlands.

¹ On the figure of the Kajes in Armenian, Georgian and Ossetic folklore, see Charachidzé 1968: 533-543; Russell 1987: 451-3; Testen 1989.

The princess-and-dragon miracle and its vernacular sources



In the miracle narrative, the princess is at the outset yet another sacrificial offering passively awaiting her fate. But after George subdues the dragon, he asks her to lead it into the city, using a leash made from her belt. The princess’s role thus shifts from potential victim to co-participant in the victory over the dragon, albeit in a subordinate function to George. Her participation mirrors that of Dāl vis-à-vis Jgəräg, Až^Weipšaa’s daughters vis-à-vis Airg’, and Samdzimari vis-à-vis Giorgi: the collaboration of the female patron is necessary, but she must submit to the male patron, who insures the success of his protégé, the hunter or the oracle. The contribution of the two vernacular sources to the hagiographical account is shown in the diagram (above).

The two-headed arrows indicate two-way influence at the interface between elite and vernacular representations of St George and his female counterpart. Besides the name of George bestowed upon the male protagonist, elite influence underlies some of the traits attributed to the female patron. More precisely, her profile already contained some “dragon-like” features, stemming from the ambiguous, potentially harmful nature of female supernaturals in Caucasus vernacular religion (Tuite 2004). The aquatic attributes of St George’s female counterparts in some central Caucasus traditions, could well have resulted from the incorporation of characteristics of either the hagiographic or old-Iranian dragon.¹

¹ Caucasus folklore includes several accounts of the St George figure coupling with a supernatural female from the subaquatic realm, from whom children are born. In Kabardian oral literature, Аушджерг (Aušđerǵ < Ossetic Wasgerǵi), invoked in ballads as “our father”, is said to be the hus-

But at the end, the female patrons yield to St George and his human protégé, to whom they grant animals to kill. If Caucasus vernacular religion contributed an active female figure to the story of the St George the dragon-slayer, it received in return a myth licensing the subordination of the female patron of game animals to the male patron of men exploiting the wealth of the outside world.¹

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band of the water goddess Psyṭḡe Gwaše (Псытхъэ гуашэ), "our mother", with whom he fathered seven sons and three daughters living at the bottom of the sea (Kokov & Kokova 2011). Doubtless the strangest variant, especially from the standpoint of contemporary Western sensibilities, is the Ossetic tale of the post-mortem birth of Satana, the matriarch of the legendary Narts, from the nocturnal union of Wastyrji (St George) and the corpse of Dzerassæ, daughter of the water god Don Bettyr (Dumézil 1965: 34-35; Abaev 1949: 242, 304-5). A similar account was recorded in late 19th-c. Ingusheti (Dalgat 1893: 122-123).

¹There may be another story to tell about the evolution of images of the princess and the dragon as the narrative spread across space and time from its point of origin in the Caucasus over 900 years ago. The oldest depictions of the scene, such as the frescoes at Adiši, Ik'vi and Boč'orma in Georgia, show the princess in the central foreground, leading the dragon on a leash, with George on his horse following behind her. Later images, such as a 14th-c. icon from Novgorod and a 15th c. fresco from Dragalevski Monastery (Atanasov 2001: Figs 238, 222), and the 15th-c. cloisonné icon from Georgia (Xusk'ivadze 1981: XLIX), place the princess in lower right periphery, and reduce the size of her image relative to that of George. Finally, in many depictions from Western Europe – despite the description of the dragon's leash in the popular *Legenda aurea* – the princess is set off to the side, looking on passively as the saintly hero fights the dragon (e.g. in the 15th-c. books of hours MS Egerton 1147 and MS Harley 2900 in the British Library).

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Appendix. The earliest version of the miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon, from the manuscript Jer Geo 2 (11th c.), with translation

Corrections to the Jer Geo 2 text are marked by (corr), and underlining of the letter or word that has been altered. Letters omitted in *karagma* abbreviations are set between brackets (<...>).

<i>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</i>	<i>translation of Jer Geo 2 (KT)</i>
ისმინეთ ძმანო ჩემნო საკურველი დიდი და დიდებული რ(ომე)ლი იქმნა წ(მიდ)ისა და დ(იდე)ბ(უ)ლისა და დიდისა მ(ო)წ(ა)მისა გ(იორგ)ის მ(იე)რ .	Hear, my brothers, the great and glorious wonder that was done by the holy and glorious and great martyr George.
იყო ჟამთა მ(ა)თ ვ(ი)დრ(ე)ლა ბრწყინვიდა ქვ(ე)ყანა)სა ზ(ე)და წ(მიდ)ა იგი პ(ირვე)ლ წამებისა მისისა	It was in those times while the saint shone upon the earth, before his martyrdom.
იყო ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი ერთი რ(ომე)ლსა ეწოდებოდა ლასია.	There was a city which was called Lasia.
და იყო ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქსა მას ში(ნ)ა მ(ე)ფე სახელით სელინოს.	And in that city was a king of the name Selinos.
და იყო იგი უკეთურ და კერპთმსახურ და უშუკულო და ულმობ(ე)ლ და უწყალო ქ(რისტე)ს მ(ო)რწმ(უ)ნ(ე)თა მიმ(ა)რთ.	And he was wicked and an idol-worshipper and an unbeliever, and merciless and pitiless toward the believers in Christ.
და მსგავსად ბოროტთა საქმეთა მისთა მიაგო მას ო(კვ)ვალმა)ნ	And God requited him in accordance with his evil deeds.
რ(ამეთუ) მახლობლად ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისა მის იყო ტბად შესაკრებელი წყალთა მრავალთად ვ(ი)თარც)ა ზღუად.	For near the city there was a lake filled with much water, like a sea.

<i>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</i>	<i>translation of Jer Geo 2 (KT)</i>
და გამოჩნდა ვეშაპი ბოროტი წყალთა მ(ა)თ შ(ინ)ა ტბისათა და მარადღე გ(ა) ნვიდოდა და მოჰსრვიდა და გ(ა)ნჰლეკდა და შეჰჭამდა მ(ა)თ,	And there appeared an evil dragon in the waters of the lake, and each day it went out and slaughtered and consumed and ate them.
და მრავალ გზის შეკრიბა მეფემ(ა) ნ მკედრებად მოკლვად ვეშაპისა მის და ვერ უძლეს	And many times the king gathered his soldiers to kill the dragon, and they were unable to,
რ(ამეთუ) იყო იგი მძუნვარე და დიდ.	For it was ferocious and big.
მაშინ შეკრბა ყ(ოველი) იგი ქ(ა)ლ(ა) ქი . და წმობდეს მეფისა მიმ(ა)რთ და იტყოდეს ვ(ითარმე)დ:	Then all of the city gathered, and cried out to the king, and said:
რად ვყოთ ჟ მეფ(ე)ო,	What can we do, O king,
რ(ამეთუ) საყოფელ ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისა ჩ(უე) ნისად კეთ(ი)ლ(ა)რს. და ჩ(უენ) ბოროტად წარვწყმდებით,	for our city is a fine dwelling-place, and we are perishing wretchedly.
და შე(ენ) მეფე არა ჰზრუნ(ა)ვ ამისთვის არცა იღუწი ვ(ითარც)ა მეფენი ყ(ოვლ)ისა ქ(უე)ყნისანი.	And you, king, do not care about this, nor do you act, as do the kings of all countries.
მაშინ ტკივნულ იქმნა მეფე იგი. და უფროჲს-და შეეშინა და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მ(ა)თ:	Then it became painful for the king, and he was more frightened, and said to them:
აღწერეთ ერთი კელით წერ(ი)ლი	Write a document,
და მისცენით შვ(ი)ლნი თქ(უე)ნნი შესაწირავად	and give your children as sacrifices,
და ოდეს დაესრულნენ თქ(უე)ნ ყ(ოვე) ლთ(ა)ნი	and when all of yours will be used up,
არს ასული ჩემი მხოლოდ შობილი მეცა მისცე იგი შესაწირავად ვ(ითარც) ა თქ(უე)ნ,	there is my only-begotten daughter, and I too will give her as a sacrifice, like you,
და არა გ(ა)ნვცვკვთ ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისაგ(ა)ნ ჩ(უე)ნისა.	and we will not be dispersed from our city.
და სთნდა ყ(ოვე)ლთა სიტყ(უ)აჲ მისი. და იწყო კაცად კაცადმ(ა)ნ მიცემაჲ შვილთა თვსთაჲ ვ(იდრემ)დის მიიწია მეფისა.	His words pleased them all, and they began to give their children, one after the other, until it came to the king.
ხ(ოლო) მეფემ(ა)ნ შეჰმოსა ასულსა თვსსა პორფირი სამეფუოჲ	Then the king dressed his daughter in royal purple,
და შეამკო იგი ვ(ითარც)ა სძალი,	and adorned her like a bride,
და იწყო ამბორისყოფად მისა და გოდებით და ცრემლით ეტყოდა:	and he began to kiss her, saying with lamentation and tears:

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<i>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</i>	<i>translation of Jer Geo 2 (KT)</i>
წარვედ მხოლოდ შობილო და ტკბილო ასულო ჩემო შესაჭმელად ვეშაპისა,	Go my only-begotten, sweet daughter, to be eaten by the dragon.
ვამძე საწადელო შვ(ი)ლო ჩემო	Alas, my dear child,
შ(ე)ნ იყ(ა)ვ ნუგეშინის მცემელი და მკვდრ მეფობისა ჩემისა	you were the comfort-giver and inheritor of my kingdom,
და სინათლე თუ ^ლ თა ჩემთა	and the light of my eyes,
და მოსალოდებელ ქორწილისა და სიძისა და აჰა ესერა საჭმლად მვეცისა წარივლინები!	and expecting a wedding and a bridegroom, and behold, you will leave to be eaten by the beast!
ვამძე, ვითარსა-ღა ქორწილსა აღვასრულებ	Alas, what kind of wedding will I make,
ანუ რაბამსა სასძლოსა შეგიმზადებ,	or what size of bridal-chamber will I prepare for you,
გინა ვითართა ორღანოთა და სახიობათა და ლამპართა და მოსმურთა და მინაჯეთა აღგიმზადებ?	or what musical instruments and singing and lamps, and drinkers and banquet-guests will I prepare for you?
ვამძე საწადელო შვილო ჩემო. რ(ამეთუ) არღარა სადა ვიხილო პირი შ(ე)ნი. არცა ნაყ(ო)ფი მუცლისა შ(ე) ნისად,	Alas, my dear child, for I will never again see your face, nor the fruit of your womb,
რ(ამეთუ) აჰა ესერა გ(ა)ნმეშორები თვნიერ ზოგადისა სიკუდილისა!	for behold, you will take leave of me, without a common (<i>normal, natural</i>) death.
და მოექცა და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა ერსა მას:	He turned and spoke to the people:
მიიღეთ რავდენი გნებავს ოქროდ და ვეცხლი და მისთანა მეფობ(ა)დცა ჩემი, და გ(ა)ნათავისუფლეთ შვილი ჩ(ე)მი!	Take gold and silver, as much as you wish, and with it my kingdom, and set my child free!
და არავინ ისმინა მისი და არცა შეუნდო ამისთვის,	And no one listened to him, nor did they forgive him,
რ(ამეთუ) მას გ(ა)ნეწესა გ(ა)ნჩინებ(ა)დ იგი პ(ირველ)ითგ(ა)ნ.	because he had first instituted the decree,
და ვ(ითარც)ა იხ(ი)ლა მიუდრეკელობად ერისად მის, მიუბოძა მათ ასული თვ(ი)სი.	and as he saw the unyieldingness of the people, he gave them his daughter.
მაშინ შეკრბა ყ(ოველ)ი იგი ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი დიდიითგ(ა)ნ ვ(იდრ)ე მცირემდე მათდა ხილვად ქალისა მის.	Then the entire people of the city gathered, from the old to the young, to watch the maiden.
ხ(ოლო) კ(ა)ცთმოყუ(ა)რ(ე)მ(ა)ნ და მრავალ-მოწყალებ(ა)ნ ღ(მერთმ)ან ინება, რ(ათ)ა აჩუენოს სასწაულები წ(მიდ)ისა მოწამისა გ(იორგ)ის მ(იერ).	But loving and all-merciful God wished to show miracles and signs through the holy martyr George,

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ამისთვისცა მათ დღეთა შ(ინ)ა განაგო რ(ათ)ა გ(ა)ნუტეოს მკედრობაჲ დეოკლეტიანე მეფემ(ა)ნ.	therefore during those days He made it happen, that King Diocletian released him from the army.
ვინამცა მოვიდოდა დიდ(ე)ბ(უ)ლი გ(იორგ)ი კაზადუკისა სოფლად და თვსად მამულად.	Thus the holy and glorified George was coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead,
და მოლუაწებითა ღ(მრთისა)ათა მოიწია მას ადგილსა	and through the action of God, he came to that place,
მას დღესა შ(ინ)ა. რ(ომე)ლსა შ(ინ)ა ეგულეზოდა ვეშაჰსა მას შეჰჰამ ქალისაჲ მის და წარწყმედაჲ.	on that day, when the dragon was to eat and destroy the woman.
მიუქცია ტბად რ(აით)ამცა ასუა წყალი ჰუნესა თვსსა.	And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water,
და პოვა ქალი იგი მჯდომარე კიდესა ტბისსა,	and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,
და მწარედ მტირალი.	weeping bitterly.
და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას წ(მიდამა)ნ: დედაკ(ა) ცო რადსა სტირ ანუ რად ჰუი ადგილსა ამას?	Then the saint said to her: Woman, why do you weep, and why are you sitting at this place?
მიუგო ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ) ა მ(ა)ს: გხედავ შ(ე)ნ ო(ვფალო) ჩემო ჰაეროვანსა და შუენიერსა ჰასაკითა	The maiden answered him and said: I see you, my lord, handsome and in the bloom of youth,
და ვ(ითა)რ მოხუედ აქა მოსიკუდიდ?	and why did you come here to die?
წარვედ ამიერ	Go away from here,
და მოსწრაფედ ივლტოდე!	and flee quickly!
ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამა)ნ ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას: დედაკ(ა)ცო რად ხ(ა)რ შ(ე)ნ, ანუ რად არს ერი ისი რ(ომელ)ი გხედავს შ(ე)ნ?	Then the saint said to her: Woman, who (lit. what) are you, and who are these people looking at you?
ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ: ო(ვფალო) ჩემო მრავალ არს ჰამზავი ჩემი და გრძელ	The maiden said: My lord, my story has many parts and is long,
და ვერ ძალმიც მითხრობად შ(ე)ნდა,	and I cannot tell it to you,
ა(რამე)დ მოსწრაფებით ივლტოდე რ(ათ)ა არა ბოროტად მოჰკუდე!	rather, flee quickly, that you not die wretchedly!
ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას წ(მიდამა)ნ გიორგი: მითხარ ყ(ოველ)ივე	The saint said to her: Tell me everything,
და შ(ე)ნ თანა მოვკუდე და არა დაგიტეო შ(ე)ნ!	and I will die with you, and not leave you!

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მაშინ ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ ვ(ითარმე)დ: ო(ვფალ)ო ესე არს ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი ლასია, და არს ესე კეთილ საცხოვრებელად კ(ა)ცთა	Then the maiden said to him: Lord, this is the city Lasia, and it is a good living-place for men,
და წყალთა ამ(ა)თ შ(ინ)ა მკვდრ არს ვეშაპი და შეჰჭამს ოო კ(ა)ცთა ამის ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისათა და მოსრავს ერსა.	and in the waters there dwells a dragon, that eats the men of this city and slaughters the people.
და მე ვარ ასული მეფისა მხოლოდშობილი.	And I am the only-begotten daughter of the king,
და ბრძანება დადვა მამამ(ა)ნ ჩემმ(ა)ნ,	and my father gave an order,
რ(ათ)ა მისცემდენ ყ(ოველ)ნი შ(ემ)დ ^ო მიითი შ(ემდგომ)ად შვილთა თჳსთა დღითი დღედ.	that all give their children, one after the other, each day,
და ვ(ითარ)ცა მოესრულნეს ყ(ოველ)ნი,	and when they all had been finished
მოვიდა ხუედრი მამისა ჩემისა და წარმომავლინა მე საჭმლად ვეშაპისა.	there came my father's turn, and he sent me for the dragon to eat.
და აჰა ესერა გითხარ შ(ე)ნ	And behold I told you all,
წარვედ მშუდობით!	go in peace!
ესმა რად ესე წ(მიდას)ა ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას: ამიერითგ(ა)ნ ნულარა გეშინის, ნუცა სძრწი,	When the saint heard this, he told her: From now on, do not be afraid, and do not tremble,
ა(რამე)დ მითხარ მე მამა შ(ე)ნი და მისთა ^{ნი} ყ(ოველ)ნი რ(ომე)ლსა ღ(მერ)თსა ჰმსახურებენ?	but tell me: your father and all those with him, what god do they serve?
ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ: ირაკლის . და აპოლონს . და სკამანდროს . და დიდსა ღ(მერთს)ა არტემის.	The maiden told him: Herakles and Apollo and Skamandros and the great goddess Artemis.
ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამა)ნ ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა: ნუ გეშინინ, ა(რამე)დ უშიშ და კადნიერ იქმენ!	Then the saint said to her: Do not fear, but be fearless and bold!
და აღიხილნა თუალნი თჳსნი წ(მიდამა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი ღ(მრთ)ისა მიმართ და თქუა:	And saint George raised his eyes toward God and said:
ღ(მერ)თო რ(ომელი) ჰ(ი) ჰ(ი) ქერაბინთა ზ(ედ)ა და ჰხედ(ა)ვ უფსკრულთა	God, who sits above the cherubim and looks down to the abyss,
რ(ომელი)ი-ეგე ხარ და ჰგეე ჰ(ე)შ(მა)რიტი ღ(მერ)თი,	you who are and remain the true God,
შ(ე)ნ თავადმ(ა)ნ უწყნი გულის ზრახვანი კ(ა)ცთ(ა)ნი	you yourself know the heart-thoughts of men,

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ძ(ალ)ნი აჩუენენ სასწაულნი საკვრველნი მონისა შ(ენ)ისა მოსეს მიერ, აჩუენე ჩემზ(ედ)აცა წყალობაჲ შ(ე)ნი,	you showed power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses, show your mercy through me also,
და ყავ ჩემთანა სასწაულ კეთილ	and make a good miracle with me.
და დამამორჩილე ბოროტი ესე მც(ე)ცი ქუეშე ფერკთა ჩემთა,	And make this evil beast submit to me beneath my feet,
რ(ათ)ა ცნან ყ(ოვე)ლთა, ვ(ითარმე)დ ჩემთანა ხარ!	that all will know that you are with me!
და მოიწია ვ(მა)ჲ ზეითო რ(ომელი) ეტყ(ო)და: გ(იორგ)ი შეისმინა ვედრებაჲ (corr) შ(ე)ნი ყურთა ო(ვფლ)ისათა, ყავ რადცა გნებავს, რ(ამეთუ) მე შ(ე)ნთანა ვარ!	And there came a voice from above, saying: George, your plea has been heard by the ears of the Lord, do what you wish, for I am with you!
და მეყსეულად შეირყია ლერწმოვანი იგი	And suddenly the reed-bed shook,
და ვმა ყო ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ:	and the maiden cried out:
ვამე ო(ვფალო) ჩ(ე)მო ივლტოდე ამიერ. აჰა ესერა მოვალს ვეშაპი იგი ბოროტი!	Alas, my lord, flee from here, behold, the evil dragon comes!
ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდა)ჲ გ(იორგ)ი მირბიოდა შემთხუევად ვეშაპისა მის.	But saint George ran to confront the dragon,
და გამოსახა მის ზ(ედა)სახწ ჯ(უარისა)ჲ და თქ(უ)ა:	and he made the sign of the cross over it, and said:
ო(ვფალო), ღმერთო ჩემო,	Lord, my God,
გარდააქციე მცეცი ესე მორჩილებად	make this beast obedient to me,
მონისა შ(ე)ნისა!	your servant!
და ვ(ითარც)ა ესე თქ(უ)ა, შეწევნითა სულისა წ(მიდ)ისაჲდა და ლოცვითა წ(მიდი)სითა,	And as he said that, through the aid of the Holy Spirit and the prayer of the saint,
დაეცა ვეშაპი იგი ფერკთა თა ^ნ წ(მიდ) ისათა.	the dragon fell at the feet of the saint.
ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამა)ნ უბრძანა ქალსა მას: გ(ა)ნიკსენ სარტყელი შ(ე)ნი	Then the saint commanded the maiden: Remove your belt,
და მომართუ აქა!	and hand it to me here!
და ყო ეგრე.	And she did so.
ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამა)ნ შეკრა ვეშაპი იგი და მისცა ქალსა მას და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა:	Then the saint tied it to the dragon, and gave it to the maiden and said:
წარვედ ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქით კერძო!	Go toward the city!

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იხილა რად ერმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ სასწაული ესე საკვრველი შეეშინა	When the people saw the wondrous miracle they became afraid,
და ენება (corr) სივლტოლად შიშისათვის ვეშაპისა მის.	and wished to flee for fear of the dragon,
ხ(ოლო) წმიდად იგი ეტყოდა მ(ა)თ: ნუ გეშინინ ა(რამე)დ დევით და იხილოთ მაცხოვარებად ღ(მრთისა)დ	but the saint said to them: Fear not, rather stand and see God's deliverance.
ჰ(რ)ე(უ)ა მ(ა)თ: გრწმენინ ო(ვფალ) ი ჩ(უ)ენი ი(ესო)ჰ ქ(რისტე)ე ჰ(ე)შ(მა) რიტი ღ(მერთი) ი(ოვ)ლად ძლიერი და მოვაკუდინო ვეშაპი ესე.	He said to them: Believe in my lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and I will make the dragon die,
და არა მოიკლნეთ მის მიერ.	and you will not be killed by it.
მაშინ ჰმა ყო მეფემან და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყ(ოვე)ლსა ერსათანა და თქ(უე) ს: გურწამს ო(ვფალ)ო მამისა მიმ(ა)რთ და მისა და სულისა წ(მიდ)ისა	Then the king cried out, along with his nobles and all the people, saying: Lord, we believe in the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
და მეესეულად წ(მიდამ)ან იკადა კრმალი თვისი და მოკლა იგი	And suddenly the saint drew his sword and killed it,
და მისცა ქალი იგი მეფესა.	and gave the maiden to the king.
მაშინ მოკრბა ყ(ოველი) სიმრავლე ერისა და ამბორს უყოფდეს ფერკთა წ(მიდ)ისათა და ად(ი)დებდეს ღ(მერთს)ა:	Then the whole multitude of the people gathered and kissed the feet of the saint, and praised God.
მაშინ წ(მიდამ)ან მოუწოდა ალექსანდრე ებისკოპოსსა, და ნათელსცა მეფესა და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყ(ოვე) ლსა სიმრავლესა ერისასა	Then the saint summoned the bishop Alexander, who baptized the king and the nobles and all the multitude of the people
ათხუთმეტ დღეს,	during fifteen days,
ხ(ოლო) ნ(ათე)ლსცა ორმეოც და ხუთსა ათასსა.	and he baptized forty-five thousand.
და იქმნა სიხარ(უ)ლი დიდი მას ქ(ა) ლ(ა)ქსა შ(ინ)ა.	And there was great rejoicing in the city.
მაშინ მეფემ(ა)ნ ყ(ოვე)ლსა ერსათანა აღაშენა პატოსანი ტაძარი სადიდებელთა ღ(მერ)თსა და პატივად წ(მიდ)ისა გ(იორგ)ისა	Then the king along with all the people built a holy temple for the glory of God and to honor saint George.
და ვ(ითარც)ა განასრულეს ტაძარი იგი, მოვიდა წ(მიდა)დ გ(იორგ)ი და აჩუენა სხ(უა)დ საკვრველებად:	And when they completed the temple, saint George came and showed another wonder,
რ(ათა) შევიდა ტაძარსა მას შ(ინ) ა საკურთხეველსა ეკლესიისასა, და აღმოაცენა წყაროდ კურნებათა	when he went in the temple and the church sanctuary, and brought forth a healing spring,

<i>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</i>	<i>translation of Jer Geo 2 (KT)</i>
და არს იგი ვ(იდრ)ე აქამომდე საკურნებლად მორწმუნეთა ქ(რისტ)ეს ღ(მრ)თისა ჩ(უე)ნისათა	which to the present is for healing believers in Christ our God.
და სხუანი მრავალნი და დიდებ(უ) ლნი საკრველებანი აღასრულნა წ(მიდამა)ნ მ(ო)წ(ა)მემ(ა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი ღ(მრ)თისა მ(იე)რ და მისდა მოცემულთა მადლითა მ(იე)რ ქალაქსა მას შ(ინ)ა	And the holy martyr George performed many other glorious wonders in the city, through God and the grace He bestowed,
სახელით ღ(მრთ)ისა ჩ(უე)ნისა ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტ)ესთა	in the name of our God Jesus Christ.

**ქვეინ თუითი
(კანადა)**

**წარმოდგენები წმინდა გიორგისა და მისი მღედრობითი ორეულის
შესახებ კავკასიურ მითოლოგიასა და ფოლკლორში**

რეზიუმე

საკვანძო სიტყვები: კავკასიური ფოლკლორი, მითოლოგია, წმინდა გიორგი, ურჩხული, მეფის ასული.

წმინდა გიორგის, ხელმწიფის ასულისა და ურჩხულის ორიგინალური ისტორია ემყარებოდა აღმოსავლეთის ქრისტიანული ჰაგიოგრაფიის ტრადიციებს და რაინდული რომანის ადრეულ ფორმებს. მაგრამ, სასწაულის შესახებ არსებული ისტორიის ძირითადი ელემენტები ხალხურ წყაროებს უნდა მივაკუთვნოთ. განსაკუთრებით საინტერესოა ხელმწიფის ასულის როლი. თავდაპირველად, ის კიდევ ერთი მსხვერპლია, რომელიც პასიურად ელოდება თავის ხვედრს; თუმცა, მას შემდეგ, რაც წმ. გიორგიმ ურჩხული დაიმორჩილა, იგი სთხოვს ხელმწიფის ასულს, ურჩხულს თავისი სარტყელისგან გაკეთებული საყელური გამოაბას და ასე წაიყვანოს ქალაქში. ამრიგად, ხელმწიფის ასულის, როგორც პოტენციური მსხვერპლის როლი, იცვლება ურჩხულზე გამარჯვების საქმეში თანამონაწილის როლით, თუმცა წმინდანზე დაქვემდებარებულის ფუნქციით. გოგონას, როგორც წმინდანის „უმცროსი პარტნიორის“ მოტივს, პრეცედენტები ეძებნება კავკასიის ზეპირსიტყვიერებაში, რაც ნაჩვენებია მოცემულ სტატიაში.