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FESTSCHRIFT FOR REV. PROFESSOR HENRYK PAPROCKI
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY

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Uniwersytet Warszawski

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TŁUMACZENIA KSIĄG LITURGICZNYCH ZAMIESZCZONE
NA STRONIE INTERNETOWEJ CERKIEW.LITURGIA.PL

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WYWIADY NA PORTALU „TEOLOGIA POLITYCZNA”

Kim są jurodiwi w tradycji prawosławnej?

Tołstoj był wielkim pisarzem i miernym działaczem religijnym.

Bułhakow opisując sąd nad Jezusem, poucza, że totalitarna władza zawsze jest diabelska.

Prawosławna recepcja myśli Bierdiajewa.

Ikona Nowosielskiego przetrwa jako żywa sztuka.

Największym przegrany rewolucji jest rosyjska inteligencja.

Z dala od zgiełku świata pustelnicy nieustannie służą Kościołowi.

Zupełnie zatraciliśmy to, co było czymś oczywistym dla ludzi antyku, średniowiecza.

Czy istnienie Kościoła jest uzależnione od Ducha Świętego?

Prawosławni byli zawsze na tych terenach.

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A Bibliography of the works
of Father Professor Henryk Paprocki

The bibliography of works covers the years 1973-2021 and organizes the publications of Father profesor Henryk Paprocki chronologically, with continuous numbering of all items. Inside, publications were divided into groups. The first of them included books that appeared as separate monographs, and the second included other publications, translations of the books, translations of liturgical books posted on the website [cerkiew.liturgia.pl], as well as articles in magazines and collective works, translations articles, reviews, reports, introductions and afterword, interviews conducted, interviews given, interviews on the portal "Teologia Polityczna", encyclopedic entries, sermons and preparation for printing. Within these groups, the works are listed alphabetically.

Key Words: Bibliography, Henryk Paprocki.

ON DECIPHERMENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF LINEAR A IN THE COMMON KARTVELIAN LANGUAGE

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Introduction

The object of this paper is deciphering of Cretan LA inscriptions spread all over the Aegean area, also found on the territory of Palestine, Bulgaria, and Georgia.

1. The paper presents an overview of the data on the ancient population of the Pelasgia or Peloponnese, Asia Minor, Aegean islands before the migrations of Indo-European tribes into Europe began (Kvashilava 2011:228–233).

It is supposed that indigenous inhabitants of this area were of non-Indo-European and non-Semitic origin but were South Caucasian / Kartvelian – Pelasgian-Colchian tribes – Macrians or Macrones among others (Kvashilava 2011:233–236).

2. The CK language formed an influential substratum for the language of Proto-Greek tribes after their invasion of the Peloponnese. The toponyms of “unknown etymology” (J. Chadwick, R. Beekes, and others) are now proved to be CK.

3. The correctness of my decipherment of LA inscriptions in the CK is verified by the analysis of linguistic material (of special importance are toponyms, ethnonyms, anthroponyms and theonyms), the study of graphical qualities of LA and of the signs of related scripts (LB, Cypriot Syllabic = CS), the previous phonetic reading of LB script by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:23, 388).

The texts of LA inscriptions are mostly agricultural accounts with anthroponyms, agricultural produce (e.g., cereals, etc.), domestic ani-

























































mals, and signs denoting natural numbers and fractions, etc (Kvashilava 2011:242–244, 253–259; Kvashilava 2017b:857–858, 863).

The analysis of the data shows that LA inscriptions record the ancient CK language. The following should be emphasized (Kvashilava 2017a:65–66):

a. The visual features of the LA syllabic signs are graphically simplified versions of the Cretan hieroglyphic script and the Phaistos Disk script signs (Kvashilava 2011:239).

b. The vast bulk of LA syllabic signs are graphically and phonetically identical to the graphic and phonetic properties of the syllabic signs of Mycenaean Greek LB (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:23; Godart and Olivier 1985, V:XXII, XXVIII–LII) and the Greek CS scripts (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:388). The problem of the language of LA inscriptions has long remained unsolved, and it was declared to be impossible to read because the language and its culture no longer existed.

The phonetic values of LA syllabic signs are presented in Table 1:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|
| 001 |  | 017 |  | 039 |  | 057 |  | 077 |  |
| 002 |  | 020 |  | 040 |  | 058 |  | 078 |  |
| 003 |  | 021F |  | 041 |  | 059 |  | 079 |  |
| 004 |  | 023 |  | | | 060 |  | 080 |  |
| 005 |  | 024 |  | 045 |  | 061 |  | 081 |  |
| 006 |  | 026 |  | 046 |  | 065 |  | 085 |  |
| 007 |  | 027 |  | 050 |  | 066 |  | 087 |  |
| 008 |  | 028 |  | 051 |  | 067 |  | | |
| 009 |  | 029 |  | | | 069 |  | | |
| 010 |  | 030 |  | 053 |  | 070 |  | | |
| 011 |  | 031 |  | 054 |  | 073 |  | | |
| 013 |  | 037 |  | 055 |  | 074 |  | | |
| 016 |  | 038 |  | | | 076 |  | | |

Syllabograms of Linear A script

Table 1

The meanings of the LA inscriptions remained unidentified, and the LA tablets were declared to be written in an unknown dead language.

c. The method of comparative and inner reconstruction (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965) made it possible to identify the forms and meanings of LA syllabic sequences as belonging to the ancient CK Language.

1. The Ancient Inhabitants and Languages of Southern Europe, Asia Minor and South Caucasus

In the Bronze Age, many regions of the Asia Minor, the whole of the Pelasgia or Peloponnese, the Crete, Aegean islands, the Apennine Peninsula were inhabited by Pelasgians (see Homer, *Odyssey* XIX.175–177, *Iliad* II.840–841; Hellanicus of Mytilene, Fragment I of *Phoronis*; Herodotus I.57, VIII.44, II.56; Thucydides IV.109.4; Diodorus Siculus V.80.2–5; Strabo VII.7.§1,§2, V.2.§4.1–3; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*). The Pelasgians were various tribes including the *Macrians* or *Macrones*¹ (see Apollonius of Rhodes, I.1023–1024; The Scholiast, I.1024–1025, 1037; II.392).

It was accepted that the Pelasgian language was of a non-Indo-European and non-Semitic origin.

Some authors (P. Kretschmer, F. Schachermeyr, E. Schwyzer, A. Meillet, G. Thomson, and others) considered it to be the language connected to South Caucasian (Kartvelian) tribes and creating a special group – the so-called Asia-Minor or Aegean-Asia-Minor language group (Kvashilava 2011:228, 229; Kvashilava 2017a:66ff.).

Traces of these earlier languages of the indigenous population of the Aegean, Asia Minor and Caucasian regions appear in the form of a substratum to the whole structure and lexicon of the dialects brought by the new settlers (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I:782).

LA is the substratum language of clay tablets and other inscriptions that have been found in many parts of Crete and Aegean islands (Chadwick 1976:4). The substratum is obviously linked to early Minoan cul-

¹ Considering the material given by Hecataeus of Miletus (Fragment 191), Strabo (XII.3.§18), Procopius of Caesarea (*The Persian Wars* I.XV.21), Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnica*), Eustathius of Thessalonica (*The Manuscripts of Eustathius' Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 766), Georgian scholars (I. Javakhishvili, S. Janashia, S. Kaukhchishvili, A. Urushadze, and others) assume that *Macrones* is the name of a tribe of Colchian (Kartvelian) ancestry – the Sanni / Tzani (Margali / Megreli-Chani / Lazi) tribe.

ture and possibly to the inscriptions written in LA and other very early writing systems of the eastern Mediterranean world (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I:796).

A number of Greek words of unknown etymology have unambiguous parallels with Kartvelian in the light of recent research, which is supported by linguistic contacts at an ancient period between Greek and Kartvelian dialects (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I:799).

2. About Kartvelian Languages and CK Ancestor Language

Linguistic research made by G. Deeters, Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:3 ff.; Gamkrelidze 1966:69) showed that the languages spoken in Georgia – and now also on the territory of Turkey – are affiliated languages: Georgian, Svan, Mingrelian and Laz are of the common origin; they are called the South Caucasian / Kartvelian languages. The term was introduced by H. Schuchardt.

The pioneers of Kartvelology G. Rosen, M. Brosset, A. Tsagareli, N. Marr, and others studied separate Kartvelian languages with the comparative method and showed regular phonemic correspondences between them. Basing on these phonemic correspondences it is declared that Kartvelian languages developed from the common language – the CK (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:4; Gamkrelidze 2008:30).

Nominal and verbal archetypes of CK can be reconstructed only if regular phonemic correspondences are attested between root and affixal morphemes (Gamkrelidze 2008:26).

The detailed research was carried out and its results were published by Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965; Gamkrelidze 2008:24–57, 85–88). The comparative method and the method of internal reconstruction applied to the material of Svan, Georgian, Mingrelian and Laz resulted in the presentation of the typology of the morphophonemic system of the CK language, and diachronic transformations of its patterns in the affiliated Kartvelian languages. Regular phonemic correspondences in the phonological and morphophonological patterns of these languages were presented in detail by the authors.

The alternative variant of the scheme of the diachronic development of Kartvelian languages earlier suggested by G. Deeters (comp. Fähnrich 2007:5) was presented by Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:16; Gamkrelidze 2008:87). In consequence of linguistic changes the CK ancestor language developed into two

branches (see Fig. 1): Svan and Common Colchian-Georgian unity which was later divided into two independent language systems that were presented by Colchian and Georgian dialects; still later Mingrelian and Laz were generated from the Colchian branch.

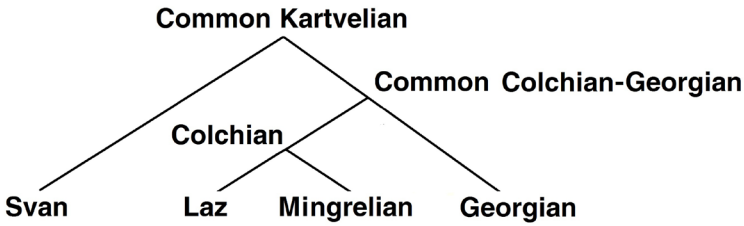


Fig.1. The Scheme of the Origin of Kartvelian Languages

Old Cretan syllabic inscriptions of LA are deciphered by me as the patterns of the CK language.

3. Examples of Deciphering Linear A Inscriptions

Linguistic material is one of the most important arguments for the verification of any decipherment. I am happy to say that in the case of the LA, the well-studied linguistic material wholly supports my reading (Kvashilava 2008–2020; see: <https://tsu-ge.academia.edu/GiaKvashilava>).

The following sequences that were reconstructed for the CK language by linguists (Vogt 1961; Schmidt 1962; Gamkrelidze 1966; Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965; Klimov 1998; Fähnrich 2007, and others) are given in the texts of the LA.

Some LA inscriptions of account-administrative type are analysed below.

3.1. Of special interest are the LA sequences of signs $\mathfrak{z}+$ and $\mathfrak{v}+$ seen here. The LA script signs \mathfrak{z} , $+$ and \mathfrak{v} are considered to be identical to the corresponding signs of LB and the CS script, as shown in Table 2:

| | | | |
|----|--------------|------|----------|
| LA | 𐌆 𐌇 𐌈 𐌉 𐌊 ku | 𐌋 ro | 𐌌 𐌍 𐌎 ki |
| LB | 𐌆 𐌇 𐌈 𐌉 ku | 𐌋 ro | 𐌌 𐌍 𐌎 ki |
| CS | | 𐌋 lo | |

Table 2

I consider these signs to be identical to the corresponding LB syllables deciphered by M. Ventris: 𐌆 [ku], 𐌋 [ro], and 𐌌 [ki] (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:23). The LA sequences of signs 𐌆𐌋 and 𐌌𐌋 are thus read as ku-ro and ki-ro.

Below are the words denoting arithmetic operations in LA inscriptions: 𐌆𐌋 [ku-ro/*ku-roj] and 𐌌𐌋 [ki-ro / *ki-loj].

Semantic interpretation of ku-ro / *ku-roj and ki-ro / *ki-loj forms are presented as CK archetypes (see Kvashilava 2019a):

*kur-oj – “to bind, gather, collect, add”;

*kir-oj / *kil-oj – “fault, defect; to subtract, lessen, diminish, cut off”.

The reconstructed root morpheme *kur- and *kir-/ *kil- are of CVS-structure; suffixal morpheme *-oj is of -VS structure. These phonemic structures are canonical forms of CK morphemes (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:304, 318, 368).

These sequences display regular phonological and semantic relations to Kartvelian materials.

Concerning the word ku-ro, J. Chadwick (Chadwick 1970:154 ff.) writes: “The meaning of one Linear A word is certain: ku-ro is the word which introduces totals, and must mean something like ‘total’ or ‘so much’. If we could find such a word in a known language, the problem of LA might be solved.”

3.2. The reading of the LA sign-sequence 𐌆𐌈𐌋 is given below. The LA signs 𐌆, 𐌈, 𐌋 and 𐌋 are read as the syllables po, to, ku and ro, which, as expected, coincides with phonological values of the corresponding signs of LB and the CS scripts (Kvashilava 2017b:858). The signs are shown in Table 3:

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| LA | 𐌆 𐌆 𐌇 𐌆 po | 𐌆 𐌆 to |
| LB | 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆 po | 𐌆 to |
| CS | 𐌆 𐌆 𐌆 po | 𐌆 to |
| LA | 𐌇 𐌇 𐌈 𐌉 𐌇 ku | 𐌇 ro |
| LB | 𐌇 𐌇 𐌈 𐌈 ku | 𐌇 ro |
| CS | | 𐌇 lo |

Table 3

So, the LA sign-sequence 𐌆𐌆𐌇𐌇 is thus read as po-to-ku-ro / *po-to-ku-roj.

Semantic interpretation of the sequence po-to-ku-ro / *po-to-ku-roj is presented as CK archetypes:

- *pot-oj – “widely (adj.), general”;
- *kur-oj – “to bind, gather, collect, add”;
- *po-to-ku-roj – “the general, whole sum, grand total”.

The reconstructed root morphemes *pot-, and *kur- are of CVS- structure; suffixal morpheme *-oj is of -VS structure. These phonemic structures are canonical forms of CK morphemes (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:304, 318, 368).

These sequences display regular phonological and semantic connections to Kartvelian materials.

3.3. My reading of the LA sequence of signs 𐌆⊕𐌇𐌈 is given below. This is deciphered by me as ma-ka-ri-te / *ma-ka-ri-tej (see Table 1). It is well known that *m- is a Kartvelian prefix; -ak(a)r- corresponds to the Kartvelian root *-akr- / *-agr-; *-it / *-et is the Kartvelian toponym-deriving suffix; the suffixal allomorph *-ej I consider to be the nominative case ending (comp. Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1964:229 ff., 307). The word 𐌆⊕𐌇𐌈 [ma-ka-ri-te / *ma-ka-ri-tej] apparently denotes the

Pelasgian toponym – *a*. “island of Macris (Euboea) – the habitation of Macrians”; *b*. “a Colchian person” (see Kvashilava 2011:259–262).

D. Packard (Packard 1974:148) connected $\text{𐌆} \oplus \text{𐌆}$ [ma-ka-ri-te] to the Mycenaean Greek LB $\text{𐀀} \text{𐀁} \text{𐀂}$ [ma-ki-ro-ne / *ma-ki-ro-nes], which to my mind denotes the Pelasgian-Colchian tribal name – “Macrones”.

3.4. Below I present the reading and identification of the LA sign-sequence $\text{𐌆} \Psi \text{𐌆}$.

As is well known, the LA signs 𐌆 , Ψ and 𐌆 are similar to the signs of the LB and to CS scripts. The phonological qualities of the signs are identical, as shown in Table 4:

| | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---|
| LA | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | pa | |
| LB | | | | | 𐌆 | pa | |
| CS | | | | | 𐌆 | pa | |
| LA | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | Ψ | 𐌆 | i |
| LB | | | | | Ψ | | i |
| LA | | | | 𐌆 | 𐌆 | to | |
| LB | | | | 𐌆 | | to | |
| CS | | | | | 𐌆 | to | |

Table 4

According to the data, the LA sign-sequence $\text{𐌆} \Psi \text{𐌆}$ is read as pa-i-to / *pa-j-toj² (Kvashilava 2019b:84–85). The toponym and anthroponym

² In CK, the unstressed [j] in V-C position alternates freely with [i] (comp. Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965:67 ff., 69).

𐀓𐀔𐀕 is read by M. Ventris as the Pre-Greek pa-i-to, reconstructed as *p^ha-i-stos, which is attested in LB inscription as meaning “Phaistos” (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:32, 146, 202, 567; Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:252; Beekes 2010, II:1547).

The CK archetype *pas₁t-oj (reconstructed by me) allows the LA phonemic reading *pa-j-toj through the change: *s₁ > j. Later j > Ø (zero), which results in *pajt- > *paØt- > *pat- form of the root (Kvashilava 2019b:91–92). According to the Kartvelian process, *a > o, *pat- changes to pot-, the meaning of which is the toponym *pot-i* – “Phasis” or “Poti” (see Vogt 1961:9; Schmidt 1962:27).

3.5. Below the reading of the LA sequence of signs 𐀓𐀔𐀕 is given. The LA signs 𐀓, 𐀔, and 𐀕 are read as ku, da and ra syllables (Kvashilava 2010:320; Kvashilava 2011:268; Kvashilava 2015:8–11), which, as expected, coincides with the phonological values of the corresponding signs of LB and the CS scripts. These signs are shown in Table 5:

| | | |
|----|-----------|----|
| LA | 𐀓 𐀔 𐀕 𐀖 𐀗 | ku |
| LB | 𐀓 𐀔 𐀕 𐀖 𐀗 | ku |
| LA | 𐀘 𐀙 | da |
| LB | 𐀘 𐀙 | da |
| CS | 𐀘 𐀙 | ta |
| LA | 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 | ra |
| LB | 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 | ra |
| CS | 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 | la |

Table 5

D. Packard (Packard 1974:146) believed that the LA sequence 𐌕𐌕𐌃𐌃𐌔 [ku-ku-da-ra / *ku-ku-da-raj] was related to the Mycenaean Greek LB words – 𐀓𐀖𐀗 [ko-ki-da / *ko-ki-das] and 𐀓𐀖𐀗𐀓 [ko-ki-de-jo / *ko-ki-de-jos], which were read by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:365 ff., 372) as *Kolkhidas and *Kolkhideios. These words were read by O. Landau (Landau 1958:72), S. Hiller (Hiller 1991:214), T. Gamkrelidze (Gamkrelidze 2014:260), L. Gordeziani (Gordeziani 2012:76–77), and others as “Colchis” (a personal name) and “Colchian”.

Phonetic processes that explain phonic differences between the LA sequence 𐌕𐌕𐌃𐌃𐌔 [ku-ku-da-ra / *ku-ku-da-raj] and the Kartvelian form *kulkhud-ar-aj / *kolkhod-ar-aj / *kolkhid-ar-aj reconstructed by me are given here.

The roots with the vowel [o] are few in Kartvelian; the manifestation of the phoneme /*o/ must have been extremely rare (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1964:146). Similarly rare is [o] in the inscriptions of the Phaistos Disk (see Kvashilava 2008:257) and in LA. Instead of [o], these inscriptions use [u].

The syllables with sonant [l] (la, le, li, lo, lu) are not presented in LA and LB – [l] is either omitted or changed by [r] or Ø.

I suppose that the reconstructed CK [*o] of the second syllable is manifested as *o > *u > i in LA (comp. Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1964:332–333, 335, 338).

The Kartvelian derivational suffix *-ar denoting the place of origin remained unchanged (comp. Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1964:307, 76₃; Fähnrich 2007:147).

The suffixal allomorph *-aj I consider to be the nominative case ending (comp. Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1964:307).

The word 𐌕𐌕𐌃𐌃𐌔 [ku-ku-da-ra / *ku-ku-da-raj] of the LA inscription is read by me as *Kulkhudaraj / *kolkhodaraj / *Kolkhidaraj – “a Colchian person” (Kvashilava 2011:268, 269).

3.6. The sign-sequence 𐌕𐌕 given in Linear A inscriptions is also of great interest. Consequently I read 𐌕𐌕 as a-ja, because the LA script signs 𐌕 and 𐌕 are identical to the corresponding LB syllabic signs: 𐌕 [a] and 𐌕 [ja] (see Kvashilava 2010:305 ff.; Kvashilava 2015:5–6). The signs of LA and LB are shown in Table 6:






| | | |
|----|---|----|
| LA |  | a |
| LB |  | a |
| LA |  | ja |
| LB |  | ja |

Table 6

The LA sign-sequence  is thus read as a-ja – “Aea”.


The semantic parallels to “Aea” are presented below (Kvashilava 2010:307–310; Kvashilava 2015:8, 11–14):

a. A town in Thessaly, the ancient region of Greece, inhabited by Pelasgians (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*); a town of Colchis (Eumelus of Corinth, Fragment 2 of *Corinthiaca*);


b. The old name of the country of Colchis³ (Herodotus I.2, VII.193, 197; Apollonius of Rhodes II.417);

c. According to Greek sources Aea means “land”, “the earth” (Homer, *Iliad* VIII.1; Apollonius of Rhodes I.580; III.313);

d. Aea was the nymph of a spring loved by the Colchian river-god Phasis (Valerius Flaccus V.425–426);

e. The Mycenaean Greek LB sign-sequence  [a₃-wa / *ai-was > aias]⁴ read as “Aeas” – possibly a nickname of an ox (Chadwick and Ba-

³ Based on Herodotus (II.104: *Colchis*; III.97; IV.37; VII.79: *Colchians*), Apollonius of Rhodes (II.422, 1094, 1141, 1185, 1267; III.1061; IV.255, 277–278: *Aea*; I.174: *Colchians*; II.1277; IV.33: *Colchian*), Strabo (XI.2, §15) and others, Georgian scholars (S. Kauhchishvili, T. Kauhchishvili, A. Urushadze, O. Lordkipanidze, and others) argue that Aea is the synonym of Colchis: Aea is the oldest name for this country, and it was called Colchis (Georgia) only later (also see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I:802).

⁴ LB signs  [a₃-wa-ja / ai-wa-ja > aiaia] were read by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick (1973:101, 104, 537; Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:168) as *Aeaea*, a god’s slave, a feminine anthroponym; *Aeaea* – “an epithet of Circe and Medea” (Homer, *Odyssey* XII.268, 273; Apollonius of Rhodes, III.1136); “the island of Aea” (Homer, *Odyssey* X.135, IX.32, XII.4; Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentaries on Homer’s Odyssey* 1614; The Scholiast X.135, IX.32; Apollonius of Rhodes III.1074; Hiller 1991:214).

umbach 1963:168; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:104, 537; comp. Homer, *Iliad* I.145 – “a personal name”).

The LA inscription $\text{⊕} \dots \text{⊕} \cdot \text{⊕} \text{⊕} \dots$ is read by me as ... *-ja ... -ja ja-wa- ... (see Table 1). It is a religious refrain that might be connected to the cult of the deity “Aea” (name of the earth goddess?) (Kvashilava 2010:306–307; Kvashilava 2015:6–7).

3.7. Below the readings of *vessel* names – sign-sequences $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ and $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$ of the LA inscription are given.

The following signs ⊕ , ⊕ and ⊕ are read by me as being identical to M. Ventris’s reading of the corresponding signs of LB: ⊕ [ka], ⊕ [ti], ⊕ [di] and to CS sign ↑ [ti]. The signs are given in Table 7:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| LA | ⊕ | ⊕ | ka | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ti |
| LB | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ka | | | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ ti |
| CS | | | | | | | ↑ | ↑ | ti |
| LA | | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | di |
| LB | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | ⊕ | di |

Table 7

E. Peruzzi (Peruzzi 1956:166) and G. Neumann (Neumann 1961:175–177) connected the LB sequence $\text{⊕} \text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ [ka-ti 206^{VAS}] – “hydria, a water vessel” to the LA sequence $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ [ka-ti] (comp. Chadwick 1970:117; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:227; Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:209).

R. Beekes (Beekes 2010, I:684–685, 812) thinks that $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ [ka-ti] is of Pre-Greek origin. He connects the LB word $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ [ka-ti] to the Pre-Greek $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ – “name of Laconian drinking utensils”, “drinking-bout”, which he connects to the Kartvelian kut-oj – “a small iron flagon” and kot-o – “clay pot” (comp. Fähnrich 2007:260).

I connect the LA sign-sequence $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$ [ka-di] to the Pre-Greek $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ – “vessel for wine and other fluids” (comp. Beekes 2010, I:614).

I interpret the LA sign-sequences $\text{⊕} \text{⊕}$ [ka-ti] and $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$ [ka-di] as CK archetypes *kat- / *kwat-i and *kad- / *kwad-i – “clay or wooden ves-

sel”. The reconstructed root-morphemes *kat- / *kwat- / *kad- / *kwad-5 and the suffixal morpheme *-i are respectively of CVC- and -V structural types, which represent canonical forms of CK morphemes (see Kvashilava 2017c:111; Kvashilava 2018a:180).

The study of Kartvelian data fully supports the decipherment and interpretation of the sign-sequences $\oplus\wedge$ [ka-ti] and $\otimes\overline{\text{P}}$ [ka-di] of CK (Kvashilava 2017c:108–114; Kvashilava 2018a:177–185).

3.8. The interpretation of the sequence $\text{P}\text{H}_{\text{qa-pa}^3}$ is proved to be a CK archetype – the word for a wine-vessel; this is the pattern displaying the regular phonological and semantic correspondence with the Kartvelian material (see Kvashilava 2018b).

The stem qap- with the meaning of “vessel” is reconstructed for the languages of different families (Kvashilava 2018b:458–459).

The following sequence of signs P LA016, H LA056 and — LA10110 is written above the vessel ideogram ∇ LA402^{VASE} in the second line of the LA inscription on clay tablet HT 31 (HM 19). The last sign of the inscription denotes the natural number 10 (Kvashilava 2017b:857).

In this inscription the sequence PH LA016+LA056 is deciphered as qa and pa₃ syllables, which coincides with the phonemic reading of P LB016 and H LB056 syllables of Mycenaean Greek LB inscription (comp. Ventris and Chadwick 1973:385). These signs and their phonetic meanings are presented in Table 8.

⁵ According to T. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (1965:98, 306, 368; Gamkrelidze 1966:80, 3.3), the non-syllabic *w variant of the labial /*w/, being an independent unit, merges with the simple consonant *k, which results in the most frequent and natural cluster *k+w. According to morphologic structure, this is functionally equal to the single consonant phoneme /*k/.






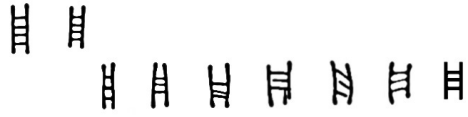










| | | |
|---|---|--|
| LA |  | qa / *kwa |
| LB |  | qa |
| Comp. Old Greek script sign | |  q / k |
| Comp. the letters of old Georgian alphabet: | |   |
| LA |  | pa ₃ / *paj |
| LB |  | pa ₃ |

Table 8

According to M. Ventris and J. Chadwick (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:81, 77, 527), the following phonetic units are attested in LB texts: the labiovelar q=[*kw] and the diphthong a₃=[*aj]. The corresponding signs of LA script  qa and  pa₃ are consequently reproduced as [*kwa] and [*paj] syllables, and the sequence of the signs   qa-pa₃ is read as [*kwa-paj] archetype.

It has been stated in linguistic researches (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:323; Gordon 1958:247, and others) that   qa-pa₃ sequence is the name of the “vessel” (“pot” or “cup”).

   sequence of LA402^{VASE} qa-pa₃ / [*kwa-paj] is shown by me as corresponding to the CK archetype [*kwap-aj] that is the word for the wine-vessel. The reconstruction of the given sequence as an archetype of the CK parent language is given below according to the linguistic material given by Th. Gamkrelidze and G. Machavariani (Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1965; Gamkrelidze 1966).

As already mentioned, the above linguistic material supports the postulation of the transformations undergone by the CK root patterns in linguistically attested Georgian and its dialects, Mingrelian, Laz and Svan language forms. As the sample of the linguistic-comparative analysis, the

Kartvelian stem kop- has been reconstructed in the sequence *kwap-aj and its allophones on the CK level.

Conclusion

The presented decipherment of LA sequences in CK is richly supported by linguistic material.

The words for the operations on numerals: (addition) ku-ro, (subtraction) ki-ro, and po-to-ku-ro are proved to be CK.

The toponyms and anthroponyms ma-ka-ri-te, pa-i-to, ku-ku-da-ra, and a-ja are of CK origin.

The names of pots ka-ti, ka-di, and qa-pa₃ are CK archetypes.

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On Decipherment of the Inscriptions of Linear A
In the Common Kartvelian Language

The object of this paper is the deciphering of Cretan Linear A (LA) inscriptions.

The paper presents a brief background of the ancient population of the Peloponnese, Asia Minor and the Aegean islands before the Indo-European migrations.

It is supposed that the indigenous inhabitants of this area were of non-Indo-European and non-Semitic origin, from the Proto-Kartvelian tribes.

The study of the linguistic material and graphical qualities of LA, and the phonetic reading of Linear B (LB) script by M. Ventris, granted the correctness of my decipherment of LA inscriptions in the Common Kartvelian (CK).

Some of the deciphered LA words are the following:

1. the words for the operations on numerals: (addition) ku-ro – “to bind, gather, collect, add”; (subtraction) ki-ro – “fault, defect; to subtract, lessen, diminish, cut off”, and po-to-ku-ro – “the general, whole sum, grand total”;

2. the toponyms and anthroponyms: ma-ka-ri-te – a. “the island of Macris / Euboea (Macrean or Macrones tribe) attested in later Greek texts”; b. “a Colchian person”; pa-i-to – “Phaistos” (mentioned in LB); ku-ku-da-ra – “a Colchian person”, and a-ja – “Aea” (also attested in LB);

3. the names of vessels for liquid – ka-ti (also attested in LB), ka-di, and qa-pa3.

All words attested in LB are given by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick.

The above stems also display regular phonological and semantic relations to Kartvelian material.

Keywords: Linear A script, the Common Kartvelian language, comparative and inner reconstructions.

NARRATIVE SOURCES ON THE CREATION OF GEORGIAN ALPHABET

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Introduction

Invention of alphabetic writing system is a greatest fact in the history of human creativity. Phoenicians were pioneers. Ancient Greeks successfully continued Phoenicians' initiative and had created alphabet appropriate to their language.

Originally, alphabets had solely practical importance; however, gradually they assumed symbolic meaning as well and began functioning as one of the ethnic and national identity markers. The connection with we-group's collective cultural identity and alphabet remains firm until today.¹

Georgians are among those peoples who have their own alphabet with unique graphics. This script came to us in three variations: Asomtavruli, Nusxuri, Mkhedruli. The sequence of these variations reflects stages of the system's developments.

When we speak on the origins of Georgian alphabet, we mean first variant which is the oldest one, i.e. Asomtavruli. "Aso" is a Georgian word for the "letter", while "mtavruli" means "capital". This title was given to this variant of Georgian alphabet because it contains only capital letters. Another designation of the same variant is "mrgvlovani" – Georgian word for "rounded". The variant was named in this way because of rounded forms of the most of its letters.

¹ M. Huțanu, A. Sorescu–Marinković, Writing systems and linguistic identity of the Vlach community of Eastern Serbia, *Diacronia*. <https://www.diacronia.ro/en> St. Bird Orthography and Identity in Cameroon. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/2263445_Orthography_and_Identity_in_Cameroon/.

To the solving of the problem of origins of Georgian alphabet one can approach through two ways: analyzing the evidences of narrative sources or investigating the available alphabet itself. The combining of the results of both ways would ensure the best results.

In this article I have chosen the first way not only because critical study of medieval texts is my strong side as a historian. Preliminary observations of the subject show that in this particular case interpretation of narrative sources is more topical than the analysis of the alphabet itself. Some of the researchers ignore or misinterpret the data of the narrative sources.

Leonti Mroveli and His Evidence on Georgian Alphabet

The observation should be begun with analysis of the evidence on origins of Georgian alphabet preserved in *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (Life of Kartli, i.e. History of Georgia). It represents a collection of medieval Georgian historiographical writings. The first work in this collection is the “Life of Georgian Kings” by Bishop of Ruisi Leonti Mroveli. This writing covers long period of time – from ethnogenesis of Georgians (modeled according to biblical narratives) until the epoch when historian lived, i.e. 11th century. Leonti Mroveli had based his ambitious work on various sources. In some cases, one can trace these sources in the result of close analyzes of the evidences provided by the historian; the direct information on Leonti Mroveli’s sources is kept in two colophons as well.²

Ivane Javakhishvili, one of the founding fathers of Georgian Studies (Kartvelology) was hypercritical to the evidences of this historian. This attitude which had been shaped century ago, remains popular among the part of the researchers though without argumentations.

According to Leonti Mroveli Georgian alphabet was invented by the King Pharanavaz. This King who lived in 4th – 3rd cc BC presented as a founder of the eastern Georgian state (Kingdom of Kartli) with the capital city in Mtskheta. Can we trust to this evidence? I would answer this question with question: why not?

At least two alphabetical writing systems already were available by the time of Georgian alphabet’s invention: these were Phoenician and

² On the interpretation of these colophons see M. Chkhartishvili, *Sakartvelo III-V saukunebshi. khosrovanta samepo sakhlis itoria*. (Georgia in 3rd -5th Centuries. History of the Royal Family of Chosroids). Tbilisi 2018, pp. 21-27.

Greek alphabets with the centuries long tradition of use.³ Thus, inventing alphabet by Georgian King lived in 4th – 3rd cc BC was not novel endeavor for the global cultural processes of that time. Creation of alphabet is not miracle as well; it is not beyond the limits of human ability. Only prejudice such as “Georgians could not be so advanced in those times”, “Georgians were barbarians” before Christianization – could drive a researcher to ignore this evidence or be skeptical regarding this information without relevant inquiries and sound argumentations.

As I have already mentioned, King Pharnavaz was a founder of a new state. However, it is only part of the whole story. He had initiated many fundamental reforms. For instance, he had established cult of Armazi – the pagan god exclusively of ethnic Georgians, i.e. kin of Kartlos – ethnarch of Kartvelians (Georgians). The King’s greatest concern was the issue of the official language as well. According to Leonti Mroveli six languages were spoken in ancient Georgia. Thus, already in those remote times Georgian state was multiethnic. To help to the integration of the subjects of the newly established state and cement its identity, Pharnavaz extended Georgian, i.e. elevated it on the position of official language. In result of this change other languages were not spoken any more, i.e. not used for the official communications:

“And Parnavaz was the first King of Kartli of the seed of Kartlos. He spread the Georgian language and no other language was spoken in Kartli apart from Georgian. And he created Georgian writing”.⁴

This is a context in which Leonti Mroveli places the evidence on invention of Georgian alphabet. It is relevant context for introducing national script. For the new state and new religion, for the new language policy the invention of new national alphabet was necessary, logical, even more,

³ For the date of these alphabets the readers can consult many secondary sources, among them paper by W. Waal, “On the “Phoenician Letters”. The Case for an Early Transmission of the Greek Alphabet from an Archaeological, Epigraphic and Linguistic Perspective”. In: *Aegean Studies*, 2018, 83-125. Here I quote the abstract of this article so that to represent with due clarity its main message: “Though it is generally agreed upon that the Greeks borrowed (and modified) the alphabet from the Phoenicians, there is no consensus about the moment when this took place. Over the years, several dates have been proposed, ranging from the 14th to the 8th/7th century BC. In classical studies the prevalent opinion is that the alphabet was introduced in or shortly before the 8th century BC, when the first attestations of Greek alphabetic writing appear. There are, however, quite a number of indications (from existing and new evidence) that plead for a much earlier date. In this article, a detailed analysis of the presently available archaeological, epigraphic and linguistic data will be presented to argue the case for an introduction in the 11th century BC at the latest.” <https://www.aegeussociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Aegean-Studies-vol1-4-Waal.pdf/>.

⁴ For the English translation see *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba*, (A History of Georgia), Editor in Chief of the English edition Professor Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 25.

unavoidable step of any smart politician and, especially, of the ruler with ambitious intention to forge identity for his people.

Some of the researchers neglecting the evidence of Leonti Mroveli try to present as the strongest argument the unavailability of texts written with use Asomtavruli before the establishment of Christianity as an official religion of the Kingdom of Kartli. Meanwhile it is not argument at all⁵ and it is not used for the representation of history of other alphabets. In this regard it is very indicative that the Gospel translated personally by Mesrop Mashtots⁶ or any other text in Armenian created in his lifetime are not available now, however, this fact does not ever give to anybody the reason to ignore or be skeptical concerning the deed of this Armenian ecclesiastic as a creator of Armenian alphabet.

It is not unexpected that the pagan texts from those remote periods do not reach us. This might be happened not only because the damaging effect of time, but also in result of the complete rearrangements of political and cultural frames in the epoch of Christianization: Georgian Asomtavruli would be the main target of anti-pagan propaganda.

Testimonies Supporting the Evidence of Leonti Mroveli on Georgian Alphabet

To be precise regarding the unavailability issue, I should mention relatively recent finding of the inscriptions with use of Asomtavruli claimed to be of a pre-Christian epoch. I mean Nekresi inscriptions, which were discovered and studied by the Georgian archaeologist Levan Chilashvili.⁷

⁵ Here again I would like to quote above mentioned article by W. Waal, in which the author discuss how misleading is to ground conclusions only on available data and do not imagine another scenarios. Though it is said concerning the Greek case, it is true for all other cases as well: "... shortage of written sources is ubiquitous in this period in the Mediterranean and the Near East. Apart from a change in the political landscape and social structures, the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age witnessed the expansion of alphabetic writing on perishable materials, which may for a large part explain the apparent textual darkness of this period. ... It may be risky to assume the existence of material that is not extant, but it is equally hazardous to focus only on the scanty material which just happened to have survive", p. 108. And one more quote from the same article: "Against this stand new discoveries, made in the last decades, that have resulted in a substantial revision of our views of the early origins of the alphabet; *they are a clear warning of the dangers of relying too heavily only on the evidence presently available to us*", p.112 (emphasis is mine).

⁶ The oldest surviving manuscript is the so-called Gospel of Queen Mlkeh is dated 862 AD.

⁷ L. Chilashvili, "Tsinarekristianuli khandis kartuli tsartsera nekresidan". (The Pre-Christian Inscription from Nekreci), *The Kartvelologist. Journal of Georgian Studies*, 2008, No 37; i d e m: *Georgian Inscriptions of Nekresi and Questions of the History of Georgian Writing*. Tbilisi 2004.

“Moktseway Kartlisay” (Conversion of Kartli), which is a monument of medieval Georgian historiography, the history of Georgians’ Christianization is represented by two redactions of the “Vita” of Saint Nino – the Illuminatrix of Georgians. The concise history of pagan Kartli is also presented here through the historical chronicle. This part of the monument in question provides very brief information on each King of pre-Christian Georgia. The first ruler mentioned in the text is the King of Azo who was direct predecessor of Pharnavaz.⁸ As we know from Leonti Mroveli’s work, Azo was overthrown by the King Pharnavaz. Thus, this monument, actually, begins with founding of the Eastern Georgian state. The Georgian statehood takes its origins much earlier in Western Georgia (the Ancient Colchis). However, we have no information if the rulers of ancient western Georgian polities initiated historical records. We know about them only from non-Georgian sources. Thus, the historical memory of Georgian community, actually, begins with fact of foundation of Kingdom of Kartli, i.e. eastern Georgian state Iberia of the classic authors. Why? It is not difficult to answer this question in the light of above considered evidence by Leonti Mroveli: the event was remembered because the information on it was written down.

Thus, the coincidence in time of two facts – invention of national alphabet with the emergence of the historical memory of Georgians, supports evidence provided by Leonti Mroveli: the availability of national alphabet in the epoch of the King Parnavaz, is only explanation why in this particular moment the historical memory of Georgian community “switched on”.

The information on Georgians having national alphabet was widespread among the Christian authors of the pre-modern period.

The anonymous Armenian translator of “Kartlis Tskhovreba” (ca. 13th c) repeats the information about the invention of the Georgian alphabet by the King Pharnavaz. The translator of Armenian text into English R. W. Thomson is marveled by the fact that Armenian writer who without any doubt was well aware about activities of Mesrop Mashtots, did not find necessary to mention him.⁹

⁸ For the original text of this writing see: *Dzveli kartuli agiografiuli dzeglebi*. (The Monuments of Old Georgian Hagiographical Literature), vol. 1. Edited by Ilia A b u l a d z e. Tbilisi 1963. For the Russian translation and research see: *Обращение Грузии*. (Редакционная обработка перевода с древнегрузинского Е. Т а к а й ш в и л и, исследование и комментарии М. Ч х а р т и ш в и л и). Тбилиси 1989. *In Russian*.

⁹ *Rewriting Caucasian History. A Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The*

Other medieval Armenian writer Mkhitar of Ayrivank (13th c) also was aware about the invention of Georgian alphabet by the King Pharnavaz.¹⁰ Though he makes mistake in dating and presents King Pharnavaz as biblical King Nebuchadnezzar II's (7th c BC) contemporary. Of course, this mistake could not question Mkhitar's attitude to the Georgian alphabet as pagan culture product.

One more important evidence supporting pre-Christian origin of Georgian alphabet in information preserved in medieval European sources. In the Late Antique and Medieval ecclesiastical historiography was formed topos about the peoples who had own written languages. This topos is kept in ancient catalogues on peoples and languages, in so called diamerismoi. This information is presented in works of many authors till 18th c.¹¹ The most ancient redaction of this catalogues is kept in the work of 3rd c. author Hippolytus of Rome: Caucasian Iberians, i.e. Georgians are listed among the fifteen peoples with own written language.

Would I have chosen the way of Georgian alphabets' analysis itself, instead of narrative sources I could make conclusion on the origination of Asomtavruli in the bosom of Georgian pagan culture by referring to the monograph of R. Pataridze who demonstrated that Asomtavruli is stamped with pagan religious perceptions revealing in graphics, naming of the letters, counting system, calendar, etc.¹²

Secondary Sources on Leonti Mroveli's Evidence

In my opinion after the above scrutiny of close considering the evidence by Leonti Mroveli on Georgian alphabet's creation, any doubt to the truthfulness of this information should disappear. The number of the researchers hold the similar position while discussing reliability of this evidence.¹³

original Georgian texts and Armenian adaptation. Translated with introduction and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1996, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰ *Histoire chronologique par Mkhitar d'Ayrivank*, XIIIe s.; traduite de l'arménien, sur le manuscrit du Musée asiatique, par M. Brosset, membre de l'Académie. Lu le 22 décembre 1864, p. 50.

¹¹ N. Dობორჯინიძე, "Kristianuli istoriografia da tkhutmeti samtserlobo toposi". (Christian Historiography and the Topos of Fifteen Written Languages). In *Literatura da skhva*. Edited by A. Gomarteli. Tbilisi 2005, pp.190-207.

¹² R. Pataridze, *Kartuli asomtavruli*. (Georgian Asomtavruli). Tbilisi 1980.

¹³ E. Khintibidze, "Kartuli damtserlobis da mtserlobis sataveebtan". (Origins of Georgian Script and Literature), *Kartuli ena da literature skolashi* 1983, No 1, pp. 118-135; see also T. Chkhenteli, *Kartuli aniani da mepeta tskhovreba* (Georgian Alphabet and The Life of Kings) <http://georoyal.ge/?MTID=5&TID=40&id=1602/>.

Now about the other views in secondary sources. The “skeptics”¹⁴ could be divided into three groups.

The firsts though think that Asomtavruli was a product of Georgian pagan culture, it had to be created much earlier of King Pharnavaz trying to argue their opinion by analysis of alphabet itself. For instance we can refer to I. Javakhishvili, who in result of his deep analysis of Georgian writing system had shown that Asomtavruli, Nusxuri and Mxedruli were stages of one and same writing system’s development.¹⁵

In the second group could be included the scholars who referring to the work of the Armenian hagiographer Koryun’s evidence, assert that Georgian alphabet was created in the Christian era by the hagiographer’s teacher – the fifth century Christian ecclesiastic Mesrop Mashtots.¹⁶ Thus, unlike the first group ignoring evidences of narrative sources, they take into consideration information of one of the available narrative sources. However, these researchers neglect basic requirement of the history discipline to use all available sources, especially those which contain the contradictory evidences.

In the third group can be included researchers who as as the researchers ascribed to the second group think that Georgian Asomtavruli was created after the conversion of Kartli. However, they distrust not only Leonti Mroveli, but Koryun as well.¹⁷

¹⁴ Usually “skeptics” do not provide an explanation for the reasons for their skepticism. For instance, Robert W. Thomson notes: “According to Korwin Maštoc’ also composed for Georgian and Caucasian Albanians... The Georgian alphabet came into use about the same time as Armenian, but there is no early tradition ascribing the invention to a local figure. The legendary attribution of the alphabet to the king P’arnavaz many centuries before Christ has no historical foundation” (Rewriting Caucasian History. A Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The original Georgian texts and Armenian adaptation. Translated with introduction and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson, pp. XII-XIII). The researcher finds quite enough this note for ignoring the testimony on the king Pharnavaz as an inventor of Georgian alphabet. B. Khurtsilava also ignores the evidence by Leonti Mroveli without any argument; he refers to Pharnavaz as “legendary” King. See B. Khurtsilava, Georgian Asomtavruli and its Creators “Bakur” and Gri-ormizd. Tbilisi 2008, p. 73. But why “legendary”? Only because that Pharnavaz lived in so remote epoch? Can the remoteness serve as a reason for labeling the king as legendary, i.e. treat him as fictional personage?!

¹⁵ I. Javakhishvili, *Kartuli damtserlobatmtsodneoba anu paleografia*. (Studies in Georgian Alphabet or Paleography), Tbilisi 1949, second edition.

¹⁶ А. Г. Периханян, *К вопросу о происхождении Армянского алфавита. Переднеазиатский сборник, II, Дешифровка и интерпретация письменностей древнего востока*, Москва 1966, pp. 103-133. One of the founding fathers of Kartvelology K. Kekelidze also shared Armenian version of Georgian alphabet’s origin.

¹⁷ Т. Гамкrelidze, *Tseris anbanuri Sistema da dzveli kartuli damtserloba. Anbanuri tseris tipologia da tsarmomavloba*. (Alphabetic Writing and Old Georgian Script. A Typology and Provenience of Alphabetic Writing Systems). Tbilisi 1989, pp. 195-198.

Because of complete ignoring both direct evidences, the holders of this view are faced by many problems. For instance, their conception lacks even the name of the inventor of Georgian alphabet. Meanwhile as a rule the names of Christian alphabets' creators are well known. They were canonized as Saints.¹⁸

Sometimes the researchers try to overcome this stumbling block with infantile assertions. For example, B. Khurtsilava presents Georgian King Bakur lived in the first half of the 5th century as an inventor of Georgian alphabet grounding his opinion only on the consideration that King Bakur was well educated Christian.¹⁹ Meanwhile J. S. Codoner proposes the same King Bakur not as the alphabet creator, but typological candidature to the "position" of the supporter of Georgian alphabet's inventor in Christian era, i.e. he thinks that the person like King Bakur could support the inventor of the alphabet.²⁰

W. Seibt offers one more strange speculation about the origin of this Georgian alphabet. According to him it was created perhaps in Palestine, presumably in a monastery. It could well be that Georgian monks wanted to emulate the Armenians.²¹

As far as evidence of Leonti Mroveli represents Achilles heel for those who think that Georgian alphabet was invented in Christian era, T. Gamkrelidze tried to solve the problem through its reinterpretation. He claimed that the King Pharnavaz invented not Georgian national alphabet, but introduced the practice of writing Georgian texts with use of Aramaic letters, i.e. the practice of alloglottography.²² But this attempt is unsuccess-

¹⁸ For discussion on this issue see M. Kurdiani, *Kartuli ena da damtserloba*. (Georgian Language and Alphabet). Tbilisi 2008, pp. 17-18. Indeed this fact is very thought-provoking. It is almost impossible to explain why Georgians did not begin venerating the Christian missionary who allegedly invented Georgian alphabet. Could Leonti Mroveli who often used evidences of Armenian sources knew but hide intentionally Mesrop's contribution in making of Georgian alphabet while describing the fifth century history of Kartli? Of course, not. Leonti Mroveli over and again expressed his sympathy to Armenians. His positive attitude to Armenians is so evident that some scholars even suspect him in Armenophilia.

¹⁹ B. Khurtsilava, *Georgian Asomtavruli and its Creators "Bakur" and Gri-ormizd*. For the critical analysis of this view see: M. Chkhartishvili, *Sakartvelo III-V saukuneebshi. khosrovanta samepo sakhlis istoria*. (Georgia in 3rd – 5th Centuries. History of the Royal Family of Chosroids) pp. 149-170.

²⁰ J. S. Codoner, *New Alphabets for the Christian Nations: Frontier Strategies in the Byzantine Commonwealth between the 4th and 10th Centuries*, In: *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity in the Eastern Roman Empire*, 2014.

²¹ W. Seibt, *The Creation of the Caucasian Alphabets as Phenomenon of Cultural History*, 2001.

²² T. Gamkrelidze, *Tseris anbanuri Sistema da dzveli kartuli damtserloba. Anbanuri tseris tipologia da tsarmomavloba*. (Alphabetic Writing and Old Georgian Script. A Typology and Provenience of Alphabetic Writing Systems), pp. 198-202.

cessful. Leonti Mroveli described in detail conversion of Georgia. Can we imagine the Christian author who mentions the fact of alloglottography in pre-Christian era and passes in silence over the fact of invention of national alphabet in time of Christianization?!

Evidence of Koryun on Georgian Alphabet

According to Koryun after creating Armenian alphabet Mesrop Mashtots invented Georgian alphabet. So, to understand Koryun's evidence about Georgian alphabet at first one should consider his evidence on Armenian alphabet.

Koryun provides close description the Armenian alphabet's creating and implementing. He shows with due clarity how long-term and painstaking was conveying all sounds of the language in letters. Mesrop after being inspired with an idea to create the alphabet began search for the relevant pattern. Mesrop Mashtots obtained certain Daniel's alphabet. He and his followers began to teach children to this script and even commenced translating religious books. However, after two years of practice, Mesrop Mashtots found out that script of Daniel could not convey all sounds of Armenian language. For this reason, Danielian invention was rejected and Mesrop began new inquiries. Finally, after many efforts and trials, he managed to create alphabet for the Armenian language. Thus, despite the fact that Mesrop Mashtots did not begin making Armenian alphabet from a completely empty place (he had Daniel's script in his disposal²³ and Armenian was his mother tongue, it took him so much time and work.

But what about Koryun's account on Georgian alphabet? Situation is entirely different. Mesrop's work for invention of Georgian alphabet presented as completely effortless activity: no problems with conveying sound, no long procedures of implementation. Mesrop "invented" the alphabet while still in Armenia and without of knowledge Georgian language.²⁴

The comparison shows that in Georgian case there was not created alphabet. This was actually draft, the list of letters made in "left hand". It is evident that Mesrops' product had no chances to be comparative

²³ С. Муравьев, О происхождении армянского алфавита, *Bulletin of Armenian Studies* (periodical journal).<https://web.archive.org/web/20131020125558/http://www.religions.am/files/1635/library/historic/H055.pdf/>.

²⁴ The Life of Mashtots. The Story of the Life and Death of the Blessed Man St. Mashtots Vardapet Our Translator by his Pupil, Koriun Vardapet <http://armenianhouse.org/koryun/mashtots-en.html/>.

alternative for Asomtavruli which represented perfect alphabetic writing system. Each sound is conveyed by only one letter. This fact is already proved with due depth.²⁵ This kind of perfectness cannot be achieved without knowledge of the language, without reaching insights of its phonematic essence.

However, how can be explained Mesrop's intention to replace the existed Georgian alphabet with about eight century long tradition of use? We can answer this question only speculatively.

One of the scenarios might be associated with politics of Byzantine Empire in Caucasus in Late Antiquity: inventing alphabets for newly converted peoples was the Byzantine project and not the Armenian one. Armenians skillfully used this project for their needs. Mesrop Mashtots acted in close connection with Byzantine emperor. He was not merely cultural worker or ecclesiastic with an aim to uproot remnants of paganism. He was a good politician as well attempting through cultural activities supported by Byzantines consolidates anti Persian coalition in the Caucasus. It is why he visited Georgian Kingdom twice and it is why he was received with respect by Georgian Kings. For them he was not only representative of Armenian authorities, Mesrop Mashtots evidently was viewed by Georgians as an envoy of the Byzantine Emperor.

But it is one thing to be hosted with due respect and allowed to propose the project and ask to promote it, and quite another – to implement the project actually.

In this regard there should not be overlooked the role of the King Bakur who as broadly minded man (not only faithful Christian, but also close friend of eminent pagan philosopher Libanios – ca. 314 – 392 or 393) did not give his preference to Mashtots' proposal only because of ideological reasons and did not replace perfect, but pagan cultural monument – Asomtavruli with the graphemes made by Christian ecclesiastic. Thus, though Bakur did not invent Georgian alphabet, he did contribute to its survival.²⁶

²⁵ Th. V. Gamkrelidze, *Alphabetic Writing System and Old Georgian Script. A Typology and Provenience of Alphabetic Writing System*. Caravan Books, Delmar, New York 1994, pp. 46-47.

²⁶ For the details of the King Bakur's biography see M. Chkhartishvili, *Sakartvelo III-V saukuneebshi. khosrovanta samepo sakhlis itoria*. (Georgia in 3rd -5th Centuries. History of the Royal Family of Chosroids), Chapter 3 and summary in English.

The attitude of Georgian Christian Kings to Georgian writing invented by the king Parnavaz, evidently, originates from the first Christian King Mirian who then still a pagan decorated the Pharnavaz's grave.²⁷

It is indicative that Armenian historian Lazar Pharbetsi, who wrote his "History of Armenia" by the end of the fifth century while narrating about Mesrop's activities based on Koryun, mentions his contribution in inventing of Armenian alphabet, however, omits information concerning the Georgian case.²⁸ It is not accident at all: by the end of the century Lazar, who spent some years of his life in Georgia, evidentially was well aware that Mesrop's project, aimed at replacing Asomtavruli, failed.

Conclusion

Thus, I have considered several narrative sources concerning the Georgian alphabet, and first of all the testimonies provided by Georgian historian Leonti Mroveli and Armenian hagiographer Koryun.

After throughout analysis of these evidences with support of other primary as well as secondary sources, I have come to the conclusion that none of them should be ignored. They are not alternatives of each other. They should be considered within the one and same story about the Georgian alphabet. This is especially true for the Koryun's account which is impossible to understand adequately without having in mind evidence of Leonti Mroveli. This was key understanding of my inquiries. After guessing this, the problem of mutually exclusive (at the first glance) testimonies became solvable.

In result of this approach I have shown that the evidence provided by Leonti Mroveli is about the *invention* of Georgian alphabet by the King Pharnavaz in the context of foundation eastern Georgian state (4th – 3rd cc), while the evidence by Koryun is about of Mesrop Mashtots' *intention* to replace Georgian alphabet by the letters drawn by him (supposedly, in the context of Byzantine project launched for making common cultural space in Caucasus for consolidating anti Persian coalition of newly converted nations), *intention* which never accomplished: Mesrop's project, aimed at replacing Asomtavruli, failed. The one which reached to us be-

²⁷ *Kartlis tskhovreba*, p. 42.

²⁸ *The History of Lazar Parbeci*, Translated by R. W. Thomson, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia 1991, p. 46 and followings.

ing stamped with pagan religious perceptions is the alphabet created by the Georgian King Pharnavaz (4th-3rd cc BC).

Epilogue

Sometimes western researchers when they want to represent history of conversion of Georgia, depict the picture according to the Armenian model. Meanwhile the experiences of these neighboring peoples are not identical. Armenians' break with paganism was dramatic one full of blood of martyrs. Saint Hripsime, one of the main pillars of Armenian Christianity, was brutally killed by the men of then pagan King Trdat with dozens of other accompanying her virgins.

Georgians experienced relatively smooth transition without excesses of this kind. Saint Nino the companion of Hripsime, was welcomed in pagan Georgia; she was called after pagan goddess Nina/Nana -“mother”.²⁹

I intend to finish my article with excerpt from the “Life of Saint Nino”:

“On that day of wrath, when the hail stopped and the wind calmed down, St. Nino came out of the cleft of the rock, found that stone of beryl and went to the front ledge of the rock where an ancient fortress stood. At its side an acacia grew high, with fine branches, and this was the place of rest and shade for King Bart'am. She approached the tree, traced a cross of Christ and prayed there for six days, giving thanks to God and asking Him to show his mercy to these people who had strayed, and to save them from devil. When this destruction of the idols occurred, it was the sixth day of August, the sixth month from March, on which day the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ before his disciples and prophets had taken place”.³⁰

This is description of the day after the idol of the main pagan God of Georgians Armazi was ruined in result of Saint Nino's prayers. The idol was richly decorated by precious stones among them with beryl which was used for the idol's eyes.

Thus, the stone of beryl was the only thing remained from the Armazi idol – the presenter of pagan Georgia. Without any visible reason this stone is mentioned in the text: “That stone of beryl” was found by the Illuminatrix of Georgians and taken.

²⁹ M. Chkhartishvili, “Kartuli etnie religiuri moktsevis epokashi”. (Georgian Ethnie in the Epoch of Religious Conversion). Tbilisi 2009, pp. 117-133).

³⁰ *Kartlis tskhovreba*, p. 52.

This passage reflects the perception of the process of conversion by Georgian Christian author: paganism crashed; however, the most valuable thing of it survived and was included in Georgian Christianity.

I associate Asomtavruli with “that stone of beryl” from the Georgian remote past.

ON THE DATE OF FOUNDING ZARZMA MONASTERY (CONSIDERING NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES)

by Revaz Kvirkvaia
Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi

The only written source which gives account on the founding of Zarzma Monastery is Basili Zarzmeli's work *The Life and activities of holy and blessed father Serapion*, or as it is shortly referred to – *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*. Apart from the fact that it is a great literary work, it is really valuable as a historical source which contains a lot of extremely important information about the epoch described in the book and, from this point of view, among hagiographical works it might be next-best to Giorgi Merchule's *The Life of Grigol Khandzeli*. The accounts refer to many aspects of Georgia's political, economic, social, cultural-educational and ecclesiastical life of the time. Moreover, it has one remarkable "flaw": unlike other hagiographical works (*The Martyrdom of Saint Shushanik*, *The Life of Grigol Khandzeli*, etc.), it does not contain a vivid indication which will allow us to accurately determine the date of creating the work or that of the events described in it.

The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli was discovered by Mose Janashvili while working on the manuscripts of the church archive in the early 20th century¹. However, the manuscript discovered by him, which is the only one so far, is not the original, but the metaphrastic version transcribed in the 17th century.² The work tells about how Monk Serapion and five clergymen accompanying him, who had arrived from Klarjeti, founded a monastery in Zarzma and began monastic life there.

¹ M. Janashvili, *Kartuli mtserloba*. (Georgian Literature), vol. II, Tbilisi 1909, pp. 1-46.

² The manuscript is preserved in the Georgian National Center for Manuscripts (depository № 69).

The Life of Serapion of Zarzma was dealt with by almost every renowned scholar working on Georgia's early medieval history and literature. However, the problem of dating still remains unsolved. Some scholars believed and still do that the events described on the work took place in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century, while the work itself was written in the second half of the 7th century. Others suggested and still do that the narratives occurred in the second half of the 9th century and the work was written in the first half of the tenth century. While making such conclusions scholars rely on several circumstances: 1. the persons mentioned in the work (Shio the Wonder-Worker, Michael Parekheli, Giorgi Atskureli, Giorgi Chorchaneli, Mirian Bahlaundi and his sons, Pavle, father-superior of Zarzma, etc.); 2. The political, social and economic situation described in the work; 3. History of the monasteries mentioned in the work (Opiza, Parekhi); 4. Onomasticon, etc. However, neither here is everything clear. For example, none of the above listed persons (except for Shio the Wonder-Worker) can be accurately identified and, accordingly, it is impossible to estimate the time they lived and ministered.

One of the main arguments that the supporters of the early date of the work rely on is that confessor of Serapion Zarzmeli, Michael Parekheli, who commissioned Serapion to travel to Samtskhe, was a disciple and spiritual son of Shio the Wonder-Worker, who was a prominent person in Kartli. The scholars identify this Shio with one of the Assyrian fathers Shio Mghvimeli, as Georgian history is not familiar with any other Shio who was as famous and honored as Shio Mghvimeli.

M. Janashvili has not defined the exact date of creating the work or of the events described in it, but he considered that it must have been written in the 7th century, as Shio Mghvimeli lived and worked in the 6th century, while the author of the work, Serapion's nephew Basili Zarzmeli was the fifth father-superior after Serapion himself, Giorgi, Michael and Pavle. M. Janashvili considered Serapion as contemporary of King Archil (668-710), and Basili Zarzmeli – as a figure living in the second quarter of the 8th century³.

Pavle Ingorokva also supported the opinion of the early date of the work. One of his main arguments was that father confessor of Serapion

³ M. Janashvili, *Kartuli mtserloba*, pp. 1-46.

Zarzmeli – Michael Parekheli is a disciple of “Shio the Wonder-Worker”, or Shio Mghvimeli, who started activity in 510-520.⁴

This argument was considered convincing by S. Kakabadze dated the work by the 7th century.⁵

The “Shio Wonder-Worker” mentioned in the work was regarded as Shio Mghvimeli by A. Bogveradze too. He did not share K. Kekelidze’s opinion that the name “Shio” was an error of the metaphrast and that the original must have contained “Grigol”, or Grigol Khandzteli. According to A. Bogveradze, even in the case it is true, the use of the word “wonder-worker” in relation to Grigol Khandzteli would be unclear, because Giorgi Merchule does not apply this name in reference to him. In Georgian ecclesiastical literature it is Shio Mghvimeli that is known as “wonder-worker” rather than Grigol Khandzteli. Furthermore, according to the work, he was prominent throughout Kartli, while Grigol Khandzteli worked not in Kartli, but in Tao-Klarjeti.⁶

In his research dealing with Basili Zarzmeli and his work, Ivane Javakhishvili, for some reason, does not mention “Shio the Wonder-Worker” at all.⁷

K. Kekelidze believed that the passage which discusses “Shio the Wonder-Worker” belongs not to Basili Zarzmeli, but the metaphrast who cannot have lived prior to the 11th century. The scholar also suggests that the word “glisi” or “gilsii” (Grigol) was transcribed by an ignorant scribe of a later period.⁸

The second person mentioned in the work, according to whom scholars are trying to date it, is Michael Parekheli, disciple of “Shio the Wonder-Worker”. According to *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*, he had come from Opiza to Parekhi⁹ to found a monastery. Later Serapion and his younger brother Ioane came here to be consecrated monks. It was on

4 P. Ingorokva, *Giorgi merchule*. (Giorgi Merchule), Tbilisi 1954, p. 326.

5 S. Kakabadze, *Saistorio dziebani*. (Historical Researches), Tiflis 1924, p. 54.

6 Despite the fact that according to *The Life Grigol Khandzteli* “Kartli is the name to embrace the whole country where liturgy is conducted in Georgian language”, it still mentions its separate parts: Klarjeti, Apkhazeti, Samtskhe, etc. A. Bogveradze, “Serapion zarzmelis tskhovrebis tarighisatvis”. (For Dating The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli). *Matsne* № 3, Tbilisi 1964, pp. 50-51; pp. 54-55.

7 Iv. Javakhishvili, “Basili zarzmeli tsinamdzgvani”. (Basili, the Prior of Zarzma Monastery). *Shromebi*, vol. VIII, Tbilisi 1997, pp. 32-41.

8 K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli literatures istoria*. (The History of Ancient Georgian Literature), vol. I, Tbilisi 1951, p. 518.

9 In Megrelian-Chanian language “Parekhi” means a rocky area. This word is known in old Armenian as well, in which there are some more Megrelian-Chanian words. “Parekhi”, too, might be an example of “Zanizms” present in old Armenian.

Michael's commission that they arrived in Samtskhe to found a new monastery there. After Michael Parekheli's death, his disciples described his life which Basili Zarzveli referred to while creating his work.

Michael Parekheli is mentioned in *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli* too. He came from Shavsheti, Village Norgiali, was consecrated a monk in Midznadzor and became a great hermit. After Khandzta became famous, he went to Khandzta to his friend Grigol Khandzteli and as he was seeking hermitage, he established himself in Parekhi, Berta.¹⁰

Is the Michael Parekheli mentioned in these two works the same person? Scholars do not agree on this opinion either. According to P. Ingorokva, the Michael Parekheli mentioned in the works of Basili Zarzveli and Giorgi Merchule were different persons living in different periods and he provides arguments to support his opinion: 1. Basili Zarzveli's Michael of Parekheli is a disciple of "Shio the Wonder-Worker", but the latter lived in Kartli and Michael, too, must have arrived in southern Georgia from Kartli. However, Giorgi Merchule's Michael is from Shavsheti, who first ministered at Midznadzor, from where he first went to khandzta and then established himself in Parekhi, Berta; 2. Basili Zarzveli's Michael Parekheli had many disciples, while Giorgi Merchule's Michael is a hermit; 3. According to Basili Zarzveli, Parekhi is a large and important monastery, while according to Giorgi Merchule it is small and less important.¹¹

"Shio the Wonder-Worker", or Shio Mghvimeli lived in the 6th century. According to Vakhtang Gorgasali's chronicler (Juansher), "Duke Artavaz had Artanuji Fortress and Opiza Monastery built in Klarjeti", which must have occurred in the second half of the fifth century. Consequently, Michael Parekheli's ministering in Opiza and then in Parekhi must have occurred within the second half of the 6th century.¹² According to Pavle Ingorokva, the early date of the work must also be indicated by the fact that it does not mention either Grigol Khandzteli or Georgian kings. Therefore, the scholar comes to a conclusion that Basili Zarzveli's

¹⁰ Giorgi Merchule, *Grigol Khandztelis tskhovreba, kartuli proza*. (The Life of Grigol Khandzteli. Georgian Prose), vol.1. Tbilisi 1987, pp. 641-642.

¹¹ While travelling round Shavsheti and Klarjeti, N. Marr saw a cave built into the rock, a small church, a mausoleum and two large churches near Berta, above Opiza. It must have been the Parekhi monastery mentioned in *The Life of Serapion Zarzveli*. In various times Parekhi was visited by V. Jobadze, D. Khoshtaria, G. Kalandia and other scholars who gathered a lot of interesting material there.

¹² P. Ingorokva, *Giorgi Merchule*. (Giorgi Merchule), pp. 325-338.

work must belong to the period prior to reinstatement of kingship.¹³ A. Bogveradze shares P. Ingorokva's arguments. In his opinion, even in case the name 'Shio' ended up in the manuscript due to the scribe's error, the same could not have been the case with the word "wonder-worker" which in Georgian hagiography is ascribed to Shio Mghvimeli rather than Grigol Khandzteli. A. Bogveradze also finds it inconceivable that the disciples wrote the life of Michael Parekheli prior to that of his father confessor Grigol Khandzteli.¹⁴ However, it can also be noted that this argument is not completely convincing, because Giorgi Merchule emphasizes that he took to describing Grigol Khandzteli's life only after Michael Parekheli, the bishops of Tbeti and Giorgi Atskureli had died. They were the persons who could have performed this even better. Thus, it is quite likely that Michael of Parekhi's life was created earlier than Giorgi Merchule completed his work.

M. Janashvili, too, considers Michael Parekheli mentioned in Basili Zarzmeli and Giorgi Merchule texts as different persons.¹⁵

I. Javakhishvili, who dated *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* mainly by means of *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli*, regarded Michael Parekheli mentioned in these works as the same person and considered M. Janashvili's opinion to be wrong. He believed that these two authors completed writing their works in the same period – mid-tenth century.¹⁶

P. Ingorokva's suggestion about existence of two Michael Parekheli received serious criticism from K. Kekelidze, who did not think any of the arguments was convincing. He did not find it convincing that Michael Parekheli was definitely from Kartli even in the case he was actually Shio Mghvimeli's disciple. In his opinion, it is also wrong that Michael Parekheli did not have any disciples, as it seems from the 'Life of Grigol Khandzteli that he did have the one and Parekhi was not a hermitage of an ascetic monk.¹⁷

M. Lordkipanidze does not discuss the problem of dating *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* separately, but as it seems, following Iv. Javakhishvili

¹³ Ibid, p. 339.

¹⁴ A. Bogveradze, "Serapion zarzmelis tskhovrebis tarighisatvis". (For Dating The Life of Serapion of Zarzma). *Matsne* № 3, 50-69, p. 55.

¹⁵ M. Janashvili, *Kartuli mtserloba*. (Georgian Literature), pp. II, LV.

¹⁶ Iv. Javakhishvili, "Basili zarzmeli tsinamdzhvari". (Basili, the Prior of Zarzma Monastery). *Shromebi*, vol. VIII. Tbilisi 1997, pp. 32-41.

¹⁷ K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli literaturis istoria*. (History of Ancient Georgian Literature), vol. I. Tbilisi 1951, p. 518.

and K. Kekelidze, she considers the work to have been written in the 10th century.¹⁸

The problem whether Giorgi Atskureli (who Basili Zarzmeli collected information for his work from) mentioned in the texts of Basili Zarzmeli and Giorgi Merchule is one and the same person provokes dispute. Iv. Javakhishvili believes that it is true. It is the accounts about Giorgi Atskureli provided in *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli* that he dates *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* by. According to him, as Giorgi Merchule completed his work in 951, when Giorgi Atskureli had already been dead, it is clear that Basili Zarzmeli must have begun collecting information about Serapion prior to 951 and the authors had to complete these two works at approximately the same time.¹⁹ K. Kekelidze also identifies Giorgi Atskureli mentioned by Basili Zarzmeli and Giorgi Merchule as one and the same person.²⁰

Resulting from various circumstances, A. Bogveradze does not exclude that Giorgi Atskureli, mentioned by Basili Zarzmeli and the one mentioned by Giorgi Merchule were different persons.²¹

Another person that features in *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* and by whose means scholars are trying to date the work is the fourth father-superior of Zarzma Monastery and predecessor of Basili Zarzmeli - Pavle (Pavle Mamasakhlisi (father-superior). Apart from *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*, this name is mentioned in the inscription made on the icon of the Transfiguration from Zarzma.²² It reads: "This icon was embellished in the name of God to protect Father.²³ Giorgi, nobles Parsman Eristavi, Ioane, Patrik, Mirian, Peri, Sulai and their people under Pavle Mamasakhlisi in the year of 8". The inscription was first read by E. Takaishvili.

18 M. Lortkipanidze, *Adrepedaluri khandis kartuli saistorio mserloba*. (Early Medieval Georgian Historical Prose). Tbilisi 1966, pp. 71-81.

19 Iv. Javakhishvili, "Basilizarzmelitsinamdzgvari". (Basili, the Prior of Zarzma Monastery), *Shromebi*, pp. 132-141.

20 K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli literatures istoria*. (History of Ancient Georgian Literature), vol. I. Tbilisi 1950, pp. 148-149.

21 A. Bogveradze, "Serapion zarzmelis tskhovrebis tarighisatvis". (For Dating *The Life of Serapion of Zarzma*). *Matsne* № 3, 50-69, p. 55.

22 There are two inscriptions on the icon: copy of the 9th century one which mentions Pavle Mamasakhlisi and the 11th century inscription, which provides information about redecoration of the icon by Zviad Eristavi. Both inscriptions are made by hand in the 11th century. The icon is kept in Sh. Amiranashvili Museum of Fine Arts of the Georgian National Museum. N. Vachnadze, *Serapion zarzmelis tskhovreba rogoris saistorio tsvaro*. (The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli as a Historical Source). Tbilisi 1975, p. 55.

23 This word is written with diacritic marks. E. Takaishvili reads it not as "father", but as "of Atskuri".

In his opinion, in the “year of 8”, i.e. in 886, Pavle was the father-superior (Mamasakhlisi) of Zarzma. According to Basili Zarzmeli’s work, he was the fourth prior of the monastery, and the three following priors (Giorgi, Michael and Pavle) were figures of the 9th century (Serapion lived in the first half, others – in the second half), while the fifth abbot Basili probably ministered in the first half of the tenth century and wrote about the life of his renowned uncle in the same period.

One of the characters of *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* is Mirian Bahlaundi. The noble feudal Mirian is mentioned in *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli* too. There is no doubt these two Mirians are different persons. The one mentioned in *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* is the brother-in-law of Grand Duke Giorgi Chorchaneli. He and his spouse Latavr (Giorgi Chorchaneli’s sister) had three sons: Beshken, Sula and Laklaki. It was them who became heirs of childless Giorgi Chorchaneli and laid foundation to the strong family of the Mirianisdzes, or the Bahlaunds (Palavandishvilis?) in Samtskhe. The Mirian and his wife Krava, mentioned in *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli*, also had three sons. The youngest of them was brought up in the monastery from his very childhood and became a great public and religious figure Catholicos Arsen. As noted above, there is no doubt that these two Mirians are different persons. The only thing to be made clear is whether they lived in the same epoch – that of Grigol Khandzteli. According to P. Ingorokva, Mirian II must have been an immediate successor (grandson or great-grandson? R. K.) of Mirian.²⁴ A. Bogveradze regards the account according to which Serapion and his fellows started building the first church with cobblestones as a proof to the early date of the work. He explains that building with cobblestones is not relevant to the period when Georgian architecture enjoyed its heyday. At the time when Klarjeti was covered with marvelous cathedrals, it must have been inappropriate that in neighboring Samtskhe they built small churches with support of the great sovereign, moreover, with cobbles. According to the scholar, the reason is that at the time the country was going through the stage of social development when it could not afford to allocate great financial resources to building churches.²⁵ N. Vachnadze does not share this opinion and believes that Basili Zarzmeli’s text describes a picture of rather intensive building activities which to-

²⁴ P. Ingorokva, *Giorgi Merchule*. (Giorgi Merchule), pp. 336-337.

²⁵ A. Bogveradze, “Serapion zarzmelis tskhovrebis tarighisatvis”. (For Dating *The Life of Serapion of Zarzma*). *Matsne* № 3, 50-69, p. 62.

tally corresponds with the situation in the 9th-10th centuries. Specifically, it describes building of not only churches, but auxiliary facilities as well: “After three years the church was completed and embellished. A miraculous icon of the Transfiguration was erected there followed by building cells for the brotherhood”.²⁶ Big and small churches were built in every epoch. Serapion Zarzmeli and his fellow monks were probably eager to build the church as soon as possible in order to conduct liturgy in it and let the monastery to function normally. After a short period, under the third abbot of the monastery – Michael, they started building a new church not on the place of the original church, but on a raised area chosen by Serapion.

Another argument in favor of the early date of the work is that it does not mention the Arab invasion, Georgian kings or Grigol Khandzteli.²⁷ However, it must be taken into account that in this respect other hagiographical texts are “flawed” too. For instance, *The Martyrdom of Saint Shushanik* does not mention Vakhtang Gorgasali, although the work was created during his reign. Neither does *The Life of Grigol Khandzteli* bring up Serapion Zarzmeli (if they were contemporaries), which K. Kekelidze explains by the fact that when Giorgi Merchule was creating his work, apparently, he had not read *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*.²⁸ In order to support the opinion that the work could not have been created in the 7th century, the scholar brings an argument that worship of the icon of the Transfiguration (it was the icon of the Transfiguration that was brought from Klarjeti by Serapion and his fellow monks who consecrated the first church on its name) began in Byzantium under Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912) and it is unlikely to have started in Georgia earlier than that.

Based on various historical accounts, N. Vachnadze, who did monographic research of *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*, came to a conclusion that names “Beshken” and “Garbanael”, mentioned in *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli*, are not mentioned anywhere prior to the 11th century. Neither the names “Amasp” (Amazasp) and “Kurdia” mentioned in *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli* are evidenced earlier than the 8th century, which, ac-

²⁶ N. Vachnadze, *Serapion zarzmelis tskhovreba rogoris saistorio tskaro*. (The Life of Serapion of Zarzma as a Historical Source), pp. 46-48.

²⁷ P. Ingorokva, *Giorgi Merchule*. (Giorgi Merchule), p. 339.

²⁸ K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kartuli literatures istoria*. (The History of Ancient Georgian Literature), vol. I, pp. 511-518.

according to the scholar, also confirms the late date of the work.²⁹ However, in our opinion, the fact that these names are not documented in written sources up to a certain time does not mean that nobody was called so.

Furthermore, N. Vachnadze discusses the accounts provided in Basili Zarzmeli's work in detail, which reflect social-economic situation in Georgia of the time. He paid attention that the word "Mamuli" (homeland) indicates the area under control of a feudal (Giorgi Chorchaneli), his personal domain, rather than the "Mamuli", as it is encountered in the original works and translations created prior to the 8th century.³⁰ "Mamuli" meaning private property is found from the 9th-10th centuries. N. Vachnadze looks closely at the terms indicating social classes mentioned in Basili Zarzmeli's work: "Didimtavari" (grand duke), "Mtavari" (duke), "Tsinashemdgomeli" (courtier), "Sakutari" (private), "Khma" (serf), "Glakhaki" (pauper) and concludes that the social classes correspond to the time "when early feudal period comes to an end and social-economic conditions necessary for the developed feudal epoch are being formed".³¹

At the beginning of the 14th century, during the rule of Beka Jakeli (Duke of Samtskhe), a magnificent cross-domed church was built in Zarzma. It is one of the splendid examples of Georgian ecclesiastical architecture which operated as a monastery until the 17th century, or prior to the full annexation of Samtskhe by the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, it was an important cultural-educational center. This monastic complex has been studied well in many respects: its architecture was studied by E. Takaishvili,³² G. Chubinashvili,³³ V. Beridze.³⁴ Lapidary inscriptions were investigated by E. Takaishvili³⁵ and V. Silogava.³⁶ Crosses, icons and other pieces of art preserved in Zarzma Monastery were researched

²⁹ N. Vachnadze, *Serapion zarzmelis tskhovreba rogoris saistorio tsvaro*. (The Life of Serapion of Zarzma as a Historical Source), pp. 103-107.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 54-55.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 65-73.

³² E. Takaishvili, "Shenishvnebi zarzmis monastrisa da misi sidzveleebis shesakheb". (Some Notes About Zarzma Monastery and It's Antiquities). *Tbilisi universitetis shromebi* № 1. Tbilisi 1920.

³³ Г. Чубинашвили, *Грузинское чеканное искусство*. Тбилиси 1959, pp. 29-31.

³⁴ V. Beridze, *Samtskhis khurotmodzghvreba, XIII-XVI saukuneebi*. (The Architecture of Samtskhe 13th-16th). Tbilisi 1955, pp. 91-137.

³⁵ E. Takaishvili, "Shenishvnebi zarzmis monastrisa da misi sidzveleebis shesakheb". (Some Notes About Zarzma Monastery and It's Antiquities), Works of Tbilisi State University. Tiflis 1919, pp. 105-124.

³⁶ V. Silogava, "Zarzmis lapidaruli epigrapika". *Zarzma*. (For Onomastics of The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli. *Zarzma*). Tbilisi 2007, pp. 99-117.

by G. Chubinashvili,³⁷ T. Sikharulidze, G. Alibegashvili etc.,³⁸ onomastic related to Zarzma was studied by M. Beridze.³⁹

However, the exact date of founding Zarzma has not been identified yet. As we saw, both sides have sufficient arguments in favor of their position and counterarguments - to refute the opposing opinion. In such cases archaeological research receives special importance. The problem which is difficult to solve through written sources can be dealt with based on the archaeological material.

Zarzma had not been studied archaeologically until 2019. It was in 2019 that the first small-scale archaeological excavations were conducted. While building a visitor center at 50-100 meters from the church, a dugout and a pithos were discovered which caused construction works to cancel (area: 874 sq. m) and Zarzma archaeological expedition carried out archaeological survey.⁴⁰

Four archaeological features were excavated: structure N1, structure N2, a dugout and a wine cellar (Pl.1).

Structure 1 is part of a rather large building; foundation of only two walls (eastern and northern) have been excavated. The western wall has not survived, while the southern one, just like part of the eastern wall, is situated on the personal plot of a local resident (Fig. 1,2).

Length of the eastern wall is 10 m; width in the southern and middle part – 0.7m, width in the northern part – 1.3m; width of the inner face – 0.8 m; height- 0.2-0.3 m.

Length of the northern wall - 8.55 m; width in the western part – 0.8m, in the middle and eastern parts – 1.3m; maximum width of the inner face -1.07 m.

The northern wall is significantly rounded on the west. The corner of the eastern and northern walls is also slightly rounded.

Both walls have preserved specially selected large and flat facing stones: there are five stones (common length – 4 m) preserved on the north side and three (common length – 2.5 m) on the east side. The stones are reddened and cracked in places. Trace of coal has been evidenced in

³⁷ Г. Чубинашвили, Грузинское чеканное искусство. Tbilisi 1959, pp. 29-31.

³⁸ T. Sakvarelidze, N. Alibegashvili, "Kartulitcheduri da pertserulikhatibi". (Georgian Repousse and Painted Icons). Tbilisi 1984.

³⁹ M. Beridze, "Serapion zarzmelis tskhovrebisonomastikisatvis". *Zarzma*. (For Onomastics of *The Life of Serapion Zarzmeli. Zarzma*), pp. 35-68.

⁴⁰ The following participated in the expedition: R. Kvirkvaia (leader), J. Chokheli (assistant), G. Tezelashvili and I. Esvanjia (artist-architects).

some places along the wall which points to the fact that the structure was destroyed by fire.

The foundation is built without mortar, with dry masonry. Two flat stones were recorded near the corner, which could be floor slabs.

The eastern wall extends into the personal plot of a local resident and presently it is impossible to define its length. Presumably, nearby is the southern wall of the structure too. It is impossible to estimate the area of the structure either, but it can be said that it must have been rather large. The area of just the revealed part is about 85 sq. m. Fragments of flat tiles with crest (there is a trace of red paint on one piece) and those of pottery (including glazed one) have been evidenced near the northern wall.

Structure N2 (Fig. 1,3) – only part of the foundation of eastern and northern walls have survived. Small stones are thrown in between large facing stones. No trace of mortar is visible.

Length of the northern wall – 18.8m; width – 1.20-1.35m; only a small section (2.3 m) of the eastern wall has been excavated. Northern walls of structures N1 and N2 are very close to each other, minimum distance between them is 0.3m, while the eastern wall borders the western walls of the dugout and the cellar.

The dugout (Fig. 1,4) is a structure built of large hewn stones fit in the earth which had been specially dug out. It had been roofed with four large slabs one of which is missing. They were covered with small pebbles and topped with earth. It had a doorway on the east (a cavity of the bar); it is built with dry masonry; northern wall is badly preserved due to later period impact. There is a niche arranged in the western wall of the interior (49 x 46 cm).

Fragment of a stone column, a stone with a cross carved on it and fragments of pottery were discovered on the floor level.

Height of the room is 1.70-1.73 m, area – 16 sq. m.

Wine cellar (Fig. 1,5) is 5.8 m away from the eastern wall of structure N2, while part of its northern wall leans immediately against the roof of the dugout.

At least one row of all four walls of the wine cellar has been preserved. The wall had been built both with rough (but specially selected), as well as hewn stones. The stones that had collapsed from the wall were thrown in large numbers in the southern and eastern parts of the wine cellar.

Dimensions of walls: eastern wall: length – 6.85m, width – 0.33m, height – 0.94 m; western wall: length – 5.9m, width – 0.2-0.3m, height –

0.3-0.4m; southern wall: length – 5.2m, width – 0.4-0.5m, height – 0.5m; northern wall: length – 5.4m, width – 0.2-0.3m, height – 0.33m.

The area of the cellar is about 40 sq. m. It has an earth floor; its northern part is raised by 0.27m compared to the southern one. There lay a flat stone in the middle of the structure, which could be a ‘cushion’ of the supporting pole.

Seven pithoi buried in the ground were registered in the wine cellar. All of them are made of brown baked clay and are well preserved. All of them were covered with specially treated stone lids whose lower side is flat and upper – convex. All of them have a cross engraved on the lower side (Fig 5); four crosses are carved on the rims of pithoi N5 (Fig. 6) and N6. All the pithoi are filled with liquid with yellowish sediment on the bottom.⁴¹ Four pithoi (N1, 2, 3, 4) are buried in the southern (lower) part of the cellar and three (N5, 6, 7) – in the northern (raised) part. It is remarkable that the pithoi buried in the southern part have narrower rims than those buried in the northern part; therefore, it is probable that they were buried at different times.

Rim diameter of the pithoi varies between 0.34m and 0.47 m, depth – between 1.3m and 1,56m, diameter of the lid – between 0.42 m and 0.49 m.

Archaeological material is largely represented by ceramics. There are building, household and religious ceramic items and their fragments. Among the building ceramics tiles and water pipes should be pointed out. All the tiles belong to the so-called flat tiles and those with turned up sides one of which is painted red. They probably belonged to structure N1. There also appeared fragments of the bottom, side and rim of brick-red baked pithoi that are decorated with twisted relief stripes. Apparently, all of them had been sealed with mortar. Household pottery is represented by pieces of various size pots, including several fragments of glazed ceramics. Particularly remarkable are clay lamps. In total 12 complete and 12 incomplete lamps have been discovered. All of them were evidenced on the top of the dugout. They are identical in shape, but different in size. All of them bear trace of utilization. Notably, such items have not been found elsewhere. They seem to have had a function of a candle (Fig. 7).

⁴¹ Test results of the chemical analysis of the liquid will provide interesting information. Samples have been taken by D. Maghradze, an official of the National Agency of Georgian Wine and results will become known in the near future. It is also intended to take samples of the sediment for biological analysis.

Prior to the excavations, builders recovered architectural details: fragment of a door, hewn stones and roof slabs which belonged to another room which was situated on the east in front of the dugout and was damaged by construction works. Part of an ornamented faceted stone column and a cubic stone with a cross carved on one side were recorded on the floor of the dugout excavated by us.

It is difficult to say what the function of structures N1 and N2 was. But one thing is for sure: they were not religious structures, but part of monastic facilities. The same is true for the dugout. The wine cellar definitely belonged to the monastery. The crosses depicted on the pithoi and their lids point to this fact.

Apparently, structure N2 is older than N1. Otherwise structure N1 must have been inserted in structure N2. It is less likely that structure N2 was the fence of structure N1, because on the north they are closely attached to each other. Presumably, structure N1 was built after the destruction of structure N2 and chronological difference between them must be at least 100 years.

In total, three churches were built in Zarzma: the first was built not on the place that Serapion Zarzmeli desired, but a little lower. The second church was built on a raised place (where Serapion had wanted to) shortly after constructing the first church under the third and the fourth priors Michael and Pavle. The place where the third church and archaeological objects studied by us are situated looks very like the description where Serapion and his fellow monks first camped and built a small church for the icon. However, so far it is a hypothesis which further archaeological excavations will either confirm or deny. We presume that structure N1 is part of the facilities of the third church and it cannot have been built prior to the 14th century. It is hard to say when structure N2, the dugout and the wine cellar were built and which church they belonged to. They could be part of the infrastructure of the first or the second churches and continued operating during the third church.

Archaeological material is generally dated to the high Middle Ages which somehow supports the opinion that monastic life in Zarzma began in the 9th century. However, unless the remains of the first and the second churches are found, the problem will not be considered as solved.

On the date of founding Zarzma Monastery
(considering new archaeological discoveries)

Zarzma Monastery, which is located in South Georgia, in the historical province of Samtskhe was one of the largest religious and Cultural-education centers of Georgia almost entire Middle Ages. It is still a functioning monastery.

The only written source, which tells about the founding the Zarzma Monastery, is the Hagiographic work *The Life of Serapion Zarzveli* written by Basili Zarzveli. The writing scrupulously describes the founding of the Monastery in an abandoned place by the monks from Klarjeti - Serapion and his upholders.

Although the work contains valuable information for shedding light to a number of issues in the history of Georgia, it does not contain any trustworthy references that can accurately or even approximately define the time of the creation of the work and the events described there. Therefore, there are still different opinions about the date of the foundation of the monastery. Some scientists (M. Janashvili, P. Ingorokva, G. Chubinashvili, A. Bogveradze) believed that the work was written in the first half of the 7th century, and the monastery was founded in the in the second half 6th Century. Others (Iv. Javakhishvili, E. Takaishvili, K. Kekelidze, M. Lortkipanidze, N. Vachnadze) believed that the work was written in the first half of the 10th century and the Monastery was founded in the 8th century.

Three churches were built in Zarzma: the first during *The Life of Serapion Zarzveli*, the second in the time of Michael and Pavle the third and fourth priors of the monastery, and the third, the functioning one, in early 14th century.

In 2019, archeological excavations were conducted in Zarzma for the first time and was linked with the construction of a visitor center near the monastery. Four archeological sites were identified: the remains of two (№1 and №2 buildings (Fig. 1, 2,3), the dugout storehouse (Fig.1,3) and the wine cellar (Fig.1,4). Church lamps (Fig.7), fragments of various vessels and pithoses (Fig. 6), etc.

It should be noted that the building № 2 is earlier than the building №1 and the latter must have been built after the demolition of the building № 2.

All facilities are connected to the Monastery and monastic infrastructure.

The archaeological material belongs to 9th-14th centuries and thus supports the view that the monastic life in Zarzma started in the 9th Century. However, since the location of the first two churches has not yet been found, the problem the problem will not be considered as solved.

Key words: Zarzma Monastery, Basili Zarzveli, Grigol Khandzteli, Michael Parekheli, Giorgi Atskureli, structure N1, structure N2, dugout, vine cellar, phitois, clay lamps.

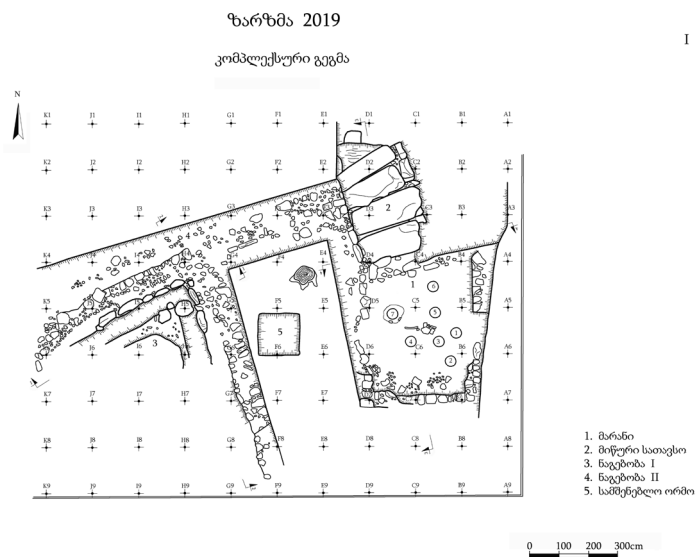


Fig 1. General Plan.



Fig 2. Structure № 1



Fig 3. Structure № 2



Fig 4. Dugouth



Fig 5. Wine cellar



Fig 6. Stounslid of pithoi



Fig 7. Pithoi № 5



Fig 8. Clay lamps

ON THE LOCALIZATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD BETWEEN SAHAK, EMIR OF TBILISI AND MUHAMMAD IBN KHALID

*by David Merkviladze
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Relative strengthening of Arab domination in Georgia was manifested in the formation of the administrative-military unit of the Arab Caliphate, Emirate of Tbilisi.¹ Creation of the Emirate should be implied in the “Chronicle of Kartli”: “And if anybody worthy of being king emerged from among Vakhtang’s children, he would be denigrated by the Saracens. The city of Tbilisi was captured by the Hagarenes and turned into their place of residence. They received tributes called kharaj”.²

Emir was appointed the representative of the central government of the Caliphate, with a permanent residence in Tbilisi. However, this did not give the desired result for the Caliphate. The Emirs did not bother themselves for a long time to perform their basic duty, and as early as from the beginning of the 9th century they began to care more about securing their own government and expanding the sovereignty of the Emirate, rather than ensuring the policy of the central government. The trend of separatism was strong in the Caucasus, as well as in other distant parts of the vast Arab Caliphate. This was primarily manifested in the misappropriation of taxes collected by the Emirs in their districts and cessation of sending them to the capital. Thus, the disobedient officials created a new puzzle for the caliph. The caliph tried to give a lesson to his apostates by organizing punitive expeditions, and from time to time he achieved certain success, as long as he had the strength to do so. For their part,

¹ B. Silagadze, *Arabta batonoba sakartveloshi (arabuli tskaroebis mixedvit)*. (Arab Domination in Georgia (According to Arabic Sources), Tbilisi 1991, p. 107.

² *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, Tbilisi 2014, p. 141; M. Lortkipanidze, “Tbilisis saamiros sitoriidan”, *Mimomkhilveli* № 2, 1951, p. 186.

the Arab Emirs of Tbilisi often sought to strengthen their positions and escape the caliph's wrath, by teaming up with local Georgian rebel anti-Arab forces.

In such a situation, „the Emir of Tbilisi gradually became a local petty feudal lord and his sphere of influence was narrowed”.³

By 830, Khalid ibn Yazid – a leader of one of such punitive expeditions appointed Iskhak ibn Ismail ibn Shuab, known in Georgian sources as Sahak, son of Ismail, as the Emir of Tbilisi.⁴ Nor did the latter justify Caliph's hopes, and like his predecessors, he soon embarked on the path of disobedience to him. Central government of the caliphate managed to rectify relations with him only temporarily. The Emir, backed by the ties to local rebels against Arab domination, still fully owned the collected taxes, and he no longer listened to the demands and orders of his superiors.

Khalid ibn Yazid, a high-rank Wali of Armenia, who once successfully carried out a similar mission when he ousted the then-Emir Muhammad Ibn Atab from Tbilisi,⁵ was sent to punish Emir Sahak and his allies. Khalid's second expedition ended in a fierce defeat: The Gardabanians gave him battle at Gavazi. Khalid was put to flight and a great number (of Arabs) were slain” and thus, Sahak retained both power and his life: ”Sahak son of Ismael, again established himself as emir of Tbilisi.”⁶

For the third time, Khalid returned to the Caucasus with an even stronger army, which alarmed the deposed officials and awakened their sense of obedience to the Caliph. Khalid summoned them all to him. The request was firmly rejected by Sahak. According to the Arab historian Yaqub, Sahak escaped falling into the hands of furious Khalid thanks to sudden illness and a quick death of the latter.⁷ According to the “Chronicle of Kartli”, Khalid was killed in Javakheti during the third expedition.⁸

Naturally, the Caliphate could not tolerate Emir's “extreme impudence”. Caliph al-Wathiq (842-847) entrusted the leadership of the new punitive expedition to Khalid's son, Muhammad ibn Khalid. Besides, as soon as Muhammad was appointed to the post of Khalid as the Wali of

³ S. Janashia, *Shromebi*. (Works), vol. II. Tbilisi 1952, p. 404.

⁴ Якуби, *История*, текст и перевод с арабского П. Жузе, Материалы по истории Азербайджана, вып. IV. Баку 1927, p. 17.

⁵ Ibid, p. 17.

⁶ *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

⁷ Якуби, *История*, текст и перевод с арабского П. Жузе, p. 19.

⁸ *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

Armenia, he gathered his father's old comrades-in-arms in his army and headed to the Emirate of Tbilisi by 842.⁹

This letter aims to ascertain the place of the main clash between Sahak and Muhammad son of Khalid.

“Chronicle of Kartli” has it that the clash took place near Rekhi: “A battle was fought at Rekhi”. Neither side won a decisive advantage in the battle: “Neither side fled, until they separated”. Unable to reach his goal, Muhammad was forced to move with his army towards Bardavi.¹⁰

The first attempt to localize the place called Rekhi was made by S. Janashia. In his work “Arab Governance in Georgia”, the scholar indicates the place of the battle near “modern-day Gori”.¹¹ From then on, this opinion has been introduced in Georgian historiography. Basing on Janashia's mentioned work, when studying the history of the Tbilisi Emirate, M. Lortkipnidze also indicates Rekhi – the battle place between Sahak and Muhammad, near “today's Gori”.¹²

The aforementioned point of view may have also been shared by S. Kauhchishvili, for Rekhi/Rekha is indicated as a place near the Liakhvi River in the list of proper names in the first volume of the “*Kartlis tskhovreba*” (“*The Georgian Chronicles*”) (which includes the “*Conversion of Kartli*”) published by him.¹³ Since Rekhi, located near the city of Gori is built on the bank of the Liakhvi River, undoubtedly, this implies the Rekhi mentioned above.

Among the sources, which document upper and lower Rekhi in the vicinity of Gori, J. Gvasalia also mentions the battle between Sahak and Muhammad described in the “*Chronicle of Kartli*” (separate narrative, included in *The Georgian Chronicle*).¹⁴ Later he repeats the same point in the “*Essays on the Historical Geography of Eastern Georgia (Shida*

⁹ Якуби, *История*, текст и перевод с арабского П. Жузе, p. 19.

¹⁰ *Kartlis tskhovreba* (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

¹¹ S. Janashia, *Arabta batonoba sakartveloshi* (Arab Governance in Georgia). Tbilisi 1936, p. 63; S. Janashia, *Shromebi*, vol. II. Tbilisi 1952, p. 406.

¹² M. Lortkipanidze, “Tbilisis saamiros istoriidan”, *Mimomkhlveli* № 2, 1951, p. 193, note 2; M. Lortkipanidze, “Akhal peodaluri samtavroebis tsarmokmna”, *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevbi*. (“Emergence of New Feudal Principalities”, *Essays on the History of Georgia*), vol. II, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 498, note 2.

¹³ *Kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. I, edited by S. Kauhchishvili. Tbilisi 1955, 417.

¹⁴ J. Gvasalia, “Ksnis kheobis istoriuli geografiis sakitkhebi”. (“Issues of Historical Geography of Ksani Gorge”). *Issues of Historical Geography of Georgia*, III, 1967, p. 52-53.

Kartli)”¹⁵ (it is noteworthy that according to J. Gvasalia, it is possible that “the old name of Gori was Rekhi or *Rekhis Gori* (The Hill of Rekhi), of which only Gori remained in the late Middle Ages, and the name Rekhi survived as the name of the nearby village (maybe the outskirts or Agara?)”).¹⁶

Finally, B. Silagadze also names the vicinity of Gori as the place of battle between Sahak and Muhammad: “Emir Sahak came to Rekhi (i.e. Gori) with his army and the assisting Tsanars” – he writes.¹⁷

The only different version is found in S. Makalatia’s work. In the historical-geographical review of the Lekhura river gorge. When the researcher noted that Rekhi was the most ancient in the valley, he also mentioned in a few words that “in 840 a great battle took place in the Rekhi area between Bagrat Kuropalate and Emir Sahak of Tbilisi”.¹⁸

Of foreign authors Arab historian and geographer Yaqub tells of Muhammad’s expedition sent to punish Sahak (Ishaq). In his “History”, Yaqub writes that Muhammad ibn Khalid fought the Tsanars and Ishaq until Ishaq was expelled from the country and the Tsanars were defeated. He himself continued to rule the country steadily.¹⁹

This reference of Yaqub, apart from being very general and containing no information about the particular battle, is not entirely accurate either. As Iv. Javakhishvili noted, in this case, the statement of Georgian chronicler is more credible, because the new punitive campaign led by Bugha al-Turki (Bugha al-Kabir) against Sahak is the proof that Sahak did not suffer a defeat in the battle with Muhammad.²⁰ Obviously, Sahak still firmly occupies the position of Tbilisi Emir for several years after the Battle of Rekhi (before the invasion of Bugha al-Turki), nor does obedience to the Caliph come to his mind. Besides, it is natural that the Georgian source is more informed about the events in Georgia than the Arab author, who indeed traveled a lot, but never set foot in Georgia and gives

¹⁵ J. Gvasalia, *Aghmosavlet sakartvelos istoriuli geografiis narkvevebi (shida kartli)*. (Issues of Historical Geography of Ksani Gorge, Issues of Historical Geography of Georgia). Tbilisi 1983, p. 136.

¹⁶ J. Gvasalia, “Ksnis kheobis istoriuli geografiis sakitkhebi”. (“Issues of Historical Geography of Ksani Gorge”, Issues of Historical Geography of Georgia), III, 1967, p. 137.

¹⁷ B. Silagadze, *Arabta batonoba sakartveloshi (Arabuli tskaroebis mikhedvit)*. (Arab Domination in Georgia (According to Arabic Sources). Tbilisi 1991, p. 145.

¹⁸ S. Makalatia, *Lekhuri kheoba* (Lekhura Gorge). Tbilisi. 1964, p. 42.

¹⁹ Якуби, *История*, текст и перевод с арабского П. Жузе, Материалы по истории Азербайджана, вып. IV. Баку 1927, p. 19.

²⁰ Iv. Javakhishvili, *Kartveli eris istoria*. (History of the Georgian Nation), Vol. II, Tbilisi 1983, p. 97, (in Georgian).

the information according to the story brought from afar.²¹ Therefore, for further clarification of the issue, it is appropriate to discuss in more detail the data provided by the Georgian source.

As we have already mentioned, according to the old Georgian chronicler Emir Sahak met the Muhammad son of Khalid at Rekhi: "Sahak, the emir of Tbilisi, marched out with his troops and took up a position at Rekhi", which later became the site of major clash between their military forces. Interesting is the redistribution of forces before the battle. Both Arab officials, Sahak and Muhammad, tried to succeed in the battle against each other with the support of local Georgian authorities. Bagrat Kuropalate appears as an ally to Muhammad and consequently of the central government of the Caliphate against the rebellious Emir of Tbilisi: As soon as "Muhammad came to Kartli", "Bagrat, son of Ashot the Kuropalate, joined the latter, and he (Mohammed) gave Kartli to him".²² In this case, Bagrat is driven by the desire to conquer Shida Kartli (inner kartli) for which Georgian kings and principals selflessly fought against each other. With this step he achieved the goal. In exchange for help, Muhammad gave "Kartli" (Shida Kartli) to Bagrat Kuropalate.²³ Sahak, however, is still supported by his old allies: "The Gardabanian Kakhs came to Sahak's aid"²⁴ (From the 730s when the united Kakheti Chorepiscopate was ruled by the Gardabanian dynasty of principals, the "*Chronicle of Kartli*" refers to Kakheti Principality as "*Gardabani*", and residents of the Principality – as Gardabonians, (in our case, "*the Gardabonian kakhs*"), which correspond to "Sanaria" and "Sanarians" in Arabic sources).²⁵

To create a general picture, we will quote the interesting section of the source in full: "Sahak, the emir of Tbilisi, marched out with his troops and took up a position at Rekhi, while Mohammed and Bagrat took Uplistsikhe. The Gardabanian Kakhs came to Sahak's aid. A battle was fought at Rekhi. Neither side fled, until they separated. Mohammed broke camp and went to Bardavi"²⁶ (This story is also told by Vakhushti Bagrationi: "Then Momed son of Khalil came to Kartli. He was joined by

21 Ю. Крачковский, Избранные сочинения, т. IV, Москва-Ленинград 1957, p. 151.

22 *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

23 M. Lortkipanidze, "Akhali peodaluri samtavroebis tsarmokmna". *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevevbi*. vol. II, Tbilisi 1973, p. 471.

24 *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

25 M. Lortkipanidze, "Akhali peodaluri samtavroebis tsarmokmna". ("Emergence of New Feudal Principalities,"). *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevevbi*, vol. II, p. 393.

26 *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

Bagrat son of Ashot Kuropalate; to whom he gave Kartli and made King. And Saak came from of Tbilisi and stopped in Rekhi. Momed and Bagrat came and they fought there; neither of them could win, and Momed went to Bardavi".²⁷

In the data of the "*Chronicle of Kartli*" our attention was drawn to a seemingly insignificant episode: while Emir Sahak was fortifying his positions in Rekhi, joint forces of Muhammad and Bagrat occupied Uplistsikhe: "and Muhammad and Bagrat took Uplistsikhe over".

The cave city of Uplistsikhe, which had been turned into a fortified fortress, is known to have been a very important strategic point of Shida Kartli (i. e. inner kKartli) at the time and a kind of political center of the region: whoever owned Uplistsikhe owned the whole of Shida Kartli. Therefore, it is noteworthy that Muhammad and Bagrat, who want to conquer Shida Kartli, first of all go to Uplistsikhe. Besides, the Mtkvari Valley could lead directly to Tbilisi, which logically should have been part of Muhammad's plan.

Uplistsikhe is located approximately 15 km East of Gori. This means that in order to get to Rekhi near Gori; Sahak, coming from Tbilisi, had to pass by the enemy standing in Uplistsikhe from the North (the factor of the Mtkvari River should be considered in the South) and continue to move even further West. The assumption of such a movement of Sahak's army seems highly unconvincing. In addition to giving nothing to the Emir of Tbilisi, such a maneuver would also be a rather unprofitable move from a military-strategic standpoint. One of Mohammad's main goals, of course, was to capture Tbilisi, - the center of the Emirate. Accordingly, Sahak's every military action would be dictated by the protection of his own residence from Muhammad. Arriving in modern-day Gori, Sahak would have lost the opportunity to defend Tbilisi on his own initiative. At the same time, he would have opened the way and allowed the enemy to reach Tbilisi without hindrance. When thinking about the movement of Sahak's military forces, neither should we forget that he was waiting for the auxiliary forces the "Gardbanian kakhs" from the East, which makes the previous understanding of the source data even more dubious. Given these circumstances, it remains unclear what Sahak's purpose was, if he really intended to camp in Rekha near Gori, and in such a situation, why Muhammad did not go East from Uplistsikhe directly to Tbilisi, but

²⁷ Vakhushthi Bagrationi, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa*. (Description of Kingdom of Georgia) edited by S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi 1973, p. 129.

turned to the West and fought unsuccessfully against Sahak in the vicinity of Gori.

Therefore, it is less likely that the Georgian chronicler implied Rekha in the vicinity of Gori. The place, where Sahak stopped and fought should be looked for further to the East, between Uplistsikhe and Tbilisi. Therefore, we think that the chronicler refers to the Rekha located further East of Gori and Uplistsikhe, in the Lekhura Valley. Being fortified here, Sahak would safely block the road from Shida Kartli (Shida Kartli had not belonged to the Emirs of Tbilisi for a long time) to Tbilisi. Close proximity of Kakheti principality ensured timely arrival of the auxiliary forces. It is noteworthy that when, much earlier, Ashot Kuropalate (Bagrat Kuropalate's father) campaigned to conquer Shida Kartli (at the time he was assisted by Tevdosi, King of the Abkhazians), the then-principal of the Kakhs (Grigol) and the Emir of Tbilisi (it should be noted, that the Emir of Tbilisi and the Kakhs were on the same side then too) met in the Eastern part of Shida Kartli near the river Ksani, in the immediate vicinity of the Lekhura valley, and fought the enemy.²⁸

Rekhi, in the Lekhura valley, which was “densely populated and was considered a borough”²⁹ from the South-East was fortified by the fortress of Skhvilo. It was located in the central part of the Valley and was a point of geographical-strategic importance.³⁰ According to S. Makalatia, from the 8th -9th centuries, i.e. in the era of our interest, Rekhi also served as the administrative and political center of the Valley.³¹

Currently, there is no settlement with this name in Lekhura Valley. It must have been emptied in the late middle ages due to the Lezghin raids. S. Makalatia assumes that today this deserted village is included in a new village of Sakorintlo, the residents of which later migrated from the village of Corinto in the Ksani Valley.³² Vakhushti Bagrationi refers to the place with this name between Legmasheni and Abrevi in Lekhura Valley. Vakhushti also notes that this Rekhi gave name to the river Lekhura (“Rekhula” by the author) – “Above the grove there is the borough of Rekhi, after which this river was named”.³³ This definition perfectly

28 *Kartlis tskhovreba*. (A History of Georgia), translated by Arrian Chanturia, p. 142.

29 S. Makalatia, *Lekhuris kheoba*. (Lekhura Gorge). Tbilisi 1964, p. 42.

30 *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

31 *Ibid*, p. 7.

32 *Ibid*, p. 42.

33 Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Aghtsera sameposa saqartvelosa*. (Description of Kingdom of Georgia), edited by S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi 1973, p. 365.

matches the peculiarities of the production of Georgian hydro-toponymy and we will not continue to talk about it.³⁴

The aforementioned incorrect localization of Rekhi was apparently caused by the mention of the Liakhvi River by Leonti Mroveli when describing another battle near Rekhi. After the poisoning of Parsman Kveli King of Kartli in the 2nd century AD, fighting against King Mirdat, who reigned in Kartli with the help of the Persians, “The Armenians, Greeks and Megrels came to Shida Kartli; there they were met by the Persians and Georgians by the river, which is called Liakhvi; and there in the place called Rekha, the battle took place”³⁵ (Interestingly, Vakhushti does not mention Liakhvi at all when reporting on this battle).³⁶ Apparently, for this reason, in historiography, Rekha in the vicinity of Liakhvi (or Gori) was automatically identified with the battle place between Sahak and Muhammad. Such a misconception was also facilitated by the fact that today the existence of the second Rekha has been forgotten.

The picture of Muhammad’s campaign in Georgia is as follows: Muhammad, appointed the Wali of Armenia by the Caliph, was sent by the Caliph to subdue and punish Sahak. Muhammad and Bagrat Kuropalate, the successor of Ashot Kuropalate, reached an agreement with each other, that Bagrat would receive Shida Kartli from Muhammad in exchange for the military assistance against Sahak. After that, with joint forces they entered Shida Kartli from the south and took control over Uplistsikhe – the most important political center of Shida Kartli at that time. Here entire Shida Kartli was declared to be Bagrat’s property. Meanwhile, Emir Sahak, who, of course, was aware of Muhammad’s purpose and the movement direction of his army, marched with his army from Tbilisi along the left bank of the Mtkvari and encamped near the borough of Rekhi in the vicinity of the river Ksani, slightly west of it. Emir obviously followed the pre-designed strategic plan. He blocked the way of further advancement for his opponents on the outskirts of his domain and tried to prevent them from invading the territory of the emirate. In addition, this place was located near the border of Kakheti Chorepiscopate (to the west the

³⁴ For more details see: D. Merkviladze, “Sad etsama Abibos Nekreseli”. (“Where Abibos Nekreseli Was Martyred”). *Meskheti IV*, Tbilisi 2001, p. 68-69.

³⁵ Leonti Mroveli, “The Lives of the Georgian Kings”. (*The Lives of the Georgian Kings*), translated by D. Gamkrelidze. *Kartlis tskhovreba*. Tbilisi 2014, p. 36.

³⁶ Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa*. (Description of Kingdom of Georgia), edited by S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi 1973, p. 67.

Chorepiscopate also included the Aragvi valley). From here Sahak was joined by his allies the “Gardabanian Kakhs”

To the west of Uplistsikhe, in the Lekhura valley, near the borough of Rekha, joint army of Muhammad and Bagrat, marching towards the Emirate of Tbilisi, was met by Emir Sahak with the army of the Emirate and the army of the Kakheti principality (the Sanarians” according to Arabic sources). There was no winner in the exhausting battle; neither side could make the opponent retreat. There was no sense for Muhammad to stay in the place. He could not reach the goal (he failed to take Tbilisi or capture Sahak), with his army he moved to the right bank of the Mtkvari and headed South-East towards the city of Bardavi. Muhammad’s troops had to bypass Tbilisi from the South. Because if he did not cross the Mtkvari, he would have to pass through the territory of the hostile Kakheti principality; given the outcome of the battle, this could be not only risky but also fatal for him. As for Bagrat Kuropalate, he had to return from Shida Kartl directly to his possessions in the South.

Thus, the place of the decisive clash between Muhammad the Wali of Armenia, and Emir Sahak of Tbilisi, indicated in the “Chronicle of Kartli”, is most probably the borough of Rekhi located in the Lekhura valley at the time rather than Rekha in the vicinity of Gori.

On the Localization of the Battlefield between Sahak,
Emir of Tbilisi and Muhammad Ibn Khalid

The goal of the present paper is to determine the specific location of the battle between Khalid ibn-Yazid and Sahak (Ishak), emir of Tbilisi.

The Arab conquests in Transcaucasia and their dominion on the territory of the Eastern Georgia gave rise to the formation of Tbilisi emirate. In the beginning of the 9-th century Tbilisi emirs, deprived of the part of their domain, ceased to subordinate to the power of the Caliph and misappropriated collected tributes. Caliphs resorted to punitive expeditions to bring disobedient emirs to submission.

In 842, during the expedition conducted by Khalid ibn-Yazid against emir of Tbilisi Sahak, the former was supported by Bagrat Kuropalate, while the latter received help from Kakheti (called “sanarians” in the Arab sources). The Georgian historical annals, like “Chronicle of Kartli” specify that the location of the battle is “Rekhi”. The author of the record tries to prove, contradictory to the assumptions of historiography, that “Rekhi” implies not the village of Rekha located in the vicinity town of Gori, but another one also called “Rekhi” located that time farther east, in the Lekhura gorge.

Key words: Arab conquests, Georgia, Emir of Tbilisi Sahak, Khalid ibn-Yazid, Rekhi, battlefield.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MAP OF IBN HAWQAL (MANUSCRIPT ARABE 2214)

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Arabic geographical literature began to flourish in the 9th century and developed in parallel with astronomy and mathematics. In the 9th-10th century, V. V. Bartold considered it to be the best period of Arabic geographical literature.¹ However, at the beginning the Arabs only translated the geographical literature that was possessed by the Greeks, and later they developed it. I. I. Krachkovsky cited several examples and reasons that gave impetus to the development of Arabic geographical literature. Among them were purely economic-political reasons.² With the growth of the caliphate there was the need for an orderly tax system and proper roads. There were a “tax books” in the local districts, in which was written down taxes of the place and region. And then sent to the capital. Also, due to the size of the caliphate and the wars of conquest, it became necessary to regulate the roads and create a postal system in order for the commands to reach the addressee in time. In Accordance with Greek traditions, Arab authors also began to create maps. The traditional world map, which was spread and developed in the caliphate, can be boldly said to have been based on the map of Ptolemy.

As for the 10th century, it is unequivocally a further step for Arabic geographical literature, when not only substantially different works were created, but also structurally different one. To take and compare the authors of the 9th-10th century, one of the main distinguishing marks can

¹ В. В. Бартольд, *Работы по Истории Ислама и рабского Халифата, Восточная Литература*, Москва 2002, pp. 258.

² И. Ю. Крачковский, *Арабская Географическая Литература*, Москва-Ленинград 1957, pp.17-18.

be said is the reference to the routes with the authors of the 10th century. Which in the 9th century was not so orderly, consistent, and systematic. It is also important to create maps and these maps include not only the world map but also maps by individual regions, so called, zonal maps. A special place among the geographical authors of the 10th century is occupied by Ibn Hawqal, who was credited with the classical Arabic school of geography, of which al-Balkh is considered to be the founder.³ On Muslim Geographers of the 9th-10th Centuries, V. Minorsky wrote that they were not properly known and appreciated, outside the narrow circle of Orientalists, and considered the availability of these works in European languages as the main reason⁴. Today these papers are more or less available, but the difficulty in this case is its complexity, which at the same time means opportunity. As far as this type of works is concerned not only with the narration of geographical content, but also with political, economic, social or other.

Muḥammad Abū'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī was a 10th century Arab geographer and traveler who traveled for about 25 years, which is an important component of his writings, as many places the author himself has seen. Among them was Tbilisi narrated in his own works, where he was invited to the city Qadi and Amira.⁵ He also visited Sicily, Palermo, where Ibn Haukal felt much more foreign than even in Tbilisi.⁶ However, during his visit both of the areas were considered as *Dar-al-Islam*. In 977 he completed his geographical work “*Ṣūrat al-'Arḍ*” (Picture of the Earth). The edition published by Michael Jan de Goeje (1870) mistakenly named the title “*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*” (About Roads and Kingdoms), which was already corrected in the second publication edited by J. Kramers. The paper was divided into chapters, information about Georgia and the Caucasus is given in the chapter “*Arminyā, Ar-Rān, Azarbayjān*”.

As we mentioned above, the first critical text was published in 1870 in Leiden under the editorship of de Goeje. It is noteworthy that he had to

³ With Al-Mukaddasi and Al-Istakhri (И. Ю. Крачковский, *Арабская Географическая Литература*, pp. 194-197).

⁴ V. Minorsky, “A Persian Geographer of A. D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia”, *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 90, No. 3 (Sep., 1937), Wiley on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), pp. 259-264.

⁵ توريب، تاي حلا قبتكفم راد، لقوح نبال، ضرال ا قروص باتك، pp. 292-293.

⁶ Ibn Hawqal In Sicily, “William Granara”, *Journal of Comparative Poetics*, Spring, 1983, No. 3, *Department of English and Comparative Literature*, American University in Cairo and American University in Cairo Press, pp. 94-99.

work quite hard, because there was not a single, perfect manuscript that has survived to our day. However, in addition, in the catalogs, an errors were often made (it is also possible that this is still the case) and this or that manuscript was attributed to a completely different author (for example, there was a case when the manuscripts of Ibn Hawqal and al-Istakhri were attributed to al-Balkhi). Consequently with all this, de Goeje's merit is invaluable. For example, de Goeje had edited and reconciled at least five manuscripts (conditionally: A, B, C, D, E) to publish Al-Istakhri's work.⁷ There was also a occasion where a certain manuscript was discovered after an already published edition, which happened in the case of Ibn Hawqal when a new manuscript was discovered. Based on this, as well as some other fragments, a new critical text of Ibn Hawqal was re-published by J.H. Kramers in 1938,⁸ which covered all known editions and texts.⁹ With regard to this edition, the translation of E. Sikharulidze, information about Tbilisi, in 1976 was done. However, what is interesting here is that the information about Tbilisi given by Ibn Haukal by the edition of J. Kramers and which E. Sikharulidze translated, it is not a contemporary of Ibn Hawqal. The same reference to Tbilisi (Caucasus region) was translated into Russian in 1908 by N. A. Karaulov in the 38th edition of CMOMPIK (pp. 82-92), albeit according to de Goeje's version. As for the manuscript Arabe 2214, the writings of Ibn Hawqal presented in it are incomplete,¹⁰ nevertheless, there is some information left in it which has significantly supplemented the new edition. Especially noteworthy are the maps preserved in this manuscript which are a priceless resource. It is true that critical texts are indeed valuable material for Oriental Studies and are the result of unconditionally great labor and effort. Nevertheless, it would probably be more appropriate to publish the manuscripts separately and in this way all kinds of information would be available to those who may be interested in it. The manuscript, which is of interest to us, has been made available to the general public since 2010 through

⁷ See: Abu Ishak Al-Farisi Al-Istakhri, *Via Regnorum, Descriptio Ditionis Moslemicae*, Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum, Ed. M. J. De Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum, E. J. Brill 1927.

⁸ According to the edition of J. Kramers, Ibn Haukal's book was also published in Beirut in 1992 by "Dar al-Qutub".

⁹ *Sakartvelos istoriis aghmosavluri masalebi*, I, E. Sikharulidze, *Ibn haukali tbilisis she-sakheb*, Tbilisi 1976. pp.33.

¹⁰ For comparison, to take, in terms of volume as well, would be this j. Kramers or de Goeje editions, Province of Armenia, Arran, Azerbaijan is about twenty pages long, while the manuscript contains only three and a half pages, including a map.

the Gallica (Galica), the National Library of France and its partner's, the Digital Library.¹¹ The following description of the manuscript is given in the same digital library:¹²

- The manuscript number is: Arabe 2214;
- Its former owner was Salih b. Mustafa;
- Data of publication 1445-46;¹³
- Form / Type: Manuscript;
- Titles_Rubric;
- Arabic text _ vocalized;
- Marginal notes and corrections;
- First page in Turkish;
- Contains 20 maps (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Arran is given on page 32)

including a world map;

- Paper is used as material;
- A total of 53 sheets;
- Manuscript dimensions: 350x265 mm. About 23 lines (strings) on each page;
- Pagination-oriental;
- With two titles: Kitāb ‘ağīb al-ša>n fī aḥwāl al-buldān (Book of Wonders on the State of Countries) and Kitāb hay’at aškāl al-‘arḍ wa-miqdārihā fī al-tūl wa-al-‘arḍ al-ma’rūf bi- (A book on the shape of the earth, the dimensions of its length, and the earth known as geography);

William de Slane¹⁴ attributed the manuscript to al-Istakhri;

In the manuscript Arabe 2214 Chapter Armenia, Arran, Azerbaijan begins on the page thirty-two (only the title is on the front page) with a map and ends on the thirty-fourth page. In addition, besides to the South-East Caucasus, the map includes the territories of historic Azerbaijan, around Lake Urmia and including Ardebil. The sides are indicated in all corners of the map: in the upper left corner – North; In the upper right corner - east; In the lower left corner – West; In the lower right corner _ South. Mountains are marked in light brown and thin, red outlines (as in the case of Sabalan, for instance). There are four rivers with blue paint stripes: in

¹¹ See. Website: <https://gallica.bnf.fr>

¹² Source: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr> Department of Manuscripts: Arabe 2214.

¹³ This date is indicated on the library's website in the description of the manuscript, although the manuscript itself indicates 847 H., which today equates to 1443-1444. This date is also mentioned, at the beginning of the manuscript, with a French inscription on the first page.

¹⁴ William McGuckin or known as Baron de Slane (1801-1878) 19th century Irish orientalist, philologist of the Arabic language.

the central part of the map there is the Mtkvari (al-Kur) on upwards, and below it is the Aras (ar-Ras); The lower part of the map also shows the rivers Great Zab and Little Zab, between which Erbil is mentioned. The right side of the map is mainly occupied by the Al-Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea), which is also referred to as the Tabaristan Sea in the text. The inscriptions from the lakes indicate the lakes of Khlat (i.e. Van) and Kabuzan (i.e. Urmia). From here Lake Khlat is marked by a thin red disproportionate circle. As for Lake Urmia, here is one interesting detail, Tabriz and Maragheh are marked on the map northwest of it, instead of the east (or the northeast). Also, the city of Dvin is marked on the map by the river, away from the Aras, down to the south, while Dvin should normally be north or east of the Aras¹⁵. Names or titles of places are displayed in large black handwriting, with major diacritical marks however unvocalized. As for the inscriptions on the map, they are relatively pasted by hand and written in thinly, with different dimensions, not systematic, the inscriptions are made both horizontally and vertically, as well as diagonally. In terms of the size of texts, the most extensive is the inscription at the top of the map, which consists of nine lines and is executed in a horizontal way. In this regard, we may suggest that the inscriptions made on the map may not be contemporaneous with the original transcript of the manuscript and may have been written later. In this case, we are talking directly about the inscription and not its content. In terms of text volume, there are up to 10 relatively large texts on the map. There are also ten small, several-word inscriptions¹⁶. The inscriptions on the map are pasted by hand, and some places are damaged or erased. One of the first to publish this color map¹⁷ was R. Galichyan in his book “Historical Maps of Armenia”, where the author notes that this is the only north-facing map¹⁸ and has given a brief description¹⁹. The assessment of the landmark the map is not entirely accurate either, as the next map of *al-Jabal* (Jibāl) in the manuscript is also oriented to the North (*Iraq* and *Khuzistan* on the map are on the Southwest and the Southeast of *al-Jabal* and the inscription *al-Janub* (South) is in the lower right corner of the map²⁰ similarly on the map in question.

15 River Aras flows first to the southeast and then to the east.

16 E.g. We have the following inscription with Ardabil: *ناجی بردا فنیدم ربکا* or the largest city of Azerbaijan.

17 A black-and-white map is also in the edition of Alexandria.

18 We usually have south-facing maps in Arab-Muslim geographies.

19 Rouben Galichyan, *Historic maps of Armenia*, London 2014, pp. 44.

20 Arabe 2214, Folio 34r (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>).

At the same time, the further map relating to *Tabaristan* is oriented to the South, and on it, the Caspian Sea is at the bottom part of the map.²¹

As for the captions, their content, and readability, according to the numbered texts we have marked, from № 3 to № 1¹ are confirmed²² in the same text, with some possible minor changes (mostly by omitting words).

The Arabic inscriptions on the map read as follows:

№ 1

شروان مدينة صغيرة فيها فواكه كثيرة و [ابو] و اعناب غزيرة بجلب منها و بناؤهم من
طين
و الزالقان علي مرحلة من بُست و لها فواكه و الخير (& الخيل) و زروع و اكبرا منها
حالي و (ما و هم) انهار جارية (؟)
و اما بلاد الغور فهي جبال حتى جبال (عامية ؟) [.....] [عيون و باس و انها رحاذة (؟)]
و على [حدينة سُو (& فة) لمثد]
جبال الغور في حد و دحريان (دخرقان) ل [و طاملو] الباميان الي [المنحية & النحية] و
[ملا] الي الجبل من اولة الي اخيرة [معاون]
[الدب الغفيت و اغوذ معادنهم] مقارب من [جرخير] فاما النار [فاعظها للرميل مد و
لحرح بدا]
النهر من [طهر بلاد الغور حتى يصل الي حد الدجج [سهبة على بست] حتى يالي سحستان
يقع
في [بحيرة (؟) (فن) [و طلة (طاء) (در)] [بحير يتع الماء فيها و يتضايق [بعد درناند (؟)
[المناه و [بفصاننا & بفصانيا
و [فصب] و [حولنا بونة الوحبة] الري على المغاز و [نهر ميل] مثل [هو للراوا] حرحلنة]
ينتهي الي مرحلة

From the first two lines more or less we can get some information:

1. *Sharwan is a small town full of fruits, abundant grapes brought from there and its buildings are made of mud.*

2. *And az-Zalikan is one Marhala from Bust and it has fruits, good and sown lands and it is more now, and rivers are flowing...*

The rest of the text comprehensible only fragmentary. As for the № 1 text, according to what we were able to decipher, most of the text does not refer to the region given on the map, but mainly to Sajistan and al-Ghori Mountain (country). From the given nine lines we can single out the first line, in which the first word can be read as Sharwan (which was in the Caucasus) and which is also marked on the map with a small inscription “Small town”. The same name might be read as Sarwan, which is also

²¹ Arabe 2214, Folio 36r (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>).

²² See the map below.

mentioned on the map of Sajistan in the same manuscript. Although there is one circumstance, neither Sharwan nor Sarwan are mentioned in the main text, we have only one phrase “small town”, which is written on the map with Sharwan. Thus, we think that the first of these nine lines should refer to Sharwan. And the rest referred to the Sajistan region. As for the content of the rest of the lines and al-Ghori, we think that the impact on this case was influenced by two possible circumstances: the orthographic similarity of one Sarwan-Sharwan; And the second may be the knowledge possessed by the medieval Arab-Muslim geographers, according to which all the mountains are interconnected. For example, the following passage is found with Ibn Hawqal:

In turn, the Al-Kabk Mountains are connected to the Siyah Kuwi Mountains, which is behind the Khazar country in the country of Al-Ghuzziya, east of Lake Khwarazm, rather than the Khwarazm and Fargana Mountains. Thus, the mountains of the earth are interconnected, rising from the mountains of China in a straight line to Sudan and the Maghreb rather than the ocean.²³

N° 2

من يميني(؟) في [تنشعب ممن مفاسم] الماء
في آخر بيان سجنستان [و حور(؟)]
بعد [صورة سحلبان]
[ثم(؟) برع في بيان خراسان(؟)]

N° 3

و [و الكر) و بهر الرس متقاربان في (؟) الغزار و (الكثيرة)
خارج من ناحية جبل القيق يمر على حدود جنزة و شمكور]
من ناحية تفليس و [بحنار] على قلاع في
بلاد الكفر قبل ذلك منصبا الى
ناحية الخزر و الرس

Al-Kur and river ar-Ras are the same in abundance
Comes out from the region mount al-Kabk pass to the border of Janza
and Shamkur
From district Tiflis and comes to castles
To the lands of disbeliever after that directs to
The district of al-Khazar and ar-Ras

23 pp. 297-298. كتاب صورة الارض. لابن حوقل. دار مكتبة الحياة، بيروت، 1992.

تتبريا تنبيرا
 [حدسا لي (له؟) الامسال و كلا (لم؟لا) مدى و منظر]
 [....] [و كلا] كثيرا و كلا و [بى] في
 [نس و قدق نا الى (وبا؟ فلها)]
 و اصحاب الرس من [اعمالها]
 [....] و عادا و بمود و بعلمهم

N° 4

و بحر من جبل قاليقلا حتى ينتهي الى ورتان
 ثم يمر [فيقع] بعضه في الكر و بعضه في بحيرة طبرستان
 (و [هو الرس الذي ذكر الله (تعالى) ما فعل بقومه
 و التامل الممكن؟) على جانبيه من ورتان صاعدا و نازلا راي

Streams from the mountains of Kali Kala before flow down to War-
 than

Than flows into al-Kur and after to the lake of Tabaristan

And it is ar-Ras which was mentioned by almighty God, what did its
 people

Directly to the place on its side to Warthan upward and descending

N° 5

مدينة كبيرة [كثيرة الخيرات و الثمار في فرسحين من الرس
 و قد اختل احوال [اهلها في زما ننا هذا مجاورهم للكرج (يشنون) و يحرقوها في كل وقت
 يجدون فرصة]

A large town full of good and fertile, [it is] two Farsakhs from ar-Ras
 And it's people have already suffered horror, in our time they are in
 neighbourhood of al-Kurji (Georgians) [who] burned it as they have op-
 portunity

N° 6

فاما البيلقان و ورتان و برداج و الشماخية الشروان و الاجاز و شابران و [قلعة] و شكي
 و شمكور و خنا (خنان؟)
 فهي ممالك [صغار و مدون لطاف متقاربة في الكبر خصبة واسعة المرافق]

And about Baylakan, Warthan, Bardaj, ash-Shamakhiya, ash-Shirwan,
 al-'abjaz (al-'abkhaz), Shaburan, [Kal'a], Shaki, Shamkur, Khuna (Khu-
 nan)

And they are small realms and nice towns, similar in size, fertile spacious facilities

N° 7

حبال [اميد و وردقان] متصلة لجبل الحرث و الحويرث و [كدلك] جبل [صبلان]
و فيها قلاع [ضباغ كثير و هذه جبال يمر الى] تفليس

Mountains of 'amid and Warzakan are connected to mountains al-Harith and al-Huwayirith and likewise, mount Sabalan

And there are castles in it, full of villages and those mountains passes to Tiflis

N° 8

[بها] حماما
كحمامات [طبرية] ماء
سخن من غير نار و الان
[فهى بيد] الكرج [فا نظر الى فعل] ملك الكرج [فنه مع كفره]

There are baths

Same as baths of Tabariya a water

Is hot without fire and now

It is in the hands of al-Kurj [what did] king of al-Kurj who is disbeliever

N° 9

برذعة
من اران مدينة كبيرة جدا
و [لم يكون من] العراق
و الطبرستان بعد الرى
و [اصفهان] اكبر منها و
لا اخصب و لا احسن
موضعا فاختل [مجاورة]
الكرج لها

Barza'a

From Aran is a very big town

And [there could not be from] al-'irak

And Tabaristan after ar-Rayi

And [Isbahan] bigger (town) than it is

Or more fertile or better
 Situation and (it was) abolished (by) neighbouring
 Al-Kurj

№ 10

وليس [بين شوي] و بركر و خلاط و بدليس و أرزن كثير (كثير تفاوت)
 [الآن خلاط قد عمر خارج المدينة مثل ما هي اضعافا مضاعفة و مقصيد التجار]
 [و اهلها ذو مال و (بار) و العالب على اخلاق اهلها الشراسة بغضة للغريب]

And there is no in between Shuwayi, Barkar, Khilat, Badlis, ‘arzan, big difference

Now Khilat, outside of it has built same double place for the merchants
 And its people owns money and most of its people’s nature is ferocious and hate to a stranger

In addition to the given inscriptions, there are places in the manuscript that have not been translated by E. Sikharulidze in the reference about Tbilisi and these details tell us about the campaigns of the Kurjs (Georgians) on Dvin and condition of Barda (Bardavi). About Dvin there is a small interesting information Page 124 (fol.32v):

...As for the city of Dvin it is a big city with many vegetable gardens, orchards, fruits and sown lands. It has a mud wall and water flows there. Most of a area under crops there are cotton and rice. And it’s people have already suffered horror, in our time they are in neighbourhood of al-Kurji (Georgians) [who] invaded the city and burned it. and each time as soon as they have the opportunity they attack in order to disperse them...

Definitely, the insertion which speaks of the Kurjs is not simultaneous of Ibn Hawqal and it was added later, maybe in the process of re-writing. Interestingly what period this references refer to. The first important information that can be used to date the reference is the date of the capture of Tbilisi by the Georgians given in the text: the second decade of 500 H.:

...Now it (Tbilisi) is in hands of al-Kurj they took it in the second decade of 500 years (Hijri). and the king despite his misfit cares and protects its people and land from all the mischief. The rules of Islam stands here as it was before. Congregation mosque is protected from all the profane. The king light a candle and an icon lamp and does what is necessary. Adhan is recited in all of its mosques. Apparently and evidently none harm them (Muslims). And has already mixed up Muslim an al-Kurj...²⁴

²⁴ Arabe 2214, Folio 33r (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>).

In connection with the above, E. Sikharulidze's opinion, which gives the date of the second decade of 500 years, she named year 516 H. so 1122 year AD.²⁵ Next, the source names the king of the Kurjs, which despite its unbelief (not Muslim) protects and looks after the population.²⁶ In the mentioned king E. Sikharulidze considered king Demetrius the first. However, it is interesting that during the reign of Demetrius I, Georgians did not march the Dvin. Unlike the era of king George III and King (Queen) Tamar, when the Georgians repeatedly invaded and took Dvin. We think that in the mentioned king we should not mean Demetrius I, but George III, who took Dvin in 1162 and joined the country with Ani in 1173, although the battles continued even after that. According to this source, it seems that the Kurjs should attack the city more than once. As for the chronological framework of the manuscript itself, in this case it is quite possible. For instance, in the chapter Sajistan (Sistan) we have a reference to the story of 580 H., which is placed between 1184-1185 AD.²⁷ Most likely, the mentioned king Demetrius I was shared on the basis of Al-Fariq, as Al-Fariq reported that Demetrius attended Friday prayers in the mosque and gave offerings and alms for scholars or the mosque itself.²⁸

In conclusion, we can say that this attempt has made the content of the inscriptions on the map more or less achieved. However, it should be noted, that the map and the inscriptions on it still require additional research. The most prominent among them is inscription № 1, which needs clarification the most. We guess that the inscription needs more time and other kinds of works, to make an exact classification/essence of the written text. At the same time, the manuscript taken separately is interesting and it may be new in the future or an opportunity to interpret issues differently. Also, we can make a suggestion that there might be more manuscripts/writings which are not published yet or even not found so far. As far as based on the inscriptions we can say that neither in this manuscript nor edited fulltext consists all the information that possibly was given in the initial work.

25 E. Sikharulidze, "Ibn haukali tbilisis shesakheb", *Sakartvelos istoriis aghmosavluri masalebi*, vol. I, Tbilisi 1976, pp. 38 (In Georgian).

26 *Ibid*, p. 35.

27 Arabe 2214, Folio 43r (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>).

28 E. Sikharulidze, "Al-pariki sakartveloshi", *Semitologiuri dziebani*, vol. II, Tbilisi 1985, pp. 83-90.

Inscriptions on the map of Ibn Hawqal (Manuscript Arabe 2214)

The distinctive period of Arabic geographical literature is the 10th century, and Arab geographers or travelers working in this period create new types of labors that are different from the geographical works based on the Greek motifs that existed before. The differences are in both content and appearance: style and form. Arab geographers overview not only the Muslim world, but also a much larger area, and conventionally it is from the islands of Britain to the Korean Peninsula and from Finland to Central Africa. Therefore, the Caucasus region is often found not only in Arab-Muslim historical works but also in geographical literature. Especially the South and South-East Caucasus region, which had not only military-political importance for Arab Caliphate, but also had an economic significance. Today these papers are more or less available, as soon as there are access to Arabic critical editions of texts. But still, there are some obstacles and the difficulty in this case is its complexity, which at the same time means opportunity. As far as this type of works is concerned not only with the narration of geographical content, but also with political, economic, social or other.

The article offers to Ibn Hawqal's geographical work which dates back to the second half of the 10th century. Muḥammad Abū'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī was a 10th century Arab geographer and traveler who traveled for about 25 years, which is an important component of his writings, as many places the author himself has seen. Among them was Tbilisi narrated in his own works, where he was invited to the city Qadi and Amira. There are a couple of editions of the book in Arabic and partial translation of text in different languages, including Georgian (Translation about Tbilisi done by E. Sikharulidze). For us, in this case, the object of interest is the map of the Caucasus preserved in one of his late manuscripts from 15th century and the inscriptions made on it, their description, content, and character. In terms of text volume, there are up to ten relatively large texts on the map. There are also ten small, several-word inscriptions. The inscriptions on the map are pasted by hand, and some places are damaged or erased. The manuscript is known as Arabe 2214 was preserved and unveiled by the National Library of France and its partners. The article also discusses some episodes directly from the manuscript, which deal with the events of the twelfth century Dvin, Tbilisi, and in common Georgians, and which is the supplement for the late period and comes from a late insert.

The aim is to give a description of the map, and an initial exposition of inscriptions that were written down directly on it. Furthermore, the more precise definition of the episode that concerns the king of Georgia, from the twelfth century. As a result, we have a description of the map and its inscriptions primary textual analysis with a possible form of writing and eventual translation of it. However, it should be noted, that the map and the inscriptions on it still require additional research.

Key words: Ibn Hawqal, Caucasus map, medieval Arabic geography, Arabic map inscriptions.

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE SPREAD IN GEORGIA

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Introduction

The humankind remembers many pandemics, which had spread from country to country, from the continent to the continent and which terrified people from different classes or religious beliefs. During the Middle ages the clergy thought the existed pandemics had been the punishment from the God. Among the pandemics, the most terrifying was the “Black Death”(Plague), which had also been called as the second pandemic, and which had spread from the Chinese-Mongolian border near the Gobi desert.¹ Fast spreading of the disease had been caused by the movement of the Mongolian forces and their participation in many military operations, the cargo exchange on the Silk Road. The disease which had been brought by Genoese traders had been called as a “Black Plague”, and later “Black Death”.² It is known that the name of the disease derives from the black or livid marks on the bodies of the diseased.

Discussion

During the 40s of the 14th century the disease had rapidly spread in Asia and Europe. The disease had been from Asia, from the upper bank of River Volga, later to Crimea, to Constantinople and to the east in Greece, West Romania and Bulgaria. The hearths of the pandemic had also

¹ J. Kelly, *The Great Mortality AN Intimate History oh The Black Death, the Most Devastating Plague of All Time*. New York, Toronto, Sydney, London 2005, p. 6.

² Ibid, p. 23.

been present in Cyprus, however the greatest scope the pandemic had gained in western European countries, in particular: Italy, France, South and West of England, Ireland, Scandinavian countries, and also in Russia. The “Black Death” had taken the lives of the tens of millions.³

The “Black Plague” had reached highest scopes in Europe during 1397-1534, whereas only in Europe the population had witnessed 17 outbreaks during that given time.⁴ The “Black Plague” had been known during the Sumer-Babylonia period.⁵ The mentioned pandemic is also mentioned in the Bible.⁶ The “Black Plague” had also been spread in the ancient Greece,⁷ whereas the current disease had taken the form of pandemic during the 40-50-s of the 6th century.⁸ The pandemic had taken the lives of many royal family members in Europe, among them are: two sons of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos-Prince Michael and Prince Demetrios. The victims of the “Black Plague” had become the wife of the John VIII Palaiologos, Anna, daughter of the Grand Prince Basil I of Moscow, and many others.⁹ In Georgia the “Black Plague” had spread from year of 1346. This is attested in one of the Russian sources, “Chronicles of Ermoliane” As according to the Russian text, the terrifying disease had spread to the eastern countries, among Tatars and Obez. The Obez had been the given name of ethnic Georgians in many Russian sources in 12th-14th centuries.¹⁰ However, we encounter earlier sources about the “Black Plague”, in particular in the Georgian medical site “Manuscript of Karabadini (Ustoro karabadini)”, the “Black Plague” is referred as “Tkaaguni”.¹¹ In the Georgian historiography, there existed a version that King Giorgi V the Magnificent (1314-1346) had died of the “Back Plague”.¹² During the 14th century a writer of the noble-ho-

³ *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Paleopathology*, Cambridge University Press 1998, p. 197.

⁴ J. S a m u s h i a, “Shavi tchiris epidemia sakartveloshi, 1802-1804 tsebsshi general sergei tuchkovis tsnobebis mikhedvit”. (The Black Plague epidemy in Georgia, as according to the sources of Gn. Sergey Tuchkov of 1802-1804), p. 84. <https://independent.academia.edu/jabasamushia>

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92; J. S a m u s h i a, “Shavi tchiris epidemiebi sakartveloshi”. (The Black Plague, Epidemic in Georgia and worldwide). *Istoriani* N 4, (112), 2020, p. 12.

¹⁰ G. K i k n a d z e, “Akhali masala XIV s-shi sakartveloshi shavi tchiris epidemiis gavrtselebis shesakheb (svanuri sabutebi)”. (New sources about the spread of the Black Plague in Georgia during the 14th century). *Istoriisa da etnologii institutis shromebi XIV-XV*, Tbilisi 2016-2017, p. 219.

¹¹ *Ustoro karabadini*, prepared for publication by D. Kukhianidze, Tbilisi 1997, p. 520.

¹² V. K i k n a d z e, *Sakartvelo XIV saukuneshi*. Tbilisi 1989, p. 115.

use of Ksani Eristavi, Avgaroz Bandaisdze had described the death of the population supposedly caused by the “Black Plague” in 1348-1365.¹³ The writing had specifically indicated deaths, which should be related to the spread of the pandemic. As according to V. Kinkadze, the “Black Plague” had spread from the north of the Ksani gorge, supposedly spread by the Golden Horde.¹⁴ During the I part of the 14th century the spread of the “Black Plague” is attested by the documents from Svaneti, in particular from Seti and Lagami communities. We encounter in one of the documents that in case the residents of the communities had gone to Ossetia, where the pandemic had blustered, they were fined with Ibara in the amount of 200 tetri. In case the residents, we diseased with the pandemic and they were suspected of their travels to Ossetia had also had to pay Ibara in the amount of 200 tetri.¹⁵ As V. Kiknadze defines, Ibara, was a sort of the local tax in Svaneti, which the community could impose upon the residents on special occasions. The local residents could pay Ibara with money, or in real terms.¹⁶ As we encounter in from one of the documents, the disease had been spread from Ossetia by 7 residents of the community. The diseased people had been buried in a specifically designed lime kilns in Seti community.¹⁷ The famous Georgian historian and geographer Vakhushti Batonishvili relates the pandemic to the death of the wife of King Bagrat V (1360-1393), Elene.¹⁸ “Zhamianoba”, or the outbreak of the “Black Plague” is also encountered in the future periods as according to the historical sources, in particular in 1661 in the writing of “Zhamn gulani” (Church Code).¹⁹ The spread of the pandemic during the 17th is also attested in the 1566 writing of “Zhamn”. The fact is also attested by the writing on the “Gulani” of the 17th century. In 1568 the “Zhami” had been recorded in the western Georgia. We encounter this fact from the information derived from “Kinklosi” (Georgian dictionary) of the second half of the 18th century. The spread of “Zhami” is encountered in the 1683 writing in the “Ikorta dzilispiri”.²⁰ The “Black Plague”

13 *Dzegili eristavta*. (Book of the Eristavi). S. Meskhia edition, documents for the history of Georgia and the Caucasus, part 30. Tbilisi 1954, p. 319.

14 G. K i k n a d z e, *Sakartvelo XIV saukuneshi*. (Georgia in the 14th century), p. 221.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid, pp.223-224.

18 Vakhushti Batonishvili, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa, Kartlis tskhovreba*. (Description of the Kingdom of Georgia). Edited by S. K a u g c h i s h v i l i, vol. IV, 1973, p. 262.

19 *Mtsire kronikebi (kinklosebis istoriuli minatserebi)*. (Lesser Chronicles (“Kinklosi” (cycle of the years) historical writings), text edited by J. O d i s h v i l i, 1968, p. 30.

20 T. Z h o r d a n i a, *Kronikebi*. (Chronicles), II. Tbilisi 2018, p. 497.

had terrified population during the later period too, as the population had fled Tbilisi. In the 1626 writing in “Zhamn gulani” we encounter that the pandemic raged from the end of the 18th till the beginning of the 18th century. In the beginning of the 18th century the existence of “Zhami” is attested by one more source, which is mentioned in the chronicles of Kartl-Kakheti by P. Karbelashvili.²¹ “Zhami” outbreak had also occurred in the 20s of the 18th century, as noted by Vakhushti Batonishvili.²² The “Black Plague” pandemic outbreak had occurred in Tbilisi in 1770, as according to the sources by P. Karbelashvili in the “Chronicles of Kartl-Kakheti”, the King of Georgia Erekle II had fled to Shida Kartli, in the village Beloti located in Patara liakhvi Gorge in order to find shelter from the outbreak. The period of the pandemic outbreak had been called as the “Tchirianoba” (disease) era, during which Erekle II had changed his location on several occasions, whereas on the last occasion he had fled to Gori.²³ The pandemic outbreak during the 70s of the 18th had caused losses specifically in Tbilisi. Another outbreak had occurred in 1797, when Erekle II had fled to Kakheti along with the queen, as according to the sources of Platon Ioseliani.²⁴ The death of the King Erekle II had coincided with the new wave of pandemic outbreak in Georgia. The “Little Kakhetian” had been transferred for burial from Telavi to Svetitskhoveli, whereas the King had been accompanied by the priest Kristepore Badridze.²⁵ King Giorgi XII had become king of Georgia in 1798, as he had ordered to place the Holy Lance of Christianity brought by Armenian Catholicos in Sioni Cathedral, in order to for the Holy spear to counter the pandemic outbreak in the country.²⁶ The “Black Plague” pandemic had taken the lives of the population of the village Anatori, located about 2-3 km-s the North-East of Shatili.²⁷

²¹ *Sakartvelos istoriis kronikebi*. (Chronicles of the Georgian history). Edited by A. Ioseliani, Tbilisi 1980, p. 50.

²² Vakhushti Batonishvili, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa*. (Description of the Kingdom of Georgia), pp. 512-513.

²³ *Sakartvelos istoriis kronikebi*. (Chronicles of the Georgian history), p.126.

²⁴ P. Ioseliani, *Tskhovreba Giorgi metsametsa*. (Life of Giorgi XIII), p. 119.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 120.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 121.

²⁷ *Kartuli sabchota entsiklopedia*. (Georgian Soviet encyclopedia), vol. I, p. 432.

Catholic Missionaries and the epidemic outbreaks in Georgia

The Catholic missionaries had left interesting sources about the epidemic outbreaks in Georgia. One of them, Ambrosio Contarini had resided in Georgia during the second half of the 15th century. In his records, Georgia and the Georgians hold particular place, as Contarini writes during his visit to Tbilisi “Zhami” had raged. During his visit to Tbilisi, he had stayed in the Catholic priest’s family. The servant of father Ambrosio had been infected with the disease, and soon after the priest had been infected himself from his servant, which had resulted in his death. The Italian priest had been placed in isolated place under the care of an elder, who had spoken French. Soon after Contarini had been cured from the disease.²⁸ The catholic priest visiting Georgia with the aim of spreading Catholicism had become the victims of the “Black Plague” in Samegrelo, Georgia during the beginning of the 17th century. “Zhami” had been spread in Dadiani principality from the Black Sea shores, which had been the cause of the death of Jesuit Stepane. The disease had become the reason of death of the second catholic priest, Ludovic Granjerio, which had fled to Constantinople, with the aim of finding cure from the disease, however he could not survive the disease.²⁹ If we take into consideration the fact that the catholic priest had had direct contact with the population, we could suppose that there should be more victims of the disease in Samegrelo, however we do not possess direct sources to strengthen our supposition. The “Black Plague” should have spread from Iran during the second half of the 17th century. It was in Iran, when the catholic missionary Giuseppe Antonio Romano had encountered the diseased Erekle Batonishvili (King Erekle I) and his family in 1675. Giuseppe Antonio Romano with the direct order of the Shah of Iran had been curing the Georgian prince.³⁰ The Georgian population had encountered significant losses from the epidemic in 1684, whereas the outbreak had occurred in the beginning of the year and had lasted for 7 months. The epidemic had

28 *Il viaggio del Magnifico M Ambrosio Contarini Ambasciatore della illustrissima Signoria di Venetia al gran Signore USSuncassann Re de Persia nell' anno MCCCCLXXIII*, p. 115 v.

29 Michel Tamrashvili, *Istoria katolikobisa kartvelta shoris*. (History of the Catholics among Georgians, with the proper documentation and descriptions from 13th century to 20th century). Tiflis 1902, p. 142.

30 “Evropuli tskaroebi sakartvelos shesakheb (17th saukunis bolo meotkhedi)”. (European sources about Georgia (the last quarter of the XVII century). Italian and Latin texts has been translated and edited by Murman Papashvili, Eldar Mamistavlishvili, Zurab Gamezardashvili. Tbilisi 2018, pp.70-71.

taken many lives in Gori and Tbilisi. The Capuchin monks had showed significant care towards the population, whereas father Karlo Peshel had died of the disease.³¹ The catholic priest showed great care towards the population in Tbilisi. As we encounter in the letter of priest Ioseb Bogoinaneli, there had been a epidemic outbreak in Tbilisi and which had put the being of the Capuchin monks in Tbilisi in danger. Ioseb Bogoinaneli had been asking for help, as the populations had experience grave losses during the epidemic.³² We encounter interesting information about this fact in the letter to Rome by priest Julio of October 22, 1690. During the second half of the 18th century the “Black Plague” had taken the lives of catholic missionaries (educated in Rome) in Akhaltsikhe.³³ The catholic priest had taken extreme care of the population and which on many instances had resulted in their deaths. We encounter interesting information about the deeds of the Catholic Church during the epidemic outbreak in Georgia in the letter of Marquis Paulucci to the Holy Synod Ober-Procurator Golitsyn dated to April 5, 1812. As Paulucci had noted, the catholic priest in Georgia had been financed directly from Rome. Later on, after the abolition of the “Propaganda Fide” the catholic priest had been received lesser amounts of financial assistance. Paulucci had asked the Ober-Procurator to solicit with the Emperor the financial assistance issue of the Catholic Church.³⁴

The European travelers about the epidemic outbreaks in Georgia

The European travelers offer significant information about the epidemic outbreaks in Georgia, as their sources fill the gaps in Georgian historical sources. It is thus very interesting that they had been the eye witnesses of the dynamics of the pandemic outbreaks, its peculiarities, state interventions to counter the epidemic threats, the heavy losses epidemic had caused to our population. In this regard, important sources had been left by the German traveler of the 70s of the 18th century Johann Anton Güldenstädt. It is known that his visit had been planned with the support of the Royal academy. By the time, the German naturalist had arrived in

³¹ Michel Tamrashvili, *Istoria katolikobisa kartvelta shoris*. (History of the Catholics among Georgians), p. 259.

³² *Ibid*, p. 260.

³³ *Ibid*, pp. 437-439.

³⁴ *Акты, собранные Кавказской Археографической комиссией (АКАК)*. (Acts of the Caucasian Archaeological Commission. ACAC). Tiflis 1873, pp. 49-50, N 83.

Georgia; he already possessed the information about the “Black Plague” outbreak in Georgia. In his letter of December 29, 1770 to the Royal academy of Russia, Johann Anton Güldenstädt had noted that his travels to Georgia had been interrupted by the Plague outbreak, whereas he got the information from the commander of the Russian army commander, Muravyov.³⁵ Right after the epidemic outbreak had ended, Johann Anton Güldenstädt had gone to the South Caucasus. Upon his arrival to Georgia, he had encountered many vacated places, among them had been the Dighomi fortress.³⁶ As Johann Anton Güldenstädt had noted, the reason behind the “Black Plague” and other disease outbreaks could have been the anti-sanitary and disorder in Tbilisi.³⁷ As according to Johann Anton Güldenstädt in winter of 1771 many lives had been taken by the Plague. As he noted about 4000 had died of the Plague.³⁸ During the beginning of the 19th century the “Black Plague” had been remained a challenge in Georgia, as to counter the epidemic outbreak the Russian government had set up quarantines. In this regard, we encounter interesting information from the British diplomat, artist and traveler Robert Ker Porter, who had traveled through South Caucasus to Asia in 1817-1820. The British traveler had arrived in Georgia from Russia, whereas as he recalls in his writings, there had been set up a special quarantine about 4 km-s from Tbilisi, where all visitors had to present their health certificates.³⁹ The Russian government had set up special quarantines in many regions of Georgia to counter the spread of the “Black Plague”. We encounter interesting information in this regard from the sources of German traveler Eduard Aichwald, who had traveled in the Caucasus in 1825-1826. There had existed 7 quarantine places in Georgia by the time: Ananuri, Bagdati, Surmai, Kareli (near Kareli) and three in the surroundings of Tbilisi. As according to the source of Aichwald, there had existed a grave threat of the disease spreading in Tbilisi due to its trade importance and heavily populated areas.⁴⁰ The Russian government had issued a set of special

³⁵ *Giuldenshtentis mogzauropa sakartveloshi*. (Guldenstadts travels in Georgia). German text has been translated, edited and published by G. Gelashvili, vol. II. Tbilisi 1964, pp.124-125.

³⁶ *Giuldenshtentis mogzauropa sakartveloshi*. (Guldenstadts travels in Georgia), vol. I. Tbilisi 1962, p. 61.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 61.

³⁸ *Giuldenshtentis mogzauropa sakartveloshi*. (Guldenstadts travels in Georgia), vol. II, p. 133.

³⁹ G. S o s i a s h v i l i, *Robert Ker porteti da misi tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb*. (Robert Ker Porter and his sources about Georgia). Tbilisi 2015, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁰ *Eduard Aikhwaldi sakartvelos shesakheb*. (Eduard Aichwald about Georgia), translated by G. Gelashvili, Tbilisi 2005, pp. 91-92.

instructions for the visitors and traders for the control of the products and disinfection. They had used the steam to disinfect. Kareli quarantine had been considered as least busy during the epidemic outbreak.⁴¹ As according to the German traveler, the local population had had significant losses due to the epidemic outbreak in the beginning of the 19th century, whereas the traveler had noted that during the 20s of the 19th century a new epidemic outbreak had occurred in the country, this time the Cholera outbreak. One of the most significant quarantine places had been set in Ananuri, whereas the Scottish traveler and Botanist Robert Lyall gives us interesting information in this regard, who had traveled in Georgia during the 20s of the 19th century. Rober Lyall remembers the quarantine place near Tbilisi.⁴² Many of the families had died of the “Black Plague” transferred from Turkey in the western part of Georgia in 1812. In this regard, we encounter interesting sources from French traveler, Jacques Francois Gamba, who had traveled in the Caucasus in 1820-1824.⁴³ The “Black Plague” outbreak had occurred in the western Georgia in the 40s of the 19th century. The source of the epidemic outbreak had been the visitors on the Black Sea shores. The Russian government had set up quarantine places near sea area too. German traveler August Haxthausen gives us interesting sources about the quarantine place in Guria.⁴⁴ We encounter information about the similar quarantine set up from the sources of French geologist and antiquities scholar Frederic Dubois de Montperreux, who had traveled in northern shores of the Black Sea, Crimea and the Caucasus in the 30s of the 19th century.⁴⁵ German traveler Moritz Wagner also gives us interesting sources about the deadly disease spread in the Caucasus, among which had been the information about the “Black Plague” outbreak in the German housing in Azerbaijan during the first half of the 19th century.⁴⁶

Pandemic Outbreak in Georgia during the I half of the 19th century

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 92.

⁴² *Travels in Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia*, by Robert Lyall, vol. I, London 1825, p. 507.

⁴³ Jacques Francois Gamba, *Travels in the Caucasus, translated from French*, by M. Mgaloblishvili, Tbilisi 1987, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁴ *August Von Haxthausen about Georgia*, translated from German language and edited by G. Gelashvili, Tbilisi 2011, p. 201.

⁴⁵ P. Gugushvili, *Sakartvelosa da amirkavkasiis ekonomikuri ganvitareba XIX-XX saukuneebshi*. (Economic development of Georgia and Caucasus in 19th-20th centuries), vol. I, Tbilisi 1949, p. 304.

⁴⁶ *Moritz Wagneri sakartvelos shesakheb*. (Moritz Wagner about Georgia, translated from German language), translated from German language and edited by G. Gelashvili, Tbilisi 2002, pp. 99-100.

During the reign of the King Giorgi XII the “Black Plague” outbreak had occurred on several occasions in Georgia, however the Royal house neither had nor possessed enough man power to set up quarantine places. Due to the fact that the spread of the epidemic had occurred from Turkey, the Georgian royal house had set the bounds on trades in Akhaltsikhe. It is worth noting that these measures had become successful for some time. Due to the many disease cases, the Russian government had set up a special quarantine near the “Blue” monastery in Tbilisi, for the population diseased with the “Black Plague”.⁴⁷ In 1802, there had been a new outbreak in Georgia, as the first case had occurred in Javakheti In December, 1802. Apart from Javakheti, many cases had taken place in the villages on Kartl-Kakheti, as this is attested from the correspondences of General Lazarev to Tsitsianoff.⁴⁸ The first case of the “Black Plague” had taken place near Tbilisi, in village Koda in the “Tiflisi Musketeer Regiment” on December 23, 1802. The information about the “Black Plague” outbreak had been passed to the Civil Governor General Sergey Tuchkov and Tsitsianoff, however the later did not believe in the provided information. At last, Tsitsianoff had been convinced that the disease had in fact been the “Black Plague” and therefore had decreed to close down Tbilisi and not let anyone beyond the city.⁴⁹ Due to the fact spread of the disease, on January 15, 1803 Tsitsianof had requested Petersburg to provide necessary medical personnel and medicine to counter the epidemic threats.⁵⁰

As according to the governmental decree, a special quarantine had been set up in Dusheti on August 1803.⁵¹ As according to the sources from General Tuchkov, the population had been prohibited to leave the capital. As according to the letter to Tsitsianoff, which had been based on the information provided by Executive Expedition members dated to 1804 1570 people had died of the epidemic in Georgia during 1803-1804.⁵²

The new wave of the “Black Plague” had been spread throughout the Caucasus from Turkey, among which was the case, when the epidemic

47 P. Ioseliani, *Tskhovreba Giorgi metsametisa*. (Life of Giorgi XIII), p. 168.

48 J. Samushia, *Shavi tchiris epidemia sakartveloshi, 1802-1804 tslebshi general sergei tuchkovis tsnobebis mikhedvit*. (The Black Plague epidemy in Georgia, as according to the sources of Gn. Sergey Tuchkov of 1802-1804), p. 105 <https://independent.academia.edu/jabasamushia>

49 Ibid, pp.105-106.

50 Ibid, p. 106.

51 *Акты, собранные Кавказской Археографической комиссией*. (Acts of the Caucasian Archaeological Commission. ACAC), vol. II, p. 259.

52 Ibid, pp. 261-262.

outbreak had spread in the villages near Akhaltsikhe. The wide range spread of the outbreak had occurred in Georgia in 1811 too. In 1812 “Zhami” had once more occurred in Georgia, which is attested in the “Chronicles of Abashidze”, or the “Imeretian Chronicles”, and according to which, the pandemic had resulted in large number of deaths.⁵³ On May 1812 new cases of the “Black Plague” had been identified in Tbilisi, however the government had not informed the Royal government. In summer 1812, the epidemic had spread in the workers suburb, near the Military hospital and Weaponry, where 43 diseased and 36 patients with symptoms had been identified. Among the infected, 30 had died, whereas the rest had undergone the mandatory 10 day quarantine.⁵⁴ In the end of September 1813, the disease had spread again. Stepane Mizandari had shown significant cared towards the diseased ones, during the “Black Plague” outbreak in Tbilisi, whereas as of the governmental decree he had been appointed to the quarterly supervisor and the quarantine commissioner positions.⁵⁵ In the beginning of the 19th century, the waves of epidemic outbreak had put the population in terrible situation. The western part of Georgia had suffered significantly, due to the difficult social situation and the deaths as a result of the epidemic outbreaks. This had not been coincidental, as the epidemic spread had started from Turkey and the ports on the Black Sea coastline, from the diseased travelers, which had assisted in fast-spreading the disease.

Epidemics in Georgia and Christian Church

Apocalyptic ordeals had always been considered as a mystery to the mankind. The people being in despair had considered the epidemics as the supernatural phenomena and as the punishment from the God.⁵⁶ With the spread of the “Black Plague” in Europe the authority of the Roman Catholic Church had been shaken, which had been stipulated by the high

⁵³ *Sakartvelos istoriis kronikebi*. (Chronicles of the Georgian history), p. 358.

⁵⁴ *Акты, собранные Кавказской Археологической комиссией*. (Acts of the Caucasian Archaeological Commission. ACAC), vol. V, p. 403.

⁵⁵ J. R e k h v i a s h v i l i, “Shavi tchiri, kolera, sakhadi, “ispanka ras gadaurcha sakartvelo?!” https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/Savi_Wiri-saxadi-qolera-ispanka-ras_gadaurCa_saqarTvelo/30468650.html

⁵⁶ J. M. J o s h u a, “Religious Responses to the Black Death”. <https://www.Ancient.Eu/article/1541/religious-responses-to-the-black-death/>.

death rates, death of the clergy and in general, being in despair.⁵⁷ How had the views towards the Georgian church been in the epidemic outbreaks? In this regard, we are not indulged with many historical sources; however, we have at hand the sources, which could cast the views of the church in the epidemics outbreaks. The Orthodox Church could have been considered as the deliverance from the “Black Plague”, as the Georgian Patriarchate had offered not only the spiritual assistance, but relieved the population from the taxes during the epidemic outbreaks. This is attested in the petition of the village Dzegvi population to Catholicos-Patriarch Anton II dated to May 2, 1800. As a result of the “Black Plague”, the population had abandoned the village, and the rest had died from the disease. The village population had asked the Patriarch to abolish the taxes and as a result the Patriarch relieved them of the existing taxes.⁵⁸ Platon Ioselian provides interesting insight in reference to the Orthodox Church’s support towards the population during epidemic outbreaks. As it was mentioned earlier, in 1787 due to the “Black Plague” outbreak, the population had fled Tbilisi to the nearby villages and mountainous areas, when they had been assisted by the clergy, among which, most notably had been the confessor of the King Erekle II, priest Evtimi.⁵⁹ In 1798, during the “Zhami” outbreak, a significant heroism had been shown by the priest of the royal house Kristepore Badridze during the burial of the King Erekle II. As Platon Ioseliani notes, the body of the King Erekle II had been transferred by the small group of mourners from Telavi. The reason behind that had been the “Black Plague” outbreak. The “Little Kakhetian” had been transferred to river Aragvi shore, where the body had been taken by the Mtskhetians to Svetitskhoveli and consequently been buried without proper ceremony. The group of noblemen from Kakheti, accompanying the body of the departed King had returned from the shores of Aragvi. King Giorgi XII had granted a deed of Grant to Kristepore Badridze on December 22, 1799, had renewed his landed gentry and granted 5 peasant families in Norio. In the Deed of Grant, we encounter that priest Kristepore Badridze had showed extraordinary achievements

57 “The Black Death and its impact on The Church and popular Religion by Mclaurine H. Zentner”, “A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial Fulfilment of the regquirementts of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College”. Oxford-May 2015, p. 4-24. <http://thesis.honors.olemiss.edu/338/>.

58 *Dokumentebi saqartvelos sotsialuri istoriidan*. (Documents from the Social relations history of Georgia). N. Berdzenishvili edition, part II. Tbilisi 1953, p. 206, N 334.

59 P. I o s e l i a n i, *Tskhovreba Giorgi metsametisa*. (Life of Giorgi XIII), p. 120.

towards King Erekle II, whereas his merits had been particularly shown during the burial of the King. With the fear of the “Black Plague”, the body of the King had not been accompanied in Svetitskhoveli, except for Kristepore Badridze, as he had been the only person to see-off the King to the eternal rest. Priest Kristepore had also organized the funeral repast for the departed King.⁶⁰ As it was mentioned earlier, after the death of Giorgi XII the “Black Plague” occurred on several occasions in Georgia, whereas the epidemic outbreak had reached its peak in Tbilisi in August, 1803. As of the notification of general Sergey Tuchkov, Pavle Tsitsianoff had decreed to close down the city; however there had been cases of disobedience on behalf of the population. The clergy had been particularly active in this regard. As it was indicated in the correspondence of Tsitsianoff to the Royal government dated to August 13, 1803, with the fear of the epidemic, the population had fled the city; however the examples had been given by the Georgian clergy. They had locked down the churches and had stealthily fled the city. As Tsitsianoff had noted, the blame to be on the Catholicos-Patriarch, who instead of supporting the government, has asked for the verbal and written permissions to leave the city. As Tsitsianoff had indicated, the Patriarch had been granted the permission, and it had been then, when he had been confronted by the local population, not letting him fled the city.⁶¹

The Holy Spear and the “Black Plague”

1. During the Middle ages, in the era of deadly epidemic outbreaks, religious life, church and Christian sacred objects had become the source for the relief . During the late Feudal Georgia The Holy Spear had been considered as the counter to the deadly “Black Plague” outbreak, which had been used to lance the side of Jesus as he hung on the cross during his crucifixion. About this fact, we imply the lancing of the Jesus by the Roman soldier, about which, the information had been passed by *John* the Apostle, who was one of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus.⁶² We have not encountered any sources about the Holy spear until 570, when St. Antoni-

⁶⁰ *Sakartvelos istoriis kronikebi*. (Chronicles of the Georgian history), p. 215.

⁶¹ J. Samushia, *Shavi tchiris epidemia sakartveloshi, 1802-1804 tslebshi general sergei tuchkovis tsnobebis mikhedvit*. (The Black Plague epidemy in Georgia, as according to the sources of Gn. Sergey Tuchkov of 1802-1804), p. 108.

⁶² *Akhali aghtkma*. (The New testament). Tbilisi 2013, pp. 201-202.

nus of Piacenza had visited Jerusalem.⁶³ Likewise, other Christian sacred objects, there exist several Holy Spears, whereas the relics are preserved in: Vatican City, Vienna, Krakow.⁶⁴

As of the sources of French theologian and reformer, John Calvin (1543), there exist 4 different Holy spears: In Rome, St. Chapelle (Paris), Abbey of Tenal in Saintongeais (France) and Saint Selve, near Bordeaux (France). About the mentioned relic, there exists one more version, that the Holy Spear had been discovered during the First Crusade in Antioch in 1098.⁶⁵

The holy Spear is also preserved in Echmiadzin. As according to one of the versions, the Christian relics and Holy spear among them had been taken by the Russians in 1805, however during the later period Armenians had returned the holy relics. There exists several version on how the Holy Spear had been brought to Armenia. The Armenian historian Vardan Aravelts had noted that the Roman centurion Longinus, who pierced the Jesus with the spear had lived in the capital of Cappadocia, Caesarea, near the Goreme gorge. Until his death, Longinus had kept the spear, but then had passed it to the newly converted Christian. During the end of the 3rd century, Grigol the preacher had brought it to Armenia.⁶⁶

As according to the version of the Armenian Church, the Holy Spear had been given by Peter the Apostle to the student of Jesus Thaddaeus, who later on had brought the holy relic to Armenia.⁶⁷

As according to the one other version, the Holy Spear had been transferred to Echmiadzin during the 13th century, prior being kept in Geghardavank.⁶⁸

There had existed a belief in Georgia that the Holy Spear would stop the “Black Plague” epidemic. It seems that during the reign of Erekle II, the mentioned relic had been transferred to Georgia from Echmiadzin on several occasions. As Platon Ioseliani notes, the Last King of Kartl-Kakheti had asked the Armenian

63 New Advent Featuring The Catholic Encyclopedia <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08773a.htm>

64 <http://www.info-bible.org/histoire/reforme/traite-des-reliques-jean-calvin.htm#Reliques%20du%20Christ:%20de%20l'enfance%20%C3%A0%20sa%20mort>

65 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Holy-Lance> Runciman, Steven (1987). *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 241-245.

66 “Реликвии Армянской Апостольской Церкви. Копье, пронзившее ребро Иисуса Христа”. <https://vstroka.net/avtorskaya-kolonka/relikvii-armyanskoj-apostolskoj-tserkvi-kope-pronzivshee-rebro-iisusa-hrista/>.

67 Ibid.

68 <https://armenianchurch.us/2019/12/02/holy-lance-armenian-tradition-legend/>.

Catholicos to bring the relic to Georgia, however the Armenians did not trust the King Giorgi XII and had therefore sent a group of Armenian priest to safely return the relic back afterwards. The holy relic had been placed in Sioni cathedral, however during nighttime, it had been transferred to Armenian church.⁶⁹ After the “Black Plague” epidemic had weakened, the Armenians has asked to return the relic with the help of Melik Darchaa of Tbilisi. However, Darchia could not ask the King the favor. After sometime, Armenian Catholicos had met the King of Georgia and asked for the return of the relic to Echmiadzin.

King Giorgi XII had assured the Catholicos that they had no intentions of keeping the Holy Spear, rather the King explained that it was necessary in the epidemic era, as the members of the royal family prayed to it and afterwards it would have been returned along with many presents. afterwards, the Armenian clergy members had decided to ask Catholicos Anton II for help, however neither the Catholicos had been able to help. He had opted out, in order not to offend his brother. When the Catholicos had failed to help Armenians retrieve the relic, then they had asked Arsen Tbileli for help, but in vain, they could not accomplish their goal. Lastly, they had asked the confessor of the King, Evertime. Due to the persistent actions of the Armenians, the King got offended and had ordered to keep the relic in Tbilisi for another week. Lastly, the Armenians had decided to secretly take the Holy Spear and transfer it to Echmiadzin. They had chosen 6 Armenian and two “Yerevani Tatars” and had sent them to Tbilisi, however: “Melik Darchia had found out about this and consequently imprisoned them...”⁷⁰ After sometime, King Giorgi XII had decided to return the Holy Spear to Echmiadzin, however during that time another epidemic outbreak had occurred in Tbilisi and the return had been postponed. On January 29, 1800 Armenian clergy has sent a letter to King Giorgi XII, asking him to return the Holy Spear. It seems from the letter that that the Armenians had asked for the return of the Holy Spear guard, Episcopo Ioane. After the death of the Armenian Catholicos Luka, the King of Kartl-Kakheti had appointed Ioseb Argutashvili as anew Catholicos, who by then had resided in Russia. The Armenian clergy had agreed to receive the Candidature appointed by the Georgian King, thus Argutashvili had been given the task to transfer the Holy Spear to Echmiadzin, however the future Armenian Catholicos to be had passed away during the voyage.⁷¹ Lastly, the Holy Spear had been returned to Armenia after the death of King Giorgi XII, as of the decree of Kovalenski.⁷²

⁶⁹ P. Ioseliani, *Tskhovreba Giorgi metsametisa*. (Life of Giorgi XIII), pp. 120-121.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 122.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 126.

⁷² Ibid.

Lexical units and expression In Georgian Language related to the epidemics

In Georgian language, we have many documented, or narrative sources preserved, which are related to the epidemics, in particular the “Black Plague”. We mean, the rich lexical units, or figurative expressions, that are used to indicate the deadly diseases. We suppose that the word “Tchiri” (plague) had existed in Georgian language prior to the emergence of the epidemic outbreaks and it indicated ordeal, or disease. Later on, this word had been adjusted to epidemic; however it had kept the original essence. The word “Tchirveba” (to suffer) derived from “Tchiri” (plague) is encountered in the work of Leonti Mroveli.⁷³ We encounter many verbs derived from the word “Tchirva” in “The Knight in the Panther’s skin”, where it indicates concern or agitation.⁷⁴ “Tchirva” is encountered in later sources bearing the meaning of labor, handicraft. In the historical sources, we encounter a word “Tchirnakhadi” (a person having experienced agitation or suffering), which had been used to refer to a person, who underwent a disease.⁷⁵ In the Georgian documented sources, we encounter a word “Tchirdebuleba” – which is associated with peril or ordeal.⁷⁶ In the narrative texts, we encounter a word “Tchirisupali”, which was a synonym of a poor, or a person fallen into hardship.⁷⁷ As according to the Khoni Sakdrisi book of deeds, the word “Tchirveuli” had referred to the diseased person during the end of the 16th century.⁷⁸ In the typicon of Petritsoni Monastery, we encounter a word “Tchirvesvelni”, which referred to the disease.⁷⁹ In his lexicon, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani has used many words related to word “Tchiri” (referring to the disease).⁸⁰ In the modern Georgian language we have many words related to “Tchiri”, among them is “Tchirisupali”, which refers to the mourner of the diseased, or is

⁷³ *Kartlis tskhovreba*, edited by S. Kaughchishvili. vol. I, Tbilisi 1955, p. 133.

⁷⁴ Shota Rustaveli, *Vepkhistaosani*. (The Knight in the Panther’s skin), edited by Sargis Tsaishevili. Tbilisi 1986, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁵ P. Ioseliani, *Tskhovreba giorgi metsametisa*. (Life of Giorgi XIII), p. 168.

⁷⁶ *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi*. (Georgian legal sites, text has been edited and published), vol. IV. Tbilisi 1972, p. 557.

⁷⁷ *Kartlis tskhovreba*, pp. 58, 166, 175, 312.

⁷⁸ *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi*. (Georgian legal sites, text has been edited and published), vol. III. Tbilisi 1970, p. 370.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 89.

⁸⁰ Sulkha-Saba Orbeliani, *Leksikoni kartuli*. (Georgia Dictionary), II. Tbilisi 1993, p. 403.

a synonym of a close relative.⁸¹ “Tchirnakhuli” is also related to word “Tchiri”, which refers to the harvest, or cereals.⁸²

The fact that word “Tchirnakhuli” is used to refer to harvest; cereal is also attested in the 1789 document.⁸³ The word “Nachirnakhulevi” also derives from the word referring to the epidemic and is used in regional dialects, in particular Kartli dialect, and refers to one’s negative connotation towards another person. In Georgian language, we also encounter word “Tchiri” in nicknames, for example: “Tchiriani”, which refers to a person of a slight build. We also encounter the surnames deriving from the word “Tchiri” referring to the epidemic – “Kharistchirashvili”, a wide-known Georgian Catholic priest Petre Kharitchirashvili. In the Middle ages in Georgia, all the correspondences directed to the Kings, princes, their wife’s or the clergy had the one and the same opening lines: “May the Lord give the “Tchiri” (suffering) of the kings to them”...⁸⁴ We encounter many words derived from the word “Tchiri” in many Georgian regions. We encounter many figurative expressions in our language, which derive from the word “Tchiri”. The words referring to suffering or epidemic, or the words deriving from them, expressions, or verbs had been absorbed into Georgian language in a way that it became an organic part of it, and these words are used up till now, expressing negative or positive contexts. As we mentioned in the opening part, the mankind had faced many obstacles, wars between states, natural cataclysms, continent-wide pandemics had caused deaths of many humans. On the road of the history, full of obstacles, our country had also experienced many challenges, which throughout the history had experienced “Black Plague” occurrence on many occasions.

Conclusion

The disease referred as the “Black Death”, had incurred losses to Asia, Middle East or Europe and to Georgia as well, however, the death rate had been rather low. This could be explained by the immunity formed through

⁸¹ A. Neyman, *Kartul sinonimta leksikoni*. (Dictionary of the Georgian synonyms 3rd edition). Tbilisi 1978, p. 599.

⁸² *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi*. (Georgian legal sites, text has been edited and published), vol. VIII. Tbilisi 1985, p. 221.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 18.

⁸⁴ *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi*. (Georgian legal sites, text has been edited and published), vol. VII. Tbilisi 1981, p. 402.

the centuries on the geographical location of Georgians, or from the belonging of the Georgians to the 5 Haplogroups, which we had discussed earlier. However, this research should be left to the field specialists. As of today, the Covid 19 pandemic, which had put the world to thinking, is weakening. It is worth mentioning that Georgia had suffered less in comparison to other countries. The society at large, the government and the medical society had coped the pandemic challenges well. As during the previous centuries, the society will return to normal life. The biblical truth stands above all for the mankind, which is: "This too shall pass".

From the history of the Plague spread in Georgia

The humankind remembers many pandemics, which had spread from country to country, from the continent to the continent and which terrified people from different classes or religious beliefs. During the middle ages the clergy thought the existed pandemics had been the punishment from the God. Among the pandemics, the most terrifying was the “Black Death” (Plague), which had also been called as the second pandemic, and which had spread from the Chinese-Mongolian border near the Gobi desert. Fast spreading of the disease had been caused by the movement of the Mongolian forces and their participation in many military operations, the cargo exchange on the Silk Road. The disease which had been brought by Genoese traders had been called as a “Black Plague”, and later “Black Death”. It is known that the name of the disease derives from the black or livid marks on the bodies of the diseased.

During the 40s of the 14th century the disease had rapidly spread in Asia and Europe. The disease had been from Asia, from the upper bank of River Volga, later to Crimea, to Constantinople and to the east in Greece, West Romania and Bulgaria. The hearths of the pandemic had also been present in Cyprus, however the greatest scope the pandemic had gained in western European countries, in particular: Italy, France, South and West of England, Ireland, Scandinavian countries, and also in Russia. The “Black Death” had taken the lives of the tens of millions.

In the given paper, we analyze how the deadly epidemic had affected Georgia in socio-economic and political terms.

Key words: Epidemic outbreaks, The Black Plague, Georgia, Holy Spear, Church.

GEORGIA AND IRAN:
HISTORICAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT
AND TENDENCIES OF GEORGIAN RENAISSANCE
(ACCORDING TO GEORGIAN
HANDWRITTEN HERITAGE)

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Georgian-Iranian cultural contacts have a long history and deep roots. The Georgian culture has adopted and originally transformed artistic and spiritual achievements of the neighbouring Iran. These influences significantly touched all the spheres of the Georgian cultural life – literature, language, art and science.¹ From the very beginning, Georgians were inspired with high artistic and melodious Persian literature. In spite of political and national-religious hostility, Georgian scholars translated and “interpreted” with great erudition and diligence Persian poetic masterpieces, which at that time became an essential part of the Georgian national literature. This was conditioned by the high artistic level of these translations, and existence of relative motives in Georgian artistic thought (didactics, heroics, romance *et cetera*).²

Scientific works of Georgian scientists, created in the Middle Ages, contain rich material for studying Georgian-Oriental cultural relations, revealing the role of Georgian intellectuals, translators and “(re)

1 “Georgia”, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, New York 2001, vol. X, Fasc. 5, pp. 460-497; online site: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/georgia>

2 About Georgian-Persian literary contacts see D. Kobidze, *Kartul-sparsuli literaturuli urtiertobani*. (Georgian-Persian Literary Relations), vol. I-III. Tbilisi 1969, 1978, 1983; A. Gvakharia, *Narkvevebi kartul-sparsuli literaturuli urtiertobis istoriidan*. (Essays on the History of Georgian-Persian Literary Contacts), vol. I-II. Tbilisi 1995, 2001; Idem, “Literary Contacts with Persia”, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. X, Fasc. 5. New York 2001, pp. 481-486, online version: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/georgia-iv--1>.

interpreters” in the formation of scientific thought of that period, their elucidative aims, as well as general trends of the whole Near Eastern cultural region’s development.³ Persian cultural influences were appreciably reflected in all fields of the Georgian art and monuments of material culture. Foreign influences were mostly revealed in Georgian national miniatures, handwritten books illustrations and ornamentation, which was connected with the epoch’s demands and artistic taste. Development of Georgian culture, being hindered by the invasions of Mongols’ hordes, Tamerlane’s continuous attacks, and Ottoman Turks expansion, was renewed in the 15th century. In the 16th century a common national cultural-creative process started in Georgia, known as the “Georgian Renaissance” (ქართული აღორძინება).⁴

The revival of Georgian secular literature in the 16th-17th centuries was a particularly important phase, primarily for Georgian writing as was for the development of Georgian-Persian cultural interrelations. During the Renaissance, there was a revived national self-awareness, with deepening interrelations with the Orient, as well as with the West. Cultural-elucidative trends were reinforced, and translational activities were widely promoted.

Generally, in the literature of the Renaissance epoch, preference was given to poetry and verse. Epic, romantic, historical writings, Biblical texts and even lives of the Saints composed centuries before, were versified. In this period of incomparable Georgian literary expression, Shota Rustaveli’s (12th century) “The Knight in the Tiger’s Skin” became the main source for literary fable and imitations. Herewith, a group of

3 T. Abuladze, “The Oriental Scientific and Cultural Area of the Middle Ages and Georgian Science”, in: *The Caucasus and Globalization*, vol. 3, Sweden 2009, pp. 114-121.

4 On historical, social-political, economical and cultural state of Eastern Georgia (Kartli) in the 16-17th cc, see M. Dumbadze (ed.), *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi*. (Essays on History of Georgia), vol. IV, Georgia from the beginning of 16th century till 30th years of 19th century. Tbilisi 1973, pp. 5-382 (particularly, chapters IV-VII pp. 225-385); on the historical-cultural interrelations of Safavid Iran and Georgia, with a list of bibliographic references see G. Beradze, K. Kutsia, “Towards the Interrelations of Iran and Georgia in the 16-18th Centuries”, in: *Near East and Georgia*, vol. III. Tbilisi 2002, pp. 160-176; A. A. Гвахария, Д. В. Кацитадзе, *Грузино-иранские культурно-исторические связи. (Краткий очерк)*. Тбилиси 1978, pp. 4-13; D. Katsitadze, *Iranis istoria. III-XVIII saukuneebi*. (A History of Iran. III-XVIII centuries). Tbilisi 2009, pp. 367-459; N. Kharebava, *Regesten der zweisprachigen georgisch-persischen Urkunden der Safavidenzeit*, Bamberger Orientstudien, Band 10, Bamberg 2017, pp. 15-58. On the Georgian literature of 15th - 18th cc. see A. Baramidze, *Narkvevebi kartuli literaturis istoriidan*. (Essays on Georgian Literature), vol. II. Tbilisi 1940; K. Kekelidze, *Kartuli literaturis istoria*. (A History of Georgian Literature), vol. II. Tbilisi 1958; A. Baramidze, G. Imedashvili, G. Mikadze (eds.), *Kartuli literaturis istoria*. (A History of Georgian Literature), vol. II. Tbilisi 1966.

Georgian poets were fascinated with translating Persian poetic works, being also involved in Rustaveli's poetic thought and skills.⁵

Precisely in this period, Ferdowsi's (940-1020) monumental poem "Shahnameh" drew the attention of Georgian poets and interpreters, this "Great Book" as it was called in Iran, their national epic, inspired with admiration to the past of Iran, ideals of heroism and justice. Georgian versions of the poem, both prosaic and poetic, belong to the Renaissance epoch. Obviously, Georgian creators' passion for the "Shahnameh" was not uncommon – Ferdowsi in his poem was critical of the Muslim invaders, considering them as destroyers of ancient Iranian culture and great Iranian history. The poem, which was imbued with love for freedom, its generous and incomparable heroes and their adventures, romantic and idealised love stories were mostly close to the Georgian ideology and to the Georgian secular literature's genre and themes.

Georgian versions of "The Book of Kings" directly take their origin from Persian sources and are compiled from separate editions.⁶ In Georgian collections there are preserved a number of these versions. Among them is distinguished "Rostomiani", written in Rustaveli's poetic form–*shairi*. One of its manuscripts, S-1580⁷ is dated to the 17th century and adorned with numerous (61) miniatures. The manuscript has an interesting history: it was brought to Russia, as mentioned on the

5 M. Mamatsashvili, *Teimuraz pirvelis "Leilmajnunianis" sparsuli cqaroebi*. (The Persian Sources of Teimuraz I's "Leilmajnuniani"). Tbilisi 1967, pp. 123-126. An extensive scientific literature was devoted to Persian poetic influences on Rustaveli's poem: N. Marr, I. Abuladze, K. Kekelidze, A. Baramidze, D. Kobidze, E. Metreveli and other Georgian scholars have contributed significantly in this field. The whole bibliography see G. Imedashvili, *Rustvelologiuri literatura*. (Rustvelological Literature. 1712-1956). Tbilisi 1957. See also J. Giunashvili, H. Giunashvili (eds.), *Manzume-ye palanginepush-e Shotā Rustāveli dar Irān*. (Shota Rustaveli's Poem *The Knight in the Tiger's Skin* in Iran). Tbilisi 2016 (2017).

6 A. Baramidze, "Le *Schah-Naméh* de Ferdousi dans la littérature géorgienne", in: *Proceedings of the State Museum of Georgia*, vol. IX. Tbilisi 1936, pp. 141-144; K. Kekelidze, *Kartuli literaturis istoria*. (A History of Georgian Literature), vol. 2. Tbilisi 1958, pp. 323-55; D. Kobidze, *Shah-names kartuli versiebis sparsuli cqaroebi*. (The Persian Sources of the Georgian Versions of "Shah-Nameh"). Tbilisi 1959; J. Giunashvili, "Rewāyat-e Gorji-ye Sāh-nāma". (The Georgian Versions of "Shahnameh"), in: *Āyande* 6, number 9-12, Tehran 1980-81 (1359), pp. 863-65; J. Giunashvili, "Sāh-nāma Translations ii. Into Georgian", in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 2005: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sah-nama-translations-ii-into-georgian>; J. Giunashvili, "Shāhnāme-ye Ferdousi dar Gorjestān". (Ferdowsi's Shahnameh in Georgia), in: *Kārname-ye panjāh sāle*. (Selected Essays on Iranian Studies and Georgian-Iranian Historical-Cultural Relations). Tbilisi 2012, pp. 37-44; A. Gvakharia, "Literary Contacts with Persia", in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. X, Fasc. 5. New York 2001, pp.481-486, online version: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/georgia-iv--1>.

7 E. Metreveli (ed.), *Kartul khelnacerta aghceriloba*. (A Register of Georgian manuscripts), the "S" Collection, vol. III. Tbilisi 1963, pp. 37-38.

manuscript's endorsement: ““Rostomiani” belonged to King Vakhtang... when Queen Darejan was taken to St Petersburg, my father followed her and Dimitri Bagrationi presented it to him”.⁸



Fig.1. S-1580. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

8 Vakhtang VI also known as Vakhtang the Scholar and Vakhtang the Lawgiver, (1675–1737), the Georgian monarch of the royal Bagrationi dynasty. He ruled the East Georgian Kingdom of Kartli in the time of kingdom's vassalage at the hands of Persia from 1716 to 1724. One of the most important and extraordinary statesman of the early 18th Georgia, he is known as a notable legislator, scholar, critic, translator and poet, see T. Abuladze, *Vakhtang VI-is mtargmelobiti moghvaceoba*. (The Translation Activity of Vakhtang VI). Tbilisi 1990.

Darejan (1738–1807) was the third wife of the Georgian monarch Heraclius II and, thus, the queen consort of Kakheti and then also of Kartli in Eastern Georgia. She was a daughter of Katsia-Giorgi Dadiani, a member of the princely house of Mingrelia (West Georgia).

Dimitri Bagrationi – (1746 – 1826), the Georgian poet, translator, descendant of the Bagrations' branch, who lived and created in Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

The Georgian prose version of the “Shahnameh” is the “Utrutian-Saamiani” (65 miniatures). It comprises stories of kings and nobles (Pahlavāns), following the main theme of the “Shahnameh”, relating tales of Rostam.⁹



Fig. 2. S-1594. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

9 I. Abuladze (ed.), “Shahnames” anu mefeta cignis kartuli versiebi. (The Georgian Versions of “Shahnameh”, the Book of Kings”), vol. I. Tbilisi 1916; I. Abuladze, A. Baramidze, K. Kekelidze, P. Ingoroqva, A. Shanidze (eds.), “Shahname”, kartuli versiebi. (“Shahnameh”, the Georgian Versions), vol. II. Tbilisi 1934; D. Kobidze (ed.), “Shahnames” kartiuli versiebi”. (The Georgian Versions of the “Shahnameh”), vol. III. Tbilisi 1974.

To the Renaissance epoch belong Georgian translations and literary “(re)interpretations” of well-known Oriental romantic fables and Persian writings made on this subject – “Leilmajnuniani” (Persian poem “Leili and Majnun”), “Vardbulbuliani” (Persian tale “The Rose and the Nightingale”), “Shamiparvaniani” (Persian poem “The Candle and the Moth”), “Ioseb-Zilikhaniani” (Persian poem “Joseph and Zoleikha”). Versions of the latter was made by Teimuraz I (the King of Kakheti from 1606-1648 and of Kartli-Kakheti from 1625-1632) and by an anonymous author.

The Biblical plot of Joseph and Zoleikha, the wife of Potiphar, which became a source of inspiration for Western as well as for Oriental Islamic literary interpretations, was transmitted with a particular profoundness by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (1414 – 1492), the last representative of Persian classical literature.

The text of Georgian manuscript S-1283¹⁰ – “Ioseb-Zilikhaniani”, dated to the 17th century, is directly related to Jāmī’s composition.¹¹



Fig. 3. S-1283. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

10 E. Metreveli, *Kartul khelnacerta aghceriloba*. (A Register of Georgian Manuscripts), the “S” Collection, vol. II. Tbilisi 1961, pp. 143-144.

11 A. Gvakharia, “*Ioseb Zilikhaniani*” *sparsuli cqaroebi*. (The Persian Sources of the Georgian Versions of “Ioseb-Zilikhaniani”), Tbilisi 1958; see also A. Gvakharia, *Narkvevebi kartul-sparsuli literaturuli urtiertobis istoriidan*. (Essays on the History of Georgian-Persian Literary Contacts), vol. I. Tbilisi 1995, pp. 84-110; A. A. Гвахария, Д. В. Кацитадзе, *Грузино-иранские культурно-исторические связи*. (Краткий очерк). Тбилиси 1978, p. 17.

One of its layers presents a brilliantly illustrated record of the poem, from which only miniatures remain. They were made in the 16th to 17th centuries. On the reverse of these miniatures separate fragments of corresponding textual passages are preserved. They are brought from other Georgian manuscripts and attached to S-1283 manuscript's size sheets.

In the Renaissance epoch, Georgian secular manuscript painting was raised as a uniform branch, and conditioned by the political and cultural orientation of the country. It presents two main types: 1) fine illustrations made completely in the Oriental style, in a thorough miniature technique, being distinguished by refinement of drawing, colour, and marked with formal achievement; 2) Painting created on folk, or national grounds being free from such influences.

There are numerous drawings known as intermediate group of works of art, reflecting tendencies characterized for both types of painting, and the striving of Georgian artists for independence.

Eminent patterns of Georgian secular miniatures are presented in illustrations of manuscripts of "Vefkhistqaosani" – "The Knight in the Tiger's Skin". The poem's pictures belong to the 17th century, the period of the re-flourishing of the Georgian miniature, and reproducing general trends of the development of Georgian secular miniature painting. Earliest example of the first, so-named "Iranized miniatures" is presented by painting of "The Knight in the Tiger's Skin" manuscript from "Tsereteli collection" – S-5006¹² (87 miniatures). It is characterized by the conditional-decorative style of drawing, analogical to Iranian miniature painting; in this cycle of illustration a composition is mainly uniform. Within the painting are equally distributed landscapes and architectural elements. Landscape images are entirely flat-form, like carpet ornamentation. Separate sharp, local color intensifies general decoration.

12 About this manuscript see S. Tsaishvili, "Vefkhistqaosnis" *Vakhtangiseuli redakcia*. (Vakhtang VI's Edition of "Vefkhistqaosani") (The Knight in the Tiger's Skin). Tbilisi 1957, pp.56-57; Idem, "Vefkhistqaosnis" *tekstis istoria*. (A History of the Text of "Vefkhistqaosani") (The Knight in the Tiger's Skin"). (Manuscripts), vol. II. Tbilisi 1970; E. Metreveli (ed.), *Kartul khelnacerta aghceriloba*. (A Register of Georgian Manuscripts), the "S" Collection, vol. VII. Tbilisi 1973, p. 8. See also "Vefkhistqaosnis" *dasurateba: miniatyurebi shesrulebuli XVI-XVIII saukuneebshi* (Illustrations of "Vefkhistqaosani") ("The Knight in the Tiger's Skin"): *Miniatures made in the 16-18th Centuries*). Composition and artistic design by G. Gordeladze. Introduction by Sh. Amiranashvili. Tbilisi 1966, 32 p.

Outlines are light, exact and subtle, being influenced by Iranian standard samples, namely the Isfahan school of painting.¹³ This illustration is considered as a masterpiece by an Iranian artist.

In the manuscript of “The Knight in the Tiger’s Skin” from “Tsereteli collection” are distinguished details, being less typical for Iranian miniatures: closeness of a picture, indivisible color spots, flatness without ornamentation, more accentuated actions, and originality of iconographic details, which makes an *intermediate* painting group of secular manuscripts, distinctly liberated from Iranian influences.



Fig. 4. S-5006. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

To the same group belong miniatures of the Georgian translations of the fable of Joseph and Zoleikha, made by an anonymous author. These paintings, distinguished by less contrasting of colors, reflect national

13 The main trends of the 16-17th cc. Persian miniature painting were presented in scientific works of M. M. Ashrafi, O. F. Akimushkin, A. A. Ivanov, Sh. M. Shukurov, C. Alvan, E. J. Grube, B. W. Robinson, R. Savory, M. Simpson, E. Sims. A. Soudavar, A. Welch and many others. See A. Welch, “Art in Iran IX. Safavid to Qajar periods” in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, New York 1986, vol. II, Fasc. 6, pp. 620-627; online site: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/art-in-iran-ix-safavid>; M. Farhad, “Isfahan XI. School of Painting and Calligraphy”, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, New York 2007, vol. XIV, Fasc. 1, pp. 40-43; online site: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/isfahan-xi-school-of-painting-and-calligraphy>.

characters in their composition, different types of images and several other peculiarities.

Manuscript (S-1283) of the poem is richly illustrated and, as mentioned, dates to the 16th and 17th centuries. This record consists of twelve miniatures. Some of miniatures are encountered with a line having plant or geometrical ornaments. Illustrations reflect chief moments of the poem's plot. The painter shows a certain independence in choosing illustrative material.

Compositional structure of the illustrations finds analogies with miniatures made in Shiraz¹⁴, though differences are also obvious: the sizes of figures, image types and clothes, diversity of mild colours. The painting shows a resemblance, particularly in landscape background depiction, with early examples of the Isfahan artistic school, which were created on the turn of the 16th-17th centuries.¹⁵

To the same category is to be attributed the painting of the 16th-17th centuries Georgian-Persian historical documents. Creation of this unique diplomatic material is connected with the sovereignty of Eastern Georgian kings who converted to Islam¹⁶ Documents of this period, issued in Georgia and being registered then by the Iranian supervisory administration obviously reflect artistic influences of Iranian manuscript books and documents' painting principles: decorative frames, ornaments between

14 Cf. E. J. Grube, "The Miniatures of Shiraz", in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New York 1963, vol. XXI, number 9, 1963, pp. 285-296; B. W. Robinson, "Painter-Illuminators of Sixteen-Century Shiraz", in: *Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, London 1979, vol. XVII, pp. 105-108.

15 Illustrating of the above-mentioned manuscripts of Georgian masterpieces, and the main trends of Georgian secular miniatures' development with the context of Iranian influences, are presented in: I. Khuskivadze, "Iranuli saminiaturo khelovnebis sakitkhisatvis" (Issues of Iranian Miniatures' Art), in: *Proceedings of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences, Series of Historical, Archaeological, Ethnographic and Art Studies*, vol. III. Tbilisi 1973, pp. 95-108; Idem, *Kartuli saero miniatura. XVI-XVIII saukuneebi*. (Georgian Secular Miniature. XVI-XVIII Centuries). Tbilisi 1976; Idem, "Islami da kartuli sakhviti khelovneba" (Islam and Georgian Painting Art), in: *Literature and Art*, vol. III. Tbilisi 1999, pp.100-128; See also N. Gelashvili, "Sefianta Iranis kulturis istoriidan (miniaturis khelovneba)" (From the Cultural History of Safavid Iran (Miniatures' Art), in: *Near East and Georgia*, vol. III. Tbilisi 2002, pp. 177-189; N. Gelachvili, "Peintures et relations culturelles entre Perse et Géorgie au XVIIe siècle", in: *La Géorgie entre Perse et Europe*, Paris 2009, éditions l'Harmattan, pp. 67-72; I. Koshoridze, *Islamuri Khelovneba. VII-XIX saukuneebi*. (Islamic Art. VII-XIX Centuries). Tbilisi 2012, pp. 106-121.

16 V. Gabashvili, "Sakhelmcofo cqobilebis sakitkhisatvis gvianfeodalur Sakartveloshi" (State System in Late Feudal Georgia), in: *Mimomkhilveli* vol. II. Tbilisi 1951, pp. 164-165.

lines and on borders, a painted header, seals, which like in Iranian documents have the most important function for artistic decoration.¹⁷

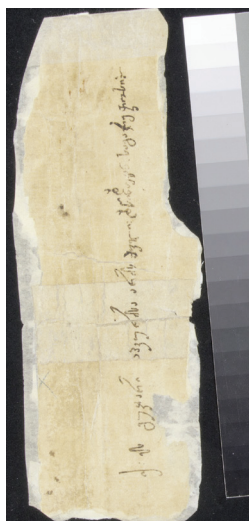
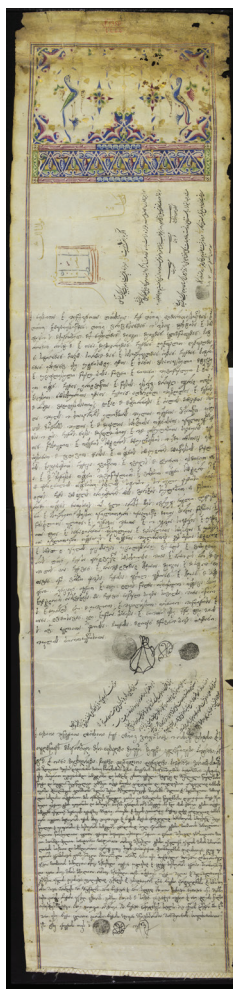


Fig. 5. Hd-1350.
K. Kekelidze Georgian
National Centre of Manuscripts

17 See D. Kldiashvili (ed.), *Mokhatuli istoriuli dokumentebi Sakartvelos sidzveletsatsavebidan*. (Illuminated Historical Documents in the Depositories of Georgia). Tbilisi 2011, pp. 44-49; E. Machavariani, "Kartul-sparsuli da sparsuli mokhatuli istoriuli sabutebi". (Georgian-Persian and Persian Illuminated Documents), in: *Philologia Orientalis*, vol. II. Tbilisi 1972, pp. 183-187. Manuscripts: H-2140, H-2492-autographs. See about them: A. Baramidze (ed.), *Kartul khelnacerta aghceriloba*. (A Register of Georgian Manuscripts), the "H" Collection, vol. V. Tbilisi 1949, pp. 103; 315.

As it was mentioned, in the Renaissance epoch Iranian impact was conditioned by historical-political factors, really appears in all spheres of the Georgian culture and among them, in Georgian historical writing, with the ancient national tradition, development of which began in the 17th century. First steps in this respect were made in compiling historical poems. The first historiographical work from this period is “The Life of Georgia” (“A History of Georgia”) by Parsadan Gorgijanidze.¹⁸

It comprises the history of Georgia from the most ancient times until the year 1696. The author wrote it during his stays in Isfahan, using works of historians of the Queen Tamar (*circa* 1160-1213, possibly 1207/1210/), Georgian chroniclers and of Persian authors. His writing is related to Georgian feudal as well as to Medieval Muslim historiographic traditions.¹⁹

The academic Ivane Javakhishvili (1876-1940) conditionally divided Gorgijanidze’s “History” into four parts: I-from the very beginning till the reign of Queen Tamar (12th-13th centuries); II- from the rule of Queen Tamar (1160-1213) until the 14th century; III- from Tamerlane till the first half of the 17th century, and IV- from the middle of the 17th century until the end of 17th century. This material fills these large gaps in Georgian historiography. As the author of the “History” held a big post at the Persian royal court, and might be aware of Georgia, the fourth part of his work is of great importance for studying the history of Georgia and offers valuable data.²⁰

18 A brief biographic information: Parsadan Gorgijanidze was born in Georgia, in Gori. He was grown up at the court of the King Rostom (the King of Kartli in 1632-1658), the Georgian monarch, who was born in Iran and then sent by Shāh for reign to Kartli. By Rostom’s recommendation Shāh-Abbās II (1642-1666) appointed Parsadan, converted to Islam, as the *dārughā* (the governor) of Isfahan. Later, Parsadan become a victim of intrigues and Shāh exiled him to Shushtar (Khuzistan). He lived there with his family till the end. His literary activities were related to his stays in Iran. See: R. Kiknadze (ed.), *Parsadan Gorgijanidze da “istoriani da azmani sharavandediani”*. (Parsadan Gorgijanidze and the “History and Praising of Crowned Heads”). Tbilisi 1975, pp. 8-17; K. Kutsia, “Ispahanis kartveli tarughebi (1618-1722)”. (Georgian *Dārughas* of Isfahan (1618-1722)), in: *Issues of the History of the Near East*, vol. II. Tbilisi 1972, pp. 93-103; H. Maeda, “Parsadan Gorgijanidze’s Exile in Shushtar: A Biographical Episode of a Georgian Official in the Service of the Safavids”, in: *Journal of Persianate Studies*, vol. 1, issue 2, 2008, pp. 218-229; J. Giunashvili, “Gorgijanidze, Parsadan”, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica online edition, 2016, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gorgijanidze-parsadan>*.

19 P. К. Кикнадзе, *Очерки по источниковедению истории Грузии: Парсадан Горгиджанидзе и “Картлис цховреба”*. Тбилиси 1980.

20 I. Javakhishvili, *Dzveli kartuli saistorio mcerloba*. (Old Georgian Historical Writing). Tbilisi 1945, p. 288.

Parsadan Gorgijanidze nearly two centuries before carried out the work, which was after fulfilled by scholars Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-1880) and Johannes Albrecht Bernhard Dorn (1805-1881) by compiling Persian historical data on Georgia.²¹ In Gorgijanidze's "History" are attested facts, which do not occur in Georgian sources which have reached us. This work contains rich material, which is especially important for researches of existing historical works and elucidating many issues of 12th-13th century Georgian history. Parsadan Gorgijanidze undertook various creative activities: he rewrote and made an editorial work of the "Rostomiani", he translated "Jām'e 'abbāsi", the Muslim law-book, he compiled a Georgian-Persian-Arabic dictionary.²² Thus, Gorgijanidze was the author with mutual Georgian and Persian cultural traditions, and in this respect, his "History" is of great interest.

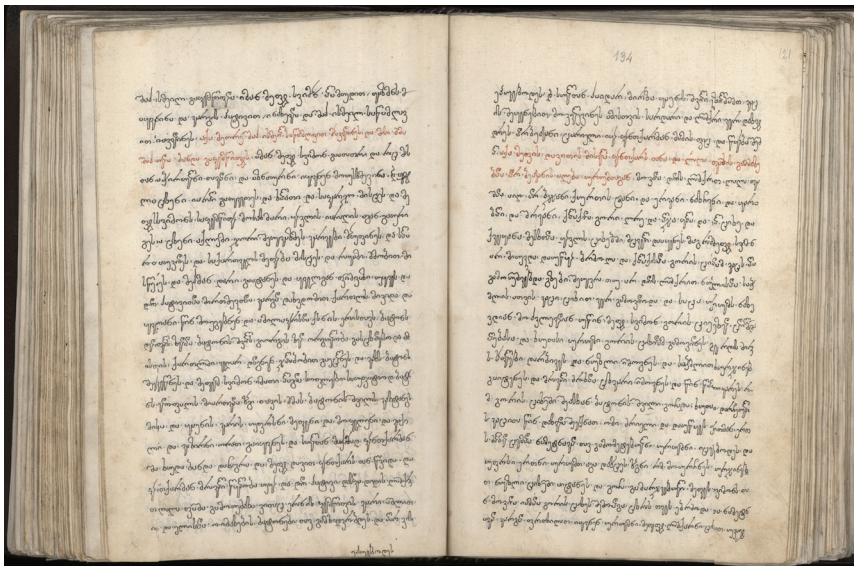


Fig. 6. H-2140. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

21 R. Kiknadze (ed.), *Parsadan Gorgijanidze da "istoriani da azmani sharavantedtani"* (History and Praising of Crowned Heads). Tbilisi 1975, p. 20.

22 Ibid, p. 8; M. Janashvili (ed.), *Parsadan Gorgijanidze da misni shromani*. (Parsadan Gorgijanidze and his Works). Tbilisi 1896, pp. 29-72; Parsadan Gorgijanidze, "Kartul-arabul-sparsuli leqsikoni". (*Georgian-Arabic-Persian Dictionary*), published by V. Puturidze, edited by G. Tsereteli. Tbilisi 1941.

Traces of Oriental science are clearly distinguished in Georgian scientific monuments, some of which are direct translations and others are “reinterpreted” versions of original sources. As a result of historical misfortunes, in late medieval times Georgian science fell behind the world’s science level, not adapting their ancient traditions. Some fields of science ceased to exist. In the 16th-18th centuries, during the “Georgian Enlightenment” Georgian science was revived on a national basis, and by this scientific enrichment, integrating general theoretical principles amongst the scientific, scholarly and intellectual classes of society, and restoring certain practical skills.

Ivane Javakhishvili named this period as the “Encyclopedic Epoch”, when “thought and mind of every scientist was concentrated on collecting and studying centuries-old works of the Georgian people’s creative gift and transmitting accomplished knowledge to new generations”.²³ The aforementioned tendencies were distinctly reflected in monuments created during the medieval era. These monuments belong to different fields of science (astronomy, astrology, cosmogony, calendar records; medicine, biology, pharmacy; chemistry, physics, mathematics, mineralogy; geology and geography, often interrelated to Persian sources, works of famous Oriental scientists (such as Ulugh Beg, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, Al-Razi, Al-Jurjani) and to Oriental schemes adopted at that period. Georgian national collections of manuscripts are mostly rich with such material.

In terms of the study of Georgian-Eastern cultural-scientific relations, special works and collections of astronomical-astrological content created during the Renaissance deserve special attention – calendars of general-cosmological character, as well as mixed types of collections, which also contain material from closest disciplines (such as mathematics, geography). Their majority have been translated and adapted from Oriental sources and were originally most ancient. In this respect, the astrologic manuscript A-65, which dates back to the 12th century and has been adapted from Arabic is mostly distinguishable.²⁴

23 I. Javakhishvili, *Kartuli samartlis istoria*. (A History of Georgian Law). Tbilisi 1928, p. 116.

24 *Etla da shvidta mnatobtatvis*. (For the Planets and Seven Lights), edited and published by A. Shanidze. Tbilisi 1975.

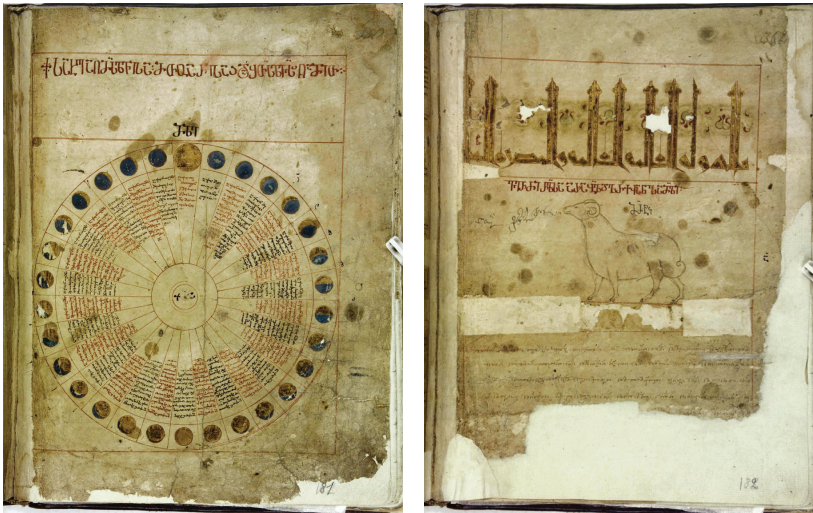


Fig. 7. A-65. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

It refers to the classification of the planets; the movement of the moon, the doctrine of the seven heavenly bodies. The manuscript is extremely remarkable by the illumination as it reveals great resemblances to the Persian miniature art tradition.²⁵

The manuscript attracted attention of many Georgian intellectuals during the Renaissance epoch.

We would like to bring to light the 17-18th cc Persian and Georgian manuscripts kept at the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, comprising Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (1201-1274) compositions.

During studies of Georgian-Persian scientific manuscripts we ascertained that the Georgian translation of the main part of the Persian manuscript PAC-534, which was preserved in the Centre's collection (Central Asian Fund) made an essential part of the Georgian manuscript H-457, and among them we found "A Treatise on Astrolabe", presenting the Georgian translation of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's famous work. It deals with explanations, rules of astrolabe using *et cetera*. The translation belonged to the King of Kartli Vakhtang VI (Bagrationi), who has significantly contributed in the revival of Georgian

25 G. Alibegashvili, "Shua saukuneebis ori astronomiuli traktatis ilustratsiebi". (Illustrations of Two Astronomical Treatises of the Middle Ages), in: *Bulletin of the Georgian Academy of Sciences* vol. XII. Tbilisi 1951, pp. 369-376.

science. This work was carried out due to his intensive translational activities of Medieval Persian astronomic, medical, chemical works. The manuscript clearly reflects the whole process of the text’s diligent scientific translation, revisions and comments. Specific Oriental terms occurring in the manuscript are thoroughly replaced by their exact corresponding or explanatory Georgian names made by Vakhtang VI himself.²⁶

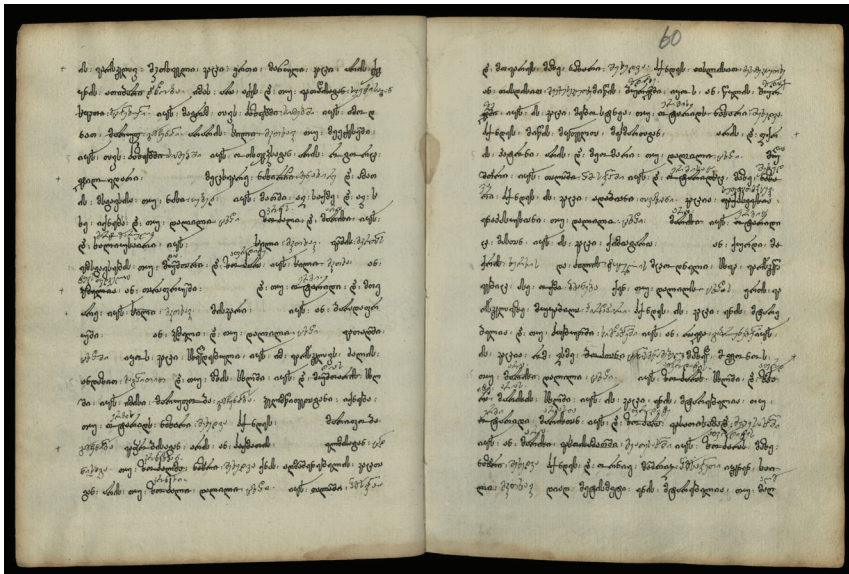


Fig. 8. H-457. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

The first Persian manuscript from Al-Tusi’s collections was the astrological work “Selected Āyāt”. As a result of research we found out that it presented the primary source of Vakhtang VI’s Georgian translation and reinterpretation “Āyāt or Creation”²⁷ published in 1721. Vakhtang VI’s work was composed according to the scheme established in the Middle Ages.

Along with Al-Tusi’s works, Vakhtang VI has translated Ulugh Beg’s (1394-1449) famous “Zīj-i Sultānī”. It is preserved in the form of a

26 T. Abuladze, *Vakhtang VI-is mtargmnelobiti moghvaceoba*. (The Translation Activity of Vakhtang VI). Tbilisi 1990, pp. 25-26; H. Giunashvili, “Medieval Iran and Georgia: Historical-Cultural Context and Tendencies of Georgian Renaissance”, paper presented at the International Conference “Iran and West: Converging Perspectives” at the University of Warwick, 1-3 July, 2015.

27 T. Abuladze, *Vakhtang VI-is mtargmnelobiti moghvaceoba*. (The Translation Activity of Vakhtang VI), pp. 20-35.

brilliant manuscript (S-161). The translator's contribution is quite large, both in terms of his own additions and interpretations of specific scientific statements, as well as in establishing new terminology.

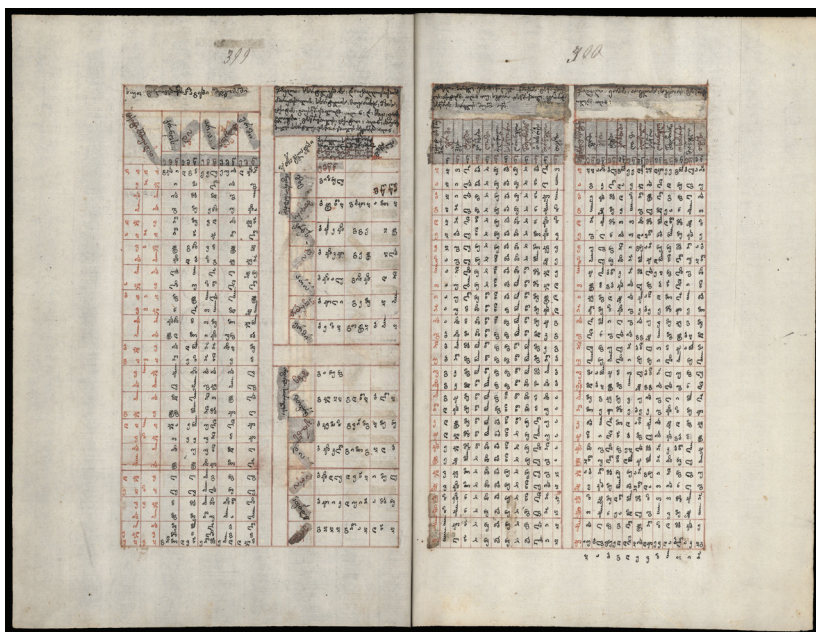


Fig. 9. S-161. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

Vakhtang VI has also compiled extremely interesting chemical-technologic work “The Book on the Preparation of Solutions and Chemical Transformations”.²⁸ This work reflects influences of Oriental, Russian and Latin sources. Some chapters were included from Al-Razi’s *Sirr al-’Asrār* – “The Secret of Secrets”. Like Al-Razi (854-925), the author divides the world of chemical substances into three groups: mineral, plant, and animal. Among them are common groups of salt, description of tools for metal melding *et cetera*. At the same time, the work contains material from several ancient Russian books describing medicinal herbs and methods of treatment and healing. This work clearly presents scientific achievements of the Medieval Ages and intercultural enrichments.

²⁸ Vakhtang VI, *Cigni zetebis shezavebisa da kimiisa kmnis* (Vakhtang VI, *The Book on the Preparation of Solutions and Chemical Transformations*), The text was prepared for publication, with an introduction, comments and glossary, by T. Enukidze and V. Kokochashvili, edited by J. Giunashvili and Z. Dzotsenidze. Tbilisi 1981.

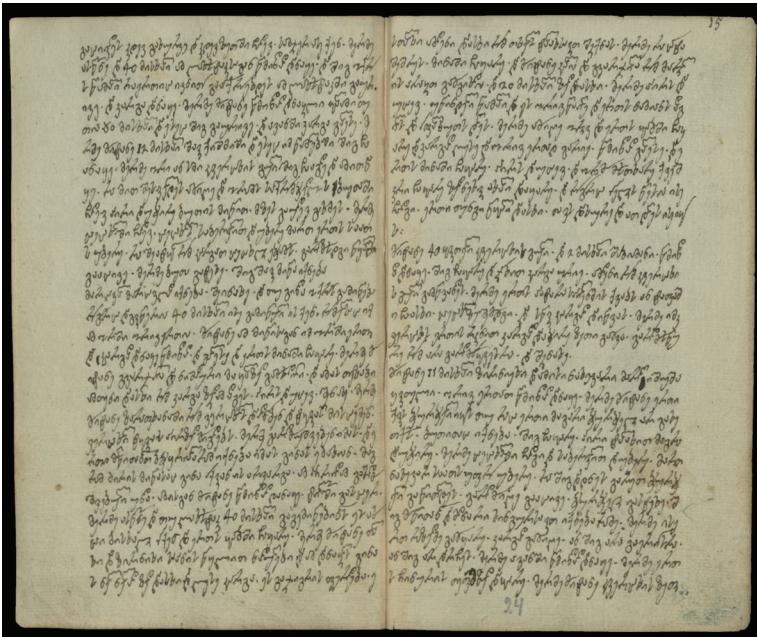


Fig. 10. H-3721. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

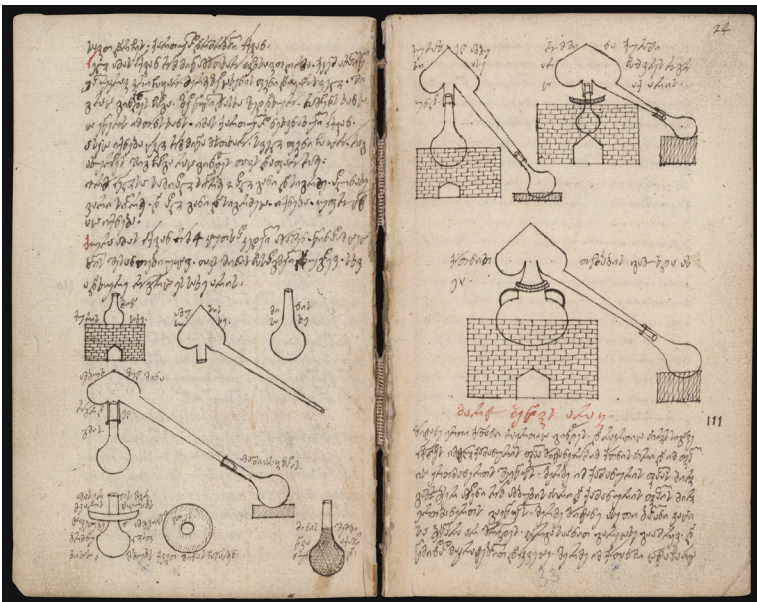


Fig. 11. H-3721. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

Georgian medical treatises are particularly remarkable, with works dealing with description of illnesses and medical treatments, and collections comprising medical statements. Generally, Georgian medical thought was based on national-folk traditions, having a rich and long history. It is proven by archaeological evidence, Old Georgian literary monuments and data preserved in the Ancient World's historical records (such as Strabo (64/63 BC – c. AD 24). In Georgian medical tradition there was also preserved pagan, magic, folk and secular erudition. In the Middle Ages Georgian medicine, like other scientific fields, was influenced by Arabic and Persian methodical tradition, medical books and collections based on Oriental schemes dealing with general medicine, as well as specific issues of anatomy, physiology, pharmacy, diagnostics, comprising the whole knowledge of that period, became more fashionable.²⁹

Particularly distinguished were Georgian-Persian medicinal manuscript volumes related to well-known Georgian treatise – “Iadgar-Daud”. This monument was written in the 16th century and belonged to the son of Luarsab I King of Kartli (1521-1665), David, King of Georgia, known after as Daud-Khan (1564-1579). He was educated in Georgia and Iran. This work was composed in 1579-1588, first in Tiflis and then in Istanbul, where the author died in 1588, in the age of 46. “Iadgar Daud” is one of the most popular Georgian medical treatises, based on Hippocrates' humoral-pathological system and on innovations brought in pharmacy during the medieval age by Galenists and Al-Razi.³⁰

Recent research has ascertained that the source of “Iadgar-Daud” was the famous ophthalmologist's, ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā al-Kahhal's work “Shifā’ al-‘Alīl” (“Healing of the Sick” – the Persian manuscript PAC-432³¹ preserved at the Central Asian Collection of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts), compiled on the basis of Arabic and Persian collections, with the order of Muhammad Darvish-Bahadur Khan, or from their “selection” (*montakhab*), which probably existed in Persian, with

29 On the history of Georgian medicine see M. Shengelia, *Kartuli meditsinis istoria*. (A History of Georgian Medicine). Tbilisi 1980; L. Kotetishvili (ed.), *David Bagrationi “Iadgar Daudi”*. (The text, with a preface, glossary and comments). Tbilisi 1985.

30 L. Kotetishvili (ed.), *David Bagrationi “Iadgar Daudi”*. pp. 39-40.

31 M. Mamatsashvili (ed.), *Korneli Kekelidzis sakhelobis khelnacerta institutis sparsul khelnacerta katalogi*. (A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts of the Korneli Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts), the “AC” Collection. Tbilisi 1977, p. 93.

the same title – منتخب الشفاء, *Muntakhafi Shafa*, as it was named by Daud Khan/David Bagrationi.³²

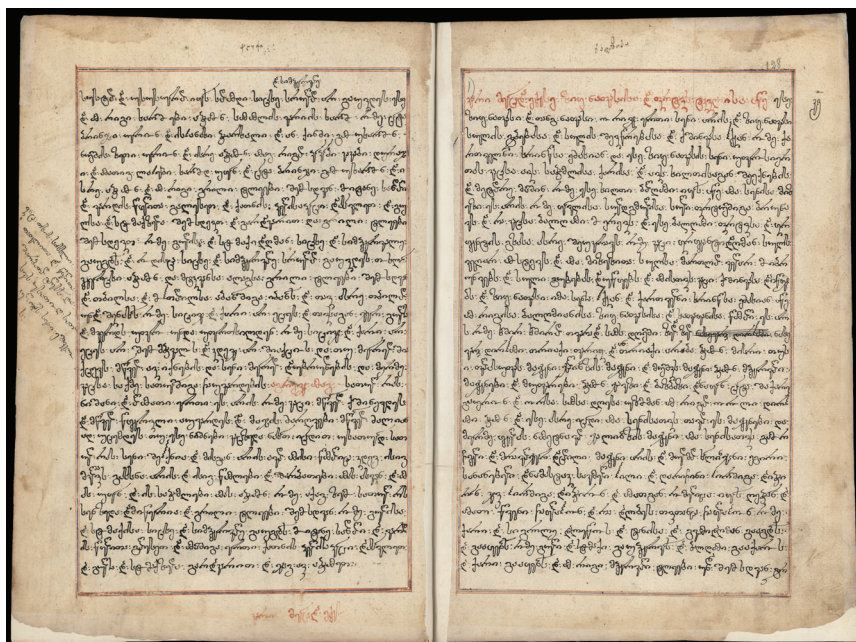


Fig. 12. Q-270. K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts

Thus, Georgian writing of the Renaissance period – literary works, historical and scientific records, Georgian-Persian historical documents as well as artistic representation of Georgian secular manuscript books clearly shows an important stage of Georgian-Iranian cultural relations conditioned by historical-political realities, and its general courses and trends.

32 T. Abuladze, “Iadgar Daudis” sparsuli cqaroebis shesakheb”. (On the Study of Persian Sources of “Iadgar Daud”), in: *Mravaltavi* vol. XXIII. Tbilisi 2010, pp. 11-19.

Georgia and Iran: Historical-Cultural Context and Tendencies
of Georgian Renaissance
(According to Georgian Handwritten Heritage)

In the 16th century a common national cultural-creative process started in Georgia, known as the “Georgian Renaissance”. This national movement, based on its cultural heritage, covered different fields of education, literature, science and fine arts, adopting and transforming correspondingly on the national basis of cultural achievements within the common Near Eastern cultural area.

National themes became prevalent in the literature of this period; secular poetry was leading, were established new literary genres. In spite of political and national-religious hostility, Georgian scholars translated and “interpreted” with great erudition and diligence Persian poetic masterpieces, which at that time became an essential part of the Georgian national literature. The Renaissance literature exhibited great influence of Persian fictional forms, such as, *mokāleme* (مکالمه), *majam ‘e* (مجمعه), translations and additions of heroic and romantic poetry. Literary writings belonging to the Persian مناظره *monāzara* genre (“discussion, debate”) were composed and progressively established as national creative works.

During the 16th to 17th centuries, Georgian science clearly reflected the tendencies of that period, requests of the secular society and cultural influences. First of all it concerned Georgian historiography and its eminent representative, Parsadan Gorgijanidze, *dārugha* (the governor) of Isfahan and his “Georgian History”.

In this period (the 16th century) was also compiled a vast and well-known medical treatise “Iadgar Daud”, author of which was Daud-Khan (the Georgian King David XI). At the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, among Persian manuscripts of Central Asian collections one of its sources was discovered – “Shifā’ al-‘Alīl”, belonging to the well-known Arab physician, ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā al-Kahhal’. Iranian influences on Georgian art became more obvious during the Safavid period.

Georgian and Georgian-Persian historical documents (their ornaments, borders, sealing and decoration), paintings and ornaments of Georgian Medieval literary masterpieces (such as, the 16th century manuscripts of “The Knight in the Tiger’s Skin”, “Ioseb-Zilikhani”) were artistically influenced by Persian miniatures.

Key words: Medieval Georgia and Iran, cultural relations, Georgian “Renaissance”.

THE WORLD REFLECTED IN THE VOCABULARY (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE UNWRITTEN LANGUAGE)

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Iakob Gogebashvili Telavi State University*

Introduction

The powerful process of modern globalization shakes not only the social and economic priorities of individual countries and equalizes their own moral or ideological heights, but also has an amazingly assimilating effect on the languages of the same countries. The special place that languages hold among the human values conditions that great attention they are attracted to by the modern civilized world.

Tsovatush is an endangered language. It is spread in only half of the only village of Georgia - Zemo Alvani. The greatest danger is posed by the maximized influence of the Georgian language. Recent studies have shown that a given language has only a few decades left to live¹.

It is this circumstance that commanded us to collect and preserve the surviving figurative words of Tsovatush and thus preserve them as a source of future scientific research. It is well known that it is this field that most accurately expresses the psycho-ethnic model of the people speaking this language.

Methods

The research relies on the number of sources shown in the list, given at the end of the article. Also:

¹ K. Gigashvili, *Tsovatushebis tanamedrove etno-sociolingvisturi propili*. (Modern Ethno-Sociolinguistic Profile of Tsovatush People). Tbilisi 2014, p. 257.

1. Audio-video material obtained during the fieldwork in the village Zemo Alvani in 2010-2018.
2. Periodic live conversations with language speakers.
3. Private records of the Tsovatush philologist Daria Mikeladze.

Discussion:

Phraseology is a special field of language, related to the history and psychology of the people who speak it. When the Tsovatush first had seen how the water was falling from the sky, he asked the another Tsovatush, what it was. “It’s raining”, – He replied. “What is it doing?” – “It is crying”. And to this day it has remained so in the consciousness of the Tsovatush people. **Qar jatxê, žer ma γo nɔaj** – “*Rain is crying (it is raining), do not go outside yet*” – Tushs homusewife just warns so that she cannot understand what she really said.

When the water of the spring is welling up from the aearth, it is also crying in Tsovatush language: **Xi datxê** – “*Whater is crying*”; When the candle burns and sheds tears, it does not shed, it cries: **Sâtel jatxê** – “*The candle cries*” and so on.

Matxov pɔani qajsče, mgzaūr otutvaj – “*When the sun opens its wings (spreads its rays), we will saddle up*”, – the father, the head of the family, warns the family members who are preparing to go to the mountains without understanding what he has said.

Čuxõ γajrî hal jalê, hidnõ dagê, dah doxutvaj – “*The team of lambs (North Constellation) nearly came out, it is too late, let’s dismantle*”, – the hostess offers to the women gathered in scotching room”.

The grandfather had seen the gardens of Semiramis. He liked one tree that presented a kind fruit every +year to its caring owner. He had asked, what kind of tree it was. – “Apple”. He was answered. He had taken its seedling and when his grandchildren asked what to do with it now, the grandfather said: “It is a good tree and it is a sin it to suffer by standing – **Ču xa’bebat** “*Make it sit down*”. And to this day the Tsovatush says the same: **Xê xa’binas** – “*I made the tree sit down (I planted it)*”; “*The tree sits (stands)*”.

According to the linguistic rules of these people, the tree in the garden should not even get tired of standing, but should rest and, therefore, should rest in the bliss of paradise.

Thus, Tsovatush – this is the language where the rain cries, the sun has the wings, the tree sits, the lambs leap in the cloudless sky at midnight,

and after the rain, when visibility is high, God rules the world with a big bow (rainbow).

In terms of the original vision, attention is also drawn to what has now become a single word – **Ǝamdar** “*Teaching*”. It must derive from idiomatic expression **Ǝamur dar** – “*Doing at night (spending nights in learning)*”. In this sense, learning in the consciousness of Tsovatushs is associated with one of the most difficult and, therefore, appreciated activities in human life, which comes in accordance with David Guramishvili’s thesis: “The root of learning is bitter ...”².

Equally interesting is the fact that semantically distant objects, such as “mortar” and “earth”, are expressed in the same **Moxk** word in this language and belongs to the same class category. The question is, did their formal similarity – roundness – form the basis for such linguistic equality? Perhaps it is no coincidence that during an earthquake, Tushs confidently say: **Moxk aqobô** – “*The earth shakes all over*”.

All this was once, obviously, considered a reality, and today the expressions have lost their specific content, but they, having become phraseological clichés, still function actively in the Tsovatush speech.

Here, in this language, where the natural phenomena – rain, sunrise, or midnight, and the operation of a seven-colored rainbow in the rainy sky – are conceived from the simple point of view of primitive man so beautifully and directly, it is natural that, similarly, other objects or events, even the whole universe pictorial perception and evaluation should have been preserved, different from all other languages. But now, time and the centuries-old bilingualism associated with it have forgotten almost everything that was different in this language and belonged to distant centuries.

It is known that “foreign language layers are manifested in languages or dialects, first of all, in vocabulary and phraseology”³. The same happened to Tsovatush. It is calculated that out of 3.655 Tsovatush lexical units included in the D. and N. Kadagidzes dictionary, 2.575 already have proper Georgian words with similar content in the form of parallels, which means that the local words are going to be lost⁴.

The examples we have witnessed above from the phraseology of the Tsovatush language are fragments of the big picture of the world that have

² David Guramishvili, *Davitiani*. Tbilisi 1964, p.18.

³ B. Jorbenadze, *Kartui dialektologia*. (Georgian Dialectology). Tbilisi 1989, p. 97.

⁴ A. Bertlani, M. Mikeladze, K. Gigashvili, *Tsovatushuri textebi*. (Tsovatush Texts), vol. I. Tbilisi 2011, p. 38.

survived only by accident from the influence of the time and civilization, while the rest have been lost and can no longer be restored. It is well known that people create language in order to be created or brought up by the language itself. The language is a peculiar psychological program for a certain genotype. This is why a certain genetic type corresponds to a certain mother tongue⁵ Man thinks and sees the outside world as his native language offers it. Each language includes a stamped paradigm chain of national archetypes, mentality, character and worldview.

In this regard, each language requires serious semantic analysis. Such an analysis should clearly show what kind of model of the world is represented in a given language. If language is a system of classification, then semantic analysis should give us some idea of how the external world is seen in a given language, how, according to what rules it is segmented in it. Since language also reflects culture, thus, the goal of semantic analysis should be to search for the model or models of culture that are reflected in the semantic structure of a given language⁶

N. Abramov correctly points out that without phraseology, only through the single words, it would be difficult, sometimes even impossible, to express all the richness of the nuances of human thoughts⁷

In this way, the great internal similarity that can be seen in the pictorial expressions of the Georgian and Tsovatush languages, especially in phraseology, can be easily explained. This, apart from the common origin, was obviously conditioned by the long, centuries-old social and cultural contacts of the Georgian and Tsovatushi people living under a common sky.

Unfortunately, if we can almost fully understand the own phraseologies of this language, we can not say the same about figurative vocabulary: proverbs, enigmas, formulas of oaths, blessings or curses have reached to the present day only in the form of relicts.

Prof. Sh. Dzidziguri correctly notes that “figurative words reflect our past public life to some extent. The people’s adventures, relationships, morals, realities of life are seen in no field of vocabulary-phraseology so as in figurative words”⁸

⁵ G. Nebieridze, *Enatmeclierebis shesavali* (Introduction to Linguistics). Tbilisi 1991, p. 61.

⁶ Ibid, p. 241.

⁷ Б. Абрамов, “О преподавании фразеологии в средней школе”, *Иностранные языки в школе* №5, Москва 1952, p. 88.

⁸ T. Sakhokia, *Kartuli khatovani sitkva-ikmani* (Georgian Figurative Word-utterance). V. I. Tbilisi 1950: , p. 6.

In modern linguistics, there is a serious diversity of opinions in terms of the classification and characterization of phraseological units. Researchers' views on this topic are very general and unreliable.

F. Vinogradov singled out three types of phraseologies:

1. Phraseological growths;
2. Phraseological unites;
3. Phraseological expressions.

As Vinogradov argues, the types of absolutely unsegmented words are distinguished in the phraseological stock of languages, the meaning of which does not depend on the meaning of the components. He calls such units phraseological growths. According to him, the main feature of such expressions is semantic durability⁹. Relevant Georgian examples are: **Čailuris čqali dalia** ("He drank Chailuri water") ("He was "lost"); **Ƙedels cercvi šeaqare** ("One may as well talk to a blank wall").

Vinogradov notes, that such expressions, in addition to semantic durability, are characterized by that the whole meaning does not derive at all from the sum of the meanings of the components. He considers only these solid expressions as idioms.

In his view, another large group of figurative expressions are close to idioms, which he calls phraseological wholes. Unlike phraseological growths, such a group of phraseological expressions preserves even weak signs of separation of components and we have even a deaf indication to the motivation of common meaning.¹⁰ The members of this group are, for example: **Ƙbili daaso** ("He stuck his teeth"); **Saxe čamoštiris** ("His face cries"); **Ʀučebze dedis rze ar šešrobia** ("His mother's milk did not dry on his lips").

It is noteworthy that, compared to phraseological additions, phraseological wholes are characterized by grammatical-lexical freedom – the ability to change members, or to insert another word between them. These groups of phraseologies are characterised by figurativeness.

The third group of phraseological units constitutes the phraseological expressions. The individuality of the components of this type of phraseology is not weakened (not obscured) in meaning, but is defined relatively clearly. Such examples in Georgian are: **Sircxvili čama** ("He disgraced oneself"); **Motmineba dağarga** ("He lost patience")...

⁹ В. Виноградов, *Русский язык*. Москва 1947, p. 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 23.

Vinogradov's views on the threefold classification of phraseologies are shared by a number of scholars of the following years, including D. Rosenthal. The only difference between the views of these scholars is that Rosenthal calls phraseological syntagmas as phraseological units and gives the following definition: "Phraseological unit is such a phraseological construction which consists of words with both free and phraseologically related meanings and where the whole meaning is derived from the meaning of individual words. For example: **Sircxvilisagan ic̄vis** ("He burns with shame").¹¹

In this matter, we fully agree with Prof. A. Takaishvili, who does not consider the criteria that V. Vinogradov uses in his threefold classification to distinguish between the phraseological growths and phraseological unites as the separate groups. According to Takaishvili, the similarities between the growths and unites are more than the differences.

The researcher gives the following definition for phraseological growths and unites incorporated into one group of idioms: "An idiom is a semantically unseparable unit having the form of syntagma and expressive function, the meaning of which is not equal to the sum of the meanings of the components" (ibid: 40).

The researchers name different signs to determine the specificity of the idiom. these are:

1. A constant sequence of words;
2. Impossibility to replace this or that component with a synonym;
3. Preservation of grammatical and lexical archaisms;
4. Absence of some grammatical categories.

The issue of a permanent sequence of idioms is not shared by all scholars. For example, according to Dementieva, "the dialectic of events makes it possible to change word order".¹² Indeed, from our observations on the proper material, not often, but in special cases the Tsovatush idiomatic vocabulary is marked by both a change of order and a change of verb components. For example, the idiom **Kortõ bečbar** "To fall in love (will fall in love)" can be found in the continuous speech with both possible variants of the word order. In particular:

1. **Ninos Admen kortõ bečbar lo'diē** – "Nino wanted to make Adam fall in love with her".

¹¹ Д. Розенталь, М. Теленкова, *Словарь-справочник лингвистических терминов*, Москва 1976, р. 515.

¹² Г. Деметьева, *Семантико-стилистические особенности фразеологических выражений*, Алма-Ата 1955, р. 160.

2. **ჰალ ბეჭბიე, ჭყუიჰსინე, ნინოს ადმენ კოტო** – “*Finally, Nino made Adam fall in love with her*”.

The determining feature of phraseological expressions is considered the circumstance that the noun part consists of abstract nouns, while the semantic profile of the syntagma itself is created by the fact that these abstract words are related to a verb of a specific subject meaning. For example: **Sicili daaqara** (“*He laughed at him*”); **Siṭqva mouṭra** (word for word: “*He cut his word*”) (“*He will keep it brief*”); **Amoiqara žavri** „ამოიყარა ჯავრი“ (“*He took vengeance*”)...

According to idioms or phraseological expressions, the situation in Georgian or Russian languages represents a peculiar universal and is realized in different ways in different languages. The Tsovatush is not an exception in this respect, of course. On the contrary, due to the unwritten language, attention is paid here to the large volume of the mentioned type of vocabulary.

It is known that in all cases any idiomatic expression is based on a completely certain reality (Georgian: **Qurebze xaxvi ar damaṭra...** word for word: “*He cut the onions on his ears...*” (“*Don’t think you can frighten me*”). This is well seen in the case of Tsovatush as well. For example, we can name idioms:

Xil qasar “*Destruction; Underestimation (Throwing in the water);* **Bădriv Ilḱujgo amag xil qaṣi** – “*The children threw Iliko’s labor into the water*” (“*They did not appreciate his labor*”).

Xix-ṭivax co daḷujnî “*Spineless*”, “*Awkward*” (“*He can not cross the bridge over the river*”); **Aliksî xix-ṭivax vaḷujn ṣtaḱ co va** “*Alex is spineless, awkward man*” (“*He can not cross the bridge over the river*”).

Both idioms are based on the realities of Tushs’ past life, namely, the difficulty of crossing a narrow bridge over a steep mountain and fast river, and the fact that an object or somebody that fell into such a river, could hardly survive – he was in danger of being destroyed.

Phraseological expressions are also built on the real life, for example, **Pikr tasdalî** (word for word: “*He fell into thought*”) (“*He became sorrowful*”), **Gonxî tiḷe** (“*He went crazy (beyond the mind)*”) and so on.

Words belonging to different lexical groups of the language with the function of the supporting word are found with different frequencies in idioms or phraseological expressions. Noteworthy in this regard are words denoting body parts, somatic vocabulary, which is much more commonly used compared to other semantic groups. For example, Prof. F. Shengelia, in this regard, pays special attention to the vocabulary of the mentioned

field of Megrelian language and speaks about the special role of the word ‘*man*’ in such expressions¹³.

We specially searched and calculated the idiomatic material of the mentioned content in the Tsovatush phraseology, where the following data of the inclusion of the names of the body parts were confirmed (of course, approximately):

- doḵ** “*Heart*” – 98 cases;
- kortô** “*Head*” – 31 cases;
- ko** “*Hand*” – 18 cases;
- bwarḵ** “*Eye*” – 14 cases;
- bak** “*Mouth*” – 14 cases;
- moṭ** “*Tongue*” – 9 cases;
- marlô** “*Nose*” – 7 cases;
- larḵ** “*Ear*” – 5 cases;
- carḵ** “*Tooth*” – 2 cases.

Even a simple review of the data makes clear a large load of the word “heart” in the idiomatic expressions of the Tsovatush language. If we take into account that these phraseological units are based on the verb, and this part of speech is very rich in Tsovatush with categories of conjugation and tense-mood, it becomes clear the large specific weight that a given group of lexemes occupies in the vocabulary of this language. Probably, Acad. P. Uslar took into consideration this fact too when he wrote: “Caucasian languages, including Tsovatush, are extraordinarily rich with grammatical forms, which give a chance to express the most delicate tones of thought”.¹⁴

The idioms are part of the basic vocabulary of the language. They show great resilience during language development. Idioms often contain lexical items that are no longer found in modern common vocabulary and are preserved in a given fixed context as a reminder of the old lexical composition of the language. We found two such units in the idiomatic vocabulary containing the word **doḵ** “*Heart*”. They are: **Doḵ hoḡar** and **Doḵ morsdar**. The content of the second of these is now incomprehensible to Tsovatushs.

Along with lexical archaisms, one of the features of idiomatic vocabulary is the preservation of grammatical archaisms. The reason for this,

¹³ V. Shengelia, “*Adamianta agmnishvneli sitkvebi megrul idiomatur gamotkmebshi*”. (Words Denoting the Human Being in Megrelian Idiomatic Expressions). In: *Iberian- Caucasian Linguistics*. V. XL III. Tbilisi 2015, p. 209.

¹⁴ П. Услар, *Этнография Кавказа, Языкознание, I*, Тифлис 1887, p. 28.

or the operating factor, is the phraseologization of expression. We have confirmed only a few cases of grammatical archaism mentioned in the idioms containing the noun **doḡ**. These are:

Doḡ yonšā daxar – “*Fainting fit*”

Doḡ daḡ daqar – “*Encourage*”

There is also the issue of borrowing in connection with idioms containing the same noun **doḡ**. It is noteworthy that according to our current data, out of the total number of idioms, i.e. 102 units, 25 units are borrowed from Georgian.

In connection with this borrowing, attention is drawn to the fact that the borrowings are all of a hybrid nature, as far as noun part of these phraseological formulas, the Tsovatush word **doḡ** “*Heart*” appears as a supporting unit of expression, and the verb part is borrowed from Georgian. Therefore, it is natural that the variable content of these idiomatic units is related to the verb.

With regard to idiomatic borrowing, it should be noted that the 25 mentioned borrowed units form two groups of borrowings: members of one group, namely 10 units, have a parallel of their own Tsovatush origin, and members of the other group (15 units) have no parallel of such an identical content.

The acquisition of Georgian parallels with the same content for Tsovatush phraseological units is the result of highly developed Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism. Appearing them means that the local units are expected to be lost after certain time. It is known that any kind of foreign vocabulary takes place in the borrowing language through parallel use. This is a necessary step to be taken in the process of borrowing foreign vocabulary. So, the above-mentioned 10 idiomatic Tsovatush expressions with Georgian parallels will soon disappear from the linguistic memory of these people, and those units that do not have similar parallels, will naturally be included in the vocabulary of the borrowing language.

Observation has shown that we have a quite frequent coincidence of idioms with the Georgian, which is explained by the long cultural and social relations between these two peoples, but at the same time we have syntagmas of completely different meanings, which are based on different household realities.

For obvious reasons, the inclusion of the names of the body parts is not so broad in nature in the phraseological vocabulary of the Tsovatush language, but for the sake of completeness, we present them as well.

We have in mind the names of the following parts of the body: **kortô** “Head”; **bəark** “Eye”; **bak** “Mouth”; **ko** “Hand”; **moṭ** “Tongue”.

Kortô laxbar (To humble oneself); **Kortô tiṭar** (To disgrace oneself); **Kortô baybar** (To loose personality); **Kortô kor ba’ar** (To took himself in his hands); **Kortô korlē baṭar** (To loose himself); **Kortô lacbar** (To behave properly); **Kortix ko ecar** (Wandering away from the right path)...

Ko darṣdar (Generosity); **Ko haṣqar** (Stinginess); **Ko ecar** (Fling up); **Ko toldar** (Making (sb) look a fool); **Ko laṣdar** (Desist); **Korlē daṭar** – (He has gone to the dogs); **Cha ko loṣ (aṭoṣ)** – (With one stroke of the hand); **Korax doṭar** (He will steal sth)...

Bəark boṭar (Keeping an eye on smb. / Shadowing); **Bəark da’ar** (Liking); **Bəark co da’ar** – (Disliking); **Bəark beṭṭbalar** (Blurring the eyes); **Bəarkḳiḳel xiṭar** (Overseeing);

Bak bəogar (Breaking one’s word); **Bakex doṭar** (Retracting one’s word); **Bakmak oṭar** (Exposing somebody as a liar); **Bak tolbar** (Oppressing smb. with the speech); **Bakmak co dilar** (Swaggering); **Chajn bakmak oṭar** (Standing on common principle / Consenting to something)...

Moṭ leṣṭbar (Talking too much); **Moṭ ba’ar** (Beginning to speak); **Moṭ qeḥar** (Telling tales); **Moṭ kaḳbar** (Meddling in); **Moṭ qilar** (Getting tongue-tied; Becoming dumb); **Ṣarē moṭ balar** (Tripping over one’s tongue)...

Marḷo qoṭbar (Desponding); **Marḷayā daqar** (Beating sb black and blue); **Marḷo laqbar** (Turning up one’s nose / Haughtiness); **Marḷaj dolar** (Embracing); **Sakmolô marḷo buqbar** (Intermeddling);

Larḳ qa’dar (Picking out); **Larḳ xiṭar** (Keeping attention); **Larḳ ɛofar** (Listening with attention); **Larḳ qurdar** (Turning a deaf ear); **Larḳ-bəar ditar** (Paying close attention)...

Carḳ teṭar (Wounding / Hostility); **Carḳ oṭjar** (Sticking in / Fasting on)...

The names of body parts generally participate with particular frequency in the phraseological units of the Tsovatush language. The word **doḳ** “Heart” is characterized by the greatest frequency in this regard. The idioms containing it have exceeded 90 in our material. According to the frequency of use, the next word is **kortô** (Head); We confirmed 31 units containing it. It is followed by **ko** (Hand) – 18 units; **bəark** (Eye) – 14 units; **bak** (Person) – 13 units; **moṭ** (Tongue); 9 units; **marḷo** (Nose) – 7 units; **larḳ** (Ear) – 5 units and **carḳ** (Tooth) – 3 units.

It is noteworthy that, in addition to the frequency of use, somatic vocabulary also has a special resistance to interfering processes. Today, when there is only a short period of time left before the Tsovatush language switches to Georgian, the facts of substituting Tsovatush verbs with Georgian ones have been significantly multiplied in the obtained phraseological units, and not a single case of changing the somatic name has been confirmed.

In conclusion, according to dictionaries, texts and personal records, we have found about 1,600 figurative words in the vocabulary of the Tsovatush language, which constitutes an important part of the whole vocabulary of this language and indicates its special durability in modern difficult conditions. As far as out of the different lexical levels of the language, the figurative word most accurately expresses the psycho-ethnic model of the people who speak this or that language, we believe that the present research clearly shows the psycho-ethnic world of the society speaking the unwritten Tsovatush language.¹⁵

¹⁵ Funding: The research was supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia (SRNSF) [Grant N° FR18-11950, “Endangered Languages and Vital Meaning of Their Documentation (according to the Tsovatush Language”, Part IV)].

The World Reflected in the Vocabulary
(On the Example of the Unwritten Language)

The paper deals with the lexical peculiarities of the unwritten Tsovatush language, revealed through typological comparison with the Georgian language.

The Tsovatush language still functions in Georgia, belonging to the eastern branch of the Iberian-Caucasian languages, spoken by population of only half of the village Zemo Alvani, counting the last days of its long existence.

The work shows how the world (objective reality) is reflected lexically in Tsovatush language, which is especially evident on the light of typological analysis of this language. In particular, unlike the Georgian language, in the Tsovatush language: the rainbow is represented not as a 'belt of the sky', but as a 'bow and arrow of God'; The rain (or spring) does not 'come', and the candle does not 'burn and do not spill', but it also 'cries'; The tree (plant) does not 'stand and does not get tired of standing', but 'sits' at rest (it seems that in the perception of the bearers of this language, the fauna, as a source of livelihood, is realized as a gift of special kindness); Birds do not 'fly' in the sky, but, like humans, 'walk'; A child remains a child not only for the rest of his life, but also for generations to come; Our long-term lexicographical experience have convinced us that the Tsovatush word 'tialô' has been so peculiar, so 'direct' and 'wild' that it is practically not subject to translation, in the absolute sense of the word.

A general observation shows that the vision (perception) of the world and, consequently, its lexical reflection in the Tsovaush language speakers is clearly different, special and original. The wide spectrum of linguistic tools used for formation of lexical units proves that the so called Small languages may just have the similar high linguistic values as the Big languages do.

Key words: Tsovatush Language, Unwritten Language, Vocabulary, Idiomatic Expressions, Phraseological Expressions.

MATERIALS, DOCUMENTS, MEMOIRES

WIELKA BRYTANIA WOBEC PRZYSZŁOŚCI GRUZJI ORAZ KAUKAZU POŁUDNIOWEGO NA PRZEŁOMIE 1918 R. I 1919 R.

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Zasadniczym tematem artykułu jest analiza stosunku rządu brytyjskiego wobec kwestii przyszłości Gruzji i innych republik południowokaukaskich (zakaukaskich). Został on zawarty w czterech memorandumach przygotowanych przez przedstawicieli władz angielskich u schyłku 1918 r. i na początku 1919 r. Dokumenty te wydają się być godne uwagi, ponieważ stanowiły próbę określenia polityki Zjednoczonego Królestwa wobec republik zakaukaskich i Dagestanu po zakończeniu I wojny światowej. Poza tym analizy te nie były do tej pory opublikowane.

Wagę dokumentów podkreślał fakt, że z powodu obecności znacznych brytyjskich sił wojskowych na Zakaukaziu do października 1919 r., to przede wszystkim, rząd w Londynie kształtował politykę południowokaukaską zwycięskich mocarstw Ententy w pierwszym roku po zakończeniu I wojny światowej. Z kolei polityka państw Ententy miała duży wpływ na pozycję międzynarodową oraz sytuację wewnętrzną Gruzji i jej południowokaukaskich sąsiadów po 1918 r. Dlatego też przedstawienie pewnych elementów tych opracowań wydaje się istotne dla analizy pozycji międzynarodowej Kaukazu Południowego po I wojnie światowej. Jednocześnie porównanie proponowanych założeń polityki brytyjskiej wobec Zakaukazia przedstawionych w dokumentach z ich praktyczną realizacją może być, zdaniem autora artykułu, interesujące dla badania historii Gruzji i Kaukazu Południowego w latach 1918-1921.

Przed omówieniem głównych tez zawartych w prezentowanych analizach, dla lepszego zrozumienia kontekstu powstania tych dokumentów należałoby wspomnieć o przeobrażeniach sytuacji w Gruzji i na Kaukazie Południowym u schyłku I wojny światowej. U schyłku maja 1918 r. po-

wstały na Zakaukaziu trzy niepodległe państwa: Gruzja, Armenia i Azerbejdżan. W czerwcu 1918 r. Gruzja została podporządkowana Niemcom, natomiast Armenia i Azerbejdżan Turcji¹.

W pierwszej połowie 1918 r. rządy mocarstw Ententy z uwagą śledziły sytuację na Zakaukaziu. Pomimo gestów sympatii, szczególnie wobec rosyjskich Ormian, politycy zachodni nie uznali niepodległości republik zakaukaskich, nadal traktując ich obszar jako część Rosji – sojusznicki mocarstw Ententy. Państwa alianckie nie uznały również rządu Włodzimierza Lenina, wspierając rosyjskie ośrodki „białych” walczące z bolszewikami. Ponadto jeszcze w grudniu 1917 r. na mocy porozumienia między władzami Wielkiej Brytanii i Francji ustalono, że Brytyjczycy będą udzielali pomocy ośrodkom antybolszewickim tworzącym się na Zakaukaziu². Niewątpliwie do tych ośrodków można było zaliczyć rządy demokratycznych republik południowokaukaskich. Jednak brak bezpośredniego dostępu mocarstw Ententy do regionu spowodował, że nie udzieliły one realnej pomocy militarnej państwom zakaukaskim.

W chwili zakończenia I wojny światowej oddziały niemieckie stacjonowały w Gruzji, natomiast wojska osmańskie w Azerbejdżanie i w Armenii. Na mocy rozejmów, formacje te wycofały się z Zakaukazia, natomiast na jego obszar wkroczyły, zgodnie z porozumieniem grudniowym z 1917 r., wojska brytyjskie³. Obecność tych sił spowodowała, że problem określenia polityki rządu w Londynie wobec państw południowokaukaskich stał się ważną kwestią. W tym celu opracowano przedstawione niżej dokumenty.

Spośród nich podstawowe było memorandum przygotowane 1 stycznia 1919 r. dla Foreign Office przez Sir Erle'a Richardsa - profesora prawa międzynarodowego i dyplomacji na Uniwersytecie w Oksfordzie. Dokument ten miał być przewodnikiem dla delegatów brytyjskich na przyszłą Konferencję Pokojową w Paryżu. Do tego memorandum dołączono m.in. trzy inne dokumenty oraz dwie noty opracowane w listopadzie i w grud-

¹ T. Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920. The Shaping of National Identity in Muslim Community*, Cambridge 1985; s. 130-132; W. Materski, *Georgia Rediviva. Republika Gruzińska w stosunkach międzynarodowych 1918-1921*, Warszawa 1994, s. 52-58; P. Olszewski, *Polityka państw Ententy wobec Zakaukazia w latach 1918-1921*, Piotrków Trybunalski 2001, s. 37-38.

² *Documents on British Foreign Policy. 1919-1939. First Series*, vol. III, London 1949, s. 369-370; G. A. Brinkley, *The Volunteer Army and Allied Intervention in a South Russia 1917-1921. A Study in the Politics and Diplomacy of the Russian Civil War*, Notre Dame 1966, s. 27-28; P. Olszewski, *From the History of the South Caucasus and the Middle East in 1914-1923. Outlines*, Piotrków Trybunalski 2019, s. 34-35.

³ *Ibidem*, s. 66.

niu 1918 r., które rozwijały pewne stwierdzenia zawarte w memorandum styczniowym. Ponieważ dokument datowany na początek stycznia 1919 r. był elementem wiążącym wcześniejsze opracowania, dlatego autor artykułu, zrezygnował z porządku chronologicznego i przeanalizował to memorandum jako pierwsze. Przedstawiono jedynie kilka refleksji, które nasunęły się autorowi przy okazji analizy dokumentu z 1 stycznia 1919 r., jak i kolejnych memorandumów, natomiast to czytelnik samodzielnie musi wyrobić sobie zdanie, czy spostrzeżenia te były słuszne, zapoznając się z tekstami opracowań.

Tytuł dokumentu styczniowego: „Memorandum na temat Armenii i Zakaukazia” wskazywał na konieczność rozpatrywania kwestii przyszłości Kaukazu Południowego wspólnie z przyszłością Armenii, obejmującej sześć wschodnich wilajetów (prowincji) tureckich, określanych czasami jako tzw. „Armenia Turecka”. Analiza ta składała się z dwóch części. W pierwszej części dotyczącej Armenii (Armenii Tureckiej) autor memorandum wskazywał na duże znaczenie geopolityczne i gospodarcze regionu. Następnie przeanalizowano „kwestię ormiańską” w Turcji do 1914 r., scharakteryzowano prześladowania Ormian przez Turków w okresie I wojny światowej oraz wskazano na, przede wszystkim, moralne zobowiązania brytyjskie wobec tureckich Ormian.

Wszystkie te uwarunkowania powodowały, że w czwartym fragmencie pierwszej części memorandum, zatytułowanym: „Generalna polityka” wskazywano na konieczność stworzenia „narodowego domu” dla Ormian w Anatolii wschodniej. Tworzyć go miała niepodległa Armenia, która zapewniałaby bezpieczny rozwój ludności ormiańskiej. Państwo to stanowiłoby także barierę przeciwko rozwojowi ruchu panturiańskiego, który mógłby mieć niekorzystny wpływ na sytuację na Kaukazie i w Azji. Niepodległa Armenia powinna być objęta powiernictwem mandatowym. Najlepszym kandydatem do roli mocarstwa mandatowego była Francja, pod warunkiem, że władze w Paryżu zgodziłyby się na rozszerzenie wpływów Wielkiej Brytanii w Syrii i na Półwyspie Arabskim.

Jednak z punktu widzenia problematyki tego artykułu, ciekawsza była druga część memorandum zatytułowana: „Zakaukazie (wliczając Dagestan)”. Już pierwszą uwagę mogło wzbudzać stwierdzenie, że Dagestan został włączony do obszaru Zakaukazia, pomimo, że geograficznie tworzy on część Kaukazu Północnego. Charakteryzując Kaukaz Południowy podkreślono jego duże zróżnicowanie narodowe i religijne oraz wskazano, że obecność wojsk brytyjskich na Zakaukaziu od grudnia 1918 r. przyczyniła się do stabilizacji sytuacji w tym regionie.

W kolejnej części opracowania scharakteryzowano państwa zakaukaskie. Wśród nich szczególnie Gruzja była predestynowana do stworzenia niepodległego państwa, ponieważ była najlepiej rozwinięta gospodarczo i kulturowo, jednolita językowo, posiadała wielowiekową historię, zwarte terytorium oraz korzystnie położone porty. Kwestię niepodległości Gruzji komplikowało w dużym stopniu znaczenie Batumi, które, obok Poti, powinno zostać międzynarodowym portem. Ponadto byłoby także korzystne włączenie w granice tego państwa muzułmańskich Gruzinów zamieszkujących Batumi oraz przyłączenie Lazystanu.

Następna kwestia to sprawa przyszłości Dagestanu, bardzo zróżnicowanego językowo. Podkreślano jego znaczenie geopolityczne oraz wskazano, że według ocen Foreign Office ludność Dagestanu mogła pragnąć ostatecznego przyłączenia do Azerbejdżanu. Z kolei rozważając przyszłość Armenii Rosyjskiej, określanej także mianem: „Republiki Erywańskiej”, podkreślano jej duże zróżnicowanie narodowościowe, brak spójności terytorium oraz dostępu do morza. Poza tym różnice interesów między pomiędzy Ormianami rosyjskimi i Ormianami tureckimi mogły utrudnić połączenie się Armenii Rosyjskiej z Armenią Turecką.

Z kolei w przypadku Azerbejdżanu wskazywano na istnienie w tym kraju silnych antagonizmów ormiańsko-azerbejdżańskich i podkreślano, że elity rządzące Azerbejdżanu były protureckie. Azerbejdżanie dążyli do połączenia z ludnością azerbejdżańską w Persji i stworzenia tureckiego państwa, co było niezgodne z interesami brytyjskimi. W konkluzji stwierdzono, że obecnie nie było możliwe uznanie niepodległości Azerbejdżanu, podobnie jak Armenii Rosyjskiej i Dagestanu, ponieważ należało czekać na rozwój sytuacji w regionie.

W prezentowanym opracowaniu występowała sprzeczność opinii. Wskazywano, że powstanie silnych i niepodległych państw zakaukaskich było zgodne z interesami brytyjskimi, dlatego rząd w Londynie powinien popierać dążenia niepodległościowe w tym regionie. Jednocześnie podkreślano, że należy prowadzić taką politykę, aby uniknąć oskarżenia ze strony Rosji, że władze brytyjskie wykorzystały jej osłabienie w celu wzmocnienia swoich wpływów na Kaukazie Południowym.

Rozważano również, że prawdopodobnie będzie potrzebna pomoc mocarstwa mandatowego, aby wesprzeć państwa zakaukaskie w tworzeniu trwałych podstaw ich egzystencji. Wśród kandydatów do funkcji państwa – mandatariusz wymieniano: Wielką Brytanię, Francję i USA.

Stacjonowanie sił wojskowych Wielkiej Brytanii na Zakaukaziu powodowało, że prawdopodobnie inne zwycięskie mocarstwa zwrócą się

do niej z prośbą, aby Anglia zgodziła się na tymczasową okupację tego regionu. Zarazem obecność militarna Londynu na Kaukazie Południowym była istotna z punktu widzenia strategicznego, ponieważ w ten sposób Wielka Brytania utrzymywałaby kontrolę nad szlakiem komunikacyjnym w kierunku Indii. Z tych samych powodów mandat Francji nad Zakaukaziem nie byłby korzystny dla Brytyjczyków. Natomiast mandat amerykański budził mniejsze kontrowersje z punktu widzenia interesów brytyjskich.

Zarazem autor memorandum wskazywał, że jeżeli państwa biorące udział w Konferencji Pokojowej będą wywierać naciski na Wielką Brytanię, aby przyjęła mandat nad Zakaukaziem, to rząd w Londynie może zgodzić się na tę propozycję dopiero po gruntownym zbadaniu problemu. Ponadto, gdyby Anglia chciała wypełniać funkcję mocarstwa kontrolującego militarnie Zakaukazie, to wówczas należy rozważyć możliwość wprowadzenia międzynarodowych sił zbrojnych w tym regionie pod zarządem brytyjskim.

Podsumowując rozważania zawarte w memorandum wskazano, że Armenia Turecka powinna być niepodległa. Ponadto powinna znaleźć się pod tymczasowym powiernictwem mandatowym mocarstwa sprawującego ten mandat w imieniu Ligi Narodów. Wielka Brytania powinna popierać kandydaturę Francji do objęcia tego mandatu.

W konkluzji memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r. pojawił się również pomysł powstania federacji składającej się z państw zakaukaskich o którym nie wspomniano w zasadniczej części dokumentu. Zarazem podkreślono, że to czy powstanie taka federacja, czy państwa południowokaukaskie będą oddzielnymi jednostkami, będzie zależało od ich własnego wyboru. Ponadto wskazano na konieczność utrzymania przez Wielką Brytanię kontroli morskiej nad Morzem Kaspijskim, potrzebę ogłoszenia „wolnymi portami”: Batumi, Poti, Trabzonu i Baku oraz zabezpieczenia swobodnego transportu na linii kolejowej Batumi-Baku. Należało także podpisać specjalne porozumienie gwarantujące międzynarodowe interesy w Baku i na polach naftowych wokół tego miasta.

Oceniając konkluzję memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r. należałoby wskazać, że pomimo, że połowa memorandum poświęcona została Armenii Tureckiej, to zawarto zaledwie dwa punkty podsumowania dotyczącego polityki brytyjskiej wobec jej przyszłości. Sprowadzały się one do stwierdzenia, że Armenia Turecka powinna być oddzielona od Turcji i znaleźć się pod powiernictwem mandatowym jednego z mocarstw sprawującego tę funkcję w imieniu Ligi Narodów. Ponadto najlepsze z punk-

tu widzenia interesów brytyjskich byłoby powiernictwo Francji, które mogłoby osłabić pozycję Paryża w Syrii i na Półwyspie Arabskim.

Natomiast o wiele bardziej rozbudowane okazały się konkluzje dotyczące polityki brytyjskiej wobec przyszłości Zakaukazia, które obejmowały aż dziesięć punktów. Wynikało to z bardziej skomplikowanej sytuacji na Kaukazie Południowym i w Dagestanie, niż wydawała się to na początku 1919 r. w przypadku Turcji, która była podporządkowana zwyciężskiemu mocarstwu. We wnioskach dotyczących Kaukazu Południowego wyraźnie wskazano potrzebę utworzenia niepodległych państw w tym regionie. Jednocześnie autor dokumentu wydawał się nie zauważać, że już od schyłku maja 1918 r. istniały tam niepodległe republiki. Wyrażna była także sugestia, że polityka Wielkiej Brytanii wobec Armenii Rosyjskiej, będzie w dużym stopniu zależna od sytuacji geopolitycznej Armenii Tureckiej, a zwłaszcza od tego, które ze zwyciężskich mocarstw przejmie mandat nad Anatolią wschodnią. W podsumowaniu memorandum podkreślona była także rola relacji państw zakaukaskich z rządem rosyjskim jako istotny element kształtujący ich przyszłość.

Do opracowania z 1 stycznia 1919 r. zostały dołączone inne dokumenty. Wśród nich uwagę należy zwrócić na memorandum Foreign Office z 1 listopada 1918 r., dotyczące kwestii rozwiązania przyszłości Zakaukazia ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem interesów brytyjskich. Zawarte w tym dokumencie stwierdzenia wpłynęły na sformułowania prezentowanego wcześniej opracowania. W przeciwieństwie do przedstawionej wcześniej analizy, obszar Zakaukazia obejmował w tym memorandum tylko terytoria Gruzji, Armenii i Azerbejdżanu.

We wstępie dokumentu wskazano, że kwestia przyszłości Kaukazu Południowego stanowiła część generalnego problemu przyszłości państw powstałych na kresach dawnej Rosji. Zarazem specyfika terytorium Zakaukazia sprawiała, że przyszłość tego regionu miała też swoje odrębne uwarunkowania. Autor lub autorzy tego memorandum (nie podano jednego, konkretnego nazwiska autora) wskazali, że podstawą rozważań na temat określenia przyszłych losów tego regionu powinno być uznanie Gruzji i Armenii oraz „Tatarów”, jako niepodległe państwa. W memorandum nie używano pojęcia „Azerbejdżan” na określenie istniejącej na Zakaukazu Demokratycznej Republiki Azerbejdżanu, natomiast zamiennie występowały określenia „Tatarzy” i „państwo Tatarów”. Trzy państwa południowokaukaskie ostatecznie powinny stworzyć federację. Co prawda podkreślono, że kraje te powinny być niezależne od Rosji, zarazem

jednak nie wykluczano możliwości ich powrotu w przyszłości do tzw. „federacji państw rosyjskich”.

W memorandum z 1 listopada 1918 r. pojawiła się również konieczność objęcia nadzorem i kontrolą jednego ze zwycięskich mocarstw narodów zakaukaskich, które stworzyłyby niepodległe państwa. W przeciwieństwie do pierwszego dokumentu wskazano również, że najlepszym mocarstwem do udzielenia w imieniu Konferencji Pokojowej pomocy państwom zakaukaskim, a także do ich kontrolowania, będzie Wielka Brytania, która w ten sposób mogłaby rozszerzyć swój protektorat nad Mezopotamią. Innym kandydatem do tej funkcji były Stany Zjednoczone ze względu na interesy amerykańskie w Armenii i wśród Ormian. Przy czym znamienne było w tym przypadku wiązanie obecności obydwu mocarstw na Kaukazie Południowym z ich polityką wobec terenów dawnego Imperium Osmanów. Równie istotne wydawało się wykluczenie kandydatury Francji jako potencjalnego mocarstwa kontrolującego sytuację na Zakaukaziu.

Podkreślenie w tej analizie znaczenia kontroli państw południowokaukaskich przez zwycięskie mocarstwa uległo w memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r. pewnemu osłabieniu. W dokumencie styczniowym położono raczej nacisk na znaczenie mocarstwa kontrolującego Zakaukazie, jako pełniącego rolę mandatariusza z ramienia Ligi Narodów, a więc spełniającego bardziej funkcję opiekuna oraz państwa udzielającego pomocy krajom zakaukaskim, niż nadzorcy i kontrolera ich działalności.

Kolejna część dokumentu wspominała o Gruzji, która, ponieważ była najlepiej rozwinięta pod względem politycznym i ekonomicznym, miała szczególne prawo do uznania swojej niepodległości przez mocarstwa. Stwierdzenie to zostało powtórzone w memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r. Zarazem należy podkreślić, że w dokumencie z 1 listopada 1918 r. wielokrotnie używano pojęcia: „Gruzini” jako narodu, który był szczególnie predestynowany do stworzenia niepodległego państwa.

W memorandum z 1 listopada 1918 r. wskazywano ponadto, że brytyjskie interesy handlowe wymagały, aby Batumi zostało „wolnym portem” oraz aby zapewniono wolny dostęp do linii kolejowych biegnących przez terytorium Gruzji do Armenii, Baku i Persji. Jednocześnie znamienne było to, że Batumi było traktowane jako „wolny port”, ale położony na obszarze Gruzji.

W dalszej części memorandum wskazano, że z racji historycznej przeszłości Gruzynów, mieli oni o wiele mocniejsze prawa do niepodległości, niż jakkolwiek inny naród dawnego Imperium Rosyjskiego, ponieważ

Gruzja nigdy nie została podbita przez Rosję. Natomiast istniał problem wytyczenia granic Gruzji ze względu na mało wiarygodne dane dotyczące ludności, napływ ormiańskich uchodźców z Turcji oraz niejasną orientację narodową części gruzińskich muzułmanów. Dlatego w analizie sugerowano, że kwestią wytyczenia granic Gruzji powinna zająć się komisja aliancka, która powinna udać się do tego kraju.

Istotną częścią dokumentu były rozważania na temat prawa Ormian do niepodległości. W tym przypadku, odmiennie niż w sytuacji Gruzji, wskazywano, że niepodległa Armenia powinna tworzyć ormiański protektorat pod międzynarodową gwarancją mocarstwa mandatowego. Protektorat ten powinien być powołany w wyniku zjednoczenia sześciu wilajetów Turcji, Cylicji i Armenii Rosyjskiej.

Kolejną, omawianą kwestią, był poruszony w memorandum z 1 listopada 1918 r. problem tzw. „Tatarskiej Republiki” czyli Azerbejdżanu. Sugerowano, że dyskusyjny problem stanowiła zdolności Tatarów (Azerbejdżan) do stworzenia samodzielnego rządu. Podkreślano także, że w przypadku braku możliwości powołania niepodległego Azerbejdżanu, jego terytorium mogło ponownie znaleźć się pod władzą Rosji.

W podsumowaniu dokumentu stwierdzono, że z punktu widzenia interesów brytyjskich na Wschodzie, mogło być potrzebne przejęcie protektoratu przez Wielką Brytanię nad trzema państwami zakaukaskimi, albo co najmniej dostarczenie im pomocy w celu stworzenia niezależnych jednostek politycznych opartych na etnograficznych granicach. Wskazano także, że być może będzie korzystne ograniczenie władzy Rosji do Kaukazu Północnego i stworzenie na Kaukazie Południowym bariery przeciwko ekspansji tego państwa w kierunku południowo-wschodnim. Stwierdzono również, że na północny zachód od Kaukazu zamieszkiwali Kozacy kubańscy i dońscy, którzy mogli stanowić narzędzie ekspansji odbudowanej Rosji w kierunku południowo-wschodnim. Poza tym ówczesna ekspansja Kozaków kubańskich w kierunku Suchumi służyła uzyskaniu możliwości działań wojskowych wzdłuż wybrzeża Morza Czarnego w celu dalszej inwazji na całe Zakaukazie. zdaniem twórców dokumentu będzie to służyło militarnym interesom Rosji. Zarazem należy podkreślić, że walki zbrojnej było faktycznie toczonych bardziej na północy, w okolicach Soczi, która w tamtym okresie również była uznawana za część Abchazji.

Wydaje się, że podsumowanie memorandum z 1 listopada 1919 r. sprowadzało się do stwierdzenia, że państwa zakaukaskie mogły przy pomocy brytyjskiej stworzyć barierę przeciwko ponownej ekspansji Ro-

si na południe. Było to najistotniejsza konkluzja tego dokumentu, która wpływała na dalszą politykę władz brytyjskich wobec Kaukazu Południowego, szczególnie w 1919 r. Było to widoczne zwłaszcza w posunięciach przedstawicieli wojskowych władz angielskich w tym regionie. Kolejne istotne stwierdzenie podsumowania dotyczyło działań Kozaków kubańskich w Abchazji, służące przygotowaniu ekspansji rosyjskiej w celu zajęcie terenów Zakaukazia.

Istotne wydaje się podkreślenie, że w opracowaniu z 1 listopada 1918 r. nie wspomniano o Armii Ochotniczej gen. Antona Denikina, która faktycznie odpowiadała za walki zbrojne z Gruzją w Abchazji. Pod koniec 1918 r. Kozacy kubańscy stanowili dużą część tej formacji. Jednak działania militarne w okolicach Soczi były prowadzone przede wszystkim z inicjatywy dowództwa „ochotników”.

Warto zauważyć, że z punktu widzenia stosunku Wielkiej Brytanii wobec istniejących państw zakaukaskich charakterystyczne było stwierdzenie, że władze w Londynie nie uznały istnienia niepodległych państw na Kaukazie Południowym. Natomiast uważano, że te państwa dopiero miały powstać przy wydatnej pomocy, i co trzeba podkreślić, także pod nadzorem oraz kontrolą zwyciężskich mocarstw. W memorandum zamiast pojęć: Gruzja, Armenia i Azerbejdżan, generalnie używano określeń: Gruzini, Ormianie i Tatarzy, negując tym samym fakt istnienia suwerennych państw południowokaukaskich.

Konkluzje tego memorandum, dotyczące zwłaszcza konieczności stworzenia na Zakaukaziu bariery przeciwko ponownej ekspansji Rosji w kierunku południowo-wschodnim kosztem interesów brytyjskich, a także potrzeby ustanowienia powiernictwa mandatowego nad Armenią Rosyjską i Armenią Turecką, powtórzono w analizie z 1 stycznia 1919 r. Jednocześnie w dokumencie styczniowym nie podkreślono aż tak dobitnie szczególnego prawa Gruzinów do uznania niepodległości ich państwa przez mocarstwa Ententy, o czym wspominała analiza z 1 listopada 1918 r.

Kolejnym dokumentem, który stał się podstawą memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r., było opracowanie Foreign Office w sprawie możliwej polityki terytorialnej w tzw. „regionach kaukaskich”, datowane na 7 listopada 1918 r. Jego autorem był Sir Eyre Crowe wysoki urzędnik Foreign Office. Przy czym, w przeciwieństwie do późniejszego dokumentu, w memorandum z 7 listopada 1918 r. wyraźnie oddzielono kwestię przyszłości Armenii Tureckiej od Zakaukazia. Z kolei przedmiotem analizy przyszłości terytorium Zakaukazia stał się także Dagestan, co zostało po-

wtórzone w zasadniczym dla naszego toku rozważań memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r.

W pierwszej części dokumentu z 7 listopada 1918 r. stwierdzono, że ponieważ ludność Kaukazu Południowego ogłosiła już swoją niepodległość, dlatego podstawą polityki zakaukaskiej nie tylko Wielkiej Brytanii, ale także innych Aliantów, powinno być uznanie praw ludności tego regionu do niepodległości. Jednocześnie podkreślono, co później zostało powtórzone w memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r., że należy uniknąć sytuacji, aby Rosja mogła oskarżyć Sprzymierzonych o to, że wykorzystali jej chwilową słabość i uznały niepodległość Zakaukazia. Dlatego wskazywano, że należy uznać niepodległość „rządów narodowych” na Zakaukaziu w takiej formie, aby z góry nie przesądzać kwestii ostatecznej ich niepodległości albo ponownego zjednoczenia z Rosją. Było to praktycznie trudne do zrealizowania. Zarazem taki mechanizm uznania niepodległości mogło ułatwić uznanie tych państw za pośrednictwem Ligi Narodów.

Rozważając przyszłość polityczną Kaukazu Południowego podkreślono duże trudności związane ze stworzeniem przez te cztery jednostki polityczne federacji w związku z ich słabością, a także brakiem silnych, wspólnych związków historycznych. Ponadto sugerowano, że w przypadku stworzenia niepodległych państw na Zakaukaziu będzie im potrzebna pomoc mocarstwa, które dostarczy doradców i administratorów oraz wsparcie finansowe. Jeżeli to samo mocarstwo udzieliłoby pomocy wszystkim czterem państwom kaukaskim, to mogłoby to stanowić podstawę do stworzenia federacji tych państw.

W kolejnej części dokumentu podkreślono, że ze względu na graniczenie państw zakaukaskich z Bliskim Wschodem, gdzie Wielka Brytania miała swoje interesy, byłoby ważne, aby nie pozwolić państwom tego regionu znaleźć się w „stanie anarchii”. Zarazem z punktu widzenia przyszłych relacji brytyjsko - rosyjskich było niekorzystne, aby Wielka Brytania została mocarstwem mandatowym na Zakaukaziu i w Dagestanie.

Następnie przeprowadzono rozważania na temat sytuacji na poszczególnych obszarach Kaukazu Południowego i w Dagestanie, które były generalnie zgodne z treścią memorandum z 1 stycznia. Charakteryzując Gruzję podkreślano, że obejmowała ona najbardziej zwarte terytorium, była wysoko rozwinięta pod względem politycznym, posiadała tradycję politycznej niepodległości oraz miała stosunkowo jednolitą językowo ludność. Dlatego zakładano, że stosunkowo łatwo będzie można uznać obecną niepodległość Gruzji pod warunkiem, że zerwie ona bliskie relacje z Niemcami.

Natomiast w przypadku Armenii Rosyjskiej wskazywano na trudności wynikające z jej uznania: zróżnicowanie narodowościowe, brak samowystarczalności gospodarczej w związku z brakiem dostępu do morza. Sugerowano, że pomimo to rząd brytyjski powinien uznać rząd Armenii Rosyjskiej i nie przeciwstawiać się jej unii z Armenią Turecką.

Zakładano również, że w przypadku połączenia obydwu Armenii, mocarstwo, które uzyska mandat w celu udzielenia pomocy Armenii Tureckiej, powinno także rozszerzyć swoje wsparcie na całą zjednoczoną Armenię. Wydaje się, że ta konkluzja zaprzeczala przynajmniej częściowo stwierdzeniom zawartym w początkowej części tego dokumentu, że problem Armenii Tureckiej powinien być rozważany oddzielnie od kwestii Zakaukazia. Należy przypuszczać, że do analogicznego wniosku doszedł autor memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r., który wyraźnie wskazał na konieczność wspólnego rozpatrywania przyszłości Armenii Tureckiej i Zakaukazia.

Kolejna kwestia to problem przyszłości Azerbejdżanu Rosyjskiego rozważany w memorandum z 7 listopada 1918 r. Wskazano, że był to problem nastroczający duże trudności z powodów, o których wspomniano także we wcześniej przedstawionym dokumencie. Chodziło przede wszystkim o wieloetniczność tego kraju, a zwłaszcza azerbejdżańsko-ormiańskich konflikty etniczne. Ponadto negatywnie wypowiediano się o możliwości stworzenia przez Azerbejdżan rządu zdolnego do utrzymania porządku wewnętrznego, dlatego optowano przeciwko uznaniu przez Wielką Brytanię ówczesnego rządu Azerbejdżanu, który powstał pod egidą Turków.

Podkreślano także konieczność utworzenia silnego zagranicznego protektoratu nad Azerbejdżanem. Wskazując na szczególne znaczenie pól naftowych w tym kraju dla światowej gospodarki, postulowano stworzenie międzynarodowej kontroli nad zasobami azerbejdżańskiej ropy naftowej, przypominającej „Komisję ds. Dunaju”.

Zdaniem twórców dokumentu najgorzej sytuacja wyglądała w Dagestanie, który składał się z „mieszaniny” plemion muzułmańskich, stojących na niskim poziomie rozwoju. Jednak nie można było mieszkańców tych obszarów pozostawić samych ze względu na znaczenie geostrategiczne tego regionu poprzez który m.in. przebiegała ważna linia kolejowa łącząca Baku z Rosją. Ponadto pola naftowe w Baku i w Groznm, gdzie Brytyjczycy mieli swoje istotne interesy gospodarcze, mogły być narażone na napady ze strony plemion dagestańskich.

Dlatego najlepszym rozwiązaniem byłoby ponowne zjednoczenie Dagestanu z Rosją. Jednak w ówczesnej sytuacji Rosja nie była w stanie podjąć się tego zadania. Stąd też odbudowa i utrzymanie porządku w Dagestanie było bardzo trudne do realizacji. Zarazem autorzy memorandum nie wskazywali, które z mocarstw powinno podjąć się tego zadania.

W ostatniej części dokumentu rozważano kwestię, które z mocarstw powinno przyjąć powiernictwo mandatowe nad Zakaukaziem. Podobnie jak w memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r. odrzucono kandydatury: Rosji, Wielkiej Brytanii i Włoch jako potencjalnych mandatariuszy, wykluczono również mniejsze państwa europejskie: Szwecję, Norwegię, Danię, Holandię i Szwajcarię, a pozostawiono kandydatury: USA i Francji.

Analizując kandydaturę Francji wskazano na przychylną postawę Ormian wobec tego mocarstwa. Zakładano, że gdyby Paryż przyjął mandat nad Armenią Turecką i Armenią Rosyjską, a nawet nad całym Zakaukaziem i Dagestanem, to byłoby to korzystne dla interesów brytyjskich, ponieważ wówczas rząd w Londynie mógłby domagać się pewnych koncesji w Syrii, Mezopotamii i Palestynie ze strony Francji. W ten sposób doszłoby do wzmocnienia wpływów Anglii na bliskowschodnich terenach Imperium Tureckiego kosztem Francji, a także zaangażowanoby rząd w Paryżu we wschodniej Anatolii i na Zakaukaziu. Z kolei sprzeciw wobec mandatu francuskiemu wynikał z faktu, że obecność Francji na północnych granicach Persji mogła zaszkodzić umocnieniu wpływów brytyjskich w tym kraju.

Z punktu widzenia interesów brytyjskich lepszym rozwiązaniem byłby mandat USA nad Zakaukaziem. Jednak w takim przypadku Brytyjczycy nie mieliby możliwości nacisku na rząd Francji, aby zrezygnował z części żądań dotyczących Bliskiego Wschodu, które były niewygodne dla Anglii.

Natomiast optymalnym rozwiązaniem dla władz brytyjskich byłby mandat Francji nad Armenią Turecką i Armenią Rosyjską oraz powiernictwo USA nad Gruzją, Azerbejdżanem Rosyjskim i Dagestanem. Jednak według ocen brytyjskich, prezydent USA był mniej skłonny zgodzić się na takie rozwiązanie, niż w przypadku ewentualnej kandydatury USA do mandatu ormiańskiego. Dlatego na zakończenie memorandum podkreślono, że najlepszym rozwiązaniem byłby mandat Francji nad Armenią Turecką i Zakaukaziem. Rozważania te zostały powtórzone w opracowaniu z 1 stycznia 1919 r.

Kolejnym dokumentem, stanowiącym podstawę styczniowego memorandum, było analiza brytyjskiego Sztabu Generalnego, dotycząca

przyszłości Zakaukazia z punktu widzenia wojskowego, opracowana 5 grudnia 1919 r. Na początku dokumentu wskazano, że dla Brytyjczyków niekorzystne byłoby powierzenie mandatu Francji, aby zapewniła stabilność na Zakaukaziu i w Dagestanie, ponieważ państwo to było ambitnym mocarstwem wojskowym, które było wówczas sojusznikiem Wielkiej Brytanii, jednak generalnie było historycznym rywalem Anglii. Dlatego niekorzystne pod względem militarnym było przekazanie Francji władzy nad terenami, które mogły jej ułatwić dostęp do Indii.

Sugerowano natomiast, że Kaukaz Południowy i Dagestan powinny znaleźć się pod kontrolą wojskową Wielkiej Brytanii. Podkreślano także znaczenie objęcia nadzorem linii kolejowych przebiegających przez Zakaukazie, zarówno z północy ze strony Rosji, jak i ze wschodu na zachód - z Batumi do Baku oraz linii kolejowej, którą można byłoby wybudować oraz połączyć Aleksandrettę z Tbilisi i Baku.

W przypadku objęcia francuskim powiernictwem mandatowym Anatolii Wschodniej, a także Zakaukazia, Francja uzyskałaby możliwość stworzenia silnej armii w oparciu o ludność ormiańską i kurdyjską. Ponadto na tych terenach były duże zasoby bogactw mineralnych, które mogły być wykorzystane do produkcji uzbrojenia dla tej formacji. Gdyby taka sytuacja miała miejsce, to zagroziłoby to interesom Wielkiej Brytanii w Indiach, Mezopotamii oraz w Egipcie.

Autorzy memorandum wskazywali także, że nie można było wykluczyć w przyszłości sojuszu między Francją i odbudowaną Rosją, który mógłby zagrozić interesom brytyjskim w Azji. Dlatego należało dążyć do utrzymania na Bliskim Wschodzie przeszkody między rosyjską i francuską strefą wpływów. Taką rolę mogły pełnić trzy państwa: Gruzja, Azerbejdżan i Armenia Rosyjska.

Następnie rozważano kwestię: czy trzy państwa południowokaukaskie powinny tworzyć niepodległe państwa, czy należy podjąć próbę, aby stworzyć z nich federację? Twórcy opracowania wskazywali na olbrzymie znaczenie gospodarczo – militarne linii kolejowych kontrolowanych przez rządy Gruzji i Armenii Rosyjskiej oraz powiązanie ich ze sobą. Dlatego też można sądzić, że optowano na rzecz przede wszystkim związku Gruzji i Armenii Rosyjskiej, wynikającego z bliskich relacji gospodarczych między tymi państwami.

Jednocześnie podkreślano, że kontrola Batumi przez Brytyjczyków mogła zapobiec ekspansji Rosji w kierunku południowym, wzdłuż zachodnich wybrzeży Morza Kaspijskiego. W przypadku silnej wojskowej pozycji Wielkiej Brytanii w Gruzji i Armenii Rosyjskiej kwestia kontro-

li Azerbejdżanu nie była już aż tak istotna, co najmniej do czasu, gdy Rosja nie odbuduje swojej potęgi zbrojnej. Jednocześnie ze względu na znaczenie kontroli Brytyjczyków nad Armenią Rosyjską, region ten powinien być odłączony od Armenii Tureckiej i dlatego podstawą polityki angielskiej na Kaukazie powinno być zachowanie odrębności Armenii Rosyjskiej od Armenii Tureckiej oraz zatrzymanie wpływów francuskich na dawnej granicy rosyjsko-tureckiej.

Wskazano również, że kwestia gruzińska nie będzie stanowić dla Londynu większego problemu, ponieważ należy jedynie uznać aspiracje niepodległościowe Gruzji. Jednocześnie kwestia ta mogła wymagać jak najszybszego rozwiązania, ponieważ oddziały brytyjskie przygotowywały się do przyjazdu do Batumi.

Natomiast duży problem sprawiała przyszłość Azerbejdżanu. Wskazywano, że w regionie tym powołano tzw. „republikę”, która chce być uznana przez Aliantów. Jednak autorzy memorandum twierdzili, że Azerbejdżan ze swoją słabo wykształconą ludnością, nie będzie mógł nigdy samodzielnie funkcjonować. Jednak ze względu na bogactwa naturalne pozostanie on „zdobyczą międzynarodowych kół finansowych”. Dlatego z punktu widzenia interesów brytyjskich, najlepiej byłoby pozostawić kwestię uznania niepodległości Azerbejdżan nie rozstrzygniętą do czasu, gdy Rosja znowu będzie przygotowana do przejęcia administracji nad tym regionem. Jednocześnie podkreślano, że w tym czasie Morze Kaspijskie powinno być kontrolowane przez Brytyjską Marynarkę Wojenną.

Wyrażono także przekonanie, że jak tylko oddziały brytyjskie obejmą kontrolę Zakaukazię, to możliwe będzie wprowadzenie brytyjskiej administracji, która zaprowadzi stabilizację w regionie. Ponadto pod kierunkiem brytyjskich przedstawicieli politycznych można byłoby stworzyć trzy państwa, a także powołać tzw. „zakaukaską radę” w Tbilisi przez przedstawicieli tych krajów, która będzie podstawą do stworzenia federacji państw południowokaukaskich.

Przekonanie zakładające, że bez pomocy brytyjskiej narody Zakaukazia nie były w stanie stworzyć niepodległych państw, może budzić zdziwienie, biorąc pod uwagę fakt, że w regionie tym już istniały suwerenne republiki. Ponadto wydaje się, że w dokumencie nadmiernie podkreślano rolę wojsk brytyjskich w stabilizacji sytuacji na Zakaukaziu. Oczywiście z punktu widzenia sytuacji na tym obszarze w 1919 r. obecność oddziałów brytyjskich niewątpliwie przyczyniła się do pewnej stabilizacji wewnętrznej na Kaukazie Południowym. Nie można jednak wskazać, że

przed przybyciem tych formacji region był w stanie kompletnego chaosu wewnętrznego.

W kolejnej części memorandum wskazywano, że Francja mogłaby przeciwstawić się rozszerzeniu wpływów brytyjskich na Zakaukaziu. Jednak argument na rzecz umocnienia pozycji Londynu w tym regionie było stwierdzenie, że to Anglia pokonała Turcję i dlatego miała prawo do zabezpieczenia swoich interesów na Bliskim Wschodzie. W tej uwadze wydaje się być zawarta sugestia, że kwestia określenia polityki, zarówno Wielkiej Brytanii, jak i Francji oraz innych mocarstw alianckich, wobec przyszłości Zakaukazia była ściśle związana z ich bliskowschodnią polityką i określeniem podziału stref wpływów tych państw w Turcji. Zrazem to stwierdzenie, wskazywało na przekonanie władz brytyjskich, że powinny wspierać swoje interesy na Bliskim Wschodzie, także kosztem osłabienia pozycji francuskiego sojusznika na obszarach bliskowschodnich, które wcześniej uznali za strefę wpływów Francji. Zresztą rozmowy brytyjsko-francuskie dotyczące przyszłości Syrii, które prowadzono w 1919 r. i 1920 r., wskazywały, że rząd w Londynie próbował osłabić pozycję Francji, szczególnie w Syrii.

W konkluzji memorandum z 5 grudnia 1918 r. podkreślano, że z punktu widzenia brytyjskich interesów wojskowych Anglia powinna skoncentrować swoją uwagę na stworzeniu niepodległych państw: Gruzji i Armenii Rosyjskiej. Ponadto Azerbejdżan powinien być utrzymany jako oddzielna jednostka terytorialna do czasu, gdy Rosja nie przejmie nad nią kontroli. Jednocześnie powrócono do idei stworzenia rady federacyjnej trzech państw zakaukaskich, jeżeli pojawi się taka możliwość po ocenie sytuacji w regionie przez politycznych przedstawicieli Wielkiej Brytanii. Należy podkreślić, że co prawda w memorandum omawiano rozwiązanie kwestii przyszłości Zakaukazia z punktu widzenia militarnego, to jednak znamienne było podkreślenie znaczenia oceny sytuacji politycznej w tym regionie dokonanej przez przedstawicieli politycznych Wielkiej Brytanii po ich przybyciu na Kaukaz Południowy. Istotne było również wskazanie w dokumencie możliwości włączenie do zakaukaskiej rady federacyjnej także przedstawicieli Azerbejdżanu. Była to wyraźna sprzeczność w poglądach autorów memorandum, którzy we wcześniejszych fragmentach analizy odmawiali Azerbejdżanowi prawa do statusu niepodległego państwa. Jednocześnie także w memorandum z 5 grudnia 1918 r. nie zauważono faktu istnienia już od kilku miesięcy niepodległych państw na Zakaukaziu.

Natomiast wydaje się, że autorzy tego dokumentu, podobnie jak analizowanych wcześniej memorandumów, uważali, że mocarstwa alianckie, a szczególnie Wielka Brytania, będą w stanie dowolnie kształtować rzeczywistość polityczną na Zakaukaziu. Będą mogły tworzyć państwa w tym regionie zgodnie ze swoimi interesami politycznymi, gospodarczymi i wojskowymi. W ten sposób negowano przeobrażenia polityczne, które nastąpiły na Kaukazie Południowym w 1917 r. i 1918 r. Założenia te były niemożliwe do realizacji w istniejącej wówczas sytuacji politycznej na Zakaukaziu i zmusiły przedstawicieli Wielkiej Brytanii do nawiązania relacji z rządami państw południowokaukaskich oraz uznania ich za ośrodki realnej władzy politycznej na terenie Gruzji, Armenii i Azerbejdżanu.

W zakończeniu memorandum z 5 grudnia 1918 r. ponownie podkreślono konieczność zapobieżenia rozszerzeniu wpływów Francji, jako mocarstwa o wielkim potencjale militarnym, od wybrzeża Morza Śródziemnego do wybrzeża Morza Kaspijskiego oraz ekspansji rosyjsko-niemieckiej z północy. Dlatego dobitnie wskazano, o czym nie wspomniano we wcześniejszych fragmentach tego dokumentu, że Azerbejdżan nie powinien być oddany ponownie pod kontrolę Rosji, a flota brytyjska nie powinna być wycofana z basenu Morza Kaspijskiego, dopóki nie będzie oczywiste, że Rosja nie będzie prowadzić agresywnej polityki wobec Persji i Indii. Stwierdzenie to wskazywało, że wojskowi brytyjscy uważali, że należy wykorzystać chwilowe osłabienie Rosji, aby zabezpieczyć się przed jej ponowną ekspansją w tej części Azji, którą uważano za brytyjską strefę wpływów.

Temu celowi miało służyć stworzenie bloku państw na Zakaukaziu przyjaznych Londynowi, które miały tworzyć barierę przeciwko ekspansji Rosji na południe. W barierze tej pierwszoplanowe znaczenia miała odgrywać Gruzja i brytyjska kontrola nad Batumi. Wskazywały na to wyraźne stwierdzenia, że Gruzja mogła być zarówno ważnym elementem bariery przeciwko ekspansji Francji na wschód, jak i ekspansji Rosji na południe. Z kolei Batumi mogło być ważnym oparciem dla operacji angielskich sił wojskowych, które celem byłyby obrona Morza Kaspijskiego. Stwierdzenia takie pojawiły się również w memorandum z 1 stycznia 1919 r.

Jednocześnie należy wskazać, że po zajęciu Zakaukazia przez wojska brytyjskie, wbrew sugestiom zawartym w tych memorandumach, władze angielskie, szczególnie w trakcie obrad Konferencji Pokojowej w 1919 r., nie wysuwały uznania politycznego Gruzji jako pierwszoplanowej

kwestii. Natomiast większą uwagę zwracano na sytuację w Armenii Rosyjskiej oraz w Azerbejdżanie. Wynikało to z konieczności określenia przyszłości mandatowej Armenii Rosyjskiej wspólnie z Armenią Turecką i rozwiązania problemu Ormian w Turcji. Natomiast w przypadku Azerbejdżanu było to związane z potrzebą wypracowania ułatwień dla firm brytyjskich przy wywozie azerbejdżańskiej ropy naftowej.

Ścisłym uzupełnieniem przeanalizowanych wyżej memorandumów były dwie krótkie noty. W „Nocie A” podkreślono, że Anatolia wschodnia oraz Zakaukazie obfitowały w liczne bogactwa naturalne i żyzne gleby, dlatego pod zarządem Francji obszary te mogą szybko rozwijać się gospodarczo. Stąd też wydźwięk tej noty wskazywał, że z punktu widzenia interesów brytyjskich niekorzystne było oddanie tych regionów pod kontrolę rządu w Paryżu. Z kolei ostatni dokument, tzw. „Nota B”, podkreślał duże znaczenie zaangażowania Wielkiej Brytanii w walki zbrojne przeciwko Turcji dla zwycięstwa Ententy nad mocarstwami centralnymi.

Na podstawie przeanalizowanych dokumentów nasuwa się konkluzja, że pomimo podkreślania, że kwestia polityki brytyjskiej wobec Zakaukazia i Dagestanu powinna być oddzielona od polityki tego mocarstwa wobec Armenii Tureckiej i Bliskiego Wschodu, to jednak w memorandumach przewijał się wątek znaczenia Kaukazu Południowego w polityce Londynu z punktu widzenia azjatyckiej aktywności tego mocarstwa. Wyraźnie zaznaczano groźbę umocnienia wpływów Francji na Bliskim Wschodzie kosztem Wielkiej Brytanii w przypadku rozszerzenia przez Paryż wpływów nad częścią lub całością Zakaukazia za pośrednictwem powiernictwa mandatowego. Oprócz tego autorzy tych analizy obawiali się ponownej ekspansji Rosji w kierunku południowym w Azji kosztem interesów brytyjskich.

Te zagrożenia wpływów brytyjskich na Bliskim i Środkowym Wschodzie powodowały, że wielokrotnie w dokumentach pojawiała się sugestia konieczności wsparcia przez władze w Londynie Gruzji, Armenii i w mniejszym stopniu Azerbejdżanu, które mogłyby stworzyć blok państw zapobiegających ekspansji zarówno francuskiej, jak i rosyjskiej w Azji.

Kolejny istotny element wspólny memorandumów to podkreślanie szczególnej roli Gruzji w bloku państw południowokaukaskich. Przy czym w analizach pomijano kwestię istnienia na obszarach Kaukazu Południowego już niepodległych państw. Natomiast autorzy memorandumów wskazywali na szczególnie zdolności państwowotwórcze Gruzynów, w mniej-

szym stopniu Ormian Rosyjskich oraz negowali zdolność Azerbejdżan do stworzenia własnego państwa.

Jednak wydaje się, że w 1919 r. rząd brytyjski zrezygnował z zawartej w tych memorandach rekomendacji uznania państw zakaukaskich. Wynikało to z poparcia polityczno-militarnego przez władze w Londynie Armii Ochotniczej i jej dowódcy gen. Antona Denikina, który był przeciwny niepodległości Zakaukazia. Natomiast do próby realizacji tej polityki powrócono w styczniu 1920 r., gdy uznano de facto niepodległość republik południowokaukaskich⁴. Jednak w ówczesnej sytuacji geopolitycznej, gdy rosło znaczenie Rosji bolszewickiej na Kaukazie Północnym, działania te nie miały większego, przynajmniej praktycznego, znaczenia.

Jednocześnie w styczniowej analizie i we wcześniejszych opracowaniach podkreślano także duże znaczenie utrzymania dobrych relacji Wielkiej Brytanii z Rosją. Przede wszystkim wskazywano na konieczność prowadzenia takiej polityki, szczególnie wobec Azerbejdżanu, aby rząd brytyjski nie został oskarżony przez władze odbudowanej w przyszłości Rosji o ingerencję w jej sprawy wewnętrzne w przypadku odnowienia władzy rosyjskiej nad Kaukazem Południowo-Wschodnim. Natomiast w mniejszym stopniu obawy przed negatywną reakcją Rosji były wskazywane w sytuacji większego zaangażowania politycznego Wielkiej Brytanii w Gruzji i Armenii Rosyjskiej. W dokumentach tych powtarzało się także znaczenie kontroli wojskowej Batumi przez Anglię, która umożliwiłaby pośrednio kontrolę militarną całego Zakaukazia przez Imperium Brytyjskie.

Oczywiście pojawiła się jeszcze kwestia jak w praktyce w 1919 r. i w 1920 r. władze brytyjskie próbowały realizować wytyczne tych memorandów. Niewątpliwie próbowano wspierać rządy państw zakaukaskich, aby stworzyć barierę dla ewentualnej przyszłej ekspansji Rosji na południe. Działania te były widoczne w aktywności wojskowych przedstawicieli władz brytyjskich na Kaukazie Południowym. Natomiast wsparcie przez rząd w Londynie antybolszewickiej Armii Ochotniczej gen. A. Denikina, działającej na Kaukazie Północnym, sprawiło, że w dalszej polityce władz brytyjskich oddzielano kwestie przyszłości Dagestanu, stanowiącego część Kaukazu Północnego i w związku z tym uważanego za strefę wpływów „ochotników”, od Zakaukazia.

⁴ W. Materski, *Georgia ...*, s. 158-159; P. Olszewski, *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec Turcji i Bliskiego Wschodu w latach 1918-1921*, Piotrków Trybunalski 2015, s. 168-169.

Ponadto, pomimo podkreślania przez autorów memorandumów konieczności udzielenia poparcia przez rząd brytyjski dla niepodległej Gruzji, to jednak o wiele ważniejszy w zakaukaskiej polityce rządu w Londynie w 1919 r. okazał się problem przyszłości Armenii Rosyjskiej. Wynikało to z planów stworzenia mandatu ormiańskiego, które dyskutowano na posiedzeniach Konferencji Pokojowej w Paryżu. Ponadto zrezygnowano z obecności wojskowej i mandatowej Wielkiej Brytanii na Kaukazie Południowym, gdy okazało się, że mogło to grozić zaangażowaniem znacznych angielskich sił wojskowych w tym regionie. Natomiast przynajmniej do lipca 1920 r. starano się utrzymać Batumi pod kontrolą militarną Wielkiej Brytanii, zdając sobie sprawę ze znaczenia militarnego i gospodarczego tego czarnomorskiego portu.

Oprócz Armenii, dużą rolę w polityce zakaukaskiej Londynu, szczególnie w 1919 r., odgrywała kwestia określenia polityki tego mocarstwa w Azerbejdżanie, wbrew ocenom autorów memorandumów, że ludność tego kraju nie była w stanie stworzyć niepodległego państwa. Zresztą wydaje się, że było to stwierdzenie krzywdzące dla oceny aspiracji narodowych i państwowych Azerbejdżan, którzy mieli nie mniejsze prawo niż Gruzini i Ormianie do stworzenia suwerennego państwa, biorąc pod uwagę przeobrażenia polityczne zachodzące w Azerbejdżanie Rosyjskim w 1917 r. i w 1918 r. Realia sytuacji na Kaukazie Południowo-Wschodnim, a przede wszystkim konieczność zapewnienia możliwości wywozu azerbejdżańskiej ropy naftowej przez firmy brytyjskie, a także potrzeb uspokojenia sytuacji wewnętrznej w regionie poprzez pacyfikację ormiańsko-azerbejdżańskiego konfliktu o Górski Karabach, Zangezur i Nachiczewan, sprawiła, że przedstawiciele władz brytyjskich na Zakaukaziu musieli traktować rząd Azerbejdżanu jako partnera przy podejmowaniu różnego rodzaju decyzji dotyczących przyszłości wschodniej części Kaukazu Południowego.

Jednocześnie z punktu widzenia analizowanych dokumentów oraz zmian na Kaukazie Południowym w latach 1919 - 1921, przeceniano możliwość stabilizującego czynnika brytyjskiego na sytuację wewnętrzną w tym regionie. Wydaje się, że Brytyjczycy nie doceniali skomplikowanej sytuacji etniczno-religijno-polityczno-terytorialnej Zakaukazia, która sprawiła, że wojskowi brytyjscy przyzwyczajeni do rządów kolonialnych w Indiach, nie byli w stanie wprowadzić trwałego pokoju w tym regionie. Poza tym należy sądzić, że prawdopodobnie żadne inne mocarstwo Ententy, które przyjąłoby kontrolę nad Kaukazem Południowym, także nie potrafiłoby poradzić sobie z napiętą sytuacją na tym obszarze.

W latach 1919 - 1920 r. nastąpiła dynamiczna zmiana sytuacji w Rosji południowej i na Kaukazie Północnym: najpierw miała miejsce dominacja Armii Ochotniczej, a potem Rosji bolszewickiej w tym regionie. Ponadto doszło do gwałtownych przeobrażeń w Anatolii wschodniej w tym okresie wynikających z rozwoju ruchu nacjonalistycznego w Turcji. Czynniki te sprawiły, że już w 1919 r., a zwłaszcza w 1920 r., proponowane założenia polityki brytyjskiej wobec Zakaukazia, zawarte w przedstawionych memorandach, okazały się nieaktualne. Przekonanie o zagrożeniu interesów brytyjskich ze strony ekspansji silnej Francji w Anatolii Wschodniej wyparł nowy element - turecki ruch nacjonalistyczny (kemalistowski), który doprowadził do odzyskania przez Turcję części Zakaukazia utraconego przez to państwo w XIX w. Natomiast niepokój przed ponowną ekspansją ze strony odbudowanej po wojnie Rosji zastąpiła obawa przed ekspansją nowej, bolszewickiej Rosji. Oprócz starych, tradycyjnych metod ekspansji politycznej, gospodarczej oraz wojskowej, wykorzystywała ona jeszcze nowe narzędzie ekspansji ideologicznej: propagandę komunistyczną. Oczywiście z perspektywy przełomu 1918 r. i 1919 r. nie było możliwe uwzględnienie tych dwóch nowych czynników kształtujących sytuację na Zakaukaziu i terenach sąsiednich - kemalistowskiej Turcji i bolszewickiej Rosji. Natomiast wydaje się, że zapoznanie się z prezentowanymi dokumentami brytyjskimi z przełomu 1918 r. i 1919 r. może być interesujące dla analizy późniejszej polityki Wielkiej Brytanii wobec Kaukazu Południowego i Anatolii Wschodniej w latach 1919-1921.

(signature: National Archives, Kew, London, CAB 29/2:
Cabinet Office: International Conference: Minutes and Papers 'P'
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SECRET

P.-84 [44]

PEACE CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM ON ARMENIA AND TRANS-CAUCASIA

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W

January 1, 1919

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SECRET

NOTE. – This Memorandum on Armenia and Trans-Caucasia, intended for the guidance of our Delegates at the Peace Conference, was prepared by Sir Erle Richards, and is now circulated as a draft, in order to elicit any criticisms or alterations which the War Cabinet may wish to make.

⁵ Committee of Imperial Defense was established in 1904 as the permanent advisory committee of the Cabinet on defense matters – The Records of the Cabinet Office to 1922, London 1966, p. 2.

⁶ A number of the page at the top of the document in the volume of documents.

⁷ The War Cabinet had been formed by Lloyd George in December 1916 and had been dissolved at the end of October, 1919; at the beginning the War Cabinet had five members – the Prime Minister, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Bonar Law and Arthur Henderson - The Records of ..., pp. 2-3.

ARMENIA AND TRANS-CAUCASIA.

INTRODUCTORY

1. THE territories described as Armenia in this Memorandum may be taken broadly to be the Turkish six vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Kharput, and Diarbekr. They are shown in Map No. 1⁸ (Appendix), and include the area coloured yellow and the northern and eastern parts of the blue area. The exact boundaries of these territories, and in particular the eastern boundary of the yellow area towards Erivan and Kars, and the southern boundary in the blue area towards Adana and Alexandretta are as yet undetermined.

2. Under the Agreements of 1916 (Appendices, Nos. 3, 4⁹) the blue area was to become part of the French sphere and the yellow area of the Russian sphere. But Russia having dropped out of war the arrangements in regard to her lapse. Apart, therefore, from the question, as to the enforcement of the agreement with France, the future control of the yellow sphere falls to be determined at the Peace Conference.

3. The territories described as Trans-Caucasia comprise the three new States of Trans-Caucasia proper, namely, Georgia, Russian Armenia, and Azerbaijan, together with the new State of Daghestan, which, though it lies north of the Caucasian range, may conveniently be treated as part of Trans-Caucasia for the purpose of the present discussion. These territories are shown on Map No. 2¹⁰ (Appendix)

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⁸ This map was not attached to the memorandum included in the volume of documents.

⁹ The appendices Nos. 3, 4 are not included in this article because they are commonly known and do not concern Georgia and the South Caucasus.

¹⁰ This map was not attached to the memorandum included in the volume of documents.

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(A.)-ARMENIA

(I.) -*Importance-Population.*

1. Armenia is of importance politically because it constitutes an open gateway between the East and the West; and commercially in the main because of its mineral wealth (notably oil and copper)

2. There are no reliable statistics as to the population, and estimations very considerably. According to one calculation there were, before the war, altogether alone 2,900,000 Armenians: in Turkey 1,500,000; in Russia 1,000,000; in Persia 150,000; in Europe, America, and East Indies, 250,000. Another estimate gives the total number of Armenians in the world as nearly as 4,000,000. The Armenian population in Turkey was recently reduced considerably as a result of the massacres; indeed, it is stated that of 1,800,000 solus a third of them thus perished. (See *infra*, p. 3)

(II.)-*Position before the War-Treaties-Turkish Policy.*

1. In the early part of the nineteenth century Sultan Mahmoud adopted an anti-feudal, centralizing policy, which benefited the Armenians intellectually and economically. The Turks regarded with fear this Armenian progress, but the Armenians, being scattered over Ottoman territory and being in a minority everywhere, had no rallying-point for a national revolt (such as the Greeks had). Indeed the aim was to preserve the integrity of

¹¹ Number of the page at the bottom of the document in the volume of documents.

¹² The original page number of the this memorandum.

the Turkish Empire rather than to assail it, and to secure an understanding with the Turks. This aim appeared to be realisable about the middle of the century, when Ottoman Administration showed signs of adopting more liberal views, thanks to the policy of the Sultan Mahmoud and the influence of Great Britain and France. A Constitution (with Central and Provincial Councils) was promulgated for Armenia (1852).

2. But, later, events took a different turn owing to the crisis through which the Empire passed in 1875-1878, with the revolt of the subject Christian populations, and to its effect on the new Sultan, Abdul-ul-Hamid (who ascended the throne in 1876). Thenceforth his policy was set to the nationalities against each other, the Armenians (along with the Macedonians) being his special victims.

3. When, in the Russo-Turkish War, the Sultan sued for peace, the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded (1878), whereby (article 16) he undertook to carry out reform "in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians". A scheme was then approved for establishing the provincial autonomy of the six vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Kharput (Memuret-el-Aziz) and Diarbekir, but this was disregarded as soon as the Russian evacuation of the Armenian plateau was made certain.

4. In the Treaty of Berlin, the 13th July, 1878, a similar engagement to the six Power was substituted for that to Russia. Article 61 was as follows:—"The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, with further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers who will superintend their application ." The Porte further promised complete religious liberty, with the protection of sacred places and persons. (It will be noted that article 61 is couched in general terms; it does not refer specially to the six vilayets, nor does it make any other geographical limitation.)

5. Also in the Cyprus Convention, the 4th June, 1878, the Sultan pledged himself to the Great Britain to introduce necessary reforms "for the protection of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte" in the Turkish territory in Asia.

6. As the result of the Berlin Treaty, the Armenians ceased to look to Russia for sole protection; and, as the Sultan ignored his engagements, the Powers presented a collective note (June 1880) to the Porte reminding it thereof, but it failed to produce a satisfactory result.

7. In 1881 a circular Note from Great Britain to the five Powers was evasively answered. In Russia an anti-Armenian policy was adopted after the assassination of Alexander II (1881), the friend of Armenia; and, in the case of Germany, Bismarck intimated (1883) that his country cared nothing about Armenian reforms, and that the matter had better be shelved.

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8. In these circumstances the Armenian nationalists determined to secure their object by means of such disturbances as had brought about amelioration in Bulgaria. On the other hand, the governing authorities instigated the nomad Kurds and the Moslem Arabs against the Christian Armenians; the former were armed and the latter disarmed. In 1894 the Sultan called upon his loyal subjects to aid in suppressing an alleged revolt, and the brutal massacre at Sasun followed, in which Turkish troops took part. It was later established (November 1894) that there had been no attempt at revolt to justify the action of the authorities.

9. In the winter of 1894-1895, the British Government-with lukewarm support from France and Russia-pressed for administrative reforms in the six vilayets, but was met with unsatisfactory counter-proposals. The three Powers then submitted a scheme (May 1895), but Sultan resorted to dilatory tactics. Russia, however, refused her consent to coercion proposed by Great Britain.

10. A series of massacres followed: on October 1-8, 1895, at Trebizond¹⁴, where armed men from Constantinople took part; June 14-22, 1896 at Van, Egin, and Niksar; August 1896, at Constantinople, where from 6,000 to 7,000 Gregorian Armenians perished in two days.

11. The massacres, which occurred nearly always in the six vilayets, were organised deliberately and carried out according to prepared plans. In some places the troops and police took an active part. Where the authorities intervened the massacres ceased. The perpetrators were not punished; indeed, many were rewarded. The number of victims is estimated variously at from 100,000 to 600,000. Many were deported, many forced

¹³ The number of the page at the bottom of the document in the volume of documents, different page numbering in a volume of documents.

¹⁴ Trabzon.

to embrace Islam, and numbers were reduced to poverty. Many emigrated to the Russian Caucasus and to the United States.

The complicity of the Porte is established by the following facts:-

- (1.)The organised procedure;
- (2.)The participation of the local authorities (including the soldiery and the police);
- (3.)The attacks being confined almost entirely to the Gregorian and Protestant Armenians (the Roman Catholics being protected by France and the Orthodox Greeks by Russia).

The British Government alone endeavoured to put stop this murderous conduct of the Turks. The pressure applied appeared to have some effect for the time being, but soon afterwards the old inhuman policy was resumed.

12. The Armenian nationalists, undeterred by such wholesale slaughter, continued their propaganda, and further massacres occurred here and there, notably at Mush (1904) and Van (1908). After the overthrow of Abdul-ul-Hamid and the establishment of the new Constitution (1908), the Armenian people, hoping that the wide breach made by the old régime between themselves and the Ottoman States would be remedied, espoused the cause of the Young Turk regime. But shortly afterwards (1909) a massacre took place at Adana.

13. In the Balkan wars, when the Turks were fighting for their existence, the Armenians, who had been allowed to bear arms since 1908, fought loyally by their side in order to save the Ottoman Empire.

14. But when Turkey declared war against Russia in 1914 the Armenians were regarded with suspicion and disarmed. Then followed the deportations and massacres on large scale than ever. They were undeniably organised and carried out by the Turkish Government, which was animated by an Ottomanising fanaticism. Lord Bryce's¹⁵ Report (Cd. 8325) refutes the Turkish contentions as to wrongful conduct on the part of Armenians, proves that the war was not cause but an opportunity for the atrocities, shows the complicity of the Young Turk Government, sets forth the procedure adopted, and calculates that out of 1,800,000 Armenians a third perished, a third are still alive in their place of exile, and the

¹⁵ Lord James Bryce, 1st Viscount Bryce with the assistance of the historian Arnold J. Toynbee prepared a documentary record of the Armenian massacres in Turkey in 1915 that was published as a Blue Book by the British government in 1916.

remainder were either forcibly converted to Islam, fled into hiding in the mountains, or escaped from Ottoman territory.

III.-*Our Commitments in regard to Armenia.*

1. *To the Armenians.*-We are not bound to the Armenians by any contractual obligations. But we are morally committed to them, first, by article 61 of the Berlin Treaty (which has already been mentioned); secondly, by promises made by our spokesmen from time to time during the war, of the friendship succour, and of emancipation

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from the Turkish yoke (e.g., Mr. Lloyd George's speech of the 6th January 1918*), thirdly, by a written statement contained in the reply of the Allies (January 1917) to the American note to the effect that one of their war aims is "the liberations of the peoples who now lie beneath the murderous tyranny of the Turks", fourthly the acceptance of President Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis for the conclusion of armistice, his eight point demanding autonomous development for the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire.

2. *To (a) France and (b) Russia.*-Our engagements to France and Russia in respect of the Armenians were made during the war by the Agreements of April-May 1916 (See Appendix). (a) Cilicia and the greater part of the three Armenian vilayets of Sivas, Kharput, and Diarbekir, were included ("included"- amendment by the author of the article) in the blue area (see Appendix, Map I) assigned to France, wherein we recognised her right to establish such administration or control as she may require. (b.) The remaining vilayets of Erzurum, Van, and Bitlis as well as the vilayet of Trebizond, were included in the yellow area assigned to Russia.

3. The part of the agreement concerning Russia has lapsed, because of her withdrawal from the war contrary to her previous undertaking.

IV. -*General Policy.*

(a.) *Establishment of an Independent Armenia.*

In view of our pledges on the one hand, and of our political interests on the other, our policy is to bring about the establishment of an in-

dependent Armenia. The particular considerations dictating such a course are as follows:

1. It is imperative to provide a national home for the dispersed and suffering peoples of the Armenian race, so that they may be enabled to establish such Government as will render more secure than hitherto their life, their property, and their honour, and generally will ensure equal justice for all religious and nationalities. So long as they are scattered in helpless and hopeless minorities in areas inhabited for the most part, by Turks or Kurds, they are subject to oppression and persecution and have no chance of a settled life or autonomous existence.

2. An independent Armenia would constitute a barrier against the Pan-Turanian movement, which, aiming at Turkification inside the Ottoman Empire and at the Turkish Irredentisme outside it, might affect the Caucasus regions, and carry great peril to the countries of the Middle East and East. (there are about 27 million Turks in the world, of whom 8 millions are in Ottoman territory, 16 millions in Russian territory, and about 3 millions in other States.)

3. An independent Armenia would also serve as a barrier against possible aggression on the part of any foreign Powers impelled by ambition or other motives to press forward in the direction of the Arab countries.

4. The establishment of an independent Armenia emancipated from Turkish rule would be means of removing a continuing menace to the peace of the world.

(b.)Mandatory Power.

1. It is generally agreed that after the establishment of an independent Armenia (consisting either of the six vilayets or of a smaller area), and until it stands on secure basis, it will require the advice and assistance of a mandatory Power.

2. Conformably to our general policy of national self-determination an opportunity should be given to the Armenians to determine their own future, if such a course be practicable. But it would be extremely difficult, especially in the present conditions, to ascertain their desire. It seems probable, therefore, that either the Peace Congress or the League of Nations will be called upon to nominate a mandatory.

3. In either case Great Britain should refrain from undertaking any responsibility of from advancing any claims from herself.

4. France and the United States are the only other Powers possible for the purpose.

*“Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions. What the exact form of that recognition in each particular case should be need not here be discussed, beyond stating that it would be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have already referred.”-The “Times”, January 7, 1918.

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(a.) *France*.-Under the Sykes-Picot¹⁶ Agreement France has acquired (so far as we are concerned) a direct political interest in the future of the area coloured blue in Map I (Appendix.) If she is to have in addition the area coloured yellow, that must be a matter of bargain, and we should insist on obtaining compensation in Syria and Arabia.

(b.) *United States*.-It seems unlikely that the United States will be willing to accept the responsibility of controlling the yellow area, or of assuming definite responsibility for a new Armenian State.

5. It is doubtful which of these two Powers would be, from our point of view, the more acceptable mandatory. It is thought that for political reasons the United States would be preferable, but it will be more to our interests to support the claims of France, provided that in return she agrees to revise in our favour the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

¹⁶ Colonel Sir Tatton Benvenuto Mark Sykes, 6th Baronet, British diplomat, expert on the situation in Ottoman Empire; François Marie Denis Georges-Picot, a French diplomat and lawyer, the Consul-General of France in Beirut before the world war I.

(B.)-TRANS-CAUCASIA (INCLUDING DAGHESTAN).

I.-Description

1. Trans-Caucasia was, before the war, part of the Russian province of Caucasia under a Governor-General. The task of Government was always difficult, and a force of some 150,000 men had to be constantly maintained there to keep the regions in order.

2. The area of Trans-Caucasia is 95,000 square miles, and the estimated population on the 1st January, 1915, was 7,500,000. The people consist of a great variety of races, the main elements being Slavs, Turko-Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, Lesghians, and Iranians. Most of the Slavs and Georgians belongs to the Orthodox Greek Church.

II.-History.

Caucasia was conquered by Russia only after persistent efforts extending over a long period, from the time of Peter the Great. Russia assisted the local rulers against the Turks, then became suzerain over certain provinces, and afterwards annexed them (e.g., Georgia, 1801). By the peace of Gulistan (1813) Persia ceded to Russia a portion of Eastern Caucasia, though thirty years' further warfare was needed to subjugate the mountain tribes. The northern edge of the Armenian plateau was acquired in 1828-1829, and the Caspian coast region of Daghestan in 1831-1832. It was not till 1864 that the Caucasian tribes were finally overcome; whereupon numbers of them left their native lands and emigrated to Turkish territory. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 they made a fruitless attempt to regain their independence. Under the Treaty of Berlin (article 58) Russia acquired the districts of Kars, Batum, and Ardahan. In 1903-1904 the whole of the Caucasus was embroiled in a sanguinary civil war as a result of racial feuds and religious fanaticism. The Russian Government was unable to cope with the disorders, which only ceased, through the exhaustion of the combatants, in 1905.

III.-Military Operations in Trans-Caucasia.

1. Following the collapse of Russia, the Turks, with eight divisions, began their advance into the Caucasus about the 13th February, 1918, moving on three general lines—along the coast to Batum, due east to Ale-

xandropol and eventually Baku, and south-east into Persian Azerbaijan. On the 15th April they captured Batum; but their advance on Baku was impeded through friction with Germans. The British were handicapped by their difficult line of the communication and by the hesitating attitude of the population of Baku.

2. On the 1st August the Turks attacked Baku without success.

3. By the 6th August our advanced troops reached Baku, and General Bicharakoff¹⁷, who had withstood the Turkish attack, moved his regular troops north towards Derbend.

4. After several engagements, in which the local troops proved most unsatisfactory, the British force of three battalions and a field battery evacuated the town on the night of 14-15th September and returned to Enzeli; so that the Turks were enabled to enter.

5. On the 19th September General Allenby's¹⁸ offensive began, and the Turks commenced to withdraw most of their troops to Constantinople, and some to Mesopotamia in view of General Marshall's¹⁹ expected advance.

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6. The Turks, foreseeing the approaching surrender of their country, were preparing to disband their regular troops (who were, however, to remain in Azerbaijan as subjects of the newly-established republic and part of its army) when the armistice with Turkey was signed on the 30th October.

7. The Turks endeavoured to evade the terms applicable to the Caucasus; but on the 17th November Baku was evacuated by the Turkish forces and occupied by the British.

8. Thus the military situation in December was as follows:-

¹⁷ Colonel Lazar Bicherakhov commander of 1 500 men from the Persian Cossack Brigade was created by Russians in Persia before the world war I – T. Swietochowski, *Russian Azerbaijan ...*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁸ Gen. Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby, 1st Viscount Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of British Empire's Egyptian Expeditionary Force in Palestine in 1918.

¹⁹ Lieutenant-General Sir William Raine Marshall, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Mesopotamia in 1918.

(a.) The evacuation of the enemy troops was making definite though dilatory progress;

(b.) The appearance of a British brigade at Baku, Batum, and Tiflis had a stabilising effect on the railway and oil situation; and kept the port of Baku available for British naval operations on the Caspian.

IV.-*The New Trans-Caucasian States.**

An attempt to set up a Trans-Caucasian Federal Government, with Tiflis as the capital, was made at an earlier stage of the war, but it proved a failure. Trans-Caucasia is now divided into four States, each claiming to be independent, namely Georgia, Daghestan, Russian Armenia (the "Republic of Erivan"), and Azerbaijan. Georgia and Azerbaijan (which are nearly the same size) are the largest of these States and Russian Armenia is the smallest. (See Appendix, Map II.)

Georgia.-This is the most highly-developed, progressive, and cultured of these States. † It comprises a compact territory with railways and suitable ports. It has an independent history; for more than 2,000 years it was the most powerful State in Caucasia. It is now practically homogeneous in language, and nearly so in religion. After it declared its independence on the break-up of the short-lived Trans-Caucasian Federation, it made terms both with the Turks and the Germans. To the Turks it ceded the Mussulman areas around Batum, when that place was handed back to Turkey by the Bolsheviks.

Georgia has the strongest claims to early recognition of its independence. The question of its independence, however, is somewhat complicated by the fact that Batum, its main port, is a place of international importance. In these circumstances it is desirable to make Batum, and also Poti, free ports; and to secure freedom of transit along the railway from Batum to Baku. It is desirable to include within the boundaries of Georgia the Moslem Georgians of Batum and Lazistan.

2. *Daghestan.*-This is a little mountain State on the west of the Caspian and on the northern spurs of the Caucasian range, and is not easily accessible from the Russian steppes. The Daghestanis, who are Moslems, speaking many languages, and with very little cohesion, were subjugated with great difficulty by Russia. The country is of commercial importance because it contains the coast railway from Petrovsk to Grozny (with its oil wells), Derbend (one of the few ports on the west coast of Caspian), and Baku. All reasons-geographical, racial, &c.-tend to throw Daghestan

into the orbit of Russia rather than that of Trans-Caucasia, but Russia would no doubt have to fight long to regain it. For the moment the independent existence is not very secure.

It would appear, from the evidence submitted to the Foreign Office, that the Daghestanis might ultimately desire to join a Tatar State in Azerbaijan, if such were brought into existence.

The recognition of the independence of Daghestan would at present be premature as it must necessarily depend on the march of events, and the successful assertion of a *de facto* autonomous existence.

3. *Russian Armenia* (the "Republic of Erivan").-This is small State lying south of Georgia and east of Turkish Armenia. It proclaimed itself a republic in May 1918, with its capital at Erivan, and still has some kind of existence.

The Armenian population, which now include refugees from Turkish Armenia, is mixed with Azerbaijanis and Kurds.

The territory is not self-sufficing geographically, since it has no sea-board.

It has been suggested that it should form part of the proposed larger Armenia; but certain reasons have been advanced to show that such policy is inexpedient:-

(a.) There is a difference between the aims and aspirations of the Russian Armenians and those of the Turkish Armenians. It is doubtful if they will wish to join, though a recent expression of opinion is in the affirmative.

*See *infra*, p. 19. † See *infra*, pp. 17, 20.

(b.) Many Russian Armenians have great interests in Baku.

(c.) If France is to be the tutelary Power of the new Armenia, there are strategical reasons against the incorporation therein of Russian Armenia.

If Russian Armenia is not united to Turkish Armenia then the recognition of its independence is a question depending on future developments, as in the case of Daghestan.

4. *Azerbaijan*.—This State is bounded on the north by Daghestan and Georgia, on the west by Russian Armenia, on the south by Persian Azerbaijan, and on the east by the Caspian Sea. The principal towns are Baku and Elizabetopol²⁰. The population contains Armenian elements, who are hostile to the Azerbaijanis.

At the moment the government is in hands of the Tatars landowners, and a difficulty arises from its attitude, which is pro-Turk, anti-Armenians, and anti-Persian. The people aspire to join themselves with their brethren across the Persian border, and to set up a Turkish State in that part of the world. The problem created for us is therefore that whilst on general grounds we might welcome a new State there, the from it seems likely to assume might well prove to be a menace to us.

As to recognition of its independence, it is impossible to accord it at present for the same reasons as apply to Daghestan and Russian Armenia.

Our General Policy as to Recognition of Independence.

The establishment of strong, independent States - off-shoots of the former Russian Empire - is not incompatible with our interests. But with regard to the actual our general policy should, as far as possible, be one of non-committal, and may be expressed in the two following propositions:-

We ought not to do anything that might suggest that we are indifferent to their claims to independence, because we contemplate a possible resuscitation of Russia in the future.

On other hand, we ought not to take any step that would be in conflict with such resuscitation or with a possible Russian reunion at a later date; that is, our course, while not lacking in sympathy with the aspirations of the nascent republics, should be such as would cause a minimum of resentment and bitterness to a reconstituted Russia, and leave her no ground for complaining that we had taken advantage of her temporary helplessness.

²⁰ Currently Ganja.

*V.-Mandatory Power.**

It is not improbable that a tutelary Power will be necessary for a period, in order to assist the States to establish themselves on affirm basis, and also to safeguard the railway from Batum to Baku, and the pipe-line, which are great international concerns.

Only three Powers are eligible for the task, namely, Great Britain, France, and the United States. Russia and Italy have also been suggested, but it is thought that they may be ruled out; and the smaller European Powers are ineligible, as they have not sufficient military force and prestige behind them.

At present the British military forces, as has already been stated, are in occupation of Baku, Batum, and Tiflis, in order to protect the railway and the pipe-line, and to keep open a base on the Caspian for the British naval forces. The presence of these troops in Trans-Caucasia and the contiguity of that area to regions of direct political interest to Great Britain render it probable that the British will be called upon to maintain a provisional occupation. There are strategic reasons in favour of the retention by Great Britain of some control over a route which offers access to India. These reasons are stated in a memorandum by the General Staff (see Appendix, No. 9). The same reasons point to the conclusion that the vesting of the control in France would be opposed to British interests. The presence of the United States in Trans-Caucasia would not be open to the same degree of objection, but is not desired, and it seems very unlikely that she would consent to undertake the task. On the other hand, the acceptance by Great Britain of the duties of the mandatory Power in Trans-Caucasia would be a serious extension of her responsibilities. If. Therefore, these duties were pressed upon Great Britain at the Peace Conference they could only be accepted after a complete investigation of the liabilities they entail, and of the

*See *infra*, pp. 20. 21.

Resources necessary to fulfil [“fulfill” – note from the author of article] them. It seems more probable that temporary military occupation of the two main ports and the railway will be necessitated, in international as much as in local interests; and if for any reason Great Britain is unable

or unwilling to continue the task the alternative of an international force may have to be considered.

CONCLUSION.

The following conclusions, delivered from the above considerations, have been adopted by the Eastern Committee²¹:-

I.-*Armenia.*

1. It is essential to establish an independent Armenia, comprising either the six vilayets or a smaller area, and to place it provisionally under the protection of the Great Power conformably to the mandate of a League of Nations or the option of the people concerned.

2. Great Britain should refrain from advancing any claims, and should support the United States or France—preferably France, if she consent to revise the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 in our favour.

II.-*Trans-Caucasia.*

It is necessary to set up in Trans-Caucasia a number of independent States.

2. Of these Georgia, being the most progressive, has the strongest claim to early recognition. It is desirable to include within its boundaries the Moslem Georgians, Batum and Lazistan. (This conclusion is conditional on No. 9 below).

3. Recognition of the remaining States, viz., Daghestan, Azerbaijan, and Russian Armenia, must depend on the course of events and on their successful assertion of their *de facto* independence.

4. Whether Russian Armenia shall be separate State or shall be joined to Turkish Armenia must be determined in the main by the populations concerned; but from our point of view it is expedient to keep it separate, if France be the mandatory for Turkish Armenia.

5. Whether the Trans-Caucasian States combine hereafter in a federation or prefer to remain separate is a matter of their own determination.

²¹ The Eastern Committee had been created by the War Cabinet and dealt regularly between March 1918 and January 1919 with problems concerned with Middle East policy of England – The Records of ..., p. 16.

6. Similarly their relation to the present of future Government or Governments of Russia is a matter that must be settled with their own consent.

7. The services of a Great Power are necessary for a period to promote peace and stability in these States, and specially to protect the international interests involved. The selection of the United States would be preferable to that of France for political and strategic reasons, but is not in itself desirable. Only in the last resort, and reluctantly, might Great Britain accept the task provisionally if pressed to do so by the Peace Conference or a League of Nations, as the case may be, and subject to such guarantees as will make it unnecessary to maintain large British forces in the region concerned.

8. For the time being Great Britain must maintain naval control of the Caspian Sea.

9. Batum, Poti, Trebizond, and Baku should be declared free ports, and free transit on the railway from Batum to Baku should be secured.

10. The international interests in the city and oil-fields of Baku should be safeguarded by special arrangement.

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[Documents 1-5 on the agreements between the Entente Powers on the division of spheres of influence in the former Ottoman Empire signed in 1916-1917, which were attached to the memorandum of January 1, 1919, are not included in this article because they are commonly known and do not concern Georgia and the South Caucasus.]

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No. 6.

FOREIGN OFFICE MEMORANDUM ON THE FUTURE
SETTLEMENT OF TRANS-CAUCASIA, WITH SPECIAL REGARD
TO BRITISH INTERESTS. NOVEMBER 1, 1918.

(Based on P.I.D. Russia/016.)

1. THE future of Trans-Caucasia is part of the general problem of the future of the Russian Border States, though it has special features. The

establishment of an armistice with Turkey, especially if this opens up the Black Sea to the British fleet, will make it both possible and urgently necessary to consider at once the lines of a future settlement of these districts. It is suggested that the wisest plan would be that any settlement should start from the principle of self-determination; this would imply the recognition of Georgia, Armenia, and Tatars as free independent States, which it is hoped will ultimately come into federal union with one another. This would also imply that they should be free, at any rate in the meantime, from Russian dominion, and that the Caucasus should become the frontier of a restored Russia. The possibility of their voluntary return into a stable and liberalized Federation of Russian States should not, however, be absolutely foreclosed.

2. All this almost necessarily implies, however, that it may be necessary to depute some Western Power to watch over, assist and control these nationalities in their efforts with self-government, and if some such sort of control was found to be necessary, it would of course be most convenient since no suitable Government is likely to be established in Russia for a considerable period, that this duty should be delegated by the Peace Conference either to Great Britain-an extension of a Mesopotamian Protectorate,-or to the United States of America, because of her Anatolian and Armenian interests.

3. The first desideratum, of course, is the withdrawal of all Turkish and German forces, including all individuals, whether civilian or military, who may have been left behind for the purpose of propaganda. This particularly important with regard to Georgia. In addition to being the most compact and homogeneous, Georgia to-day is probably the most advanced, politically and economically, of the three nationalities. During the later years of war the Georgians have been the special object of German attention, both on account of their racial characteristics and the potential wealth of their country. Latterly, in face of *force majeure*, and particularly in order to withstand the aggressive designs of the Turks, the German orientation of the Georgians became distinctly pronounced, although they have never committed themselves in a degree comparable, for example, to that of Finland. Several independent sources testify to their desire to be absolutely free from German domination. There seems to be no doubt that certain far-reaching business contracts have been entered into between the German authorities and the Georgian Government, sometimes with Swedes as intermediaries for the exploitation, for example, of the manganese deposits. So far as anything in the nature of commercial treaties has

been entered into between these Government, a demand should be made for their cancellation; while, on the other hand, in view of British trade interests, Batum should be declared a free port, as was provided for in the Treaty of 1878, with free access by railway to Armenia, Baku, Persia, and Central Asia.

4. The *Georgian* claim for independence is based upon their historical continuity from the third century (B.C.), and the maintenance of their political independence till 1801 under a series of most trying circumstances and invasion. The Georgians are not merely anxious to state their claims to independence under the principle of self-determination endorsed by the Allies, but also on their treaty rights of 1783 with Russia, which were violated by that country. *De jure* Georgia has full right to determine her position. In this respect she is in a stronger position than any other nationality in the former Russian Empire, for she was never conquered by Russia. The boundaries of a soundly historic and ethnographic Georgia can be traced at any rate provisionally, although complications may arise in more than one border district, owing to the influx of Armenian refugees in past decades, and expressions of doubt as to the orientation of certain Moslem Georgian elements. Owing to the ravage of war, all pre-war statistics and population-distributions are more or less untrustworthy to-day, the whole situation seems to call for investigation on the spot by a joint Allied Commission.

5. The *Armenian* claim for independence, or, to express it otherwise, the formation of an Armenian protectorate under an international guarantee with mandatory power to one of the guarantors, would naturally involve the union of the six Turkish vilayets and

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Kilikia, and the Russian Armenian provinces. This represents the main current of Armenian opinion. It is possible, however, that such a union, which must come about if there is to be any Armenia at all, will not be favourably regarded by all Russian Armenians, some of whom have never professed any interest in their compatriots of Turkish Armenia, and may even prefer to remain linked with Russia rather than enter such a united Armenia. A territory of this extent, with an outlet to the Black Sea at Trebizond, is greatly disproportionate to the present Armenian population, and would be shared to a very large extent with the Kurds, whose rights

would require to be safeguarded. There is some reason to suppose that these two peoples would not have great difficulty in coming to an understanding if left to settle matters by themselves, i.e. apart from Russian or Turkish intriguing and interference, under the aforesaid Protectorate.

6. The third element is the potential *Tatar* Republic, comprising the Governments of Baku and Elisabetopol, to which Daghestan on the North and Persian Azerbaijan are added in the minds of Tatar and Turkish expansionists like Enver Pasha²². The crux of the situation is the question of the ability of a possible Tatar element composed of Baku and Elisabetopol to form a self-governing element alongside of Georgia and Armenia; for if this is not possible, it would be difficult to avoid handing these last elements back to Russia, which raises the final question of the relation of these three elements to Russia.

7. We assume then that the Georgians are able to conduct their own affairs, and the Armenian Protectorate likewise able to be self-maintaining; and it may be pointed out that other countries, like Modern Greece, have not been at any more advanced stage of political development than these two elements are to-day, at the time that independence was given to them. At the present moment, so far as indications go, the onus of disproof of the ability of the Tatar element also to maintain itself in co-operation with and alongside of the other two, would seem to lie with those who are opposed to the idea of the formation and federation of the three Trans-Caucasian States, and while the question of their possible future reunion with Russia ought not to be foreclosed, the following considerations ought to be borne in mind:-

8. The Russian elements in Trans-Caucasia numbered at the beginning of the war 280,000, including an army of 150,000, out of some 7,000,000. In view of the collapse of German aspirations beyond the Danube, it looks as if the keystone of British policy with regard to the Farther East may need to be the assumption of a protectorate over these three Trans-Caucasian elements or at least the furnishing of them with assistance towards their development as political unities on ethnographical lines. From this point of view it is therefore a serious question whether it may not be better to discourage Russian advance beyond Cis-Caucasia, that is to say, confine her to the northern side of the Caucasus, thus making

²² Ismail Enver Pasha, Turkish war minister and *de facto* Commander-in-Chief of Turkish Army, he and Talaat Pasha and Cemal Pasha held the rule over the Turkey from 1913 until the end of World War I.

Trans-Caucasia a barrier to any future Russian aspirations towards the south-east. For it is advisable not to close our eyes to the fact that the populations to the north west of the Caucasus are the Kuban and Don Cossacks. The Ukraine also has a large Cossack element, and it is probable that sooner or later these elements will attempt to revive the old Russian policy of aggressive expansion towards the south-east. This policy may also be stimulated by the pressure of immigration from Northern Russia, unless this can be diverted regularly towards Siberia; but, on other hand, the attraction of the warmer south and its waters will always be irresistible. With an internationalized Dardanelles, Russian aggressive movement beyond the Caucasus could only be predatory in purpose, and the difficulty of restoring Baku to Russia lies in the fact that if she is given any footing in Trans-Caucasia she will inevitably attempt to recover all her former possessions. With the oil-fields of Grozny and Maikop and the ports of Derbend and Petrovsk she will not suffer essential loss or means of direct communication with her Trans-Caspian possessions.*

9. At the moment, the Ukraine appears to be working hand in hand with the reactionary elements in Great Russia, with the object of assuming some power of attorney for all Russia at the Peace Conference. It is probable that the Ukraine will press for the association of Eastern Galicia, Bessarabia, and the whole of the Caucasus on the pretence of creating a federation of these centres; and the present pressure of the Kuban Cossacks towards the Sukhum district is probably instigated by military considerations with a view to keeping the door along the Black Sea open for a later invasion of the whole of Trans-Caucasia.

 * The main objection to this policy lies in the circumstance that, under the Supplementary Treaty between Germany and Russia, the town of Baku was felt to Russia, and it might be invidious for the Allies to impose upon Russia terms more disadvantageous than those allowed by Germany. Moreover, the oilfields of Baku are of really vital interest both to Russian and to European industry.

FOREIGN OFFICE MEMORANDUM ON
A POSSIBLE TERRITORIAL POLICY IN THE CAUCAUS
REGIONS, NOVEMBER 7, 1918.

1. APART from the Armenian provinces of Turkey, there are four separate areas calling for special consideration: (1), Georgia; (2), Russian Armenia; (3), Russian Azerbaijan; and (4), Daghestan.

2. Persian Azerbaijan and Turkish Armenia are not discussed in this memorandum. The former will not be involved in the peace settlement, since we are practically pledged to secure Persia's integrity. The latter constitutes a separate problem.

3. The areas here considered all belonged to the Russian empire before the revolution. The three first are separated from European Russia by the Caucasus range; whilst Daghestan, though on the north side of the main chain, is a mountainous province not easily accessible from the Russian steppes.

4. All four areas are non-Russian in nationality (in contrast to the Kuban, Stavropol, and Terek districts which border upon them on the north), and all four have declared their independence since the revolution. They have claimed the right of self-determination, and a practical politician will start with the recognition of this claim. In applying the principle, it will, however, be prudent to follow a course which may be calculated to cause the minimum of resentment and bitterness to a reconstituted Russia, and leave her no ground for complaining that the Allies had taken advantage of her temporary weakness.

5. It would appear safe to begin by recognizing effective national government in any areas in which they have established, in such a form as not prejudge the question of their permanent independence or reintegration with Russia. With this view it may be desirable to contemplate from the outset, and even make provision in some formal declaration, or other instrument, that any arrangement now made or agreed upon shall be re-

garded as open to reconsideration and revision after the lapse of some fixed time. The League of Nations, if established, might offer the necessary machinery for this purpose. The duration of the provisional settlement should be long enough to allow, on the one hand, of the possibility of a return of Russia to a state of stable political equilibrium, and to permit, on the other hand, of the three South Caucasian States having a fair chance of finding their own feet under the conditions of complete political autonomy guaranteed to them in the interval by the Allies. If Russia recovers rapidly, they might conceivably rejoin her in some federal relation; if the anarchy in Russia lasts many years, their present separation from her will probably be permanent. Our policy towards the Caucasus should be framed to meet either eventuality.

6. If we proceed to build on the provisional foundation of four independent Caucasian States, the question immediately arises whether in fact these four units are strong enough, placed as they are, to stand each by itself, or whether greater stability should be sought by superimposing some system of federation. A more detailed examination of the conditions prevailing in the several territories, as briefly outlined below, will show that there are great practical difficulties in the way of any very close federation, such as would consist in the setting up of a joint legislative body or of federal executive departments of government, and, in the absence of monarchical institutions, even the looser link of a personal union or common sovereign offers no solution. Independent sovereignty, however, of each of four units does not necessarily imply that they will be able to dispense with the active support of some outside Power which would furnish expert advisers and administrators and financial assistance in some shape. If it were to be arranged that such advice and assistance should be given to each of the four States by one and the same foreign Power, this would supply a unifying element sufficiently strong to take the place of the federal link. But even this may prove a counsel of perfection.

7. It is undoubtedly a British interest that regions so near to those countries in the Middle East in which we have a direct stake should not be allowed to lapse into anarchy. On other hand it would be undesirable, because dangerous from the point of view of our future relations with Russia, that England should be the Power whose mandate it was to offer advice and support to the Caucasian States. Our interest would best be served by this task being entrusted to some other Great Power friendly to ourselves, whose assistance would be accepted by the populations con-

cerned. Subject to these general considerations, the situation in each of the several areas may now be examined.

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8. *Georgia* is a compact territory with suitable ports and railways, inhabited by a population with a tradition of political independence altogether homogenous in language, and nearly so in religion—except for a Moslem minority in the south-west, a minority which would be increased if the Georgian-speaking element over the Turkish border (Lazes) were united with Georgia. It would be comparatively simple to recognise the present independent Georgian Government, though we should have to insist upon its breaking off its special relations with Germany. Foreign assistance in the internal administration of Georgia would be needed little, if at all. As the most compact, and highly developed politically, of the three States, Georgia will probably work best with that Power which would demand least of her and ride her, so to speak, with the lightest bridle. On condition, however, might with advantage be imposed, namely that Batum and perhaps also Poti should be free ports, and that there should be freedom of transit, along the railways in its hinterland, for trade with Azerbaijan, Daghestan, Armenia, Persia, and Central Asia.

9. *Russian Armenia* is less homogeneous in population than Georgia (the Armenian element being mixed with Azerbaijanis and Kurds), and not self-sufficing geographically, since it has no seaboard. It has also been ravaged by the war, and the position is further complicated by the fact that the Russian Armenians may either now or hereafter desire union with those formerly subject to Turkey. Our natural line of policy would be to recognise the present independent Government (the Armenia “Republic of Erivan”), and not to oppose its union with Turkish Armenia if desired. The corollary of such a union would be that whatever foreign Power received the mandate of assisting Turkish Armenia would extend its good offices to the united country.

10. *Russian Azerbaijan* presents a more difficult problem. There is not a homogeneous population, Armenians and Azerbaijanis being intermingled (and at daggers drawn) in the mountainous districts in the west. Baku, the capital is a cosmopolitan city, containing Armenians, Russians, Persians, Jews, and the people of all nationalities engaged in the oil industry. And the Azerbaijanis are a comparatively backward Moslem Turkish-speaking race, who are probably incapable in their present stage of

establishing an orderly, civilized Government, and certainly could not cope, by themselves, with the administration of Baku, where their recent entry has been marked by pillage, and the massacre of the non-Azerbaijani elements. It would hardly be advisable for us to recognise the present independent Government, which has been set up under the aegis of the Turks by the Azerbaijani land-owning class and the handful of Azerbaijani industrials at Baku, the oil industry there being almost entirely in the hand of the other nationalities. The connection of Azerbaijan with Turkey, which rests on community of nationality and religion and a common hostility to the Armenians, will be much harder to break than that of Georgia with Germany. A strong foreign protectorate is therefore desirable. A special problem arises over the Baku oil-fields, the produce of which is vital to the industry and transport of European Russia, and is also of great importance to the rest of the world. Whatever political régime is set up in Azerbaijan, it might be desirable to place the oil-fields under some kind of direct international control on the model, perhaps, of the Danube Commission.

11. *Daghestan* is a conglomeration of wild Moslem tribes, speaking many languages (none of them Turkish, except along the coast), and with no cohesion, which it took Russia nearly a century to conquer. They are now independent again; but they can hardly be left to themselves, since the railway from Baku to Russia runs through their territory, and the oil-fields of Baku and Grozhny, in which there are important British interests, would be exposed to their raids. Grozhny has in fact been beset by them for many months since the revolution. On geographical grounds there would be much to be said for reunion with Russia, since Daghestan lies on the northern slope of the Caucasus chain. But Russia in her present condition is clearly not competent to reassume her responsibilities in the Daghestan mountains. The task of establishing and maintaining law and order will be a thankless one and possibly formidable, from the military point of view.

12. There remains the selection of the Mandatory Power, which is the crux of the problem. If we approach a solution by a process of elimination, it will probably be conceded that we can begin by ruling out Russia, England and Italy. There remain France, the United States, and the minor European Powers: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland. Possibly President Wilson may favour one of these minor Powers, or make a show of doing so. It is, however, difficult to believe that such a suggestion can survive a serious and honest study of the problem.

The influence of the Mandatory Power and its capability of exercising authority in any shape must rest either on the exercise, or show, of military force, or upon prestige. None of minor Powers command either. For practical purposes they must be left out the account. That leaves France and the United States.

13. The choice of France present several advantages. The first is that it would probably be welcomed by the Armenians so far as Armenia is concerned. In a recent letter to Mr. Balfour the Armenian National Delegation at Paris have put forward the demand of an independent Armenia, comprising the six vilayets and Cilicia, together with Russian Armenia, if the latter desires to come in, the whole to be under the collective protectorate of the Allied Powers, of whom one should afford assistance as their mandatory during a period of transition. The second argument in favour of choosing France as the mandatory is that this would square with the Anglo-French Agreement of 1916. It might even be possible, by including in the territories covered by the mandate, the four Caucasian States which form the subject of the present memorandum, to induce France to make concessions as regards French claims in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine.

14. It is of course necessary to remember that France has so far no connection with the Caucasus, and there is no certainty that she would be welcomed by the populations. Nor would her appearance on the northern frontier of Persia be likely to improve our position in that country. This may, however, be regarded as a minor evil, and, provided the consent of the populations was forthcoming, the French solution might well be accepted by us as on the whole satisfactory, especially if the French mandate derived its authority from a league of nations and remained subject to some, however indefinite, control of that nebulous body.

15. It may be urged that a mandate for the United States would on the whole suit us better, although we should thereby lose the lever by which we could hope to make France relinquish some of her inconvenient claims under the Anglo-French Agreement of 1916. There is, unfortunately, little hope that the Americans will be ready to come forward unless we are to assume that their ostensible reluctance is only a pretence and that

they would gracefully yield under the friendly and flattering pressure of the rest of the world.

16. A third alternative would be even more in accordance with our interest: that would be to let France be mandatory for Armenia (including Russian Armenia if desired by the inhabitants) and confer the mandate for Georgia, Russian Azerbaijan, and Daghestan on the Americans. But President Wilson would probably be even less willing to accept this arrangement, which would undoubtedly throw upon the United States a considerable and difficult burden, without any countervailing glory or profit.

17. The best hope for a practical solution seems to lie in a French Mandate for Armenia and the South Caucasian territories.

[Memorandum No. 8 of November 21, 1918, presenting the position of the Foreign Office on the future of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula and attached to the Memorandum of January 1, 1919, was omitted in this article because it did not directly concern Georgia and the Transcaucasia.]

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MEMORANDUM BY THE GENERAL STAFF
ON THE FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF TRANS-CAUCASIA.
(DECEMBER 5, 1918)

(The military aspect of the case)

1. It appears to be contemplated by His Majesty's Government that it may be necessary to grant a mandate to some Great Power to ensure the stability of Trans-Caucasia and Daghestan for the future, and that this Power would probably be France,* in which case, the establishment of a French protectorate stretching from Alexandretta to Baku would be implied.

From the military point of view it would be most undesirable for the approaches to India from South Russia, the Black Sea and Turkey in Asia, which converge at Baku, to be placed at the disposal of an ambitious military Power, which, although friendly to us at the moment, is our historical world rival. In fact, it does not appear to the General Staff that any other

Power except Great Britain can be permitted by her to function in this matter.

2. The communication which we have to consider are the Russian railway leading from the Ukraine, the Batum-Baku railway, and a potential railway from Alexandretta through Erzerum to Tiflis and Baku, with an important branch to Tabriz threatening either Persia or Upper Mesopotamia.

Should France be placed in a dominating position in the Trans-Caucasia States it is the last named of the above three lines of communication leading from her base at Alexandretta that we should have most to fear. For her situation in virtual possession of the six Armenian vilayets would place her in close contact to the recruiting fields of Anatolia as well as in control of a population comprising Kurds and Armenians, who would provide valuable military material for the French instructors.

3. It may be argued that the above factors can form no real danger so long we maintain control of the seas. But the question cannot be dismissed so lightly, for during a period of peace, with the present superabundance of war material all over the world, there would be no difficulty for France to put sufficient war material into Armenia to form, from the central position presented to her, a serious menace to our position in India, as well as in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Also, it must be remembered, that the area which it is contemplated making over to the French is rich in ores of all kinds and might easily become, under an enlightened administration, self-contained regarding military essentials. It is not difficult to imagine munition factories being established at Kharpout and Tiflis. (In this connection attention is drawn to Note A.) It is obvious, therefore, that should France to be placed in the position indicated, we should be compelled on our part to maintain abnormally large garrisons in Egypt and Mesopotamia for all time, while the situation would be rich in opportunities for international dissension.

4. A still greater danger would be a potential alliance between a reconstructed Russia and France. Can it be said that the imagination of the French Eastern School fails to visualize such a situation in the future?†

It is, therefore, clear that from the military point of view, we should regard this matter in a wide sense, and our policy should be directed to maintaining a self-contained block in the Middle East between Russia and French sphere of influence on the one hand and between any potential Western combination and the Caspian on the other hand. Fortunately the means are available, provided by the three States of Georgia, Azerbaijan

and Russian Armenia, which each have their own national aspirations. This conglomeration of States has been aptly compared to the Balkans, and though no one desire to establish such another cock-pit of future strife, it is for consideration whether even another "Balkans" would not be preferable, from our point of view, to a future liaison between Russia and France towards the Caspian.

 * *Vide* paragraphs 13 and 14 of Memorandum by Sir Eyre Crowe on possible territorial policy in the Caucasus region, dated Foreign Office, 7th November, 1918 (Appendix 7, *supra*, page 19).

† France has already claimed that her existing alliance with Russia gives her the right to reconstruct the Russian Army.

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Daghestan is not considered in detail here. It is on the northern side of the Caucasus range, which forms a natural barrier, west of the Caspian, between Russian and British spheres of influence, and its future appears to be a side issue which is not really very material at present from the point of view of the British Empire, though its development must be watched carefully.

5. Accepting for the sake of argument that it is desirable to form some such independent block, as indicated above, it remains for examination how the three States in question should best be treated, *i.e.* whether they should be set up as three independent States or an attempt made to amalgamate them into on federation; and in this respect too much importance should not be attached to the recent failure of the Trans-Caucasian Central Government, which was a war product and was bound to fail owing to its then isolated position, and the dislocation which occurred on the collapse of the Russian Army.

6. In this, as in all similar problems, it is best to look to communications, when a solution will unfold itself. A glance at map shows:-

(a.) That Georgia controls the railway leading from Batum and Poti to Baku; and

(b.) That Russian Armenia controls any railway leading from Erzerum towards Baku, either by Tiflis junction or by the Araxes valley (as well as the railway into Persia *via* Tabriz).

An excellent object lesson in this respect has been furnished by the recent clash of German and Turkish interests in these districts, where each side was able to throttle the other by possession of one of these sections of railway.

7. It is apparent then that if we can secure the protection of the railway through Georgia and Russian Armenia we may feel safe as regards any threat towards the Caspian from the West, and can afford to be more or less indifferent as regards the control of Russian Azerbaijan until such times as Russia may have been resuscitated. Even then, provided the Constantinople straits remained open, our sea power could enable us to utilize Batum as a base for operations against the flank of any southward advance from Russia along the western shore of the Caspian.

8. It therefore seems, from the military point of view, that the first essential in Trans-Caucasia is that the British position in Georgia and in Russian Armenia should be firmly established.

9. This makes it necessary that Russian Armenia should be kept separate from Turkish Armenia, or in other words, that the French influence must cease approximately on the line of the pre-war Turco-Russian frontier, and it seems that the maintenance of the present separate entities of Armenia, each of which has its own characteristics and interests, should form the keynote of our Caucasian policy.

It does not seem that we need have any hesitation in pursuing this policy, for the interests of the Russian Armenians lie far more in the wealth of Georgia and Baku than towards future developments in "French" Armenia, while there is believed to be serious divergence of opinion and interest between Russian and Turkish Armenians, and during the recent political *rapprochement* between the Erivan Government and Constantinople no anxiety was apparent for their junction with their co-religionists in Turkish Armenia.

10. The problem of Georgia presents no great difficulties, for it merely seems necessary to accept the desire of Georgian independence; but it may be remarked that this question will call for an early settlement, as our troops are now on the point of arriving at Batum.

11. It then remains to consider the province of Azerbaijan. This has already established a so-called republic, of which it desires Allied acceptance. It is probable that this State, with its illiterate population, could never stand alone, and that its wealth or resources would render it the prey of international financiers. Probably the best solution for this State would be for us to hold it in pawn until such time as Russia was again prepared to take up its administration, and that during this period the British Fleet should continue to patrol Caspian.

Apart from those of Russia and the three Caucasian States, the interests represented in Baku are not very widely scattered and comprise a few Swedish, Dutch and British companies.

12. As soon as the British troops at Batum and Baku have joined hands and our control has been established astride the railways, including the Tiflis-Julfa line, there seems no reason why the stability which would accompany British administration should not enable us to establish the three States as above, under the guidance of British political officers, and it might seem advisable to establish, with the consent of

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the States concerned, a central council at Tiflis, with representatives of each of them, with the idea of forming a federation. But this suggestion must at present be considered as tentative, and the question could best be decided after the arrival of our troops and political officers on the spot; but in this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasized that a first rate political officer should accompany our troops to Batum.

13. The French would probably urge that it is intolerable that Great Britain, who stands to gain so much by the war, should also expect to extend her influence to these regions,* but we should reply that it is we who have defeated the Turkish Army and that this gives us the right to safeguard our own position in the Middle East. And here it may be emphasized that a tendency is apparent at home and abroad not to make sufficient capital out of great military (not to mention political and administrative) effort put forward by the British Empire in the Turkish theatre of war.

14. At the Dardanelles the British practically single-handed broke the of the Turkish Army, as may be judged by the fact that no Turkish division encountered afterwards in the field was ever up to establishment.

Until the Russian collapse the British and Arabs contained and defeated 30 Turkish divisions, and after the Russian debacle Great Britain shouldered the increased burden and was opposed by 40 Turkish divisions in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia with such effect that on the day the Armistice was signed only 27 nominal divisions remained of 62 Turkish divisions which had been formed during the war. The legitimacy of this effect from the point of view of our Allies is explained in Note B, and the realization and representation of this fact at the Peace Conference should go far to strengthen the hand of His Majesty's Government.

15. The conclusion is that, from the military point of view, our policy should be concentrated on the formation of independent States of Georgia and Russian Armenia, while Azerbaijan should be maintained as a separate entity until Russia is again prepared to take charge, though there would be no objection to the formation of a federal council representing the three above States at Tiflis, should this appear practicable after the arrival of our political officers there.

A case has been stated why it is undesirable to allow a great military Power to establish itself from Alexandretta to the Caspian from a point of view of a potential attack from the West, but at the same time it may be pointed out that the maintenance of a separate block of country in Trans-Caucasia would be equally useful to meet a possible Russo-German threat from the North, for Azerbaijan would not be handed back to Russia, nor would the British naval police force be withdrawn from Caspian until it was clear that Russia had no aggressive policy towards Persia and India.

It will be realized that Georgia faces both ways, and while Batum is accessible to our Navy will always provide a useful base for operations in defence of the Caspian.

*In this connection it must be remembered that by the Franco-British Agreement of 23rd December, 1917, the whole of the Caucasus (Cis and Trans) lies in the British sphere of activity for intervention and reconstruction in Russia.

NOTE A.

Though the economic possibilities of the area which it is contemplated bringing under French control lie in the future, the aptitude of the French for such exploitation is well known, and they would find ample material for really important development, especially when the practical certainty of a great railway running north-eastwards from Alexandretta is considered. Important tracts of the country between Alexandretta and the Caucasus are of great fertility, and under a competent and enlightened government with a powerful financial backing are capable of a large output of agricultural stuffs, and past Turkish performance can form no criterion of what would have to be expected from the French.

The potential resources of the area under consideration may be summarized as follows:-

Transport animals (mules and oxen).

Wool.

Goat's hair.

Cotton. – The Araxes valley is already an important producer, as is also to a less extent the Adana plain. A further extension of irrigation will lead to greatly increased output, and cotton will certainly be one of the principal sources of wealth for Trans-Caucasia.

Flax.

Hemp.

Opium. – A most important source of various medical requisites.

Tobacco. – Plantations already exist in Georgia.

Tea. – Plantations already exist in Georgia.

Sugar. – Plantations already exist in Georgia.

Rice. – A beginning has been made in parts of the Araxes and Kura valleys.

Silk. – Silk culture is well established in Zakataly and around Shemakha.

Liquorice. – The Kura valley has for some years exported liquorice to America.

Timber. – Except for Georgia and the Black Sea coast, where there are extensive forests, the area under consideration suffers from a great lack of timber.

Oil. – The Baku oilfields need no comment.

Coal. – Reported in various places in the Turkish zone of the area, but only as lignite. Coal is worked near Kars, and in Georgia at Tkviboli; but the quality of latter is poor for fuel purposes, though it is used as coke for smelting pig-iron and for other metallurgical purposes.

Iron. – There do not appear to be any important deposits in Trans-Caucasia. Rich beds are reported north and west of Alexandretta, in the Central Taurus, and near Erzingan, Kighi and Arghana Maaden.

Copper. – A very valuable mine is worked at Arghana Maaden. Production could be largely increased. Copper is also worked near Batum, near Kars, north of Karaklis, at Kedabegh in the Taurus, and at Lijassi. The copper resources of the area would be very great.

Manganese. – Very rich deposits exist in Georgia at Chiaturi and are already extensively developed.

Magnesium [“Magnesium” – note from the author of article].-Reported in Lazistan.

Zinc. – Already worked in small quantities in Trans-Caucasia.

Antimony.

Asbestos.

Chromite.

Lead. – Already worked in small quantities in Trans-Caucasia.

It will be seen from above that the natural resources of the whole of this region are very great and that, although the mineral resources of Turkey may have been exaggerated in the past, the French would have ample opportunities of successful economic development. The region is amply self-supporting in food, excepting Georgia and Baku town and, if the iron deposits can be developed and the lack of good coal obviated by the utilization of the Baku oil and the abundant water power of Trans-Caucasia, Lazistan and much of the northern part of the Turkish zone of the “French” sphere, there will be good opportunities for the creation of important manufactures, even though any real industrial development on a large scale may only be achieved in the remote future.

NOTE B.

LEGITIMACY OF BRITISH EFFORT AGAINST THE TURKS.

It may be argued by the French that our campaign against the Turks had result of withholding troops from a more decisive theatre in France during the critical period of the war, but the legitimacy of our action can best be realized by a consideration of what would really happened if we had not engaged the Turks in the Middle East.

Taking the Turkish Army at a comprehensive total of 50 divisions, it may be assumed that 10 of these would, in any case, have been retained by the Turks for use against the Russians. Had Great Britain then not engaged the remainder in a theatre where she could bring her Indian Army into play undisturbed by submarine warfare, Turkey could have put into France at least 40 divisions of first class fighting material, representing the best part of 500,000 rifles, and this before the British Army had been developed to its present numerical and material strength for the assistance of France. We could only have attempted to counter this by transporting our few available Indian divisions to France, which would have meant their fighting under unsuitable conditions and would have involved further casualties (which would not have affected Great Britain alone) to our shipping by the necessity for bringing more of our tonnage into the submarine area.

On other hand, had Turkey retained a larger proportion of her army in the East and been allowed by us to develop a concentrated attack against the Suez Canal, our Empire would have been cut into two, with a resultant loss of power to persecute the war in Western Europe.

Without any wish to exaggerate the share taken by the British, it is urged that the above aspect of the case should be made quite clear at the Peace Conference in the interests of the British Empire.

The Great Britain towards the future of Georgia and the South Caucasus
at the turn of 1918 and 1919 – the summary of the article

The subject of this article is an analysis of the British government's attitude towards the future of Georgia and other South Caucasian republics. It was included in four memoranda prepared by representatives of the English authorities in late 1918 and early 1919. The full texts of these documents, original versions of which can be found in the National Archives, Kew, London, are cited in the second part of this article. These documents seem to be interesting as they were an attempt to define the British politics towards the Transcaucasian republics and Daghestan after the end of World War I.

The importance of these documents was emphasized by the fact that, due to the presence of significant British military forces in the Transcaucasia until October 1919, it was primarily the government in London that shaped the South Caucasian policy of the victorious Entente powers in the first year after the end of World War I. In turn, the policy of the Entente powers had a large impact on the international position and the internal situation of Georgia and its South Caucasian neighbors after 1918.

Therefore, the presentation and discussion of these documents seems essential for the analysis of the international position of the South Caucasus after World War I. Moreover, a comparison of the proposed assumptions of British policy towards the South Caucasus presented in these documents with their practical implementation may be interesting for the study of the history of Georgia and the South Caucasus in 1918-1921.

Key words: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Daghestan, South Caucasus, Great Britain, history 1918-1921.

ORTHODOX CHURCH AND EDUCATION
IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA
(1918-1921)

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The study of the issue of education within different chronological framework occupies an important place in Georgian historiography. From the second half of the 19th century, Georgia faced new challenges. On the one hand, it had to overcome the problems arisen from the collapse of the feudal system and establish itself in a new socio-economic environment and, most importantly, continue to fight for state independence of Georgia in a different way: to apply knowledge, education, self-discipline instead of armed demonstrations. Its demand had to be appropriate to the interests and capabilities of Georgia and the epoch. 2. On the other hand, this was the period when a part of the Georgian cultural elite tried to propagate nationalism, to raise knowledge, to get acquainted with the history of the country in wider layers of the society, to idealize the past, to awaken the awareness of the protection of national values. 3. New social strata have emerged since the 1890s: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, laying the groundwork for the formation of various political parties that had their own visions for independence and the future development of Georgia. This is the period of struggle for the formation of the national idea, for freedom, which became the basis for the restoration of Georgia's state independence in 1918. Based on the above indicated, the study of this problem is still relevant, because:

1. In the modern period, great importance is attached to the factor of education, having a high profile in the formation of public thinking. The issue of studying education is important not only for the dissemination of knowledge but also for the development of national consciousness and the formation of state thinking.

2. Today, when the issue of nationalism is so relevant and various theoretical trends and tendencies have been created, some theoretical trends such as modernism, pay great attention to the factor of education in the formation of a modern nation. Thus, it's worth studying one of the important stages of the history of Georgia namely 1918-1921 years, from the point of the educational system.

3. Such an approach to the problem is new and the findings of the research will allow us to set forward the need for an educational process, in accordance with the new needs of the epoch, not only as a means of disseminating knowledge to the population but also as a key factor in maintaining the national consciousness of the whole Georgian nation. After the abolition of state independence of Georgia by the Russian Empire and the fact that the main object of loyalty of the Georgian nation – the king no longer existed, the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church was abolished also and the representatives of the clergy faced serious obstacles for the realization of right established over the centuries. It is noteworthy, that the clergy have always been the main link with the people and the bearer of national ideas. After the deprivation of that right, Russia still failed to completely eliminate the centuries-old union between the people and the church. Thus, it became necessary to create a new body that would facilitate communication with the people and, most importantly preaching national ideas. A new epoch brought to the school, in addition to being an educational institution, new needs. Therefore, it became necessary to identify: 1. The role and methods of the Georgian cultural elite in demanding education in the Georgian language. 2. The approaches facilitating the economic education and raise of national awareness through schools and the involvement of all social strata in the struggle for freedom. After the restoration of Georgia's state independence, the relationship between the state and the church entered a new stage of development. In 1920, the newspaper *Ertoba* reported: "Recently, there has been a resurgence of attitudes toward the church. People of several religions live in Georgia. Orthodox, Muslim, Gregorian, and others. Putting any of them under the protection of the state would be a great clerical step, and at the same time, it would artificially oppress the rest of the faith. The church is the subject of faith. Religion is a matter of conscience. And the freedom of conscience requires that every religion be treated with full equality as every belief, every world view. Proceeding from this basic provision, we do not strive against a faith with state arms, we do not try to oppress one and dominate the other. But neither do we allow followers of

the religion to interfere in the political life of the state and turn the issue of faith into a political factor. We tend to reject such tendencies of the clergy, which have historical reasons but have no justification in the present circumstances. The church is a free, independent union of believers and the state does not interfere in the issue of the faith.”¹

In 1916, the newspaper *Sakhalkho purtseli* wrote: The resolutions adopted at the clergy meetings of the Imereti Diocese in Kutaisi in 1916, will undoubtedly leave a good impression on the part of the Georgian society that is sincerely interested in the maintenance of the national expression and the protection of national integrity.

The relatively democratic part of our clergy has clearly proved in the above-mentioned congregations that in many Georgian priests the Georgian spirit reigns and, apart from personal happiness, is not deprived of the ability to take care of the public welfare.

Let’s start with the fact that the clergy almost unanimously recognized the need to establish a secondary secular school at the expense of the clergy, where the teaching of all subjects will be conducted in the Georgian language. First and foremost, it is not even doubtful that the degeneration of the national language will induce the distortion of our national expression if we do not do something in time. And what the Georgian people have to set forth against the degeneration is to promote the opening of schools and through it to spread education in the mother tongue among the people.

The clergy of Imereti understood all these, and it went so far in this direction that it turned away from its narrow rank or professional existence and chose a secular school to raise awareness among the wider strata of society.”²

In 1918, Archpriest K. Kelenjeridze wrote: “The political existence of the nation without religion is unbelievably unimaginable. Likewise, the existence of a Georgian nation whose political and religious growth had been progressing smoothly, is unbelievable without religion now. The Bible, based on which Georgians of the Golden Age were brought up under the guidance of the best spiritual guides, gave birth to the best qualities of the Georgian nation – the strength of character, gentle morals, politeness, and self-sacrifice for the homeland. The Bible, the study of which

¹ We and the Church, Newspaper, *Ertoba*, (Unity) 1920, № 155, p. 1

² Georgian Clergy and Secular Affairs, Newspaper, *Sakhalkho purtseli*, (People’s Sheet) 1916, № 491, p. 3

is so immortalized by the famous Shota Rustaveli in his “The knight in the panther’s skin,” should remain as a favorite book and a must-study subject for the younger generation, if we do not want to degenerate the Georgian nation.”³

Archpriest Taras Ivanitsky wrote in the article “The Importance of Religion” the following: “Even in our renewed and free Georgia, we must also pay due attention to the protection of the interests of Christianity. But what do we hear instead? We learn from the newspapers that the divine law should no longer be taught in schools, maintenance of priests, teachers of sacred law, and cathedrals is said to be up to anyone who takes responsibilities and other humiliations of the importance of beliefs. If we follow this path, instead of gaining the profit, we will promote the spread of immorality and evil.”⁴

After the restoration of the state independence of Georgia, the relationship between the state and the church entered a new stage of development and continued existence in a different environment. “The church of Iveria is a well-deserved, centuries – old, institution in our homeland. It nurtured the Georgian nation spiritually, morally, mentally, and trained his patriotic cognition. Our church in Georgia performed a great cultural and educational work, awakened the nation in times of historical ordeal, protected its national consciousness and dignity, protected it from exile. Politically entrenched and enslaved Georgia existed as a strong, ecclesiastically, religiously united entity.

In such socio-political work our church remains in the shadows, it stands in the back, we pay less attention to it, so our church is in a great ordeal today, much bigger than it was before. Foreigners would not dare to harm our church as much as the native people and their own people harmed treacherously some cognitively, some with ignorance, some with the will, some unintentionally.”⁵

The report, submitted to the National Council of Georgians in 1917, describes the dire situation in Georgia under the influence of the Russifying processes which touched the clergy too. The confrontation between the old and new generations began, which was reflected in the Georgian Orthodox Church. “Unfortunately, the appointment of priests in the na-

³ Deacon, K. Kelenjeridze, due to expulsion of the Theological Law from School, Newspaper, *Sakartvelo*, (Georgia) 1918, №208, p. 4

⁴ Deacon, Taras Ivanitsky, The Importance of Religion, Newspaper, *Sakartvelo*, (Georgia) 1918, № 225, p. 4

⁵ From the Life of Our Church, Newspaper, *Sakartvelo*, (Georgia) 1920, № 62, p. 4.

tional regiments was done carelessly and without tactics. Georgian priests have been in positions since the beginning of the war, they were aware of military affairs, good times and bad times, they have completed seminary courses, they knew everything a soldier needed to know, but no one paid attention to their existence, neither to their knowledge nor to experience. The Russian military clergy was slowly keeping down the Georgian clergy. They called up the priests into the Georgian army who had no connection with the army, not only didn't have any competence in military affairs but even had never served in them, have never seen the full position ... Georgian priests should be recruited with service and experience in the national army and also attention should be paid to the railroad churches because they serve similarly both Georgians and Russians and are considered Russian – Georgian parishes.”⁶

According to the obtained material, the Russian Empire deliberately carried out the process of Russification of the Georgian Orthodox Church, which negatively affected it, and even after the restoration of state independence, this occurrence often appeared directly or indirectly. Besides, some interpretation of this phenomenon was offered to the public by part of the political elite of that period.

After the restoration of the state independence of Georgia, many issues of the state-church relationship may be controversial and there may be different attitudes, but the fact is that a completely new stage has begun in the life of these two institutions since then.

In 1917, the Ecclesiastical Assembly adopted the provisions on the secondary and lower ecclesiastical schools of the patriarchate: 1. The Georgian Church, as a Christian-religious community, has its own lower and upper secondary schools, which must raise the children of believers on a Humanitarian-Christian basis and at the same time allow the priesthood to give their children full-fledged low and secondary education in preferential conditions. The teaching of all subjects in these schools should be conducted in the Georgian language and at the same time, the teaching of divine law should be obligatory. In terms of program and rights, these schools should be equated with equal governmental schools (pro-gymnasiums and gymnasiums). 2. The existing theological schools should be modified into full-fledged pro-gymnasiums everywhere due to the program. 3. Theological schools of Tbilisi and Kutaisi should join the local seminaries and together with them transform into full-fledged

⁶ CSAG 1836, census 1, Acts. №32, sheet. 15-18.

gymnasiums. According to the program of governmental gymnasiums, special theological courses (two classes) should be opened in the same gymnasiums to prepare priestly candidates. Graduates of other secondary schools will also be admitted to theology courses.”⁷

As far back as 1917, Sophrom Mgaloblishvili developed the following opinion about the clergy: “Theological schools and seminaries gave us degenerated clergy. Such a clergy spread throughout the countryside. Domestic study of Georgian literacy and Georgian prayers were ceased; religious sense was lost. The reason for this was the semi-Russified clergy. The old clergy brought up in monasteries, educated in their native language, slowly came out of the arena. The church has lost its importance in the eyes of the people. The beautiful, eloquent, pearly liturgy of the ancient priests, the soul – stirring and mind captivating chant were no longer heard.”⁸

The material preserved in the fund of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia elucidates the following: “The main treasures of our cultural relics are preserved in the churches and monasteries of Georgia. Monastic life in our country had been severely degraded before the revolution. However, after the revolution and the agrarian reform, the monasteries were destroyed, for example, the desert of St. John the Baptist, the monastery of David Gareji, the monastery of Armazi, and others. Their treasury was plundered by robbers and Tatar crowds. Due to the seizure of lands from other monasteries and the ceasing of monks’ appointed salaries, the monks fled for life, some were haircut and engaged in other work. In the monasteries where one or two monks were left, they no longer bent to their seniors, bishops and metropolitans, nor let them into monasteries, Chkondideli no longer lives in Chkondidi, Alaverdeli in Alaverdi or Shuamta, where their residences used to be. The treasures of the monastery are stolen by the bandits, the monks are obviously selling things; every day we hear the stories and we get reports about the robbery of one or other churches; things that have been stolen from this and that monastery and so on. “If it continues and we do not take radical measures to save our treasure, in the nearest future the remnants of our culture will be annihilated and we will be removed from the list of cultured countries.”⁹ After the restoration of Georgia’s state independence, the issue

⁷ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 238, sheet. 3.

⁸ Sophrom Mgaloblishvili, Georgian Church and Clergy, *Theatri da tskhovreba*, (Theater and Life) 1917, # 9, p. 6-7.

⁹ CSAG 1833, census 1, Acts. № 167, sheet. 166.

of the state and the church was shifted to a new dimension. One of the problematic issues was the teaching of divine law in schools which led to great controversy between secular and ecclesiastical figures. However, as it became clear from one of the archival documents, as far back as November 30, 1918, the teaching of the history of the faith, as a school subject, had been envisaged in schools. It is true that this was not directly related to divine law and was the subject of a broad generalization, but it is noteworthy in the direction of the relationship between the state and the church in the field of education. At the sitting of December 5, 1918, the following issues were discussed at the Ministry of Education: “1. Introducing the Latin font while learning German. 2. Introduction of new subjects from 1919-1920 – History and Ethics of Religions, 3. Handicrafts, 4. Curriculum development issues”.¹⁰

On September 29, 1918, the parishioners of St. George’s Church in Senaki gathered in the churchyard to draw up a special petition justifying the need for teaching the divine law in schools. Nestor Kavtaradze was elected as a chairman and Varlam Lezhava as a secretary. “Local priest Irakli Parkaia has raised the issue of teaching theology in lower schools and made an extensive report on the subject. After hearing the report of Parkaia – the priest, the parish unanimously stated: “The teaching of the divine law is essential in our lower schools. We, the parents, demand from the teachers that along with the other compulsory subjects, a divine law was considered as another compulsory subject, and be taught in the lower schools.”¹¹

On October 18 of the same year, the Sokhumi Regional Council also convened a meeting to legalize the need for teaching theology. “Since the nation of the Republic of Georgia had been adapted to its religion since ancient times, and a large part of the Georgian nation is still a deep believer, the knowledge of the faith is an essential need for its overall development. We, the clergy, occupied the last place, if not the principal, in upbringing and strengthening the knowledge of the Christian faith in the adolescents and now we ask the Council to maintain the divine law as a compulsory subject in all schools of Georgia.”¹² At the same time, they appealed to the government to appoint an additional salary. In their opinion, they are engaged in business activities of state importance and,

¹⁰ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 325, sheet. 1.

¹¹ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 3, sheet. 2.

¹² Ibid, Sheet. 3

accordingly, should have appropriate remuneration from the Treasury of the Republic of Georgia.

The above – mentioned issue was discussed by the parents' assembly and they addressed their appeal to the government. „1. Divine jurisprudence should be taught selectively; the teacher should be appointed a salary from the sum of money, earned by parents with sweat and blood, and paid to them for tuition. 2. Teachers' service in the State shall be entitled similarly as public workers are entitled to labor and the provision of pensions and allowances are legislated for them by the Ministry of Labor. 3. To be taught at a certain time, when they go to study in the gymnasium, this is required by the basic pedagogical principle and the point of view. 4. When the government publishes something in the textbook of high moral learning, from the field of ethics, then there will be an issue on the subject. Today, our teachers do not give any moral advice to children since expelling this subject from school. We, parents convincingly urge to ensure that our children study the law in schools, even if it is not compulsory.”¹³

On December 23, 1918, a meeting of parents was held at the Kutaisi Classical Gymnasium in connection with the teaching of the Divine Law, which was chaired by the priest Nestor Abesadze. The congregation passed the following resolution: “In our country, the church served a completely different duty: teaching theology, teaching the doctrine of Jesus Christ, ecclesiastical history, instilling the word of God, deep respect, and love for parents, teachers, and friends. Rural priests do a great deal of work in the cultural movement, in the opening of reading rooms, schools and cooperatives, and more. In our history we see the clergy working hand in hand with the nation, an expression of deep love for the homeland and enthusiastic defense of the faith and the homeland. In this way, the Church in our country does not interfere in politics and does not hinder social, economic, and political progress. The second issue is the church and the divine law. The church cannot perform the functions of a school. The church is the home, chapel for the service of God. But in school there is a systematic walk of children, there is an awareness of mastering various subjects and a kind of pedagogical principle is preserved. Going to Church and ignoring the teaching of divine jurisprudence, is the same as

¹³ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts.№ 3, sheet. 23

taking children to the field by a teacher of geography and natural science, and not giving the proper theoretical knowledge.”¹⁴

Similar to the previous congregation, it was decided that the teaching of the divine law should not be obligatory but selective, depending on the will of the parent and the student.

Analogous to Kutaisi, a meeting was held in Khobi, chaired by Priest Ioane Kandelaki. They appealed to the Constituent Assembly of Georgia to teach the divine law as a compulsory subject. Since the state decided to ban the teaching of theology in schools, meetings of parents and clergy have been held in almost all regions, and in most cases, there was a call for the jurisprudence to be left as an optional subject. Due to the historical past of Georgia and the situation created at that time, the state necessitated young people, and the whole of the Georgian society, who knew and professed their religion, one of the main conditions of which was to take into account the given requirement. The Khobi Congregation formulated the following appeal: For the preservation and strengthening of the faith, church, and the clergy, it is undoubtedly necessary for the state government to provide full financial support to them, expressed in salaries. The Church should not be separated from the state. The Church is not separate goodness of some special persons, but rather it represents not a private institution but a valuable institution of a public nature. The church must have a special position in the state, it must be united with the state and not separated”.¹⁵

The above-mentioned demands were made to the authorities since according to the law adopted on November 22, 1918, the teaching of the divine law was abolished in the treasury and private full-fledged schools of every type and level.¹⁶

On November 8, 1920, the Ministry of Education responded to the Tbilisi Apostolic Delegation: “According to the Law N.26, of 1918, the divine law has been abolished in schools of all types and levels. At the same time, freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens of the Republic, under Article 4 of the same law, parents can, if they wish, teach their children the divine law at their own expense”.¹⁷

Law on the Abolition of the Divine Law: 1. To abolish the teaching of theology and the position of the teacher of theology in the treasury and

¹⁴ Ibid, Sheet. 24

¹⁵ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 3, sheet. 30.

¹⁶ Ibid, Sheet. 31.

¹⁷ Ibid, Sheet. 36.

private schools. 2. To close the credit in the mentioned schools, which was opened for salaries of a group of teachers of theology. 3. To award a teacher of divine law left without permanent staff, established by the Act of July 5, 1918. 4. Parents who wish to teach their children the Divine Law at their own expense, should be given a school building at a proper time, for avoiding obstacles to the teaching of other subjects”.¹⁸

On September 19, 1920, the population gathered in the village Kvabiskhevi regarding the demand for teaching the Holy Law in schools: “We, the undersigned inhabitants of the village Kvabiskhevi, Akhaltsikhe region, gathered at the fence of the church and discussed, that for two years now our children have not been taught the divine law in school: it hurts the development of children’s morals which we consider inadmissible. Therefore, we jointly decided to present the resolution to the Constituent Assembly, a copy to the Minister of Education, and the editorial office of the newspaper – “The Republic of Georgia,” and ask him to immediately introduce the teaching of theology in schools. We trust our neighbor Erasti Maisuradze to send this resolution”.¹⁹

The appeal of the Catholicos Council of Georgia to the Ministry of Finance and Trade and Industry of the Democratic Republic of Georgia says the following: “In response to your appeal № 2287/5406 on November 9 of the current year, the Catholicos Council of whole Georgia informs you respectfully, that there are three candle plants in our possession: one in Tbilisi, in Tskneti Street, the second in Gelati Monastery and the third in the city of Poti, in the Bishop’s Palace and nine candle shops: three in Tbilisi, – one under the bell tower of the Zion Cathedral, the other at the corner of the small Vorontsov Bridge under the London Hotel, and the third at the descent of the Vera Bridge, the fourth in Signaghi, the fifth in Telavi, the sixth in Dusheti, the seventh in Gori, the eighth in Kutaisi, in the building of the Archangel Church and the ninth in Poti – in the Metropolitan Palace”.²⁰

The clergy were dissatisfied by the actions accomplished by the Democratic Republic of Georgia towards the Church. “Our church is dying in your hands. The Tbilisi clergy have completely decayed and are disappearing. Many already miss the management-board during the exarchs. Then, we were all more vigilant. It is possible Denikin and together with

¹⁸ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 345, sheet. 5.

¹⁹ CSAG 1935, census 1, Acts. № 3, sheet. 34.

²⁰ CSAG 1891, census 1, Acts. № 155, sheet. 14.

him, the Synod dominates over us. What do you think about that? We believe that some of your influential members will change their skin once again and stay in power and respect. The situation of the military temple and its leader Deacon Totibadze is an excellent example of this. If he is not ashamed, what do you think, or what is His Holiness going to do? When was either Totibadze or Kr. Tsitskishvili Priest-confessors? At this time, in this age of unbelief, can such a case be settled either in a military temple or in Kashveti? If you are at least a little bit interested in religion, why not pay attention to it? Do you really think that Kashveti has a parish council or any church in Tbilisi? The churches: Didube, Mamadaviti, St. Barbara, the cemeteries are totally robbed. Why not look at them at least once in their lives? Is this the management-board? When was the meeting of this diocese and who elected the members of the current council? Or the diocesan court and its members? Can't you see what's going on in this "court"? Here, Archpriest Shubladze and Davidov only file for divorce, costing between \$ 5,000 and \$ 15,000 per case. Sophrom Mgaloblishvili and M.Monaselidze were pushed off and the ball and the field were left to those businessmen, Subladze – Bakhtadze – Davidov. Why did you make such a mistake that our Catholicos entered the company with Davidov, sold the horses, he handed over the money to Davidov, he added his own money to that (the house was sold and the Catholicos arranged an apartment in his own yard) and bought the stolen car in his name? and then took the car to exchange to gain money, and the government took the car as a theft. What circumstances compelled the Catholic to do so? Maybe the company will accuse the Catholicos in this matter, put an end to this immorality, be pitiful to the conscience of the believers; What did you do in the Didube process? The Catholicos strongly supports Archpriest Mirianov and his black deeds, while Pkhaladze, who denounced these deeds, was unjustly beaten, torn, and thrown away. Why does His Holiness allow such a resolution – this resolution reveals all the circumstances of the case? How much irregularity and injustice is in our theological government today, where is the new word? Or was it just for Kirion and Pachikov? Where is the liturgy, the prayer for the service of God, doctrine? If you have any power, it is the time to do it. Show us, we are tired and disgusted with "singing praises" and then printing in "Georgia". Wish we did not hear. Why didn't you answer to "Berikaoba" on May 26? Or why the Catholicos Leonid doesn't want to be among the people, as the tortured and deceased Kyrion demanded from him? That is why the public opinion calls the Catholicos and the Council, the killers of Kyrion

– you have resolved this trouble and eternal shame with the help of the “new word”. You usurped the Catholicos bloodied cathedral. Until this cathedra is washed away with tears of remorse/repentance, we will not be able to honor God’s grace. So try to set up an ecclesiastical assembly to put an end to this blasphemy/atonement against us. We also know that the Catholicos and Davidov want to abolish the Catholic Council and run the church monarchically. Do not be fooled, do not commit it, try to stay away from each other without scandal, and a new composition is needed in the council.²¹

The authorities sought a peculiar explanation for the protest of the clergy over the abolition of the divine law. “... Currently, the issue of attitude towards the clergy is very acute in Didi Jikhaishi and Samtredia district in general. The point is that priests make use of the church law, as it is unseparated from the state, and give people a categorical ultimatum: whoever wants and wishes to have the church, must pay: the rich one and a half pood (16,38 kg.), the average one pood and the poor half a pood of sea maize. The latter has been developed by the Kutaisi Metropolitan and they are trying to make a living and those who refuse this proposal are banned from any religious rites. Afterward, the socialist peasants came to us for advice. Since we saw no other way out, because the vast majority of the peasantry are religious people, we advised them to set a tariff with the priests for any priesthood activities and thus reconcile them. But the priests did not give any account to the commissions that worked out the acceptable stakes for both parties.

Then, the local community was forced to involve in the case. They also set up a commission to instruct the priests to settle the issue by agreement, but the priests refused to do so, saying that according to the diocese, they had no right to compromise with the parish If the priests win and the people receive this tax, the members of our party have such an intention: to separate as a sect and have their own priest, to whom they will appoint a suitable reward ...”²²

The church should not be separated from the state. The Church is not a separate entity, but rather it represents a dignity of glorious interest in the unity of the whole state. The church is not a private institution, but an

²¹ CSAG 1863, census 1, Acts. № 680, sheet. 77.

²² CSAG 1826, census 1, Acts. № 7, sheet. 1.

institution of a public nature. The church must have a different position in the state, it must be united with the state and not separated.”²³

Allot 45. 000 rubles, at the disposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from a fund of ten million to provide simultaneous assistance to the clergy of Svaneti.²⁴

The abolition of serfdom resulted in the establishment of the capitalist order. The new economic form has led to some changes in the social system. New social classes were formed: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In fact, the nobility was in danger of disappearing. That process was carried out in stages. The peasants' functions were limited, and it was difficult for them to establish themselves in a different environment. The non-Georgian bourgeoisie, which was a materially powerful force, was less interested in the future of the Georgian nation, while the proletariat was initially obsessed with class consciousness. All this had a negative impact on the unity of the Georgians, so it became necessary to have a strong ideology around which all Georgians would unite. As it is known, a new stage in the development of the national idea in Georgia begins in the second half of the 19th century, when the “Samotsianelebi” (the sixties) came to power under the leadership of Ilia Chavchavadze and their main goal was to preserve the slogan established by Ilia: “Fatherland, Language, Faith.” That was an idea that, in fact, completely accompanied the struggle of the cultural and political elite – the leading part of the Georgian society in the second half of the 19th century. They strived for raising national awareness among the wider strata of the population and national freedom. It should be mentioned initially, that the slogan – “Fatherland, Language, Religion”, established by Ilia as an exclusive slogan, has always been on the agenda at different stages of history due to the needs of the epoch. However, in some cases, any part of the slogan was brought to the forefront and played a defining role. In 1918-1921, each symbol acquired importance and occupied a special place in independent Georgia. Proceeding from the above mentioned the object of the research is the following: The period of the First Republic is one of the most difficult periods in the history of Georgia. On the one hand, the ideological forms of the national movement were being formed and developed, the primary expression of which was an educated society, aware of the history of its own country. As it has been already mentioned, the process of the national-liberation

²³ CSAG 1863, census 1, Acts. №782, sheet. 4.

²⁴ CSAG 2016, census 1, Acts. №103, sheet. 11.

movement starting from the 50s of the 19th century was aimed at the formation of an educated and conscious society imbued with the national idea. The logical continuation of these processes was the current events of 1918-1921. Independent Georgia took the path to the West and its goal was the Europeanization of various spheres of the country, and among them, a special place was occupied by the education factor.

Orthodox Church and Education in the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921)

It is true that on May 26, 1918, the state independence of Georgia was restored, but along with the solution of many other problems, one of the important places was occupied by the educational reform. For 117 years, the Russian educational system had a negative impact on Georgian national consciousness, and therefore, the adaptation of this occurrence to the Georgian reality was a matter of state importance role and factor of education always occupied a special place in Georgia and had a great influence on the formation and development of public consciousness due to the challenges of the epoch. In that period, when attention was paid to the educational space which acquired besides the educational also the national and state importance. Georgia met those challenges in a different reality. The Russian governmental system maximally used education for the Russification and transform of the Georgian people. That is why the political or cultural elite that came to power after the restoration of state independence was given a dual mission of responsibility. With the resolution of issues of state importance, educational reform became the key point for the resolution of foreign or domestic problems in the country. Naturally, the interest in the problem of education was not limited to the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, and all this had certain preconditions. It should be indicated that from the 1860s a completely new stage of development began implying the raise the scale of education and, most importantly, its accessibility for all social strata. One of the most important methods of disseminating education was the increase in educational centers. raising the education factor to the forefront, its connection with economic, political, cultural progress, raising national awareness. From the second half of the 19th century until 1918, the representatives of the Georgian political and cultural elite tried their best to convert the Georgian society to the national forms in the conditions of lack of independence and Russification through education. After the restoration of state independence, the education factor acquired a new dimension, as evidenced by the material discussed above.

Key words: Orthodox Church, Education, Democratic Republic of Georgia, Russification.

DOCUMENT ON THE COMMUNIST REPRESSION IN GEORGIA FROM THE ARCHIWUM AKT NOWYCH IN WARSAW

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Following the Soviet occupation of Georgia in 1921, the Georgian politicians and military in exile established close contacts with the Polish political circles. In this regard, we should like to make reference to the Marshal Piłsudski's concept of Eastern Policy which implied a formation of a large political alliance against the Soviet Russia – the main and most terrible enemy of Poland.¹ We share the opinion that among other European countries, Poland was most interested in the independence of Caucasus. Therefore, it is quite natural that the Polish Archive of Modern History (Arkiwum Akt Nowych) provides a number of important documents shedding light on both the Polish-Georgian relations and a situation in Georgia at the time in general.

In this case we would like to review a document stored in the archive of the Polish Military Attaché in Constantinople. "Military Attachés represented a significant link in the structure of the state apparatus of Poland. They were supposed to provide substantial information of a military and political nature on the country they served in. Governed by their location, the Polish Military Attachés in different European countries performed other tasks too".² Considering the importance of the region, the Military Attaché based in Constantinople – then in Ankara – was obliged to closely follow the events taking place in the South Caucasus. Furthermore, the Attaché was to observe closely "the So-

¹ Under the Marshal Piłsudski's plan, a federation was to be formed comprising Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Belorussia and the Ukraine. The federation on its part would be closely linked with Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Caucasia. *Кавказская Конфедерация в официальных декларациях, тайной переписке и секретных документах движения „Прометей“*. (Сост., пред., пер. Г. Г. Мамулия). Москва 2012, р. 6.

² Г. М а м у л и а, *Борьба за свободу и независимость Кавказа (1921-1945)*. Тбилиси-Париж 2013, р. 150.

viet campaign in the Near East” and to act simultaneously as a coordinator for the liberating movements in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan”.³ In addition to this, the Military Attaché was liable for organizing an intelligence activity on the territory of the South Caucasus.⁴ Based on this, the Attaché in Turkey, naturally, was very well informed about the situation in the South Caucasus. The attaché in Constantinople in the 1921-24 was Colonel Leon Bobicki.⁵

The document we want to discuss in this article represents a 7-page machine-printed text⁶ which is neither dated or sealed, nor signed.

³ A. Peplonski, *Wywiad Polski na ZSRR 1921-1939*. Warszawa 2010, pp. 66-68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵ Leon Bobicki (1887 – ?) was a WWI veteran who served in the Polish Second Corps in Russia. At the end of 1917 he was in the rank of Captain; he then served in the unit of Gen. Joseph Haller. In the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he served as head of staff of the 4th Polish Infantry Division. In 1920, he took part in the Polish war against the Bolsheviks. In October the same year, he participated in the so called Lucjan Żeligowski uprising, the military operation aiming at occupying the territory of the Central Lithuania. In 1921-24 he was Military Attaché based in Constantinople. Since 1929, having a stand-by status, he used to collaborate actively with the Georgian military in Constantinople, especially with Konstantine Gvarjaladze and Gen. Alexandre Zakariadze. His funds provide a great number of documents concerning Georgia and the Georgians.

⁶ The Social-Democratic Party (SDP) was the first Social Democratic union in Georgia established on December 25, 1892. It was also called Mesame Dasi (the 3rd Group). The union existed independently in Georgia until 1903, and then merged with the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In 1906, after the party had been divided into two fractions – of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the vast majority of the Georgian Social-Democrats adhered to Menshevik fraction. The Social Democratic organization became the most influential political force in Georgia. It headed the 1905 revolutionary movement, which mostly succeeded in Guria Region. The representatives of the Georgian Social Democrats became the members of the Russian State Parliament (Duma) and chaired the social democratic fractions in all four parliaments of Russia. They played an important role after the February 1917 revolution. But following the October 1917 coup d'état and the dissolution of the Russian Constituent Assembly, the Georgian Social Democrats had split from Russian counterparts and concentrated on forming the provisional government bodies in the Caucasus region. Eventually they began to play a leading role in the local government. They ran the South Caucasus commissariat and the South Caucasus Sejm. They led the government of the South Caucasus Federative Democratic Republic. On May 26, 1918, Noe Zhordania, the founder of the Georgian Social Democratic Organization and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Council, announced the declaration of independence of Georgia to his fellow countrymen and the international community. On November 19, 1919, the party's main body broke away from the South Caucasus Social Democratic organization, after which their members formed the Social Democratic Labor Party. From May 1918 to March 1919, the Social Democratic Party became a leading political force in the coalition government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. SDP won 81% of the votes in the elections of the Constituent Assembly on February 14-16, 1919. Starting from March of the same year, the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia had already been fully staffed with the members of the SDP. After the Soviet occupation, one part of the SDP leaders and the ones of the Constituent Assembly and the government continued their fight for independence in emigration. The other part, together with the rank-and-file party members, that made up around 90 thousand people, remained in Georgia to organize a wide-range resistance movement. In the period of 1921-1930, thousands of members of the SDP became victims of the Soviet repressions, including the founders of the party itself, members of the government and the constituent assembly, the heads and deputies of local governments as well as the rank-and-file party members and the leaders of the trade union movement.

The document is titled *Regarding the Situation in Georgia. Waging War Against the Social Democratic Party of Georgia*.⁷ (К Положению в Грузии. Поход против Соц. Дем. Партии Грузии).

As already noted, the document is not dated, but it is quite possible to identify the time of its creation by reviewing the content. In this regard, two messages the text conveys bear particular importance. The first message states that all members, acting illegally under the chairmanship of Noe Khomeriki⁸ have to remain in their positions. Khomeriki returned from the emigration at the end of October 1922. On November 9th, 1923, he was arrested by the Soviet intelligence services. And here is what the second message says: according to the latest data, received from Georgia in the second half of May, party organizations have already been restored. It is clear here that the author of the letter implies the year 1923, since in 1922 Noe Khomeriki was still in emigration. Since the latest news from Georgia were received in the second half of May, the document itself, definitely, could not have been drawn up earlier than this time. At the time of creation of the document, Noe Khomeriki was still at large, and the document was drawn up prior to his arrest so, it should have been written somewhere in the region of June-November, 1923.

The information stating that news from Georgia was received in the second half of May highlights that the document was drawn up abroad. The document was most likely created in Constantinople where the Georgian political emigration still stayed and worked intensively against the Soviet regime. As was mentioned above, Georgian political emigration actively cooperated with the representatives of Polish government, first of all with colonel Bobicki. Though it is impossible to identify the author, it is likely that the anonymous person was a member of the Georgian Social Democratic Party. It may very well be that it was Konstantine

7 Archiwum Akt Nowich. Fund 1191, Case A II/33. pp. 301-307.

8 Noe Khomeriki (1883-1924) Georgian Social Democrat. In 1917 he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly of Russia. From November 22, 1917 he was a member of the National Council of Georgia. On May 26, 1918, signed the Act of Independence of Georgia. Since May 26, has been the Minister of Agriculture, Labor and Roads of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. In February 1919 he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly. He emigrated on March 18, 1921. Khomeriki secretly returned to Soviet Georgia in October 1922. On November 9, 1923, Khomeriki was arrested. He was transferred to Suzdal Prison on July 30, 1924, where he was shot dead on August 30, 1924, after the start of the anti-Soviet uprising in Georgia.

Gvarjaladze,⁹ who in 1922-23 established a very close cooperation with Bobicki. The document does not specify the addressee; therefore, we do not know who the letter was intended for. The document aims to familiarize foreign friends and international community with the contemporary situation in Georgia.

As we have already noted, the letter is drawn up in Russian. Naturally the question arises: why in Russian, especially if the document was intended for the distribution in Europe?

Maybe it was much easier for an author to express thoughts in Russian than in any other languages. Or maybe he/she didn't know any foreign language other than Russian. In this case the assumption about the authorship of Gvarjaladze falls away. Military attaché Leon Bobicki spoke Russian. After all, he served in the 2nd Polish corps. Presumably he had to send this document to Warsaw but it is no longer known who was later supposed to distribute it and where.

Indeed, there are many questions concerning creation of the document but that doesn't matter. What is the most substantial is the content – the letter conveys the core idea that in spite of terrible crackdowns by the Bolsheviks, the Social Democratic Party of Georgia goes on with its underground activity and leads the anti-Soviet movement throughout the country, eventually gaining in strength.

⁹ Konstantine Gvarjaladze (1883-1969) was a member of the Georgian social Democratic Party since 1903. At the time of 1905 revolution he headed the Youth Union of the Party. He received his higher medical education at the University of Geneva. In 1918 he headed Tbilisi Party Committee. He was elected member of the Party Central committee. As a member of the National Council of Georgian Republic he was among those who signed the Act of Independence on May 26, 1918. He was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic and involved in the work of Georgian diplomatic delegations in Europe. On February 14-16, he was elected member of the Constituent Assembly. After the occupation of Georgia by the Soviet Russia he continued his activity in Europe. Gvarjaladze was a party delegate at the Socialist International. Many printed issues of the SDP were published under his editorship. He died in France.

At the beginning of the document, it is said that Sergo Orjonikidze¹⁰ and his associates – Shalva Eliava¹¹ and Mamia Orakhelashvili¹² who were the faithful conductors of the Moscow policy destroyed the so-called deviationists (Uklonists), or in other terms, the National Bolsheviks. The document doesn't indicate their names but they are as follows: Budu Mdivani, Mikheil Okujava, Lado Dumbadze, Sergo Kavtaradze, Mikheil Toroshelidze and others¹³ – all those who strongly opposed the formation of the South Caucasus Soviet Federative Republic under the Stalin-Orjonikidze plan. Finally, the position of the National-Deviationist was defeated and they all lost their lives during the purge of the 1930s. The document notes that after the end of the internal party feuds, the real power in the Caucasus was passed to the Red Army Headquarters. From

¹⁰ Sergo (Giorgi the official name) Orjonikidze (1886-1937) was one of the leaders of the Georgian Bolsheviks and a member of RSDLP. He was arrested several times by the Tsarist Government of Russia for his revolutionary activities. In 1918-19 he held responsible positions first in Ukraine and then in the North Caucasus. Since 1920 he was a member of the Military-Revolutionary Council of the Caucasus Front. He was one of the initiators of and an active fighter for the establishment of the Soviet rule in the South Caucasus. He headed the Caucasus regional office of the RSDLP. In 1922-1926 he served as the First Secretary of the Party's South Caucasus Regional Committee. In fact, he was the most influential political figure in the South Caucasus at the time and enjoyed great confidence of Stalin. In 1926-1930 he was Chairman of the Party Central Control Committee, then he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. In 1930-1932 he served as Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy and in 1932-1937 – the People's Commissar of Heavy Industry of the USSR. According to the official version, he committed a suicide in 1937.

¹¹ Shalva Eliava (1883-1937) was a Georgian Bolshevik and member of the RSDLP since 1904. He was arrested several times by the Tsarist Government for revolutionary activities. From 1919 to 1920 he was a member of the Military-Revolutionary Council of the Turkestan Front and Chairman of the Turkic Affairs Commission. In 1920 he was appointed representative of the RSFSR in Turkey and Iran. In 1921 he became a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia. At different times he served as People's Commissar for Naval Affairs of the Soviet Georgia (1922-1923), Chairman of the Council of People's Commissariat of the Georgian SSR (1923-1927), Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Republic (1927-1931), Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade of the USSR (1931-1936) and Deputy People's Commissar for Light Industry of the USSR (1936-1937). He was arrested and shot in 1937.

¹² Mamia Orakhelashvili (1881-1937) was a Georgian Bolshevik and member of the RSDLP since 1903. From 1914 to 1917 he was a military doctor in the army and worked at the front. In 1917-1920 he was a member of the Caucasus Regional Committee of the RSDLP. In 1921 he became a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia. At different times he served as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Georgian SSR, People's Commissar for Education, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the first Secretary of the South Caucasian Regional Committee (1926-1929, 1931-1932), People's Commissar of the South Caucasian Soviet Socialist Republic and Deputy Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (1932-1937). He was arrested and shot in 1937.

¹³ Shalva Eliava was with them for a short period.

that moment on, it was the Red Army that became the only stronghold of the Soviet power in the Caucasus.

Repressions were an integral part of the Soviet power, without which it would have definitely failed, but the strength and scale of the crack-downs altered in different periods. Just after the seizure of Georgia, the Bolsheviks acted more cautiously, trying not to resort to repressions so openly. But the stronger their positions became, the more intense the persecutions get.

The document we are discussing tells exactly about the punitive measures employed by the Bolsheviks. According to the letter, twenty prominent figures of the resistance movement had been sent to prison in Yaroslavl,¹⁴ Russia. But the most severe persecutions of the underground activity started in January 1923.

The crackdown was especially ruthless in Guria region, where 300 people died. The author of the letter explains that by the fact that the majority of the SDP leaders came from Guria: it was there that the party enjoyed incredible popularity thus turning the whole region into the citadel of the Social-Democratic and Anti-Soviet movement. Alexandre (Sasha) Oboladze was one of the most brutal Bolsheviks operating in Guria. He, along with his team, used to squash the liberating movement with exceptional severity. Soon he was found dead. Just following his murder, the mudslinging and name-calling of the SDP became rampant in the Soviet press – the SDP members were accused of terrorism and called the People's enemies.

The document mentions, that apart from Guria, the repressions were severe in other parts of Georgia too. It happened not to affect the party leaders so much as the ordinary members – as the leaders had long shifted to illicit activity in which they had been greatly experienced since the time of the Tsarits regime. But it should be mentioned that there were some of the SDP members who failed to endure the repressions and gave

¹⁴ On December 16, 1922, by the decision of the People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs, 52 political prisoners were sent to Russia, mainly to Moscow. Grigol Lortkipanidze, a former Deputy Chairman of the Government of Democratic Republic of Georgia who served as the Minister of War and then the Minister of Education was among the prisoners, as well as Isidore Ramishvili, one of the founders and leaders of the Georgian Social Democratic Party along with tens of members of the Constituent Assembly – all of them Social Democrats generally. Most of the prisoners had been put in the Yaroslavl prison, notorious for its brutality. The others were sent to exile in Central Asia and Siberia. The majority of them were executed in 1937-38.

way. Many officially withdrew from the politics.¹⁵ Among them was Pavle Sakvarelidze, the editor-in-chief of the government newspaper The Republic of Georgia and Chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

Besides the physical destruction of the SDP members, the Soviet government sought the moral demolition of its most dangerous opposition. According to the document, prisoners or even individuals on the outside were forced to turn in official statements of resignation from the party and to expose the SDP's "bourgeois-imperialist" activity too. The document notes that some of the authors of such statements were not party members at all or rather had a very little experience in political practice. The document draws such an example: "66 prominent Mensheviks, about which the foreign office of the Soviet radio had broadcasted, happened to be the imprisoned ordinary Gurian peasants. They were taken to the open field and forced to witness the shooting of five individuals. Then they were told to sign the membership resignation papers unless they wanted to share the fate of the executed. In order to present the objective picture of the then situation in Georgia, we should like to note that not only the rank-and-file members of the SDP, but even those of the Constituent Assembly were forced to publicize the membership resignation statements for fear of death penalty or imprisonment.

Some former deputies actually gave up the anti-Soviet activity, but most of them acted quite the opposite: Barnaba Dzvelaia for example, a member of the Constituent Assembly, who officially promulgated his membership resignation on 23rd of January, 1923, immediately joined the resistance movement and engulfed in preparation of an uprising in Samegrelo region¹⁶ as soon as he was released from prison. Concerning repressions and coercion – not only particular party members were forced to refuse their membership but they also had to be involved in the process of SDP's mudslinging and daily vilification. The document reviewed here

¹⁵ I. Khvadaiani, *Sakartvelos dampudznebeli kreba 1919. Sabchota tsarsulis kvlevis laboratoria*, (The Constituent Assembly of Georgia, 1919. The Soviet Past Research Laboratory). Tbilisi 2016, pp. 360-361.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 456-457.

tells the Story of Victor Tevzaia,¹⁷ a former member of the Constituent Assembly. It is quite strange that the document mentions only him, as together with him another influential member made a statement to leave the party. It was Petre Geleishvili, who announced about the resignation in 1923, just like Tevzaia and became incredibly zealous in discrediting former associates.

Later, the same Geleishvili was entrusted to launch the *Kommunisti* Newspaper supplement titled *Adherents of the New Path* which was mainly engaged in exposing the SDP.¹⁸

The document notes that after the crackdown had been started, Tevzaya – being a coward by nature – was constantly on the verge of a nervous breakdown. He didn't trust anyone, not even persons recommended by his own fellow party members. In such circumstances it is more perplexing that he trusted certain Bendeliani whom he had not known before and who turned out to be the agent of the Extraordinary Committee. The document doesn't clarify the way Bendeliani contacted Tevzaia. Unfortunately, neither we can answer the question, nor assume something as it doesn't make any sense.

According to the document it was through Bendeliani that he contacted Shalva Eliava and asked for a meeting.¹⁹ He was met by two People's

¹⁷ Victor (Bictor) Tevzaia (1884-1932) was a Georgian Social Democrat and graduate of the Tbilisi Theological Seminary. In 1905 he headed the Social Democratic group of the city of Poty. The period of 1906-1917 he spent in Switzerland as a privatdozent of the School of Law at the University of Geneva. In November 1917 he was elected member of the Georgian National Council on the party list of the National Democrats. At the end of 1917 he was elected member of the Constituent Assembly of Russia. In 1919 he became a member of the South Caucasian Sejm. On May 26, 1918 he was among those who signed the Act of Independence of Georgia. In 1918 he was appointed representative of the Georgian Diplomatic Mission to the Ukraine. On February 14-16, Tevzaia was elected member of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia and the Central Committee of the National Democratic Party. After the occupation of Georgia by Russia he joined the resistance movement. Under the instructions of the Party Central Committee, he organized publishing of an illegal press. In March 1923 he was forced to publicize a letter in the Newspaper *Komunisti* announcing his resignation from the SDP and denouncing activity of his fellow party members. It was from this period that he completely abandoned party activity and refused to participate in the discrediting campaigns of the NDP any longer. In the second part of 1920 he worked at the People's Commissariat of the Internal Trade of Georgia at the same time delivering a course on Political Economy at the Tbilisi State University. In 1931 Tevzaia was fired from the University as an untrustworthy Professor. Since 1932 Tevzaia suffered from mental illness and was placed in mental home. In June of the same year Tevzaia committed a suicide at the hospital.

¹⁸ I. Khvadaiani, *Sakartvelos dampudznebeli kreba 1919*. (The Constituent Assembly of Georgia 1919), pp.188-191.

¹⁹ According to the second version, Victor Tevzaia contacted Shalva Eliava through Tedo Ghloni, a Social-Federalist and former member of the Constituent Assembly. I. Khvadaiani, *Sakartvelos dampudznebeli kreba 1919*. (The Constituent Assembly of Georgia 1919, p. 24.

Commissars: Shalva Eliava himself and Mamia Orakhelashvili; after that Tevzaya consented to publicize an “accusatory letter” on SDP in Soviet press.²⁰ The document says that Tevzaia neither reported nor turned anyone in to the Bolsheviks. As to Bendeliani, it is said about him that he had reported the whereabouts of two underground SDP printing houses to the authorities after which they were destroyed.²¹ As soon as the central committee of the Social Democratic party realized that he was an agent, the precautions were taken to keep the information back from him, so Bendeliani failed to find out the addresses of the SDP party leaders who conducted an illegal activity. The document says that it was not long before the corpse of Bendeliani was washed ashore in the Mtkvari river.²²

²⁰ The letter was published in the newspaper *Komunisti* on March the 2nd, 1923. The same newspaper also made public the letter by Petre Geleishvili. Tevzaia addressed the editor-in chief of *Komunisti* with the following words: “And thus, I state that according my fully conscious decision, from this moment on, I quit any political activity. I consider it necessary to add that the imperialist intervention in the affairs of Georgia as well as the armed struggle against the incumbent authorities has always been and still remain completely unacceptable for me. February 28, 1923, Biktor Tevzaia.”

²¹ The issue of the *Komunisti* newspaper of March 10, 1923 reported that as a result of an investigation carried out by the Extraordinary Commission of Georgia, the Mensheviks’ central underground typography was uncovered on 37 Alexanre Street, in the house of Ilarion Rusishvili, the Menshevik.

²² On March 7, 1923, shortly before his assassination, Bendeliani published an article in the *Komunisti* newspaper titled *The Secrets of the Morally Depraved Mensheviks*. In the preface to the article the editorial board of the newspaper published the following remark: “A well-known Menshevik and old member of this rotten party declares that the Mensheviks are preparing for the terrible bloodshed and complete destruction of the working masses of Georgia. “There’s no doubt”, he writes, “that the process of disintegration of the party that has already begun will soon come to its logical end and there will be no one left, but the dregs and scoundrels in the party”. Bendeliani states further that on February 5th he fell prey to the usual provocation by the Mensheviks which was based on their private interests:

“At 7 o’clock at night, four men came to my apartment on behalf of the party... then I heard completely unfounded accusation from them that I was a traitor; I learnt that their charges were primarily based on the words of a responsible worker of the Communist Party. Then they said that the Extraordinary Commission was well aware of the content of a specific correspondence kept by a certain Communist party member that was supposedly passing through me. I tried to prove to them that I used to receive correspondence from the third and the fourth parties and had not sent anything by myself. I was told that the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party had sentenced me to death but in case I confessed they would send me abroad. Since I refused to confess I, they failed to get a satisfactory answer. So, the bandits began to carry out the sentence right away. Although three of them tried to kill me, I managed to avoid death, but I decided not to reveal what had happened until the incident was clarified. Meanwhile the robbers themselves informed the whole city the following day about the horrendous act they had perpetrated. The Party Central Committee did not respond to my explanations for 20 days. They just continued verbally sending threats to me and spreading rumors about my guilt. Therefore, I declare and reiterate that all this is the purest provocation. It is founded on the misinformation and private interests of the specific persons”. Considering Bendeliani’s “testimony”, it is very interesting indeed to find out how he managed to escape death if there were three people attempting to kill him.

It is clear Bendeliani was killed for being an agent of Extraordinary Commission (VChKA). Even though we don't know how and when it was done, supposedly he was killed by the members of SDP.

Bendeliani's story confirms that the leadership of the Anti-Soviet movement had a considerable number of supporters and whistleblowers in various structures of Soviet power including ChKA (The Extraordinary Commission) It is also known that illegal CEC of SDP had its own military commission which was obliged to take care of the safety of the CEC members as well as clandestine organizations of the party in general.²³

Though it is not mentioned in the document (probably because of the time frame) but it must be said that after the letters by Tavzaia and Geleishvili had been publicized, the other Social Democrats also started leaving the party confirming their decision by official announcements. On August 15, 1923, Apolon Sulakvelidze and Ermaloz Kaladze propagated their resignations from the party. They openly condemned their fellow party members and endorsed The Movement of the Former Mensheviks which united the then relatively low-ranking staff of the former SDP and Alexandre Parniev, a former member of the Constituent Assembly.

The authors of such letters used to be treated differently by the Soviet regime. For example, after leaving the ranks of SDP, Apolon Sulakvelidze was released, but Ermaloz Kaladze, who was a co-author of the same letter, was left in exile in Siberia²⁴. In such cases it is largely difficult to guess the principle which the Soviet power followed. The document gives another example of the way the Soviet government led ideological struggle against the national-liberation movement. According to the document, the Bolsheviks used to convene the workers' assemblies and pass a resolution that condemned Mensheviks. "The Chekists would appear in any factory or institution and read a letter that denounced and scolded Mensheviks. Then they would list the audience and on behalf of them, publicize the following resolution in newspapers: "A meeting of the former Mensheviks condemned the banditry of their own party. They have been convinced of Mensheviks being the agents of bourgeoisie. So, for this reason, the meeting has denounced the Second International..." The author of the document states, that if any of those present dared to protest, they would immediately be arrested and thrown into the dungeons of

²³ I. Khvadagiani, *Sakartvelos dampudznebeli kreba 1919*, (The Constituent Assembly of Georgia 1919), pp. 245-247.

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 264-265.

ChKA. The Soviet authorities found a certain support among the certain parts of the non-Georgian population. The document says, that Armenians and Russians previously united in so called Union of The Russian People have all signed under the declaration against the Menshevik party²⁵ which was made in Tbilisi Arsenal building.

Such information about the backing of Soviet government by the non-Georgians is also confirmed by another document, which is dated October 7, 1923 and sent from Tbilisi to Paris: "The Bolshheviks carry out repressions mostly with the help of the occupation power, but apart from this, they have found zealous adherents among the national minorities, such as Tbilisi Armenians, Jews and others. For example, the rich Armenians living in Tbilisi Sololaki district became the Communists and their sons – the members of the ChEKA (the Extraordinary Commission) thus protecting their former-bourgeois-turned-Red fathers."²⁶ Nevertheless, it should be noted that in 1918-1921, the non-Georgian population actively supported the First Republic and was involved in the life and activities of the newly-fledged independent state. In 1921 they took to arms to defend the independence side by side with Georgians. As an example, we can cite a cavalry of volunteers from Borchalo region mostly inhabited by the citizens of Azerbaijani nationality. Anyway, the second document indicates to the fact that the Soviet power found a lot of adherents among the non-Georgians.

The document says that the Soviet regime failed to arrest the leaders of the party except for Nikoloz Kartsivadze.²⁷ He was one of the promi-

²⁵ Союз русского народа (The Union of the Russian People) was established in 1905. It represented a reactionary monarchist organization which openly opposed democratic changes backing unified and indivisible Russia. The organization was banned after the revolution of February 1917.

²⁶ Polish Modern History Archive (Archiwum Akt Nowych), fund 1191, case A II, p.p. 180-183.

²⁷ Nikoloz Kartsivadze (1884-1937) was a Georgian Social Democrat and a party member since 1904. The graduate of the Law School of the University of Geneva, he belonged to the Alioni group of the party which united mostly the members with the nationalist deviation. In 1917 he was elected member of the National Council on the Alioni list of candidates of the SDP. In 1918 he was appointed diplomatic representative of Georgia to Azerbaijan and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1920. After the Russian occupation of Georgia, he stayed in his homeland and actively engaged in the Resistance Movement. In 1922, he participated in the activity of the Resistance Committee from the list of NDP. After Gogita Paghava, Chairman of the Committee had been arrested, Nikoloz Kartsivadze replaced him. He had been incarcerated by ChEKA twice: first in 1923 and then in 1924. In the second half of the 1920s he worked in the People's Commissariat of the National Industry. Kartsivadze was arrested and sent to exile in 1934 and arrested again and sentenced to death in 1937. Soon his wife was also arrested and sent to exile in Central Asia.

ment figures in the Anti-Soviet movement and chaired the Committee for Independence.²⁸

We suppose the letter implies that the Soviet power was unable to arrest the leaders of the illegal organization in the first half of 1923 – for most of the leaders who remained in Georgia were arrested in 1921-1922 and then exiled. But it can also be assumed that the author of the document wants to hold back the real information and declares that only Kartsivadze was arrested.

The fact of Kartsivadze's arrest in the document is assessed as follows: "His arrest was not a failure, but a consequence of Kartsivadze's negligence. He believed in the dirty lies the famous Bolshevik Orjonikidze told him. The latter repeatedly stated that he had been instructed by Stalin from Moscow to meet with Kartsivadze and talk about very important issues. He asked him to pay him a private visit at his own apartment and honestly promised security. Kartsivadze had rejected the meeting proposal several times. But finally, in one family, he accidentally met his University friend, a Bolshevik who managed to convince him that Orjonikidze had no ill intentions. And Kartsivadze, accompanied by a neutral friend as a witness, visited him at his private apartment. The latter generously received a gullible opponent. The conversation lasted a long time. When he left for home, he was attacked by the security officers who were waiting for him and took him to the building of the Extraordinary Committee." It is really difficult to say why Kartsivadze trusted the Bolsheviks: was it due to his naivety, carelessness or was it caused by some other reasons? But the case of Kartsivadze indicates very clearly to the duplicity and double-dealing of Bolsheviks that, considering their treacherous and scheming politics, is not surprising at all.

Nevertheless the document ends on an upbeat note, saying that the party leaders – and Noe Khomeriki among them – are going on with their clandestine activity; party structures are being restored, the rehabilitation of the printing house is going ahead and the fight in general is spreading. It is difficult to say how much the resistance movement might have been restored, taking into account the then real situation in the country. Considering the facts listed at the end of the letter, we may very well construe that the author depicts the state of the affairs in a very subjective way,

²⁸ The Committee for Independence was formed in Spring 1922 as a governing body of the Anti-Soviet national liberating movement. It united Social Democratic, National-Democratic, Social-Federalist and Social-Revolutionary parties as well as the parties of the independent Social-Democrats, or the so-called Beam members. Gogita Paghava was the first chairman of the Committee for Independence. He was replaced by Nikoloz Kartsivadze and the latter – by Konstantine Andronikashvili.

trying to present it better than it was. And the author tries to convince the addressees that the old guard of the party is inexorable in its resistance and stands firm. He asserts that a few exceptions do not change the situation, and that the majority of party members are still unshakable in their loyalty. The conclusion of the letter also sounds too optimistic: the party has restored all destroyed organizations and keeps on fighting with unrelenting zeal. In spite of this bias attitude in the end of the letter, we, nevertheless, find the document very much worth of attention.

Making only spelling and grammatical changes in the text of the document.

К ПОЛОЖЕНИЮ В ГРУЗИИ Поход против СОЦ. ДЕМ. ПАРТИИ ГРУЗИИ

В конце прошлого года, после того как Москва разгромила т. Наз. Уклонистов или «национал»-большевиков, составлявших большинство грузинской компартии и заменила их на всех ответственных постах верными проводниками московской политики, вроде Орджоникидзе, Орахелашвили, Элиав – вся власть в Грузии оказалась в руках штаба ОКА,²⁹ в реввоенсовете которой Орджоникидзе играет главную роль. К этому времени произошло соглашение между Москвой и местными оккупационными властями о решительном и окончательном походе на национальное движение в Грузии. Был разработан план этого похода с применением всех испытанных большевицкой политической стратегией методов борьбы, Естественно, что главный удар должен быть направлен против соц. дем. рабочей партии Грузии или, как большевики любят её называть, против грузинского «меньшевизма», ставшего за время русской оккупации синонимом национальной борьбы. Ещё в Декабре прошлого года было отправлено в Россию (В Ярославскую тюрьму) более 10 видных деятелей соц. дем. партии. Это была предварительная мера, имевшая целью деморализовать население. Вслед за этим, в Январе текущего года, была начата беспощадная физическая борьба против партии. Первый удар пришёлся по Гурии, всегда считавшейся цитаделью грузинского меньшевизма, сохранившей и во время оккупации самые сильные и широкие партийные и народные организации. Вся Гурия была наводнена

²⁹ Отдельная Кавказская Армия.

русскими войсками всех видов оружия и превращена в поле военных действий. Под прикрытием красных войск был пущен в ход самый свирепый большевистский террор. Дело не ограничилось арестами, истязаниями, разрушением имущества членом с. дем. партии. Пошли убийства и расстрелы. За три месяца в маленькой провинции было расстреляно до 300 человек, в подавляющем большинстве члены с. дем. партии. Террор был постепенно распространён и на остальные провинции, в Феврале и Марте пошли массовые расстрелы по всей Грузии (в Тифлисе, Батуме, Кутаиси, Гори, Боржоме и т.д.). Террор достиг своего апогея. До сих пор не удалось установить точное число жертв, павших за это время по всей Грузии от рук чекистских палачей. Подавляющее большинство расстрелянных в Феврале и Марте приходится на туже соц. дем. партию,

Но оккупанты хорошо знали, что даже самым кровавым террором нельзя искоренить массовую партию, в течении тридцати лет руководившую народным движением. Аресты и расстрелы захватывали большей частью лишь рядовых членом партии. Нелегальные же организации, т.е. ядро партии, мало затрагивалось террором. Жертвы последнего окружили партию новым ореолом и укрепляли симпатий населения к ней, возвышали её престиж. Опыт быстро убедил оккупантов, что один лишь механическая меры не могут привести к цели и они решили попытаться убить партию морально.

И вот на ряду с террором была предпринята кампания «разложения грузинского меньшевизма». Казённой прессе, Ч.К. и политбюро компартии были даны соответствующие инструкции. В подвалах Ч.К. наиболее неустойчивым элементам из заключённых, не имевших ничего общего с меньшевистской партией, предлагался выбор: быть высланным в Россию или дать для печати письменное заявление о том, что они состояли в соц. Демократической партии, но что после пришествия большевиков убедились в её изменнических действиях, а потому оставляю ряды партии, отворачиваются от предательского второго интернационал и т.д. и т.д. Несмотря на сильное давление со стороны Ч.К. подобные заявления удавалось получить первое время лишь от единичных лиц, большей частью ничего общего с партией никогда не имевших. Но со временем с усилением террора, было обращено особенное внимание на кампанию морального «разложения». Оккупанты приняли совершенно исключительные меры для воздействия на заключённых. Им удалось получить письменные заявления о выходе из партии сотен её действительных членом. В этом им оказал

не малую услугу поступок одного из видных членов соц. демократической партии Виктор Тевзая, занимавшего в 1918-1919 г.г. пост представителя Грузии на Украине, а в последствии член Учредительного Собрания Грузии и член Ц-ка соц. дем. партии.

С первых же недель оккупации Тевзая перешёл на нелегальное положение и до момента ухода из партии не прекращал нелегальной работы. Трусливый от природы Тевзая в последние месяцы страдал сильным нервным расстройством, перешедшим в манию преследования: во всём и во всех ему мерещились измена и предательство. Товарищи советовали уехать ему на отдых в деревню или выехать за границу, но он не осмеливался покинуть нелегальную квартиру. В то же время он не соглашался бросить работу. Не доверяя рекомендованным товарищами лицам, для сношения с внешним миром взял некого Бенделини, который никогда связи с партией не имел. Несмотря на неоднократные предупреждения не доверявших Бенделиани товарищей, Тевзая не хотел с ним расстаться. В Феврале месяце центральный ком. Партии убедился, что Бенделиани был агентом Ч. К., принял все меры к сокрытию от него адресов членов Цека и предупредил и Тевзая. И без того больной, полунормальный Тевзая впал в отчаяние. Нужно сказать, что как раз к этому времени начались расстрелы. Тевзая не выдержал. Не предупредив никого из товарищей, он послал сказать члену большевистского правительства Ш. Элиав, что хочет с ним повидаться. Просьба была удовлетворена с радостью. Его встретили два Наркома: Элиава и Орахелашвили. Результатом этого свидания было опубликованное в большевистских газетах заявление Тевзая о том, что он вполне сознательно отказывается от всякой политической деятельности. «При этом считаю долгом заявить, добавлял Тевзая, что я всегда был и остаюсь противником вооружённой борьбы и всяческой интервенции». Лишь после появления в газетах этого заявления, Цека партии получил от Тевзая извещение о том, что он ввиду болезни вынужден расстаться с партией. Это единственный случай, когда видный деятель в тяжёлый момент изменил партии и национальному делу, хотя нужно сказать, что Тевзая никого и ничего врагу не выдал. Он и до ныне даже и не работает у большевиков. Через некоторое время после этого события труп Бенделиани был выброшен Курой. Благодаря своевременно принятым мерам Бенделиани не удалось провалить ни одного видного деятеля. За то он выдал два тайные типографии, что лишь не некоторое время лишило партию возможности сообщаться с широкими

массаами. Этим именно воспользовался враг и стал распространять слухи о развале меньшевистского центрального комитета, о том что будто-бы часть его ищет примирения с оккупантами, что находящееся в Европе правительство ведёт переговоры с Москвой и т. П. В это же время участились расстрелы по всей Грузии, в особенности в Гурии. Заключённым членам партии, свидетелям расстрелов чекисты говорили: какой смысл давать расстреливать себя, когда ваши лидеры примеряются с нами, отказываются и от прошлого, подпишите и вы заявление, что оставляйте ряды соц.-дем. партии, превратившейся в бандитскую организацию, и мы вас отпустим на свободу. Под влиянием отчасти и страха смерти, отчасти ложных слухов о примирению лидеров с оккупационными властями заявления об уходе из рядов «предательской меньшевистской партии» начали появляться чаще. Громадное большинство давших такие подписи простые крестьяне, в партии не состоящие, хотя и шедшие за ней. Из старых членов партии – середняков – лишь несколько десятков дали свои подписи. Если представить себе в каких условиях Ч. К. Требовало от них эти подписи, то нужно сказать, что лишь редкие герои могли не выполнить этого требования. Так, например, 66 видных меньшевиков, о выходе которых из партии сообщалось за границей в Марте месяце советским радио, это заключённые крестьяне гурийцы. Их ночью вывели в поле, расстреляли у них на глазах 5 человек, затем тут же предложили дать немедленно подпись, если они хотят избежать судьбу расстрелянных. Так практиковалось в тюрьмах и подвалах Ч. К., но оккупанты не ограничиваются нравственным истязаниям заключённых. Аналогичные приёмы практикуются и на воле среди служащих и рабочих. Чекисты являются на фабрику или в какое либо учреждение, собирают рабочих и служащих, прочитывают брань по адресу меньшевиков, переписывают присутствующих и от их имени объявляют в газетах, что собрание из бывших меньшевиков «осудило» меньшевистский бандитизм, что оно убедилось, что меньшевики агенты буржуазии и что по этому собрание клеймит второй интернационал и т. д. Если кто либо из присутствующих осмелится заявить протест, его немедленно хватают и бросают в подвал Ч. К. Как сказано выше, громадное большинство давших подписи никогда в партии не состояли. Во многих случаях подписи принадлежат явным врагам соц. дем. партии Грузии. Так, напр., в арсенал в Тифлисе подписи были даны многими армянами и русскими, всегда бывшими врагами Грузии, а в свое время состоявшими членами «Союза русского

народа». Такими путями вынуждались и получались чекистами те сотни подписей, опираясь на которые пресса оккупантов так много писала о разложении меньшевиков. Достаточно сопоставить тексты опубликованных заявлений, чтобы убедиться, что они фабриковались «в литературном отделе» Ч. К. Есть и такие курьёзы, когда «бывшие меньшевики» заявляют, что они ещё в 1905 году подозревали, что их партия изменяет пролетариату, а вслед за тем из сопровождающих подписи указания о времени поступления в партию подписавшихся оказывается, что один из подписавшихся состоит в партии всего с 1918 г. другие – с 1920, третьи – с 1917.

В конце Апреля заявления стали появляться всё реже и реже. Благодаря принятым централь. Комитетом мерам даже заключённые члены партии, всё время находящиеся под угрозой расстрела, не дают уже своих подписей.

Грузинский читатель, видя всё это знает, конечно, истинный характер кампаний «разложения» меньшевистской партии.

Несмотря на страшный террор, соц. дем. партия ни на минуту не прекращала борьбы. Разумеется, высылка в Россию сотен лучших деятелей партии, гибель других сотен от рук палачей, провал двух типографии, страшный разгром целых провинции не могли не отразиться временно на интенсивности работы, на связи партии с населением, Но несмотря на самые крайние меры, к которым прибегли оккупанты, им не удалось разгромить руководящие организации. Характерно, что за все последние месяцы кровавого террора, многочисленным Ч. К. Не удалось напасть на след хотя бы одного из видных деятелей партии, работающих нелегально. Единственная утрата в этом отношении это арест Николая Карцивадзе, бывшего тов. Министра Иностранных дел. Но и этот арест результат не провала, а неосторожности самого Карцивадзе, поддавшегося на подлый обман со стороны известного Орджоникидзе. Прикрывшись давнейшей личной дружбой с Карцивадзе, Орджоникидзе многократно посылал сказать ему, что по поручению от Сталина из Москвы ему необходимо увидеться и поговорить с Карцивадзе по очень важным вопросам, что он просить его явиться частным образом к нему, Орджоникидзе, в частную квартиру, что он ему гарантирует честным словом абсолютную неприкосновенность. Карцивадзе несколько раз отклонил это предложение о свидании. Наконец, в одной семье он случайно встретился со своим университетским товарищем большевиком, уверившим его в отсутствии какой бы то не было злого умысла со стороны Орджоникидзе и Карцивадзе, взяв с собой нейтральное лицо в ка-

честве свидетеля, отправился к Орджоникидзе на его частную квартиру. Последний принял доверчивого противника с распростёртыми объятиями, беседа продолжалась довольно долго. Когда же Карцивадзе вышел из подъезда дома, на него набросились вызванные к этому времени чекисты и доставили его в Ч. К.

Все прочие нелегальные деятели партии, работающие нелегально, во главе с Нозем Хомерики, остающиеся на своих постах. Разрушения террором провинциальные организации быстро восстанавливаются, По последним сведениям (вторая половина Мая) из Грузии, партийная организация уже восстановлены в Кахети, в Картли, в Лечхумах, в Раче, в Менгрелии, в Абхазии. Труднее обстоит дело в Гурии, где продолжает свирепствовать террор и где почти всё молодое мужское население до сих пор укрывается в лесах. Но и тут постепенно вновь налаживаются партийные организации.

В мае месяце работы по восстановлению партийной типографии были в полном ходу, и Цека предполагал выпустить к концу месяца два издания.

По поводу кампании «разложения» меньшевистской партии в последнем (майском) письме Ц-ка из Грузии сообщается следующее: «Если было несколько десятков случаев дачи подписей о выходе из партии действительными членами её, то подписи эти почти всегда отбирались у них или путем обман, или же чаще под угрозой расстрела, высылки в Россию и т. п. У подписавшихся членов партии и в мыслях нет перейти в лагерь врага или же порвать с партией. Вам трудно представить себе, к каким нравственным страданиям приводят товарищей подобные подписи, Большинство из них по выходе из тюрьмы сейчас же ищут возможности вновь связаться с партией, вступить в ряды борцов. Само собою разумеется, что мы относимся снисходительно к рядовым товарищам из крестьян, у которых подписи были вынуждены под угрозой террора в подвалах Ч. К. И в тюрьмах. За то мы неумолимы в отношении тех единичных старых партийных членов, которые давали подписи, будучи на воле под влиянием животного страха.

В общем из десятков тысяч членов нашей партии, путём кампании «разложения», врагу удалось вырвать у нас лишь несколько десятков рядовых и средних товарищей. Гораздо более опустошительным оказался террор, навсегда лишивших нас за три месяца свыше 300 борцов ...

Document on the Communist Repression in Georgia
from the Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw

Polish Archive of Modern History (Archiwum Akt Nowych) provides a number of important documents shedding light on both the Polish-Georgian relations and a situation in Georgia at the time in general. In this case we would like to review a document stored in the archive of the Polish Military Attaché in Constantinople. The document is titled Regarding the Situation in Georgia. Waging War Against the Social Democratic Party of Georgia. The document we are discussing tells exactly about the punitive measures employed by the Bolsheviks. According to the letter, twenty prominent figures of the resistance movement had been sent to prison in Yaroslavl, Russia. But the most severe persecutions of the underground activity started in January 1923. The crackdown was especially ruthless in Guria region, where 300 people died. Besides the physical destruction of the SDP members, the Soviet government sought the moral demolition of its most dangerous opposition. According to the document, prisoners or even individuals on the outside were forced to turn in official statements of resignation from the party and to expose the SDP's "bourgeois-imperialist" activity too. The document reviewed here tells the Story of Victor Tevzaia, a former member of the Constituent Assembly. According to the document it was through Bendeliani that he contacted Shalva Eliava and asked for a meeting. He was met by two People's Commissars: Eliava himself and Orakhelashvili; after that Tevzaya consented to publicize an "accusatory letter" on SDP in Soviet press. The document says that Tevzaia neither reported nor turned anyone in to the Bolsheviks. The document says that the Soviet regime failed to arrest the leaders of the party except for Nikoloz Kartsivadze. He was one of the prominent figures in the Anti-Soviet movement and chaired the Committee for Independence. The fact of Kartsivadze's arrest in the document is assessed as follows: "His arrest was not a failure, but a consequence of Kartsivadze's negligence. He believed in the dirty lies the famous Bolshevik Orjonikidze told him. Kartsivadze had rejected the meeting proposal several times. But finally, in one family, he accidentally met his University friend, a Bolshevik who managed to convince him that Orjonikidze had no ill intentions. And Kartsivadze, accompanied by a neutral friend as a witness, visited him at his private apartment. The latter generously received a gullible opponent. The conversation lasted a long time. When he left for home, he was attacked by the security officers who were waiting for him and took him to the building of the Extraordinary Committee." Nevertheless the document ends on an upbeat note, saying that the party leaders – and Noe Khomeriki among them – are going on with their clandestine activity; party structures are being restored, the rehabilitation of the printing house is going ahead and the fight in general is spreading.

Key words: Social Democratic Party of Georgi, Guria, Noe Khomeriki, Nikoloz Kartsivadze, Victor Tevzaia, Shalva Eliava, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Colonel Bobicki.

REVIEWS AND COMMENTAIRES

REPORT OF THE 2020 EXCAVATIONS AT MACHKHOMERI (KHOBI MUNICIPALITY)

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Introduction

Machkhomeri is a hilltop site situated 100 metres above sea level and 3.5km to the northwest of Khobi, western Georgia (Fig. 1). Before the current excavations, the site had been surveyed by Nikoloz Murghulia, who provided a useful preliminary plan of the site and advanced a late antique chronology in 2010.¹ Excavations at the site commenced in 2018 with several trenches to test the potential of the site for future work and identify its main structural components.² It was clear by then that the site consisted of a fortified wall surrounding a large building, the function of which remained unknown until 2019. That year, more extensive excavations targeted the remains of this building, which revealed a church. The

¹ N. Murghulia, “The fortification system of Lazika (Egrisi) kingdom in the 4th–6th centuries (research into west Georgian castle)”. FaRiG final report 2010 [available at: farig.org/images/pdfs/research-nikoloz-murgulia.pdf; accessed 15/11/2019], 33–34, 91.

² The first report of the excavations was published in 2020. R. Papuashvili, E.E. Intagliata, D. Naskidashvili 2020. “Excavations at Machkhomeri – Khobi Municipality. Preliminary report of the 2019 season.” *Pro Georgia, Journal of Kartvelological Studies* 30, 121–134.

2019 excavations uncovered the remains of a funerary chamber situated at the northeast side of the building.

Further excavations were conducted to the south, revealing the remains of an annex, which was interpreted as a *narthex*. By this time, the excavations had uncovered a wide array of artefacts, including several Greek inscriptions and limestone slabs displaying mediocre quality carvings of crosses and animals. Several of these inscriptions have already been presented to the scholarly community; although fragmentary, they provide invaluable information for this site, the ancient name of which remain unknown.³

In 2020, excavations resumed.⁴ Travel restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic prevented several team members from travelling to Georgia and joining the excavation. Therefore, this year's excavation was limited in staffing, expertise, and scope. The excavation was conducted in August and September 2020 and was designed to clarify the plan of the church – particularly its central component – as well as to uncover two structures associated with the fortified wall on the western sector of the hill.

The Church

The 2020 team experienced the usual hindrances associated with the excavation of a highly forested hilltop settlement in this part of Georgia. The main problem concerning archaeological investigations at Machkhomeri is the extensive vegetation cover and the impossibility of grasping the total extent of the site to the east of the church. In addition, the frequent interspersion of trees and bushes appears to have hugely affected the stratigraphy of this site. The fill of the *naos* of the church, which is a 50–70cm deposit, and that of the northwest tower, appear to have no distinct stratigraphy because of the disturbance caused by the numerous roots.

³ G. Chitaia, R. Papuashvili, and A. Vinogradov 2020. "A new complex of Greek inscriptions from Machkhomeri fortress in Lazica." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 214, 169–178.

⁴ The excavations were conducted under permit N 5/17/60 granted by the National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia. This year's excavation was sponsored by Khobi Municipality and the Danish National Research Foundation under the grant DNRF119 – Centre of Excellence for Urban Network Evolutions (UrbNet). The authors are grateful to these institutions for their unwavering support. The materials collected during this season are housed at Kheta Local Museum.

The excavations in the church completely exposed the remains of the *narthex* and the *naos* of the building (Fig. 2). It has also clarified the relative chronology of the structure, which appears more complex than previously thought. The first phase of the *naos* identified this year consisted of a central nave and two lateral aisles divided by two rows of four square pillars. The nave was divided into two uneven spaces (Rooms E and F in Fig. 2) by a low, 16–17cm-high platform.

Only the remains of the pillars dividing the northern aisle from the nave survive, while those in the southern aisle were removed at a later date. The pillars, which stand on a slightly raised platform, were built with an *opus emplectum* technique, with a core of mortared rubble and faces of stone slabs. The length of their sides varies but generally fall between 70 and 75cm. They are placed at irregular intervals of 1.3m to 1.6m.

At a later stage, the pillars were abutted towards the interior of the church by rectangular pilasters, which survive in a poor state of preservation. Remains of these pilasters are still visible along the north and south side of the nave. The central nave (Rooms E and F) was paved with slabs of local white limestone on top of a 4–6cm-thick pinkish mortar bedding. The flooring extended onto the lower part of the walls, thus creating a low baseboard. The floor tiles are in a highly fragmentary state, and they are generally irregular in shape, although some are rectangular, squared, trapezoidal, triangular, or octagonal. In the southern sector of Room E, the floor exhibits a round motif with a central octagonal tile from which large triangular tiles with curved outer ends irradiate. Of the latter, only two tiles survive – one white and one light red in colour. Additional flooring was identified in the southern aisle, consisting of a hard floor made of mortar with a red-coloured surface. It is currently too early to know whether the nave floor and that of the southern aisle were installed simultaneously.

A third rearrangement of the church entailed blocking off the space between the pillars by walls. These walls are visible only on the northern side of the nave, where they were built on top of the white tile flooring. A blocking wall appears to have been constructed also on the slightly raised platform between Rooms E and F. Of this feature, however, little survives. The southern side of the nave was also rearranged: the pillars were removed, and a wall might have been constructed in their place. The blocking walls were constructed with an *opus emplectum* technique and made use of reused bricks and tiles. These materials could either have

been sourced from the original church when the building was in a partial state of disrepair or from other unknown structures at the site. The installation of these blocking walls effectively reduced the dimensions of the complex, which became a single-hall building.

Among the artefacts brought to light within the church during this season are three inscriptions. One, of which three fragments are preserved, reads ‘And by the most holy bishop... with the *synodia*, and by... with the *synodia*, and by A... with the *synodia*, and by...’,⁵ a continuation of the ‘*synodia*’ inscription found in 2019. Another inscription is also fragmentary; on the two preserved fragments, it reads: ‘... from their own expenses all the craftsmen... took... presbyter... and a half...’,⁶ suggesting that the construction of the church may have been a collective achievement sponsored by local inhabitants. The third inscription is a graffito on the back of what may be an altar screen: ‘Theonas praying God; ...a enjoys her health’.⁷ Theonas is already known from one of the 2019 inscriptions. All these inscriptions can be dated paleographically to the 6th century CE.

Awaiting a complete study of the material brought to light during the 2018–2019 seasons, it can preliminarily be concluded that the church was constructed in the 6th century CE and underwent major transformations later on, including the addition of a *narthex* and a later rearrangement of the liturgical space. The latter, which is difficult to date at present, saw the *naos* shrinking within the limits of the nave of the original church. Other later additions, also difficult to date, include the construction of partition walls in the southern and northern aisles of the first phase of the church

5 + και παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτά[τ]ου ἐπισκ[ό]που
μετὰ τῆς συνοδίας κ[αὶ] τοῦ μετὰ
τῆς συνοδ[ί]ας καὶ τοῦ Α[.....]
μετὰ τῆς συ]νοδίας κα[ὶ] τοῦ

6 [ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνα-]
λωμάτων πά[ν]τες οἱ
τέκτονες καπ[... οὐ-]
τως ἐλάβανο[ν] ...
...]B.[...
...
...]OY
...] πρεσ-
β...] καὶ ἡμις-
υ ...]τως.

7 [Θεῶ]νας εὐχόμενος τῷ [θ(ε)ῷ],
...]α ὑγιένουσα ἀπολαύ[ει].

and the foundation of a pseudo-circular structure in the northern part of the *narthex*.

Though an estimated two-thirds of the church has already been revealed, several questions remain unresolved. A relative and absolute chronology of the funerary chapel, Room D, has yet to be fully understood, although it is plausible that this was a later addition to the first phase of the church. It is also to be ascertained whether the first phase of the church identified this year was built on virgin soil or was installed on top of an earlier building. It is hoped that next year's excavations in the apse and the northern sector of the southern aisle will help answer these questions and clarify the chronology of the final phases of occupation of the building.

Fortifications – northwest tower and southwest building

The high vegetation cover on the hill has prevented us from fully understanding the extent of Machkhomeri's defences. However, it is now evident that the monument must have encompassed most of the hill ridge; the site was defended by towers, several of which were identified in 2019. At least on the northern and eastern sectors of the hill, the wall is approximately 0.8–1.0m thick, which is certainly not adequate to stop a medium-to-large-sized army from conquering the site. It is more likely that the wall was constructed as a deterrent against small-scale raids. Given the location of the site on a low hill ridge, the walls must have been visible from the valley; therefore, they might have also signified power and prestige in the historical landscape.

This year's excavation targeted the remains of the fortifications to the west of the church, particularly one tower to the northwest and a second structure to the southwest – either a second tower or a gate (see discussion below). Both features were clearly built contemporaneously with the curtain wall.

The tower is situated 21.5m to the northwest of the church (Fig. 3). The excavation aimed to clear the high vegetation cover from the structure, unearth its walls, and excavate its fill. The building is a 6 × 6m square; its walls are 0.8 to 1.0m thick and extend for up to 3 metres. No evidence of an entrance has been found. The building must have been frequented in modern times, perhaps for use as a temporary shelter, as suggested by modern artefacts recovered during the excavation of its fill. The modern frequentation and vegetation cover resulted in disturbances of the strati-

graphy inside the building. During the excavation of the fill, no significant diagnostic artefacts have been identified.

The second structure associated with the fortifications at Machkhomeri is located 23m southwest of the first (Fig. 4). Although this structure has preliminarily been identified as a tower, its function is not yet fully understood given the incomplete state of the excavation in this sector of the site. The feature is situated on a steep slope and, at the time of the excavation, it was scarcely visible, entirely covered by soil, bushes, and trees. Because of this obstruction and due to time constraints, this year's excavation aimed to clarify the size of the feature. This result was achieved by excavating a 0.5m-deep trench alongside the course of the walls. The vegetation cover inside the structure was also cleared, but its fill was not excavated. The structure is 9.1m × 5m, and its walls are approximately 0.8m thick. The walls extend for up to 2m in the northern part of the structure, while the walls are at a lower height in the rest of the building.

The excavation revealed a large, 1.6m-long block placed horizontally and flanked by vertically-placed stone blocks. The block may be a threshold. Given that the threshold opens westward, thence outside the area delimited by the fortifications, it is reasonable to conclude that this structure allowed access to the site. The excavation of the fill of the structure, which is planned for 2021, will clarify the function of the building and, hopefully, its chronology.

Conclusion

The 2020 excavations at Machkhomeri clarified the plan of the church, which in 2019 was thought to be a single hall constructed in one phase. The earliest construction identified during the 2020 excavation revealed a basilica-type church. Later, the church was converted into a single-hall church. The date of construction of the fortification remains to be clarified. The excavation of the northwest tower shed light on the plan of this structure but not its dating, while the function of the southwest building, either a gate or a second tower, has not been fully brought to light.

Summary

This article briefly presents the results of the 2020 excavations at Machkhomeri – Khobi municipality, western Georgia, which targeted the *naos* of the church and clarified its plan – a basilica-type building rather

than a single-hall structure, as postulated in our first report. In addition, two structures associated with the fortification wall to the west of the church were excavated, namely a tower to the northwest of the site and a building with a function that remains to be clarified. It is hoped that the 2021 excavations will help shed more light on the chronology of the final phases of occupation of the site and date the fortifications.

Report of the 2020 excavations at Machkhomeri
(Khobi Municipality)

This contribution presents the results of the excavations conducted at Machkhomeri in the summer of 2020, when the excavation team targeted the central sector of the church and, therefore, clarified the plan of the building and its relative chronology. Excavations of the fortification wall to the west of the church facilitated the investigation of two structures associated with the defence of the site, namely a tower and a building with a function that remains to be clarified.

Key words: Machkhomeri, Lazica, Late Antiquity, church, hilltop settlement.



Fig. 1. Drone photograph of the site seen from the north (D. Naskidashvili)

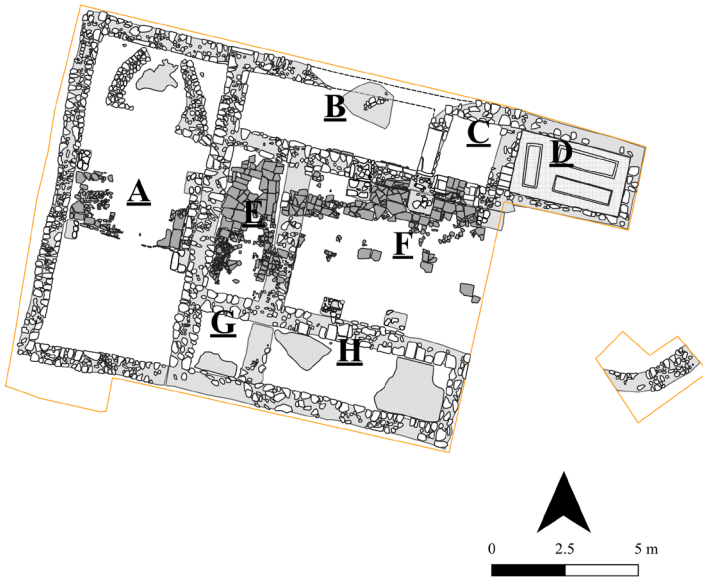


Fig. 2. Plan of the church (D. Naskidashvili, E.E. Intagliata)



Fig. 3. The northwest tower seen from the northwest (D. Naskidashvili)



Fig. 4. The southwest building seen from the south (D. Naskidashvili)

CHRONICLE IN MEMORIAM



MEDEA KANTARIA
(1931-2020)

Medea Kantaria, an outstanding representative of the Georgian ethnological school, a famous researcher of the ethnology of the Caucasus, Doctor of Historical Sciences, passed away on November 10, 2020. Medea Kantaria was born on August 2, 1931 in Tbilisi. She graduated from Tbilisi State University in 1954 and started her work in the Department of Ethnography (later in the Department of Ethnology of the Caucasus) at the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. For decades she studied the economic life of the population of Georgia and the Caucasus. In 1988 she defended her thesis for Doctor of Historical Sciences on the topic: *Ecological aspects of the economic life of the North Caucasus*.

Medea Kantaria was the author of several dozen scientific articles and monographs. Among them are:

– Экологические аспекты традиционной хозяйственной культуры народов Северного Кавказа (Author). Metsniereba, Tbilisi 1989, 262 p.

– *Kabardos sameurneo kopis istoriidan. etnologiuri gamokvleva* (From the history of the economic life of Kabardians: an ethnological study) (Author), Metsniereba, Tbilisi 1982. – 246 p.

– “Kavkasiuri tsivilizatsiis raobis problemebi, analebi”. (Problems of the essence of the Caucasian civilization, Annals). Tbilisi 2003. N2, pp. 24-30.

– “Zogi ram amkris shesakheb. masalebi saqartvelos etnograpiisavis”. (Some information about Amkari): Materials for Georgian Ethnography. Tbilisi 2001. Vol. 24, pp. 191-207.

– “Kartul-kavkasiuri zogad ghirebulebata mozaikuri sintezi [kartul-vainakhuri tsalkeuli terminebis saerto dzirebis arseboba]”, *kartveluri memkvidreoba* (Mosaic synthesis of Georgian-Caucasian general values: [Existence of common roots of separate Georgian-Vainakh terms], *Kartvelian Heritage*. Kutaisi 1999. Vol. 3, pp. 184-189.

– “Etnograpiuli paralelebi da mati kvlevis zogierti aspekti: [kavkasiis skhivadaskhva regionis masalebis mixedvit]”. *sakartvelos ssr metsnierebata akademiis matsne istoriis, arkeologiis, etnograpiissa da khelovnebis istoriis seria* (Ethnographic parallels and some aspects of their study [According to the materials of different regions of the Caucasus]. Matsne. Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR. Series of History, Archeology, Ethnology and Art History). Tbilisi 1987. N1, pp. 28-44.

– “Drois gamotvlis khalkhuri tsebebi chechnet-ingushetshi”. *sakartvelos ssr metsnierebata akademiis matsne. istoriis, arkeologiis, etnograpiissa da khelovnebis istoriis seria*. (Folk rules for calculating time in Checheno-Ingushetia. Matsne. Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR. Series of History, Archeology, Ethnology and Art History). Tbilisi 1987. N4, pp. 56-72.

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GOCHA JAPARIDZE
(1942 – 2020)

Professor Gocha Japaridze (10 July, 1942 – 15 November, 2020) was Georgian orientalist, historian and diplomat. He graduated from the Tbilisi State University in 1964 and pursued an academic career at the Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies. During 1979-1983, he served as director of Soviet cultural center in Syrian Arab Republic. Gocha Japaridze was a deputy head of Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa during 1995-1998 and served as chargé d'affaires of Georgia to Egypt from 1998-2004. Upon returning to Georgia, he joined the Tbilisi State University as a full professor and worked as a dean of the faculty of humanities. Later, Gocha Japaridze served as an Ambassador of Georgia to Kuwait and the Gulf States in 2007–2008 and as an Ambassador of Georgia to Egypt and Syria in 2009-2010. He remained active in academic life at the Tbilisi State University faculty of humanities right up to his death in 2020.

Gocha Japaridze was a scholar of international repute, his research was marked by superb knowledge, competence, critical analysis and a skillful command of vast historical sources. His most important works cover the history of Georgian monasteries, connections and relations of Georgian kingdom with the Islamic world during the medieval times, Islamic and Georgian numismatics and metrology, chronology, vexillology, onomastics (including toponyms, anthroponomic, ethnonymic), Georgian slaves or Mamluks in Egypt and in the wider Ottoman Empire, the history of Georgian diplomacy and warfare. Professor Japaridze's diverse scholarship was manifested in impressive list of publications, dozens of articles, number of books and edited volumes, as well as entries in different Encyclopedia editions, including the Encyclopedia of Islam. His work was published in Georgian, English, Arabic, Russian and Ukrainian languages. Among his most important books are *Georgia and the Near-Eastern Islamic World in the 12th – first third of the 13th Century* published in 1995, *Georgia and Mamluks of Egypt* published in 2016 and *Georgian monasteries and monastic community in the Holy Land in the 11th-18th centuries: (according to Arabic narratives and documentary sources)* published in 2018. Professor Japaridze also wrote scripts for two documentaries *Syria by the eyes of the Georgians* in 1992 (directed by G. Barnovi) and *Georgian Mamluks in Egypt* in 2006 (directed by M. Kokochashvili). Besides being a superb scholar, Professor Japaridze was also a great teacher and educator who trained and mentored many generations of students. Gocha Japaridze received numerous honors during his lifetime, for contributions to history, including the Ivane Javakhishvili medal (2012), the Order of Excellence (2013) and Saint Grigol Peradze Award (2018).

Those of us who were fortunate enough to have been Gocha Japaridze's students and colleagues will never forget him and will keep him alive in our hearts.

*Konstantine Peradze
Tbilisi*