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Cover: St Mamai, Gelati Tondo (silver, gilt silver), 11th century

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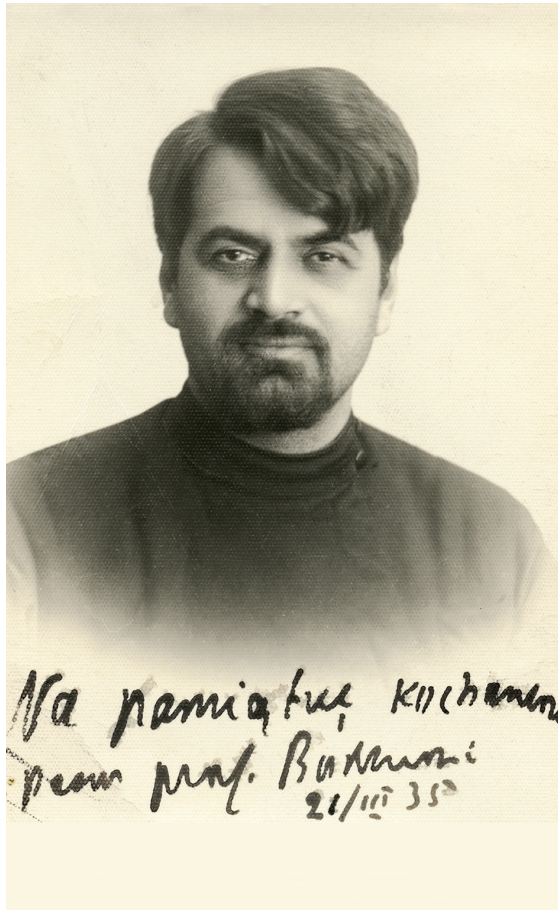
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SAINT GRIGOL PERADZE (1899–1942)

*Photograph from the Archive of the Archdiocese
of the Orthodox Church in Warsaw*

GRIGOL PERADZE
THE DIARY – 26 NOVEMBER 1920–6 NOVEMBER 1921

*Translated from the Georgian with an Introduction
and Commentary by David Kolbaia*

I. Introduction

Grigol Peradze wrote his diaries when he was neither a clergyman nor a professor of theology. Therefore, the memories collected here, mostly relate to a period when he was just a student of Tbilisi University and dreamed of a scientific career, while, doing his military service as well.

His narrative enables the reader to trace one of the most turbulent times in Georgia, the events taking place in the 1920s, which Grigol Peradze was a witness to, and to follow the life story of a young man coping with the difficulties of troubled times, simultaneously trying to discover his purpose in life. In fact, one can rarely get to know a person so closely right at the moment when his spiritual pilgrimage begins and his worldview is being formed.

Grigol Peradze describes religious dilemmas and portrays different people he used to meet; he depicts places he had been linked to since his childhood and which represent his modern reality, including the attitude of political power to the church and the struggle between the knowledge and compromise he was preoccupied with at the time. He writes about the events that had left a mark on his heart, his youth and revolt, and the search for a path necessary to find the answers to the essential questions. Grigol Peradze actually predicted his future, which can be confirmed by many emotional episodes and tragic visions of his memories.

In 1921, he went to Germany to continue his studies, and from then on, his destiny became inextricably linked with Europe. Indeed, despite repeated attempts, he could no longer return to his homeland. The manuscript is written with black ink and partly with pencil. In some places it is hardly readable, but the work on the text has successfully been com-

pleted. Apparently, a portion of the diary is lost forever but what is preserved represents an immeasurably precious document for studying the events then taking place in Georgia. The manuscript is preserved at Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts.

THE DIARY

1920

Friday 26 November

Yesterday evening when I became pretty tired of writing my novel *The White Iris*,¹ as well as reading both *Paul the Apostle* by Ernst Renan² and the German Bible,³ I began thinking of what else I could do (doing the same thing repeatedly does bother me), and then I decided to return to my diary. I know, even this may make me weary soon and I shall quit, but anyway I can entertain myself for a while.

It has been a long time, maybe two or three years, since I started my diary; and since then my life has changed dramatically: I have travelled many places, met a lot of queer people, a great many things have happened to me but none of these, just nothing has ever affected me in any way. Alas, I am still as inexperienced as I was before. I am afraid of everything and wish well to everyone, in a word, I am shy, timid and benevolent.

¹ *The White Iris* is an unfinished novel by Grigol Peradze. Forty pages of text typed on a typewriter are preserved at Korneli Kekelidze Tbilisi National Center of Manuscripts. In the text all the footnotes by David Kolbaia.

² Ernst Renan (1823–1892) — French writer, orientalist, semitologist, historian, philologist and philosopher; widely known for his researches in the realm of the history of religion. Ernst Renan, *Paul the Apostle* (1869).

³ Prayer book, by which he studied German, is preserved in Kolbaia's private collection. *Der goldene Himmelsschlüssel. Nach dem ehrw. P. Martin v. Cochem für fromme und heilsbegierige Seelen* (Verlagsanstalt Benziger & Co, 1900).

Saturday, 27 November

Today, one of our soldiers, Estate Gogiashvili of Lamiskana village went on leave and I asked him to take my letter to Father Ise. Let us wait for the Father's response. He may finally figure out how to write something back to me.

Ulfanian and Seleznirov seem to be in a bad mood. The reason is unknown to me. I feel pity for these men, especially for Seleznirov so I must try to speak and become friendly with them.

Today the head of the battery⁴ spoke of arranging a school here. He definitely wants me to start teaching there. Not at all! What an interest for me to teach someone? I do not intend to go for it! In case I consent to teaching, I will certainly try to bring knowledge and to show people in darkness what the light of education is, but I am unable to do it right now, when I am on the verge of a nervous breakdown. It may even make my health worsen. General principles will not do me any good and in case I become sick with tuberculosis, I am lost.

Sometimes, I am terribly selfish but this is due to the desire to preserve a kind of childishness and simplicity of the heart, as well as to maintain freshness of impressions and the soul like a clean, and an unwritten board. I must to put my faith in God! "No one can change that which is decreed; that which is not to be will not be," says Rustaveli.⁵

Tomorrow is Sunday. I must send a letter to Miss Laundenbach. I am so ashamed that I have not done it till now. I sent my note in German to Duffel⁶ and now I cannot wait to hear from him. He did me a lot of good, but up to now I have not written a separate letter of gratitude in response. I shall do it tomorrow but what prevents me from doing it right away? Definitely, something has been wrong with me lately. It is clear I have developed apathy. I am almost of too lazy to do anything. Mere trifling, even a simple word can insult and give me jitters.

⁴ Infantry brigades of the Georgian army. They included a brigade administration, four infantry battalions and an artillery division. The latter comprising of three batteries. According to the deployment of the year 1919, the 3rd artillery battalion was stationed in the city of Gori. But due to the devastating earthquake in 1920, the artillery division with its three batteries was moved to Akaltsikhe. Grigol Peradze served in the 3rd infantry brigade of the 3rd battery of the artillery division.

⁵ Shota Rustaveli, or Rustveli (1160/1165 –?) — great Georgian poet and thinker of the 12th century, the author of the Georgian classic *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*. In 1960, a group of Georgian scientists comprising of Irakli Abashidze, Griogi Tsereteli and Akaki Shanidze, discovered his portrait depicted on a pillar at the Jerusalem Cross Monastery. Legend has it that Rustaveli died at the same monastery.

⁶ The identity of this person remains unknown.

I started learning German and quit my novel *The White Iris* that I commenced in order to test my writing abilities. I have not touched it for three days.

What is happening to me? I found myself in a writing mood but now I am totally unable to master the pen. As Andreev puts it, it is a “tyranny of mere nothing.”⁷

I take the second pen as a matter of fact and continue to write. I do not know how to deal with melancholy and hypochondria.⁸ God save me!

How beautiful is Finckel’s⁹ translation! — *на могилу с розами...* When I finish my *White Iris*, I will start a little story titled “Please, Adorn the Grave with Roses.”¹⁰

Sunday, 28 November

It is Sunday but I am on duty today so I am in the office and I cannot go anywhere I just have to be on watch and nothing more. But what on earth am I doing here right now? Nothing!

I am not fond of walking, what a pleasure is there walking in such cold?! So it is still preferable to sit in the office and, for lack of anything better, read and write.

I wrote a telegram for Mochiashvili.

How I love and pity this poor soldier! He has not received any news from his loved ones for five months and every time I promise him to track down some information. Alas, I fail to make good on my promise and instead of being frank with him I constantly lie to him. I am ashamed... How can I tell him the truth?!

Oh God! Just give me considerable strength and courage to be of any help to these hopeless people: those, who have still not had any letter from home; those who receive only terrible news of cold and calamities, which make them devastated and make them lose their sincerity and

⁷ “Самая ужасная тирания – это тирания мелочей” — quote from the column “The Tyranny of Mere Nothing and The Crime of The Individualism” [*Тирания мелочей и преступность индивидуальности*] by Russian lawyer, journalist, and writer Leonid Andreev (1871–1919), who is considered the founding father of Russian expressionism. He could not accept the Bolshevik revolution so he quickly moved to Finland, where he died at 48 years of age.

⁸ Hypochondria — abnormal chronic anxiety about one’s health.

⁹ Finkel, Alexandr Moiseevich (1899–1968) — a famous linguist, professor, and translator from several European languages. He is the author of school and university textbooks as well as articles on Russian language and translation theory. Until the end of his life he worked on a complete translation of William Shakespeare’s Sonnets.

¹⁰ Grigol Peradze never published a story with such a title.

openness; those who, already tormented by apprehensions, eventually lose their peace of mind.

I wish to write a little about the church: there is a chapel here, where a certain priest named Beniamine Kandalaki,¹¹ a graduate from the Seminary and quite an educated person, serves. (That is what I have heard of him, though not knowing him personally). Worshippers flock to the church on Sundays. I say *flock* but in fact there are only a few who gather: two monks, two old men and several children. The latter, driven only by curiosity, watch the priest during the service only to study his body language and then, on the return to home, try to mimic and deride him. There is no normal church service, no moral preaching, but who, for God's sake, during the period of such an unrestrained speculation and hardships would want any church! Who needs religious service or clergy?!

Oh no, never! Our church does not need clergy of dirty soul and weak tradition! Yet, which tradition should be rejected? Naturally one that is worse. And then, what is left of the old traditions and rites should be melted, combined with new ones only in order to make them updated and made more beautiful; then bring them to people's souls as close as possible.

The saints of the Eastern Christianity are a kind of contemplative wonder-workers, whereas the Western Christian saints are more active and closer to real life. There is a good deal of fantasy and mythological elements in the lives of the Eastern saints; on the contrary, there is reality, truth, faithfulness and naturalness in the hagiography of Western tradition.

Today, Colonel Vashakidze came to our battery, or rather, division jail to interrogate Aleksashvili, a detainee: "You, son of a bitch, what were you thinking about when you sold a weapon to some Tatar? Do you not know that that Tatar will definitely turn on me and kill me with that very same weapon?!"

Coarse language, terrible abuse, sounds of beating and battering were heard from the cell.

¹¹ Father Benjamin Kandelaki (1877–1944) — born to a family of a priest; studied at the Tbilisi Theological Seminary during 1894–1900. In 1904 appointed prior to the Saint Marine Church in Akhaltsikhe and then — to Tbilisi Kaloubani Mother Mary church. In 1917 a participant of the historic Church Council held first time since the abolishment of the independence of the Georgian Church by Russian authorities. The bishops at the Council unilaterally restored the autocephalous status of the Georgian church. Also a member of the Akhaltsikhe branch of the Society for Dissemination of Literacy. Arrested in 1937, he was sent to exile in Russia, where he died in 1944.

Aleksashvili later told me that the colonel had put a cane to his stomach with such a force that he almost ripped it. The captain took a cue from him and beat up another soldier, Gelashvili. I really do not know what he was guilty of, but now when we know for sure that the captain beat him up, it is the captain who is guilty. Gelashvili planned to file a complaint but we dissuaded him.

Oh, how blind we are, the slaves, born in slavery! If I have a little free time, I would love to write a vivid true story about the lives of soldiers. Probably I should send it to the *Communist*¹² newspaper as it is more likely that they will accept my stories. It certainly makes no sense to send more stories to *Mkhedari*¹³ [the rider]. I cannot find the time to write a letter to the editor to find out why they have not printed anything yet.

I wonder how my brother Vaso is...¹⁴

Today, I have nothing to write about. Tamarashvili is in the office now. I wonder who he is and what he wants... He seems to be a kind person, but when enraged, he becomes very dangerous. That is a character just like nature. That is life, that is nature, and that is how it is! There are no longer any thoughts in my head! I am not able to think of anything anymore... That is why I am writing in such a manner. I need a rest now and peace of mind.

P.S. It turns out Ulfanian rented a separate room but I will write about that tomorrow.

Monday, 29 November

On the 24th of November I wrote a report at the request of Mtchedlidze, a soldier of the 3rd battery. It has not been considered by anyone yet. Major Mosidze¹⁵, though I do not know him personally but have a strong dislike for him, hid it in a drawer. The letter was against Parkadze, a platoon leader, caused by his interminable injustices. It happened that this

¹² Newspaper *Communist*, an official organ of the Central and Tbilisi Communist Party Committees. The first issue of the newspaper was published on 3 June 1920

¹³ *Mkhedari* [rider] — illustrated weekly edition of the cultural and education section of the War Ministry. Published from May to December 1920.

¹⁴ Grigol Peradze had two brothers. The older one, Archil (1895–1937), a military serviceman, shot together with his wife during the repressions of the 1930s. The younger one, Vasili (1903–1982), was a lecturer in physics.

¹⁵ Major Alexandre Mosidze (1892–1937) by order No. 595 of the Government of Georgian Republic appointed head of the 3rd battery of the 3rd Artillery Division. The Central Historical Archive, National Council, description 1, fund 183, p. 17 — 1836 papers, case 412.

letter infuriated Parkadze and he even more actively looked for an excuse to ‘knock’ this poor soldier, so he sent him to prison for six days because of dirty *katelok*.¹⁶

This evening I saw the boy in prison once again. I am eager to help and assist him, but how? How can I help him?

I am getting down writing a letter now, but I am extremely inexperienced and not used to this type of writing. Something terrible is happening in prison now! How many innocent people languish there! Here you are, democracy!!! When we, the Christian country, tore off the cross from the spearhead of Saint Giorgi,¹⁷ does it mean that we have banished and kicked out the principles of philanthropy from our hearts? Does it mean that we should abandon the ideals of our ancestors that have been imprinted in our hearts for centuries?

Major Mosidze this time stayed out of jail, but all the same, he will not escape punishment. I will provide it even if I suffer. I will sacrifice myself but never let injustice win.

Everyone tells me I have a talent for writing. In case I have it, then I must try to use it in order to win.

They want to transport the prisoners: Aleksashvili, Markozashvili, Gigineishvili, Mchedlishvili, Terterashvili, Bolashvili, Kokochashvili, and Iverashvili, to Tbilisi.

Today Marshava was put in jail only because someone stole a sack of barley from the stables during his watch. I believe in the innocence of Kokochashvili and Iverashvili. They would never steal anything. The Commander says barley was stolen during their watch. It does not matter. Why have the sentries on the second shift not been interrogated? The innocent person loses all hope when he sees so much wrong and unfairness.

I am writing now and want to express my feelings and thoughts, I want to formulate them well but it is so difficult! Oh God, give me clarity of thought and sharpness of words.

I have been still thinking of correspondence but not knowing how to start. I would love a kind of sedate and balanced start; otherwise I may very well resemble an unleashed dog, as Russians put it *он как с цепи сорвался* [he seems he has just been unleashed], which I really do not want.

¹⁶ *Katelok* — collar of a soldier’s upper garment.

¹⁷ Saint Giorgi (Saint George) is depicted on the Coat of Arms of the Republic of Georgia, but due to the fact that founding fathers of the First Republic were mostly atheists, the spearhead had no cross.

I would like to write a letter to Maria Alexandrovna, the teacher in Akhalkalaki, but I will do it tomorrow. I need to write to Captain Gamkrelidze too.

Today I went to the library to return *Saint Paul*¹⁸ by Renan. I wanted to take out *The Life of Jesus*¹⁹ with all my heart but it happened to be lost so I took the other book by him, *The Apostles*²⁰

Renan's narrative starts with resurrection, but it is clear he does not believe in it. He does not believe in a matter that is a corner stone of Christianity. "Если христос не воскрес, то и проповедь наша тщетна, тщетна и вера ваша,"²¹ said Paul the Apostle. Renan considers that the resurrection is the cause of Mary Magdalene's hallucinations; all in all he explains it allegorically. But if we must follow the allegories and vague dogmas we eventually become closer to the school of Neo-Platonism that was formalized during the crisis of polytheism only just to defend backward, mossy paganism. Even now, embedding the Neo-Platonist elements in theology does not indicate Christianity. The fact is that Christianity at one time put an end to paganism. But all the same, Renan avoids direct explanations... No, it is not like that at all. Christianity abounds with humanity's driving forces; it is replete with divine beauties! Hundreds of years may pass, even a million, but it will inevitably fascinate our hearts, continue to enchant our minds and help to humble our arrogance.

I do not agree with the notion that compared to modern times, in the past there were many more believers. *спаси меня, боже, если некуда идти и если истина умалчивается ради спасения человечества* [Save me, oh, God, if there is nowhere to go and the Truth is being withheld for the salvation of humanity]... It is true, the people were too superstitious before; but step by step their faith becomes free of misapprehensions. I believe, soon the renewal of the adherents of pure religion may occur.

I finished reading Renan's *Saint Paul* and what conclusions have I made over this book? I did not know anything at all about the author before. It has been only three months since I started reading him and I have been immensely impressed. I wonder what objectives they pursued at the

¹⁸ Эрнест Жозеф Ренан, *Апостол Павел* (1869).

¹⁹ E. Renan, *La Vie de Jésus, édition revue et augmentée, réédition d'après la 13e édition (1867), premier volume de l'Histoire des Origines du christianisme. Calmann Lévy* (Paris, 1895). Эрнест Жозеф Ренан, *Жизнь Иисуса* (1863).

²⁰ Эрнест Жозеф Ренан, *Апостолы* (transl. М. А. Шишмаревой, 1907).

²¹ "And if Christ is not risen, then our preaching is empty and your faith is also empty", 1 Corinthians 15:14.

Seminary when they forbade us to read him! Once I was so proud of being a graduate of the Seminary and what a disgrace that I became familiar with Renan's works only three months ago! And I have not yet read *The Life of Jesus!*

Wednesday, 1 December

The letters on the terrible injustices being common occurrences in the Akhaltiskhe garrison have been written. I have finished them all and now I intend to send them to the newspaper *Sakartvelo* (Georgia). May this nest of vipers, a hellhole, be hissing soon! Anyway they cannot do me any harm as everything I reported in this statement is the complete truth. I am on duty this evening. After the roll-call was finished the soldiers sang Finckel's romance *Rivochka*. I was fascinated by their singing.

I have to eschew becoming associated with Barladze. Not because he is a thief or dishonest in some way. No, just the contrary: he is one of the most upright soldiers in the whole squadron. Lieutenant Eristavi is endowed with the gift of seeing the soul of a person. Had he received a good education he would have stood out among others. Even now, he demonstrates the signs of outstanding talent, but the ordinary soldiers, be it artillery men, captain assistants and others are more honest than him. Maybe they do not distinguish by their knowledge and education but their ethics and rectitude make them set apart.

Thursday, 2 December

My dream is coming true. Half the job is done already. Oh, God, either first, or second! But for now, I would prefer the second. God save me!

Just a little stroke, but very characteristic and worthy of attention, today, the major of the squadron was called to the office. The Chief clerk came in and sent me upstairs. The Major was teaching the soldiers. I reported and saluted him. I was wearing this damned hat but that is not the point, every soldier is obliged to salute his senior officers. I am against unruliness and lack of discipline in the armed forces, in fact the strictest order is needed, but something else is notable here: while I was talking to him I had my hand raised to my head for nearly five minutes and that happened to look quite natural to him. Sorry, I will not be like this next time. Let him brag as much as he wants. This little nuance fully reveals his character. To hell with this guy!

Friday, 3 December

Today I received the letter from Duffel,²² refusing me a scholarship. Nevertheless I am glad of the fact that he was gracious enough to spare some time and write me a few words. I understand the meaning but some words are still incomprehensible to me. Today I will ask the colonel to read it to me. I repent now sending the letter to the *Sakartvelo* newspaper. It would have been better if I had not done it at all. It cannot be helped now. Even if my article is published, I still hope they will not learn about it. In any case, I will hide the copies. I will do it though.

Apparently I have been appointed as a teacher and a leader of cultural works. It was impossible to refuse. Actually, I do not mind it at all, but my speech! The problem of a speech! I must improve my speaking abilities and train myself a lot. Tomorrow I am going to start speaking in a calm and gradual way.²³ I am still thinking about that correspondence. I did wrong by sending it. I used to castigate Jibladze and did worse myself. That's what it is. What can I do? I must try not to act this way anymore in the future.

This evening I am in the mood of writing a letter. Elena turns out to be in Batumi. Why does not she send me a letter while I have already written her twice?! I have received nothing. I am not keen to write her anything until I receive her response...

²² The identity of this person remains unknown.

²³ The government of the independent Republic of Georgia took care of the Georgian soldiers' level of education and erudition; this is why the special educational project comprising of Company school (130–150 soldiers), Battalion school (1,000 soldiers) and the Soldiers' University was launched. Peradze was appointed a Company school teacher. About the project see: D. Silakadze, "Pirveli respublikis sheiaraghebuli dzalebis shemaperkhebeli paktorebi. sakartvelos demokratiuli respublikis gakhsenebis 100 tshis shemdeg - modeli evropisatvis?", Tbilisi: International Scientific Forum, 2018, pp. 227–288.

Saturday, 4 December

I wrote three letters today: to the Archimandrite Paul,²⁴ Germane,²⁵ and Kezel²⁶. It is enough for the moment. Three more obligations left: the letters written on behalf of the soldiers, a message to Miss Laudenbach, to whom I should write, but thus far I have not done anything yet, and to Captain Gamkrelidze. There's one more, and very important thing to do, my little essay titled *Two Communisms*.

Yes, I have done all the others. For Nakashidze I sent two letters, as well as for Jibladze and Baloshvili. Unless I receive responses I am not going to make any effort at correspondence at all.

Now, concerning *Two Communisms* once again:

This morning I was reading the last chapter of the epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians.²⁷ Paul the Apostle gives instructions to believers on how to collect benefits for the saints in Jerusalem, who are at their devotions all day and all night, fulfilling the dogmas of Moses. Certainly, they had no time left for work and by and large, what was there to work for in Jerusalem? It represented a poor country. All the same, they had managed to build a communism there but only to maintain it just for three days. Then, like a deflated balloon, it disappeared completely, yielding to no practical results, the human voracity, greed and envy being the reason.

That was the First Communism.

The Russian communism by Lenin²⁸ and Trotsky²⁹, let us call it the Second Communism, as a result of the activity of these public figures,

²⁴ Archimandrite Pavle Japaridze (1888–1929) — took monastic vows in one of the Atoni Mount monasteries. At the return to Georgia assigned to the Shio Mghvime Monastery. During 1918–1921 studied at Tbilisi State University. After the Bolshevik invasion of Georgia made his comeback to Svetitskhoveli Cathedral Church as a deputy prior. On the assignment of Catholicos–Patriarch he and Episcopo David Kachakhidze placed the church treasures of Kutaisi at the vault of the diocese house of Nazar the Metropolitan. Put on trial in 1924 together with the other members of the Catholicos Council. Died in 1929 and is buried in the church yard in Svetitskhoveli.

²⁵ Deacon Gerasime Jajanidze (1868–1924) — lecturer at the Theological Seminary. Along with the Metropolitan Nazar and other clergy shot by order of Bolsheviks in the Sapichkhia forest. Canonized by the Georgian Church.

²⁶ Father Dimiti Kezel.

²⁷ The first Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians — written in around 59 AD and consisting of 16 chapters.

²⁸ Lenin. Ulianov his birth name (1870–1924) — politician, Marxism theoretician, and the founder of the Bolshevik Party. A leader of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

²⁹ Lev Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) (1879–1924) — Marxist, revolutionary and theoretician; founder

with the idea of a complete nationalization of private property, fully corresponds to the First one, the latter, like the first, implying everything should be put in the public domain. Nevertheless, there is a great difference between them: the First Communism stood on a purely religious foundation; God, believers and prayers, for which economy is not at the root. The Second communism, let us say the economical one, rests on terrorism, extortion and expropriation, that is what radically distinguishes it from the First one which is godly by nature while the other is materially-minded.

The ultimate objective of the first one was love and freedom. Adherents, totally afraid of the examples of Ananias and Sapphira,³⁰ would sell their possessions, and filled with celestial joy, take the proceeds to the saints. They had been united by the common heart and soul.

The second communism, the complete opposite of the First, has the same objectives, but the problem-solving and general aspirations are different. Renan expresses it beautifully, and I quote it in my way: "The Church of Jerusalem, losing its grandeur and brilliance eventually submitted to the supremacy of Antioch." All this was due to the communism, which initially tried to set up a Kingdom of God on the earth.

Sunday, 5 December

Today is Sunday. I was eager to say my prayers; I asked Kavtaradze for leave, but was refused. I am terribly upset. He spoiled my red letter day but what can one do? It is impossible to constantly indulge oneself in fun and pleasure.

The new officer came and maybe I will ask him for help. Let him first rent an apartment and then I shall beg him to teach me some German; for my part I will help him in learning Georgian so I will give back as good as I get.

If I learn German I will develop myself a bit; what is more important, I will become acquainted with Renan! Step by step, I will be writing some articles for the newspapers to improve my writing abilities. Then ethics and morals and in case I manage to maintain chastity and purge bad habits, I will be the happiest man on earth. Also, I must write letters. It provides a testing for my mental endowments.

and the first leader of the Red Army.

³⁰ See Ananias and Sapphira in The Acts 5.

The letter to Laundenbach I wrote in German. I would love a German-speaker to revise it.

I also try to contact the Catholocos, let us see if he writes back. I also wrote to the Metropolitan Nazar.³¹ I will settle down writing *Two Communisms* as soon as I have finished with all the notes.

The new officer seems to be a very nice man. I liked him at first sight. I would be very happy if he consents to teach me.

Monday, 6 December

Nothing significant has happened today. The letter to Laundenbach was sent. I dropped writing *The White Iris*. I have not written it for a long time. It must be finished for Christmas.

I am not happy with this day. Neither I have written nor have I read in German. If only! What have I done? I have no idea. Oh God!... The time to multiply sins.

By the way, today, the moment I was writing *Two Communisms*, Vachnadze sat beside me. Did he see it? I do not know. Maybe he did not. Anyway it makes no difference. I have no idea where he came from... Oh, God!...

Tuesday, 7 December

I have been misbehaving and letting myself down these last days. By quitting everything I continue to degrade myself whereas morality and the mastering of German constitute my motto.

I take great interest in *Two Communisms* and begin to put together all the necessary sources. It is going to be a substantial research and I shall use it for my thesis. I need to keep a separate exercise-book and save all the data.

Berulashvili wrote a letter to Tamarashvili, saying hello to all his friends except for me. Not that I think very highly of myself! Probably I was not a great friend of his; maybe I did not lend a helping hand during his hardships; maybe I did not encourage and pick him up when he was going through tough times or when he was down. But if he knew how hard my heart beats for him, how filled with love and grateful I am! He

³¹ Saint Metropolitan Nazar (1872–1924) — born Ioseb Lejava, shot during the Bolshevik Repressions in the Sapichkhia Forest close to Kutaisi on 27 August 1924.

was the first one, who understood me and provided me with certain help. Since then, he has occupied a huge place in my heart. Indeed, to win one's trust you need just a little, so, yesterday I wrote and inquired after him. We, the people of the South, nowadays are so short of frequent endearments, caresses and warm sunshine that even a single pale sunbeam gives us delight in this chilly, freezing period.

Svimonishvili's sister died today, and to compound his hardships he had his finger terribly hurt. I am very dissatisfied with the current day. Poor Mochiashvili pleads and badgers me interminably, nearly crying but what should I say to him? How can I help him? I only feel pity for him. Today I was printing on a Remington³² and the major was impressed saying that the military service has taught me typing on the machine. Not typing but learning German will make me really happy! I will finish writing *The White Iris* in two weeks.

Wednesday, 8 December

I have learnt today that from now on, they shall make military service last for two years.³³ I have often heard about it before, but did not believe it. Now, as so many people are shouting about it and even the whole country talks about this subject, that means it is true and I have become convinced. To be frank, it makes no difference; it does not bother me at all. I have a certain benefit in the army service: I learnt typing on a Remington, which is one benefit; there are other benefits as well: I underwent some personal changes and became acquainted with many different people: especially those, connected with newspapers, journals and publishing and became really busy and hectic in the sphere. It is too early as yet to say anything, the proper time to list all that was good and opposite to bad has not come yet. This is a matter of the future. When I reach the end of this period and become a bit older, then I shall turn about to face my nearest past, to look at the legends that at one time excited and aroused me, thrilled and aroused me on in such a way that I could not even fall asleep; to observe the days when I cried a lot, just how many tantalizing minutes did I go through, and then, and only then I will be stunned and wonder about how miserable I happened to be before!

³² Typewriter produced in the USA by Remington and Sons, released first in 1873.

³³ This information was not true. Under the then existing law on Compulsory Military Service and the Replenishment of the Armed Forces, the soldiers were drafted into the infantry for 16 months and to the other military structures for 20 months. Thanks for this information to Mr. Dimiti Silakadze.

“With whom I fought, were not worth the fight.

Too late I discovered this fallacy.”

I just feel the same. And then, I will learn at last that all my torment and anguish was meaningless! Yes, meaningless! Oh God, save me! Give me the strength to ward off the evil spirit!

Thursday, 9 December

Today is Thursday, and the time goes the same as it went before. I have read nothing, experienced nothing, and nothing important I have done. Today the Major did not approve my German speaking: *Fenster zu*, *Закройте окно Fenster auf, Licht aus*, *Открытое окно Messer auf*. I do not know what more to write. I am definitely falling into an abyss, knowing nothing of what shall become of me!

Sunday, 12 December

And this week has passed. The days go by and I am filled with discontent. I have not read anything memorable and interesting this week. Nothing have I done that is noticeable and perceptible. One week, and so many such weeks, days, months and years are being lost, oh God, do not make me lost with the passing time, do not make me forgotten, but I am lost right now, am I not? How hard it is to come to terms with this thought!

I am really swift to take offence, become anxious, but all the same, I can calm down quickly, indignation and resentment passes and gives way to love, benevolence and sympathy. In a short time, I am ready to forgive the past and kiss the one who insulted me.

Oh, so heavy is the burden of sins on a human being and what a great sinner I am!

I returned Renan's *Apostle* and instead took Rustaveli. I am actually haunted by “Two Communisms.”

Today I was told that there is a book titled *Socialism and Religion* by Lunacharski.³⁴ It must be interesting to switch from Renan to Lunacharski. Renan is a pure gold, which tries to give scientifically sound answers; he seems to be a deeply religious person who bends his knee

³⁴ Anatoli Vasilievich Lunacharsky (1875–1933) — political figure, writer, publicist, critic, and literature historian. During 1917–1929 served as the People's Commissar for Education of the Soviet Russia.

before Jesus Christ. He is fascinated by the Gospel. His books can do a world of good to the Church.

I can imagine what the book by Lunacharski is going to be about. And nevertheless, I feel it must be appealing. Where can I find it?

Life and death are a human properties. Shota Rustaveli, who condemns the “Shameful life” appears in all his glory before my eyes.

I became tired of writing *The White Iris* but still I must finish it. Today I have advanced a little.

I have also been to Rabati church³⁵ and was really delighted with certain nun. If there were a lot of such virtuous women in our church, its body could come to life, and its heart might start to beat vividly. Today it is paralyzed, nearly dead. Only such women can enliven it. She can revive the church just like Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of Jacob and Selome³⁶ enlivened Christ proclaiming the joy of resurrection to the world. I must try to know her better.

Monday, 13 December

I realized one thing today. As if I have been blind so far and now have become sighted.

In the evening I went to Jibo to ask for bread. It was the Day of the Guards and everyone went to see the performance of Panem et Circenses.³⁷ I sent our messenger there to attend the show as Jibo entrusted me to pick up a dinner for the soldiers. No, it makes no difference. All the same, the point is that I am going to Jibo to ask once again for some bread. Jibo deliberately went away. He hid himself from me only not to give bread. He lacks the civil courage to tell me that he cannot do it, that he is not supposed to. Then reprimand and kick me out. I lack civil courage, wit and flair to perceive one’s inner excitement and confusion, one’s unspoken thoughts and gestures. No, I know and feel the actuality but I am like a drowning man who tries to cling to straws; being away from home, I spend my time in letter-writing.

³⁵ Saint Giorgi Basilica built during the 9th–11th centuries is situated in the place called Rabati in Akhaltsikhe.

³⁶ “There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James the less and of Jacob and Salome.” Mark 15:38–41, King James Bible.

³⁷ at *Circenses* – Bread and Circuses, Latin quotation from Juvenal, the Roman poet of the late 1st century AD. It denotes sustenance and entertainment provided by government to appease public discontent.

Elena³⁸ deceives me all the time; I have not received more than one letter from her.

I received Mother's³⁹ letter⁴⁰ today. She tells me about a constant pain in her eyes. How afraid I am! It is such a blessing that we have a mother! God forbid that something may happen to her now, when all our past distresses have been forgotten, grief and sorrow have gone. Oh God, save her, have mercy on her, your faithful and benevolent servant!

What will my life be like? What path will I take? Which direction will I take? Can I go to Germany or am I going to settle for being a rural teacher? Maybe I will even dream about the position of a village teacher.

I want to maintain a pure, honest friendship with Jibo. There is no such an open-hearted man in the whole battery. And I spoil this friendship with my consistent pleading for bread, but what can I do when I start being haunted by hunger, when I am longing for bread, when I know that I shall have only potato broth for supper?! How can I get rid of this bad habit? When I feel hunger I will get down to reading this writing and in case I have some nickel I will go to buy bread!

I am indignant reading the news that the church treasures have been taken out of Gelati Monastery. I read it to the soldiers and the news outraged them too. I keep the newspaper copy with me. I must write a letter of sympathy to Catholicos. A letter must be written to Zhordania⁴¹ too, but up until now I did not have the nerve to do it. But do you need any courage for it? It is my obligation, a civic duty as of a man of faith.

I am just sending the third letter to Patriarch Leonide⁴² he has already received the previous two. I would also love to prepare an article about Gelati for the *Sakartvelo* newspaper.

38 A letter by Elene Barnabishvili to Grigol Peradze where she asks him to borrow her 400 rubles.

39 Mariam Samadalashvili (1868–1932) — mother of Grigol Peradze, wife of Romanoz Peradze, the Prior of Bakurtsikhe Saint Giorgi Church.

40 The mother's letter is of private character; it represents an undated manuscript.

41 Noe Jordania (1868–1953) — the head of the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1918–1921, and the head of the Georgian émigré community in France. He died in Paris in 1953.

42 Leonide Okropiridze (1861–1921) – Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia during 1918–1921, a public figure and theologian, a staunch crusader for autocephaly (independence) of the Georgian Church.

Tuesday, 14 December

What a terrible situation our church is in! Fate has brought so much misery, inflicted such a heavy toll on it. Can our church endure this dreadful ordeal? Kirion⁴³ the Catholicos yielded and fell, bent by the heaviest of burdens. He could not stand such treatment, could not cope with the unending waves. Leonide the Patriarch still stands holding back the onslaught. He, too, like an offering to the church must win defeat death by his self-sacrifice. It cannot be helped otherwise, there is definitely no way out.

I read the protest by Catholicos as well as his letter to Zhordania but how did the community respond to this tragedy? Has anyone raised his voice against any transgressions? Has any opinion been expressed on this matter? No, no, just nothing!⁴⁴

The protest by Catholicos was and still remains like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Horrible! I am just quivering while hearing this voice in a complete and total silence. *Выстрелы в глухую, тёмную ночь* (shots fired into a deep, dark night). Me, I am blinded while I discern that light is seeping through darkness and gloom and I wonder, just want to explain my amazement and bewilderment. Why does not the cry of His Holiness cause a responding cry from the depth of the souls of others? Why do not the voices of kindred souls join him to merge with each other?

The only voice, the only light, the only bullet against this kingdom of darkness! And then, the silence, the hush that has come over again!

Oh, how the Georgians have declined! How deep they have fallen, reveling in moral decay! Just how deceived we are! The Georgian Crusaders have sunk into oblivion. Instead of them some bunch of the slow-witted and feeble-minded beings ramble across the country!

God spare me from such bitter thoughts; deliver me from these desperate evil fantasies. All the same, I do believe in a great future for our

⁴³ Saint Kirion the Second (1855–1918) — Georgian religious leader and public figure; the name before ordination was Giorgi Sadzaglishvili. He served as the first Catholicos–Patriarch of All Georgia after the restoration of autocephaly (independence) of the Georgian Orthodox Church from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917 until his assassination in 1918. He was canonized by the Holy Synod in 2002. Commemorated on the 26th July, the day of his murder.

⁴⁴ The decision of State to take religious treasures from the churches stirred up a bitter controversy in society. The Menshevik government, considering religious treasures to be a part of the National treasure, eventually put it under state control. “The Black Army of Clergy Attacks Democracy,” *Erto-ba*, no. 283, 11 December 1920.

nation. He can endure everything but how can one tolerate the desecration of the Khakhuli relic or be deaf to the outcry of Catholicos?! How can one be unresponsive and insensitive to such horrible events?! This means the life is worth nothing, it is better to die.

I seem to actually resemble the late passenger from the past centuries, just as in Galaktion's⁴⁵ verse. Davitashvili used to say to me: "You should have been born in medieval times." If I possess any dignity and endowment I should write to Noe Zhordania on my own behalf and no anonymity at all!

Apart from this an article for Sakartvelo newspaper needs to be written.

Oh God, stand by me on this endeavor of mine!

Wednesday, 15 December 1920

At last I finished Dostoevski's⁴⁶ *Униженные и оскорбленные* (*Unizhennye i oskorblyonnye*),⁴⁷

I am delighted by the book but I ponder that human suffering is really exacerbated there. Is there in the world so much anguish and distress as described in this book? Aliosha, Vania, they are his characters and describing them would be my next work.

Thursday the 16th of December, 1920

I am hitherto under the stress of the Gelati events and yet wonder why there is no outcry on the part of our community? Why does the outcry of Catholicos continue to be like a voice in the wilderness.⁴⁸ Strange is the psychology of our people! How rude and lazy the Georgian is, his relics are mocked and trampled underfoot, but he remains silent. Horror!

The Georgian Bolsheviks declared war on the Mensheviks⁴⁹ and devastated everything in their battle including truth and the tormented church.

⁴⁵ Galaktion Tabidze (1891–1959) — a Georgian poet, named the 'King of Georgian Poetry'. First poetry collection, titled *Artistuli kvavilebi*, was published in 1919. He ended his life by committing a suicide. He is buried in the Mtatsminda Pantheon for Writers and Public Figures in Tbilisi.

⁴⁶ Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) — a Russian novelist, philosopher, essayist, and journalist.

⁴⁷ *The Humiliated and Insulted* (or otherwise *Injury and Insult*), a novel by Dostoevsky, first published in 1861.

⁴⁸ Matthew 3:3

⁴⁹ Mensheviks (derived from Russian *меньше* — less, minority) — one of the three dominant factions in the Russian socialist movement. Mensheviks established themselves as a separate party

Verily I say before God, I could not expect that Georgians would take the side of those feeble-minded, unbelieving people. More or less, everything here is determined by mere party interests and they definitely wish to seize the opportunity to win more converts, to lure more people to their side, including unconscionable ones. Nevertheless, these circumstances, as well as my notions do not make me lose faith and respect towards my country. Here, in Akhaltsikhe, I am far away from everything and do not have complete information. I rarely have any newspapers and have no chance to keep up closely with events. Maybe there are fierce and heated debates in Tbilisi around these occurrences. Nothing can reach me here. So I am coming to strange conclusions.

Among the items that had been taken out of Gelaty, everything had a religious, sacred meaning except for King Tamar's slippers. The government had previously declared that things of religious value should not be removed or touched but why on earth did they do it?

It is clear Menshevizm is collapsing and like autumn flies, they do not even know who to attack and who to bite but their efforts are fruitless, the church cannot be defeated. To the contrary, their actions will infuriate believers so that they shall rebel soon. But do we really need that now? Do we really need any upheaval and controversy among our citizens when already there is a terrible mess and resentment in our country? Moreover, the Mensheviks make it even worse stirring up the pot with their insensitivity.

Apparently in this tragedy Menshevizm is more inclined toward Bolshevism and the time may come soon, when Zhordania & Co. will become more zealous and inveterate Bolsheviks than Lenin or Trotsky.

To raid the church, wreak havoc on it, as well as deride the Catholicos, where does it lead us to? The greater part of our population is very respectful to the Catholicos and places him much higher than Zhordania. For me, personally, as a religious man and a believer, the Catholicos bears much more importance and, has given me even a promise of glory; I would prefer to choose Him.

Where is the freedom of the press? It has become a mere imitation and nothing more.

in 1917. Their movement achieved a conspicuous success in Georgia. The party had been officially banned in the Soviet Russia since 1921.

The time may come soon when everything will be governed, just as in the Russian Bolshevik's *Pravda*,⁵⁰ by a single concept, one and the only concept. And Bolshevik-reincarnated former Mensheviks will legitimize unpaid forced labor! And the Red Army is just like praetorians, gathered around their supreme ruler.

Oh God, let this rage subside quickly and this hell disappear in order to enable me to turn to my writings.

I would love to publish a little article but fail to gather the strength.

Friday, 31 December

It is New Year's Eve today and I have not written anything in my diary for two weeks. During the days of the 20th–28th of December I was in Tbilisi and I have been unable to write since then, it is clear, I can hardly cope with overwhelming impressions.

I sent the third letter to Nakashidze and unless I receive an answer I will abandon any relationship with him... I also sent a letter to Giorgi Garsiashvili.

My conversation with the Catholicos is worth a particular description and the special mentioning deserves the dignity of Gabrusha Chachnidze⁵¹.

Indeed, I have many acquaintances: let us say, Father Pavle and others. What else can I write about? I think I am finished it.

Oh, God, the New Year comes tomorrow! I am standing here, at the closed door, filled with reverence, fear and apprehension: what shall the coming year bring to me? Will I become free from the disease that shackles me? The disease that cuts me off from my friends and ruins my life?!

Another crucial question is whether I shall master German or not.

And the last but not the least important, what will my life be like, and what direction will it take, these are the questions that as yet I have

⁵⁰ *Pravda* (truth) — a leading Russian language Soviet newspaper, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party during 1921–1991. The Newspaper was closed down by the order of the President Yeltsin.

⁵¹ Gabrusha Chachnidze (1901–1956) — Gabriel the Metropolitan was a friend of Grigol Peradze from the Theological Seminary. He enrolled in Tbilisi University in 1921, where he studied philosophy. As a lecturer he later taught the history of Antiquity and the Ancient East at the same university. He is buried in the fence-wall of the Sioni (Zion) Cathedral in Tbilisi.

no answers to. That is why they annoy me and make me angry the most. I have not until now decided on my worldview and future in general. But I believe, the coming year is going to reveal many things, it may answer, I hope, the substantial questions.

So I stand full of respect and awe, waiting for the curtain to rise. The anniversary of the death of the Major's brother was held today, so I attended the memorial service. It was pure delectation and a delight to listen to it, what magnificent words! How wise and profound! It is a pity that I do not have a musical ear!

Tomorrow I am going to write to Leonidze and ask him to send me the *tchashniki*.⁵²

The impressions of the memorial service are still resonating in my ears. The melody of "Oh, God Together with Souls and Saints"⁵³ permeates the sense of grief and gives certain kind of aesthetical satisfaction. Wherever I had been these days, it followed me persistently. It seemed to stir my memories and reminded me of forgotten events of days gone by.

I see myself in the Theological Seminary; I am already on good terms with His Holiness... The last days of the exams (or we have finished them already). I stand at the entrance door. It is evening. The courtyard is in gloom; the grass moistened. We can easily catch cold but none of us moves; we just sit, never thinking of going home. We are excited and passionate about something. I am chanting "Oh God, Together with Souls and Saints" and although I am far from being a nightingale, the eyes of His Holiness are being moistened by virtue of the rush of feelings. Happy times! Indeed, what beauty those days had! What power and innocence, and simplicity jumped in response right out of the depth of one's soul. It was a cry of the heart of a deeply frightened human being, who withstood the fear of death, sensed everything, even comprehended nothingness but never let his mind lose the last illusions for he wanted to spare his life, already tortured by anxiety. The melodies are flowing like a swollen river in spring, without the consent of one's mind. There was a certain woman, an actress, by the name of Vara, the wife of George de Martelle,⁵⁴ who

⁵² *Tchashniki* (Georgian) — wine-tasting. A. Neyman, *The Dictionary of Georgian synonyms* (1978), p. 559.

⁵³ "*Sulta tana*", the Georgian chant for the dead performed during the funerals and memorial services. *The Georgian Chant Anthology*, under musical edition of L. Vepkhvadze and S. Jangurashvili, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 2016), pp. 375–378.

⁵⁴ De Martelle (1878–1940) — a French diplomat, appointed the Chief Commissioner of France to the Caucasus in 1920.

always used to thing the same chant having no idea about the meaning of the words, but asking to perform it at her memorial service when she died as it would have made her very much happy posthumously. It is horrible that I have been haunted by *Together with the Souls and Saints* perpetually, is not it?

I am deeply frightened! Really! They say the New Year's Eve is like a mirror, which reflects the events and happenings of the year to come. Does this New-Year obsession with a memorial song signify the approaching death of loved ones?

It was a childish gesture from my side to go to the memorial service. I should not have gone there. But, on the other hand, attending commemoration is our obligation.

After I read what I have written it turns out I spent a terrible New Year Eve. I left Tchkadua at the office and started wandering through the garrison. Somehow I acquired a habit of talking badly about others but to hell with them! Let them do what they like! I will only observe and share everything with my diary.

I feel pity for two persons the Major, who is constantly cheated upon while he has no idea about it. Being a kind and modest person, he is just satisfied with his salary and nothing more. Eristavi, the thief and creeper, lacks civic consciousness, as well as love for the homeland. But what might one expect from an uneducated officer, who has been pushed here on someone's coat tails? Though he has not done any wrong to me yet, I try to speak with him as little as possible. Later I shall do more of a characterization of him.

1921

Saturday, 1 January

So, the New Year has come and everything should be started anew. On New Year's Eve I was sitting in the office up until half past eleven reading The Bible, Churchkheldas and with apples in my pocket. The major came in and was told that soldiers were utterly displeased with the way the English uniforms had been distributed. And next, under the chairmanship of Meskhi, a whole delegation came down to the major. By god! I was extremely imprudent when I took one uniform for myself: I completely

forgot about the footman's menial psychology: either to everyone, or to no one!

I got up early this morning and went to the spring to wash my face and hands. Then, I went to the office and started reading The Bible. Thereafter I congratulated the major with the New Year and began to wander the streets of Akhaltikhe without any definite aim and purpose. In the evening I made an interesting and lively speech about the artillerymen in the presence of the major and ten soldiers at the theatre. I was very excited.

Sunday, 2 January

It is Sunday today. I went to Rabat. Although there is one small chapel⁵⁵ by the post office, I still prefer to attend the very same Rabat Church⁵⁶ as the atmosphere there disposes me more to prayer. The soldiers from the 10th Regiment constantly come in here. They light candles and leave immediately. I was very happy to see them in church but their reluctance to attend liturgy would make me very upset. None of them has ever stayed to the end of the service. All the same, I think it is forgivable for soldiers. Will they cease to be Christians due to the fact of not listening to the service till its end? Not at all! Let us say, Russian soldiers, they knew very well how to stand up to three church services a day, kneel and crawl all day long, shed tears and then, as if nothing had happened, to return to their ordinary paganism and become perpetrators of all kinds of violence.

Once, I told His Holiness, the Patriarch Leonide about a lieutenant, his surname is Aleksandrov, who taught us radio-electricity. He had turned out to participate in several explosions in Tbilisi: of the Palace, the Military Cathedral, and The State Theater. The Patriarch Leonide replied in Russian not without irony: "he must have been humble and meek, and would go to church and attend the liturgy. However, this did not prevent him from committing the sin of killing people." And then went on saying: "We, the Georgians are quite different. We have Christianity in our blood; we have it written in our flesh."

I want to preach my Christmas sermon. I am going to start the preparations.

Yesterday, I finished the reading of *Idol* by Lock.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The church was supposedly closed and brought down during the Soviet times. Only in 1923, as a result of the Stalin's antireligious policy, 1212 churches were demolished throughout Georgia.

⁵⁶ Saint Marine Church in Akhaltsikhe.

⁵⁷ William John Locke (1863–1930) — an English writer. His novel *Idols* was published in 1911.

There is an old monastery called Thiseli⁵⁸ four miles away from Atskuri. I have to ask the major to give me three days leave in spring to do some sightseeing and make a pilgrimage. God willing, Paul the Archimandrite shall arrive and together with him I shall be able to visit Saphara Monastery,⁵⁹ Vardzia,⁶⁰ and also see Kumurdo⁶¹, may this happy time come as soon as possible!

Tomorrow I have two obligations. First is to write to Laudenbach and the other, to write a letter to Archimandrite Pavle Japharidze.

Monday, 3 January

In the evening I wrote a sermon and read it to Vachnadze and Tabagari; Ulphanian was also there and they all were happy with it. Vachnadze said he would never imagine me writing such a thing. This was already a manifestation of respect towards me.

From today's impressions there is one thing that seemed important to me. The major rebuked me giving warning: "You talk a lot!" and then added: "You always forget what you are supposed to hear!"

I would gladly answer him that he forgot what times we lived in; that I was not a Russian army *soldat* but a *private*, a *soldier* of the Renewed State, who was by no means an obedient slave of Eristavi the thief, or a footman complying with whims of the heartless, impenetrable Sergeant

⁵⁸ Thiseli Our Lady Church was built in the 14th–15th centuries. The monument was visited and described by the Countess Uvarova at the end of the 19th century and by the Georgian historian and archaeologist, Ekvtime Takaishvili, during his expedition in 1902.

⁵⁹ Saphara Monastery — one of the residences of the Jakeli noble family, who were the Lords of Samtskhe — the Southern province in Georgia. It was built in the 10th century and there worked and conducted activities many eminent thinkers and public figures of medieval Georgia such as Catholicos Arseni (9th century), Ivane and Gabriel of Saphara (9th and 10th centuries), Johanne Mtbevari (12th century), Ephrem the Scribe and many others. Ekvtime Takaishvili, "Сафарский монастырь - его надписи и остатки настенной росписи," *Tkhzulebani*, vol. 5 (Tbilisi, 2018), pp. 69–85.

⁶⁰ Vardzia, the rock monastery complex of 12th–13th centuries, hewn out of the yellowish-pink layer of tufaceous breccia in a cliff mass on the slopes of Erushti mountains. This 13-towered complex, stretching 500 meters in length, played an immeasurable part in Georgian political and cultural life. Johanne Shvтели created his chants to "Galobani vardziisa ghtismshoblisani" there. From the vast book-repository of Vardzia the exquisitely illustrated Gospel of the 12th century has survived to this day. On the wall of the Vardzia Church of Assumption, along the depiction of the scenes from the life of Jesus there are also represented the full-length portraits of King Giorgi III and her daughter, King Tamara. Shalva Amiranashvili, *The History of Georgian Art* (Tbilisi, 1971), pp. 263–267.

⁶¹ Kumurdo Cathedral was built in the 10th century and has survived to this day in ruins. It is situated near the village of Kumurdo, where the remains of the ancient settlements have been discovered. Johanne and Zosime of Kumurdo conducted their activity there in 9th and 10th centuries respectively.

Major. Yes, I am a citizen and I am proud of it! I am a Georgian army soldier and I am proud of it too. I hate Soldathood!

I hate hazing! Down with the Soldathood!⁶²

Tuesday, 4 January

The major hates me more and more with each passing day. Why does he hate me? I do not know, really... Maybe because I talk a lot; maybe because I never keep quiet when someone is wrong and perpetrates oppression and injustice. For example, yesterday Eristavi was nagging me: while not having his own Capternamus⁶³ he always makes me work instead of him. That time he decided to give an inconceivable assignment, which is to order Selezniiov to do this or that... I asked him to give orders according to my army rank. I told him that I am in no position to order Selezniiov, a secretary to the Chief, or others who rank above me. The major on his part, considering my answer an unthinkable audacity, got upset and berated me terribly.

There are many such examples. As if he is looking for a reason to knock and blame me, he tries not to miss a chance to find fault in anything I do. Today a kitten turned out to be a main point for him. He maintained that the kitten may have been lost and threatened to punish us if we do not find him.

They plan to open a special school for the dissemination of culture in the Armed Forces. But I have my own considerations concerning this decision. First of all, I see that soldiers are very reluctant to go to that school. The reason is that there is no respect or any kind of esteem between officers and privates, a soldier looks up at an officer as if he was God or some other celestial being, with awe and fear. An officer on his part treats a soldier as if he is a slave who ought to satisfy, fulfill all his orders and whims. The officers share a common notion, "Fear Breeds

⁶² Policy of the Georgian government provided soldiers with choice to distinguish between the compulsory military service and the honorable duty of soldier — his civil rights and obligations. This attitude is reflected in Grigol Peradze's records. See: D. Silakadze, *Desertion Problems in the Armed Forces of the First Georgian Republic (1918–1921)*, *Scientific works of the Institute of History of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*, vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 2011), pp. 389–391.

⁶³ Capternamus — derived from French *capitaine d'armes*. In US and UK — Master-at-Arms. It is a military rank and military position in a number of armies and fleets of the armed forces of the states of the world. Capternamus was in charge of receiving and distributing food clothing and weapons to the platoon officers and soldiers.

Love” and appear with a whip in hand in order to urge, flog, maltreat and abuse a soldier as if he is a beast of burden.

The government with a special decree is simply obliged to eradicate this horror. An officer must be well aware that in the case of beating a soldier, he loses his place and respect, his name will be published in the media and he will have to eat enormous quantity of humble pie. The major’s heart is hard as diamond and as cruel as it was before. He derides and belittles privates as always sticking to his ironical attitude towards them. His stance badly affects the morality of the soldiers, they are being turned into cattle or some impersonal ugly machines. If a clever thought is expressed by a certain private, the officers all say quite indignantly: “Never forget that you are simply a soldier.” This is a comedy, a horrible, interminable comedy, where a bitter cry percolates through the laughter. In the end, you have no idea what to do, to cry or to laugh. *O, Tempora, O, Mores!*⁶⁴

Today, Ulfanian morally defeated me: we have a soldier, Karaulashvili is his surname, who is definitely a dolt, he suddenly gawks, staring wide-eyed at one and only one point. In these moments he seems to be unresponsive, as though sleeping, his face flushed red. His uniform is always dirty, as if he is just come out of the Chiatura charcoal mine. The major, abhorring him, cannot stand his presence in the battery.

This evening, Seleziov, Ulphanian have been to the rehearsals of the Coastal Squad guys: Jakobia, Javakhia and Kharchilava and I plan to put on a performance for the battery and some time ago we, too, were invited to take part in this activity; Seleznirov was appointed as Responsible Manager, I was chosen to be a member of the commission and Uplhanian, the Director. This evening we talked a lot, poured out the eloquence, but did absolutely nothing. Just the contrary, Ulphanian happened to be a very zealous and enthusiastic a director, making the soldiers to repeat the same thing endlessly. So the soldiers, pretty tired of the unending drudgery of the rehearsals, finally stole a book, thus in fact, figuratively speaking, cutting the throat of the old woman’s cock to stop her from getting up early. Then, there was a lot of laughter about the unending eagerness of Ulphanian: “This fanatic cannot be helped, he is doing it again! Look, off he goes again! The rehearsals are held every evening!” In the

⁶⁴ *O, tempora, o, mores!* — a Latin exclamation that translates literally as “Oh the times! Oh the customs!”, first recorded to have been spoken by Cicero in his speech against Catilina. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–42 BC) was the best and the most renowned orator in the Ancient Rome.

middle of the laughter and fun we suddenly remembered Karaulashvili, the schmuck. Then Sumbatashvili recalled how once the commander had asked me to call a soldier. As soon as I went out I happened to bang into Karaulashvili, so I called him. Then in response to his goggling the commander in turn also goggled and then shouted at me: “Are you kidding? Are you deriding me? I will put you on trial!” While in retrospection of many hilarious moments, I proposed to bring Karaulashvili just for fun, only to arouse more amusement, but Ulphanian refused: “I feel sorry for him. That is who he is,” he said. I also felt sympathy for this poor man but, however I brought him to us. Ulphanian talked to him without any irony. He asked how he was and what plans he had. He also offered him Kasha and emphasized his concern at seeing that before departing to Batumi the next day Karaulashvili did not have any shirt or proper shoes.

Today I wrote to Leonidze and asked him to send me “The Tchashniki” [Wine-Testing].

Wednesday, 5 January

It has happened at last, I, too, ended up behind bars. Finally it has been fulfilled what I was striving for with all my heart. I got here for something trifling, for some words or for ostensibly some failure to fulfill the work-related obligations. However, the real reason was the following: I was putting down some figures and they needed to be written in two colors, red and black. I saw the major’s pen was free and took it. At seeing that I am using his pen the major threw himself in frenzy and started shouting at me. I did not dare to say a word; just listened to him and then mumbled: “a saint will always remain a saint.” After that he became furious and raised quite a ruckus. My demeanor was considered as a breach of discipline so,

I have been imprisoned. Now, Topuria, the Chief of the Guard is keeping an eye on me. He definitely seems to be a clever and honest person. Poor man, what can he do? I am his prisoner. Kapanadze did not dare to detain me today.

I am still in prison. The privates asked me to write a report to the War Minister⁶⁵ that I shall do with great pleasure. Svimonishvili warned me about Tabagari, who had said that he himself would take the report to be

⁶⁵ Nikoloz Chichinadze (1873–1921) — a Georgian political figure, War Minister of the Georgian Democratic Republic since November 1920 till February 1921.

signed: “Do not trust anybody,” said Svinomishvili, “people are full of shit. Once you make one step forward, they all will try to make you walk two steps back”.

Tsereteli took a book by the philosopher Karl Kautsky.⁶⁶

Thursday, 6 January

I have a headache after I have spent a day in jail, I feel bad. That night I became acquainted with Topuria and loved this man very much. What a happiness to have a true, loving friend!

The major forgave me the second night. Tomorrow is Christmas. This evening I took my sermon to the priest and tomorrow I am going to preach.

Friday, 7 January

Today I preached my sermon⁶⁷ and the flock seemed to be very happy and satisfied. There were the soldiers of the regiment too. I had a complaint filed on the major to the head of division, and all the soldiers, excited and delighted by the fact, would come down in groups that evening, some dressed only in their underwear just to sign it. Everything changed vice-versa the next day: all the people who had previously incited and motivated me to make that complaint, then either denied, or implored me to cross out their signatures. I keep all the correspondences of these excited days, so I may very well use them for my future story.

Saturday, 8 January

Today I happened to hear Mosidze saying that Peradze had snitched on the major. Is it possible for such a minor occurrence to cause a com-

⁶⁶ Karl Kautsky (1854–1938) — a German philosopher, Marxist theoretician, and journalist. One of the main advocates actively supporting process of international recognition of the Georgian republic. Rendered considerable assistance to the Georgian delegation in Germany. Arrived in Georgia and stayed there from September to December of 1920 and together with his wife, Luiz Kautsky, donated some valuable to the Georgian Defence Fund.

⁶⁷ Grigol Peradze published the sermon supposedly in Poland in 1937. Grzegorz Peradze, “Droga do zwycięstw,” *Polska Stronica Słowa*, vol. 2, no. 18–19 (1937): 4 [= “Gza gamarjvebisaken,” see: Grigol Peradze, *Tsinarebizantiuri karTuli liturgikis shesakheb, patrologia, poezia, kadagebani*, pp. 361–366 (in Georgian)].

motion? I think there is something hidden in it. The major accused me of being Bolshevik-type, a man; that when writing about hunger, cold and bareness in my report, I should have known better what the situation was like in our country.

I responded that we understood very well the current circumstances in Georgia. I told him that we were not afraid of hunger and bareness, but the only thing we demanded was humane treatment towards soldiers who were indeed treated like beasts of prey. This happened on the 10th of January. Nothing important occurred on the 11th of January except that I happened to have a bitter squabble with Seleznirov over papers I used in my work but which he used for quite other purposes. To my question as to what did he do with my papers, he answered with rude impudence: “I have used them!” Then I became angry and called him an oaf. By God! I called him by this word indeed and said I could hardly find other words to describe his actions. He happened to feel insulted and, despite my respect and love for him, he submitted a report asking the major to take disciplinary action against me.

Wednesday, 12 January

The major read the report this morning and asked me to apologize. Seleznirov himself has not come yet. He lacks the good sense to understand I am in a serious difficulty with no hope of respite; the major looks at me as if I am a wild beast. It is clear that Seleznirov took the chance to trample me underfoot revealing his harebrained, reckless, and irresponsible nature... He talked so much about friendship, and now he gives the major a denunciation of me. Spying and *donos*⁶⁸ are not the friendly act. He himself has committed treason now.

But, let the chips fall where they may! Now, the veil is pulled off. Things are visible as they are. I see everything face to face! The Lord’s hand is in all things!

⁶⁸ *Donos* (Russian) — incriminating letter and denunciation; a message to the authorities (in general, to any bosses) about someone’s actions, reprehensible from the point of view of the boss, but not from the point of view of society

Thursday, 13 January

Today is the anniversary of Masho's death. I recalled her in a moment when I was reading a poem by Nikoloz Baratashvili *Sheishrob tsremlsa chirt manelebels* [I shall wipe my tears away / The tears we shed to decrease the sorrow].⁶⁹

How can I forget you, my poor Masho! Oh, God have mercy on me!

Friday, 14 January

The general⁷⁰ has come today. I do not know if he knows me. He entered the office and talked about some money tokens without saying a word about me. Naturally, I remained silent. Then he went upstairs and continued his conversation there. I was accurately told of what he had said.

Masalkin reported him as saying to him: „Как вам не стыдно, я думал, что вы интеллигентный человек, а такое совершаете – в чём дело – спросил я. Ах остывте пожалуйста, неужели сами не знаете”. (“Shame on you! I thought you were an intelligent person but you are doing this.” “What’s up?” Masalkin asking, pretending ignorance. “Ah, drop it, please, you know very well what I am talking about”, was the General’s answer”).

Then Latsabidze came down to office and this time I asked him about the succession of events upstairs; it was like this: the general inquired as to who had written the letter to the War Ministry and then said: “You cannot intimidate me with any letters. Do you think I do not feel sorry for the soldiers?” he asked, and then gave the order to arrest me. He happened to be so angry that his gills shivered.

The major came down very satisfied, a scoffing, ironic smile tingling on his face. He quickly gave the order himself. Seleznirov put my name on a list of detainees determining a tree-week term of imprisonment, whereas the order stipulated only a two-week period. Let us wait a bit for the sky to clear and I will deal with him! I asked the major if I was

⁶⁹ Nikoloz Baratashvili (1817–1845) — a Georgian poet and lyricist. That poem of his was written in 1843.

⁷⁰ Supposedly General Varden Tsulukidze (1865–1923) — commander of the 3rd Brigade is implied to which the 3rd Battery of the 3rd Division Grigol Peradze served in was subordinate. Following the Bolshevik annexation of Georgia, General Tsulukidze became actively involved in anti-occupation movement. He was a member of the Army Centre and was shot on 20 May 1923.

allowed to take my bed with me. I was given the possibility to have a bed at nights but with the condition that it would be given into the custody of the guards during the daytime. I told that I did not sleep during daytime.

I went upstairs and took my bed with Elizbarashvili. The moment I was leaving the office, Tchkadua told me the major was calling. Once again, I went downstairs, the account of me was sent to the General. I became very agitated and sent letters to Gerasime Imnaishvili⁷¹ and Patriarch Leonide pleading them to intercede and try to put my case within the legal framework. The letters were sent on the evening of the 12th of January and I have still been waiting for the responses. I was silent so far. Now I will let the thing to blow wide open.

Today, Vachnadze, Bedianidze, Barelidze, Kapanadze, Dekonoidze, Novikov, Gugunava and Janjghava went away. Some letters I am going to write tomorrow. Too many impressions amassed lately but I feel a difficulty in expressing them.

Monday, 17 January

I am imprisoned but as soon as they let me free, while still I am a soldier, I plan to write a substantial story about the army and finish it...

Tuesday, 25 January

All the impressions are extremely clear and vivid. They seem to stay with me throughout my life. Nevertheless it is hard for me to continue with my diary. Oh God, just give me enough brainpower and aptitude to express and describe everything! I will be behind bars for two weeks. Let us see what comes next.

Friday, 4 February

It is evening now. I am sitting here in my cell and there is some kind of a hiss in my ear. It torments and exasperates me, nagging all the time. I do not know what it wants from me.

⁷¹ Gerasime Imnaishvili was a permanent member of the Tbilisi branch of the Society for the Dissemination of Literacy and a candidate member of Catholicosat Council.

Today I sent a letter to Vachnadze and received correspondence from Laundenbach. His comforting words gave me a sigh of relief. I am very grateful. He writes that “suffering for justice is good.”

I started writing a short-story but quit soon. What is the use of it now? Better to resume later. It is the matter of the future anyway. Five months of service left and then, should I teach once again somewhere in a remote village?! Oh, I do nothing, just nothing in order to resume my studies at the university! Nevertheless starting from tomorrow, I am going to change this situation. I have become acquainted with officers. That is the fact that bears great significance for my future experience and development. By the way, this two-week imprisonment taught me a lot and I really opened my eyes at last. First, you cannot blindly trust everyone. There are not many you can put a lot of trust in. The more loud-mouthed and blatant a man is the more coward and quitter he can be. Ulphanian has ended up behind bars for stealing kerosene. I shall resume my diary tomorrow.

Wednesday, 23 February

It is the end of the month and I have only just remembered my diary. The battery is at the front. Since the 5th of February I have been at the hospital and I was released today at seven o'clock. All my emotions and experiences during my stay in the hospital ward I have described separately. We have a new superintendant, Shkliarsky's his surname, and so now I am teaching rookies the army charter. If I have any free time left, I will try to spend it on my self-development. The enemy troops have surrounded our homeland; they are attacking from all sides marching towards the capital. I know, our soldiers will hold on. They will never surrender Tbilisi, they will push back⁷² the enemy and make the country free from the invaders.

Kutateladze, the commander, is a really interesting person, he told me his life story: in 1905 he happened to beat up his teacher, then, terribly frightened of his father's possible punishment, fled to Poti, from there, across the sea, right to Novorosiisk, which he did not like so he moved to Rostov; he did not like it either and went on to travel to Ekaterinburg.

⁷² The 11th Army was a unit of the then newly created Soviet Armed Forces, counting approximately 45,000 officers and soldiers. They crossed the North Caucasus range and advance deeper into the country. It played a crucial role in the sovietization of the three republics of the South Caucasus in 1918–1921.

His story is very interesting and thought-provoking, about a woman he met at the front. She was eager to give herself to him but he demonstrated responsibility at the front and refused her. Indeed, this is a noble-mindedness and big heartedness of the Georgian man! Although I am on furlough now, I have no intention of going home till the end of the war. I consider it a crime, an evil act to take leave when my country is in danger.

Catholicus is surprising me. Now, while we all suffer from terrible calamities he keeps silent — he does not even say a word.⁷³ Is it a time for internal contradictions?! Are we proud of Gelati, only because of crowns and slippers that were kept there? If his thoughts leak to the public they deserve criticism and disapproval. Indeed, it was clergy who really mattered once in the church, and not the slippers and crowns. Now the priests, who are not worth a dime, zealously cling and stick to golden treasures only to backdrop themselves against them and raise their significance but it is all the timing, just a temporary thing, I think.

Very interesting articles by Ekvtime Takaishvili⁷⁴ are being printed in *Sakartvelo* newspaper. Alas I have not read either the beginning, or the end. I have read only the middle parts and I liked them immensely. If I manage to obtain the newspaper copies I will make everybody read them, but who will give me the newspapers in Akhaltsikhe? Who will make me worthy of such happiness?

Thursday, 24 February

Today is Thursday.⁷⁵ Nothing is as it was before, neither days, nor weeks. Time is passing so that one cannot perceive anything, and nothing memorable remains in one's mind either.

Friday, 25 February

Something awful and atrocious is happening around. Rumor has it, that Tbilisi has surrendered.⁷⁶ But no, it is not true! So many provocations

⁷³ Grigol Peradze is not informed that on 22 February 1921 the newspaper *Sakartvelo* promulgated the address by Catholicos Leonide in which he called people for fight and dedication of self. *Sakartvelo* 41, 22 February 1921, p. 1

⁷⁴ Ekvtime Takaishvili (1863–1953) — a Georgian scientist, historian, archaeologist, and public figure — one of the founding fathers of the Tbilisi State University.

⁷⁵ On 24 February the Red Army made a simultaneous charge against the three front-line areas of Tbilisi.

⁷⁶ On 25 February Bolshevik's army took Tbilisi.

are spreading around! I run like crazy to and fro, up and down to find out the truth and, at last I have learnt, they took Tbilisi! Horrible! But, it is in the wind that our troops shall still manage somehow to retain it. Oh, God, save our country, save our tortured, tormented homeland! I am exhausted; I cannot do anything, cannot speak, and cannot act. What will happen to us? It is Saturday. Our soldiers have not returned. I do not like to read the previous papers of my diary, which will certainly make me more nervous and upset. They say aid comes from France in the sum of hundred thousand francs.

5 March

Today is Saturday. Once again, provocations are being spread... no one knows for sure about the real circumstances. One says Khashuri has been taken too,⁷⁷ while the other asserts that the Georgians took back Mtskheta, I do not know whom to believe.

I am about to lose my mind. God knows what will happen next. Parkadze has returned from front and delivered some news: Ulphanian turned out to desert. I still cannot do anything; I find it terribly hard to find words to properly tell all what I hear. I am totally unable to formulate my thoughts and feelings.

What desperation! What awaits us?

Sunday, 14 April

I have not added anything to my diary for so long. Lately my life has changed dramatically. After I was released from the hospital on Sunday, 17 April, I stayed in Akhaltsikhe for a while. From there I moved to Abastumani,⁷⁸ then Baghdadi,⁷⁹ and through the Zekari mountain pass,⁸⁰ to Guria. I travelled from Jikha to Nigoiti and across the whole Guria region. I had an interesting journey. I have suffered a lot and seen a lot.

⁷⁷ Here the battle of Osiauri is meant; it started on March the 4th with significant success of the Georgian National Army, but the next day, as a result of the enemy's counter-attack, the city of Khashuri fell. See: D. Silakadze, "*Osiauris brdzola (ruset-sakartvelos 1921 tslis omi), ivane javakhishvili tsbilis sakhelmtsipo universitetis sakartvelos istoriis institutis shromebi*", pp. 389–391.

⁷⁸ The village of Abastumani is situated on the southern slopes of the Meskheti Range, in the gorge of the River Otskhi, 28 kilometers from Akhaltsikhe.

⁷⁹ The village of Baghdadi is located on the Imereti Plain, on the River Khanistskali.

⁸⁰ Zekari Pass or the Iron Cross Pass (2182 meters above sea level) — lies in the Imereti region, on the range of Meskheti. The Zekari pass provided road connecting Baghdadi to Abastumani.

Too many impressions I have had, but when can I finally use them? I do not know. I hope they will not be lost.

As soon as I was released from the army I was appointed a school teacher to the village of Manavi⁸¹ in Kakheti. I am going there tomorrow, but how will they receive me?

I met Pkhaladze at the station and he advised me to become a shepherd instead of a teacher, it turned out that would have provided me with a bit higher salary. He simply shared his opinion while I dreamed of becoming a wandering monk and preaching the Gospel to my flock. I have been consistently haunted by this idea lately.

I do not know which direction I will take! God save me! I have no way out. What would be my last sanctuary? Where will my wishes and aspirations bring me to? What if I exaggerate and do not see my purpose and destination in life properly? May be it is too early to say for sure what my purpose in life shall be.

What is the use of planning and foreseeing beforehand? No more of unrealistic pipe dreams! The future will soon show me very clearly. One thing is obvious and unequivocal: if your path pleases God, then you will receive help in everything, and things will go very well. If not so, better not to start at all.

If I go to visit the monastery, solely in order to see the Catholicus Ambrosi.⁸² How many impediments and hindrances await me in the future, first of all from the Catholicos Council and Reverends of clergy! Who knows how many sufferings await me?! Let us see what happens and how this plays out. Only my persistent day-dreams torment me to such extent that they simply poison my future, they put me on edge and nearly make me homicidal. Maybe it would be better to say adieu to my brilliant visions for the future?! Are they going to come true?

How low we, the Georgians, have fallen! How low our morale has now become, in the 20th century! Bread is our one and the only interest. Bread we revere and value the most! What happens? I undergo constant soul-searching. Where is this change in values leading me? How will this play out...

What happens in Manavi?

⁸¹ Manavi is a village in Kakheti region.

⁸² Saint Ambrosi (Besarion Khelaia) (1861–1927) — Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia in 1921–1927. Repressed by the Bolsheviks he was put in Metekhi jail until the end of 1924. Being under house arrest he was forbidden to hold worship. Died in 1927. Commemorated on 29 March.

Sunday, 29 May

Today is Sunday and I am going to Manavi tomorrow. It has been two months since I was appointed a school teacher. Today I have been to Sioni to receive a blessing from His Holiness. The grandfather of Mikeladze was going to Catholicus so I went behind him and while we were walking, everybody watched him with astonishment as if they saw him for the first time. Indeed, some really saw him for first time and looked on with a smile, the others with scorn and derision, but most of them saluted him. The vendors sitting in front of their shops stood up as he passed by.

At the entrance of the residence Mikeladze left him and the moment I appeared His Holiness grabbed me firmly and with face full of grief and sorrow told me in a fatherly voice: "I am devastated, discouraged; my heart is lost. Go to some other place, take your departure and save your youth!" And at hearing these words I sensed the paternal care, bitter anguish and sadness.

I will try to reason calmly and consistently...

Suppose I fail to leave for Germany and have to give up my higher aspirations, will I be able to serve our Church instead?

To become a priest just for statistics is a shameful. To clad oneself in a cassock only to satisfy your stomach is a great transgression. To become a priest in the Catholic tradition, just like Padre and take up celibacy does not correspond with my views.

Believers need to be consolidated and unified. The only salvation for the church today, the only way out from that vicious circle is to be a believer oneself. Nothing can stop the ship from falling into an abyss, neither a party, nor some of Porakishvili's philanthropy⁸³ the salvation of the Church is in a true believer.

Your creed and faith is by no means the hollow appearance and mere ritualism; on the contrary, it interlocks the human's whole life, from his birth to death. The church must respond to each thought and reasoning of the faithful; and its actions perceptive and exhortative, must be filled with forgiveness and remittal. All these must stem from and occur under the wings of the Gospel.

⁸³ Ekaterina Porakishvili-Sarajishvili (1862–1916) — the wife of the wealthy Georgian industrialist David Sarajishvili, patron and generous benefactor of Georgian art and literature.

Possibly, separate religious parties can be created! Such measures sometimes resonate with society and serve as a breeding ground for future action. Probably I am wrong, but these thoughts of mine are based on many facts. Maybe, it contradicts the teachings of Christ, but what if salvation is in the preaching of a religious leader who could be elevated to the rank of the supreme civil ruler? That is my momentary fantasy, but I think, that nowadays we should do just that in order to save our Faith and Church. But this requires profound knowledge and comprehensive education that one can receive only from the Higher Educational Institutions. Today, society may put its hopes in the church; it is from her that it expects salvation and relief and if these sentiments are hidden today, it is temporary, because the fog is going to disperse soon and the life-giving sun-rays will soon highlight its full glory again.

Tuesday, 19 July

What might it be if not for a Divine Providence that at last I have finished what I started before! I have been to His Holiness many times, I have had talks with him so many times and he used to express a lot of wonderful thoughts but I have written down none of them, alas, it had never even crossed my mind to do this. Oh Lord, the ways you intend for me and thine instructions are still incomprehensible to me. As if I am too, guilty of his death, as if I also took part in this horrible tragedy. Maybe the abbess was right when saying that had I put on a cassock in time, then there could not have been such a demise. But who could have thought of it? Who could have imagined it? Our loving father, our shepherd has passed away...

His words are still ringing in my ears: "Where have we been? Do we deserve independence and statehood?" "Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk, for I have lifted up my soul to thee."

We failed to guess your intentions, Your Holiness! We failed to comprehend your anguish, for we are the children of this age of lewdness and debauchery, children of this cursed century! We grew lesser becoming petty, small-minded little men. While being extremely mean and base, we fail to bear the cross to Golgotha. Daily bread and survival is our only purpose in life, and this concern, day by day, makes the divine fire in our hearts die away. You kept us in high esteem, you protected us! Where shall we go now? Oh, Lord, show me the way I should go, for to You I entrust my life! Your Holiness, pray to God that he would guide me to

the right path and forgive me my transgressions, for I have enraged my guardian angel.

I seem to be going mad! What will happen to me now? My Father passed away. Poor Georgian church, how will you now exist? What awaits you in the future? Who will lead me now? Who will guide and protect me now? I cannot control my pen, You Holiness, just show me the way I should go!

Wednesday, 20 July

Unfortunately, today has been one of the sordid and filthy days of my life. And not only today has been so. Yet, have these days ever been happy? Have these days ever been good? Oh, Lord, when will you make my heart open, and make my soul free to make me rejoice and feel delight at last?

In the morning of this day I saw Nazar the Metropolitan who talked a lot to me and gave advice. I have no idea what is going to happen to me, it is clear that either I must marry or become a monk. It is like one thing or the other. I cannot keep going on like this anymore: with every passing day I melt; with each day I become wearier and my thoughts are becoming confused... and these two ways. Which one will I take? I am more inclined to follow Metropolitan Nazar's instructions, to receive a monthly salary from the Catholicos' Council and go to the University.⁸⁴ And next... God is merciful.

Since I returned from Manavi I have become mired in the abyss of terrible transgressions and today my wrongdoings have reached their climax: this evening I have quarreled with Mom; enraged, I have smashed the Borjomi⁸⁵ glass and also a saucer. Today Vaso was in a very good mood singing something to himself, and I shouted at him yelling: "What is there to sing around?" When I was sleeping, the Mom covered me twice with a blanket and each time I threw it off irritated. Does His Holiness see all this?! Did not I think about monkhood, and of how I would go to the monastery?! My anxiety indicates I am about to collapse. I have two ways ahead and definitely I will choose the second path. God is merciful and will help me.

⁸⁴ In the autumn of 1921, Grigol Peradze enlisted in the Tbilisi State University at the faculty of Philosophy. See Saint Grigol Peradze, *bermonazvnobis istoriisatvis sakartveloshi kartuli eklesiis udzvelesi istoria*, vol 1, p. 358 (in Georgian).

⁸⁵ So called Borjomi mineral water glass of 140-gram capacity.

Monday, 12 September

Next week probably, maybe on the 25th or the 26th of September I will set off for Germany. Today I turned twenty two years old. I have been to Kutaisi, attending the Gelati Monastery Church Council.⁸⁶ I have a lot to write however not knowing how to start or where to start. Tomorrow I am going to visit Gamsakhurdia,⁸⁷ then Toroshelidze⁸⁸ and after that preparing to watch Shahsei-Vakhsei.⁸⁹ I am also going to the Catholicosat Council to stamp several papers. In the evening, there is a visit to Dempner,⁹⁰ at 108 Mikhailov Street.

Oh Lord, help and assist me in arranging my life! Without you I am nothing. I cannot achieve anything and if I am allowed to receive what I yearn for, I shall be your obedient servant for the rest of my life.

Render assistance to me, oh, God, otherwise I am facing the second path where there is the gaping pharynx of the Giant Fish ready to swallow me. Is it possible that everything that has gone to such great pains, has been jaded and tortured for twenty two years, to be burnt at once?

Arthur Leist⁹¹ helps me a lot.

⁸⁶ During 1–5 September 1921, the 3rd Church Council was held at Gelati Our Lady Monastery where Ambrosi Khelalia the Metropolitan was elected Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia.

⁸⁷ Konstantine Gamsakhurdia (1891–1975) — a Georgian writer and philosopher. In different periods he studied in Saint Petersburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Munich and Berlin Universities. In 1921 he returned to Georgia with PhD and got involved in literature as well as political and social activities.

⁸⁸ Malachia Toroshelidze (1880–1937) — a Bolshevik revolutionary, Soviet party and political figure, publicist, critic and rector at Tbilisi State University during 1928–1930. He also chaired Georgian Writers' Union and served as the People's Commissar of Education. He was shot during the repressions in 1937.

⁸⁹ Contracted form of "Shahsey-Vahsey" exclaimed by the worshippers during Ashura — the solemn day of mourning the martyrdom of Hussein, the grandson of the prophet Muhammad, during which the men and women dressed in black parade through the streets slapping their chests, chanting. They seek to emulate the sufferings of Hussein by flagellating themselves with chains, lamenting and grieving to the tune of drums.

⁹⁰ The writing is hard to read.

⁹¹ Arthur Leist (1852–1927) — a German writer, journalist and public figure, translator of the Georgian and Armenian literature. See Sh. Revishvili, "Arthur Leist and the Georgian Literature," *Georgian Literature in Schools*, no. 1 (1967); A. Woźniak, "Dobry Europejczyk w Tyflisie. Śladami Artura Leista," *Pro Georgia*, 7 (1998): 8–99.

Friday, 16 September

Today I went to see Serioja Kavtaradze.⁹² And all the time, the same questions have been tormenting me: Who knows what awaits me in the future?! Who knows how things will turn out?! Who knows what my life, fate and future will be like?! I have no idea...

What is to be expected from God and from people? There is no help! No help at all for me. God is not helping me... What does he want from me? Have I done something wrong to him? Have I sinned against him? No, I am thinking in the wrong direction...

Oh, Lord, do not leave me!

Lend me your helping hand, protect me and be my guard! Where should I go? There is an awesome gloom everywhere. I am drowning in the blackness and darkness of the vague future: rotten, decayed and gagged. As though the sun shone out once, illuminating me with joy; as though the dawn broke finally, but alas, only for a short time. Help me, please, oh God! Intolerable abandonment, terrible mental detachment and loneliness gnaw at my soul, a piece of poetry by Dutu Megreli?⁹³ Why so much stuff? I have everything buried in my heart. God will certainly render me assistance and make my dreams come true, will He not? Is the moment I am longing for, going to come? If so, then when? While waiting for dawn to break I may become bogged down in such murkiness, from where it will be very difficult for me to climb out.

Thursday, 29 September

Today, I received a foreign passport and other documents. Tomorrow I am going to Manavi only to return on Monday or Tuesday and then, to Germany. My dreams are more or less coming true, I only have to plan everything in good time as it will be very difficult and late to do the same

⁹² Sergo (Serioja) Kavtaradze (1885–1971) — a Bolshevik Revolutionary; served as representative of the RSFSR to Georgia from May 1920 to February 1921. After the country's Sovietization appointed Head of the Georgian Soviet Republic's Council of People's Commissars for a short period.

⁹³ Dutu Mgrელი (Dimitri Khoshtaria) (1867–1938) — a writer, poet and public figure, member of Tbilisi District Court; also worked at the administration of the Georgian Constituent Assembly. In 1919 published his poem *Prometheus*. On May 26 of the same year published his new poem "Amiran the Hero Broke Free in the newspaper" *Ertoba* (unity) dedicated to Ivane Gomarтели. Buried at *Didube Pantheon of Writers and Public Figures*.

in Germany. A letter by Catholicos to Lepsius⁹⁴ and notarized documents need to be taken to the German Mission. Money is of secondary importance at the moment, and God may help me.

Oh Lord, I know that not only with my own efforts and labor, but with your benevolent assistance and support all these are becoming possible! Thereby I will try to dedicate my life and happiness to you, to serve your Glory and praise your Name.

Nonetheless, is it true? Can I believe in what is happening? It may be a dream. Help me oh, God!

Monday, 24 October

It has been nearly a month since I last wrote in my diary and I am still here. The time passes and I cannot yet manage to leave for Germany. Shall I succeed soon? The best and the only way for me is to go to Germany.

Aleko Muchiashvili was killed, he happened to trespass in someone's vineyard and I have to write his father a condolence letter. Definitely, God is not helping me, but what if He is?! What if I am lucky?!

While waiting for the outcome, utterly despairing, I am about to flee to some desert.

By the way, the Catholicos Council gave me one hundred thousand rubles, and the Bishop also gave me the same sum and Karumidze assisted me with a half pound of sterling and one hundred francs. Now, while I am writing these words, the mother is on her knees praying.

I had to take my departure on Tuesday so I said farewell to all but, alas, all the same, I am still here, my departure did not take place and I am ashamed to meet people.

Ivanicki,⁹⁵ step by step, becomes imbued with the same moods that have already triumphed over the Catholicos Council.

⁹⁴ Johannes Lepsius (1858–1926) — son of Karl Lepsius, the prominent German Egyptologist. He was a writer, public figure, as well as pastor and Evangelical Church missionary. In 1895 he founded *Deutsche Orient-Mission*, which published the magazine *Der Orient* (1919–1936). Johannes Lepsius contributed greatly to the Grigol Peradze's arrival and subsequent study in Germany.

⁹⁵ Raphael Ingilo-Ivanicki (1866–1966) — a Georgian lawyer, journalist and religious figure, member and the secretary at the Catholicos Council, member of the National Council from Saingilo. In his journalistic activity in 1918–1920, he severely denounced cosmopolitan policy of the Georgian Social-Democratic rule. From 1922, lived in Berlin, Vienna and Rome. In 1948 ordained priest and appointed rector at Madrid Saint Andrew the First-Called Church established by Irakli Bagrationi and the Georgian emigration.

Tuesday, 25 October

From day to day, our life in Tbilisi has been deteriorating. There is a terrible scarcity of products. The mother is short of flour and bread. I put all my hopes in you, oh, God! From now on, I will try to be more firm and unshakable and do my best to cope with privations. I am so afraid of not being given permission! These Russians, they are big bastards. They hate and abhor Georgians and will always try hard to put a crimp into our education and development.

Today, Iliah the Monk⁹⁶ has visited us. I was so glad to see him. He is such a nice person who loves me much and has significant respect for me. He plans to move to the Betania⁹⁷ monastery and hopes to take me there with him. Only do I follow? Let us see how life goes and what demands it will make on me.

Poor, poor Muchiashvili! Just how sorry I am for him! He passed away the day I was leaving Manavi, getting back to Tbilisi on foot, dragging my belongings. While being in Avlabari I wrote a condolence letter and left it to Kato to be sent to Manavi by post and still not knowing if they have received or not.

Keke Gabashvili⁹⁸ and Kote,⁹⁹ his son...

My issue will be addressed in two weeks, it has almost become a question of live and death to me.

I visited the wife¹⁰⁰ of Budu Mdivani.¹⁰¹ She assured me she would talk to her husband on my issue and asked me in turn to submit an official application. OK, I will do it if it is of any help.

⁹⁶ Father Iliah (Pantsulaia) — an active personality at the Saint Aton Mount Monastery.

⁹⁷ Betania Monastery (12th–13th centuries) is situated to the West of Tbilisi in Didgori district. The wall of the church preserves the portrait of Queen Tamar.

⁹⁸ Ekaterina (Keke) Gabashvili (1851–1938) — writer and public figure. The newspaper *Khma Kartveli Kalisa* (*The Voice of a Georgian Woman*) published her article “Hello, Independent Georgia” in 1918. In 1921, her granddaughter, Maro Makashvili fell on the Kojori-Tabakhmela battlefield on 19 February 1921. Ekaterina is buried in Didube Pantheon of Georgian Writers and Public Figures.

⁹⁹ Konstantine (Kote) Makashvili (1876–1927) — the father of Maro Makashvili, was a poet, director of the Nobility bank, one of the founders and the first Chairman of the Georgian Writer’s Union.

¹⁰⁰ Mariam Mdivani — wife of Budu Mdivani, together with her husband, Budu Mdivani, repressed in the late 1930s.

¹⁰¹ Polikarpe (Budu) Mdivani (1877–1937) — a Bolshevik revolutionary and statesman. He served as the representative of the RSFSR to The Republic of Turkey. During 1921–1922 headed the Georgian Revolutionary Committee at the same time serving as the Chairman of the Trans-Caucasian All-Union Council. Repressed and shot in 1937.

Wednesday, 26 October

These days I can hardly share any of my thoughts with my diary. I seem to have been turned away from this activity of mine, but it is all life to blame. The present circumstances are driving me almost into a frenzy, hope and utter desperation replace each other in a dizzying sequence. And there is a mother, I hear her complain and cry interminably because of the dreadful shortage of flour and bread, and the absence of money. All these take a toll on my mood and my body. I am devastated, and my life is being poisoned.

I have been told today that I would depart on Tuesday. Let us see if these promises come true. It will be great if this last hope is fulfilled. Today I saw Niko Tavdgiridze¹⁰² and Shalva Karumidze.¹⁰³ Yesterday I went to my apartment for the last time.¹⁰⁴ I am kind of going mad, walking to and fro, trying to avoid meeting and talking with my acquaintances and friends. My nerves are shattered terribly and this is not the only problem: We all know what is going on, what this is all about. All the same, I will not be upset and intimidated by talk and thoughts, and gestures of theatrical amazement of such a ramshackle, moldy government official, like Noah Jordania and his accomplices. They really deserve derision and more. Just how I hate Noah Jordania!

Where am I going? What am I going for? Do I have any precise idea? I seem to know very well... But... Indeed, there are no questions, or concerns other than these in my life. I just trust into God; I follow his instructions and follow where my soul leads me. But what if I will not be allowed in Novorosiisk to continue my journey to Germany and instead am forced to return to Georgia? God save me from such turn of events!

Tense and loaded with heavy thoughts, lately I have started to try my hand at poetry. I wrote four pieces: “Manavis kheoba,” “Troleti,” and “Uprto mprinavni” as well as “Chems mamas”. I believe that I need to read more and get to know more of the works by contemporary Georgian writers and poets. I need to learn more about what the poetic styles, rhyme

¹⁰² Niko Tavdgiridze (1871–?) — a journalist and public figure, member of the Society for the Dissemination of Literacy among Georgians.

¹⁰³ Shalva Karumidze (1887–1852) — one of the founding members of the National Democratic Party. From 1920, a member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly.

¹⁰⁴ Shalva Karumidze (1887–1852) — one of the founding members of the National Democratic Party. From 1920, a member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly.

rhythm, and canons are in our literature. I think I also possess some talent for poetry and managing to develop it a bit more, I may very well make some contribution into Georgian literature.

I lied to Tavdgiridze saying I had four pounds sterling. Am I not ashamed of the act? Oh, my God!

Kakheti¹⁰⁵ and Georgian Revolutionary Committee¹⁰⁶ refused to help. Lord, please, do not block my path, do not ruin my life!

Iliah the Monk brought us some cheese and *Chelishis varianti kartlis moktseva*,¹⁰⁷ a book by Archimandrite Ambrosi Khelaia. When I have some free time, I would love to write a little humorous story “Mealbome poetebi” (*Album Poets*).

Sunday, 30 October

Today is Sunday. The Catholicos Ambrosi is conducting the Divine Liturgy at Sioni Cathedral¹⁰⁸ and I wish to go there. In the morning Kato called upon us and I followed her to the Soldiers’ Market.¹⁰⁹ As we arrived there, I changed my mind about going to Sioni as I imagined what a fuss the priests would make at seeing me, so I went to Kaloubani¹¹⁰ church where there was only one worshiper. Well, be that as it may, I did I turn around and head for Sioni. The service there was performed with only a few churchgoers attending. Maisuradze’s Choir was singing terribly, I doubt that they believe in God.

¹⁰⁵ Kakheti Society had existed since 1895 and united 246 Winemakers in 1920–1921.

¹⁰⁶ The Georgian Revolutionary Committee had ceased power in Georgia after the events of 25 February 1921 took place. Philippe Makharadze was the first Chairman of The Rev-Com. He abolished the Constituent Assembly and Ministries and replaced them with Militia and the Emergency Commission to fight effectively the Anti Soviet movement spreading in Georgia.

¹⁰⁷ The book *Conversion of Kartli*’s hitherto unknown edition was found by Archimandrite Ambrosi Khelaia in Chelishi Monastery, along with another manuscript of Chelishi Gospel. Ambrosi Khelaia brought all his discoveries to Tbilisi and hand them over to the Museum of Ethnographical and Historical society (the manuscripts nowadays are preserved at the National Center of Manuscripts).

¹⁰⁸ Sioni Cathedral is one of the oldest Georgian churches, built in the 10th century, where there are kept several magnificent icons of Mother Mary and the relic of Georgia — the Cross of Saint Nino, the enlightener of Georgia.

¹⁰⁹ The Soldier’s Market was located on the territory of today’s Orbaliani Square (Collective Farm Square during the Soviet Times). It was also called ‘Russian’s Square’, because on Sundays the Russian soldiers would gather there. The market used to sell everything from furniture to small household stuff. T. Kvirkvelia, *The Old Tbilisi Settlements* (Tbilisi, 19850 [in Georgian]).

¹¹⁰ Kaloubani is the name of the historical quarter of Tbilisi which spanned the territory from the current Palace of Youth to the Tbilisi History Museum. The name of the district is mentioned in the historical sources as far back as the 16th century. On the site of the current Rustaveli Cinema Theatre there used to be an early medieval church of Saint Giorgi.

Catholicos delivered the homily, based on one of the sermons of John Chrysostom, who said: “You are the true believers, you are faithful” at seeing there were only a few believers in the Church of Antioch. The homily’s main topic was derived from the Gospel: “Be perfect therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect”¹¹¹ To my mind, on this great idea, a much better sermon could be delivered, which at the same time would be more relevant to the present-day circumstances, but alas, that one was far from perfect. Our bishops were all in Kalimavkions¹¹² like the Catholicos, the Leader of our Church, but the Catholicos himself wore very special one fastened by a diamond-studded platinum cross. With the style of his head-gear he resembled more the Russian Patriarch rather than Georgian Patriarch. In the introduction to his homily, he noted that it had been only three months since he had become the Catholicos but the sermon was the first during that period. He explained that fact by the poverty of the church and the absence of a choir. But, to my mind, either you choose to be like the Armenian Catholicos or the Pope and conduct the solemn service once a year, or reject the prestige of the church’s supreme leadership and lower yourself to the position of simple priest, just like David or others.

I met the wife¹¹³ of Mikhako Tsereteli¹¹⁴ who proved to be very glad at seeing me. She gave me the warmest welcome ever and told me that I would depart on Sunday. I do not know what happens next but anyway, I will go to Manavy on Tuesday to bring some flour from there — otherwise by staying in Tbilisi any longer, I am definitely going to die of starvation.

Tuesday, 1 November

Yesterday, I went to Pastor Mayer.¹¹⁵ He was glad to see me received me very warmly, and liked my idea of studying theology, but advised me

¹¹¹ Matthew, *The Beatitudes*, 48.

¹¹² The Kalimavkion, Kamelaukion — a stiff cylindrical head covering worn by the clerics in Orthodox Church or awarded to the so called White clergy as a tribute. It can be either violet or black in color. It can also be covered by a black veil. The name for this headdress is derived from Greek word standing for camel fur. Black Kalimavkions are worn by cenobites, hiero-deacons and archdeacons. The priests can also wear the Kalimavkilns while performing the service as a symbol of the crown of thorns and the death of the Christ.

¹¹³ Tamar Vakhvakhishvili — the wife of Mikhako Tsereteli.

¹¹⁴ Mikheil (Mikhako) Tsereteli (1878–1965) — an Orientalist, philosopher, sociologist, public figure and journalist. During 1918–1919 served as the representative of the Georgian Democratic Republic to Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

¹¹⁵ Richard Meyer (1968–1933) — head of the Evangelist-Lutheran Church in Georgia in

not to go to Berlin University. “There are two directions in theology in Germany today,” he said, “One is occupied by the atheist theologians, who try do their best to make you lose your faith and love for the service in church. Professor Harnack¹¹⁶ belongs to this category and is head of the Department of Theology in Berlin University. You can ask Pastor Lepsius, who may give you the best advice and guide you very well. He can direct you and put you on the right path, so you can trust him and rely on him like on your own father. Do not be afraid, he will take care of you and provide you with housing.”

I am going abroad (if I go) with only one aspiration: to serve the church and dedicate all my knowledge and competence acquired to Him. What is the use of me entering the faculty that makes me lose my love for the Church and my faith in Him, deprives of my desires and higher ambitions? I cannot afford that! It is better for me to lead a provincial life in cities such as Erlangen,¹¹⁷ or Leipzig,¹¹⁸ or, let us say, Greifswald.¹¹⁹ Life is much cheaper in these cities and it would be easier for me to preserve myself and strengthen my faith.

Today, Gobron gave Vaso his suit...

I still do not know for certain if it is possible to take my departure. Until now I have been waiting for what the mission will say. In case they refuse, it will not matter anymore what I shall die of, hunger or thirst.

*К чѣрмы!*¹²⁰ In this case am heading straight to Istanbul. I will go, certainly, what else should I do? The Lord’s hand is in all things!

Friday, 4 November

Today, a telegram was received from Berlin. Its copies were sent to Novorossiysk and Moscow. It conveys nothing especially interesting but, all the same, a little breeze of hope blew. I will set off on Monday, or

1900–1931. Arrested in 1932 and sent in exile to Siberia. Executed in Moscow in 1933. The German Lutheran Church (Lutherische Kirche Sankt Peter and Paul) was situated in Tbilisi at the intersection of today’s Kote Marjanishvili Street and David Aghmashenebeli Avenue. See: N. Papuashvili, *The History of Evangelist-Lutheran Church in Georgia* (Tbilisi, 1918).

¹¹⁶ Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) — a German theologian, church historian and pathologist. With his comments, Ivane Javakhishvili published *The Martyrdom of Eustate from Mtskheta* in the German language.

¹¹⁷ Erlangen — a city in Bavaria.

¹¹⁸ Leipzig is the biggest and most populous city in the German state of Saxony.

¹¹⁹ Greifswald is a city in the north of Germany that flanks the Baltic sea and is crossed by a small river, the Ryck.

¹²⁰ *К чѣрмы* (Russian) — Dash it!

Tuesday. The mother's crying reminds me of the lack of flour and bread. She implores me to go to His Holiness and ask him for some food. Archil too is here but she wants me to go to the Catholicos. This month I have spent a half million.¹²¹ What else can I do? Leave me alone, get off my back...

I went to Kekelidze.¹²² He told me that the Germans will not accept me with the document I have. He promised me to prepare another, appropriate one, for which I have to call upon him at ten o'clock tomorrow. I will go to see him tomorrow¹²³, without question.

Sunday, 6 November

Tuesday is the last day. I am terribly dissatisfied with myself. All day long the mother goes to Didube just for five hundred rubles. I, as before, only waste money. This evening I spent three thousand five hundred rubles. It indicates the weak will with which that I have to fight and overcome. *Всякого следует считать невиновным, пока не докажут что он виновен.*¹²⁴ Probably, I am leaving¹²⁵ Number 8... What does it mean?

Does it mean eight, or refusal? Does it mean victory? I do not know.

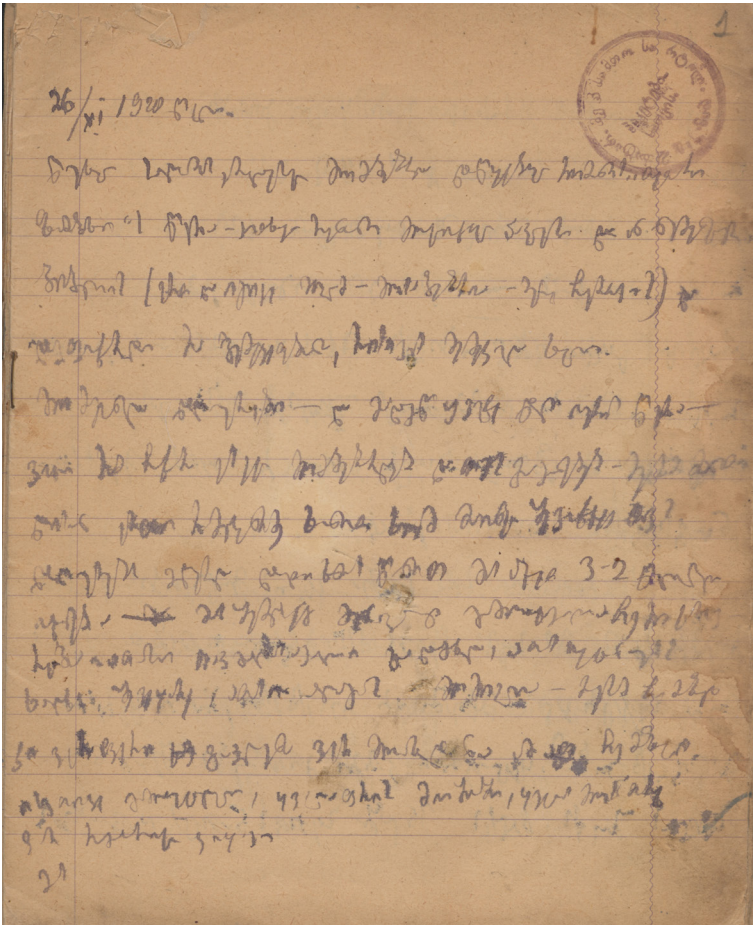
¹²¹ According to the calculations of the Central Statistical Committee, the price on bread in Georgia in 1920 went up by 58.8 percent, price on barley increased by 62.9 percent, meat — by 20 percent, and cheese — by 41.1 percent. The newspaper *Ertoba* 236 (1920). See: T. Atanelishvili, *ekonomikuri repormebi sakartvelos demokratiul respulikashi 1918-1921*, p. 111.

¹²² Korneli Kekelidze (1879–1962) — philologist and man of letters, one of the co-founders of the Georgian Academy of Science and the Rector of Tbilisi Theological Seminary. In 1919–1925 served as the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Tbilisi State University.

¹²³ The document issued to Grigol Peradze is preserved in the archive of the Warsaw Orthodox Archdiocese. St. Grigol Peradze, *History of Monasticism in Georgia. Early History of the Georgian Church*, I, ed. D. Kolbaia, p. 358 (in Georgian).

¹²⁴ Everyone should be considered innocent until proven guilty — the principle of the presumption of innocence is a legal right of the accused in a criminal trial in many countries. Here, in his diary, Grigol Peradze quotes this principle. As the narration in his diaries proceeds mostly in a mode of stream of consciousness, we don't know what the context was for the quotation.

¹²⁵ In 1921 Grigol Peradze set off for Germany and from then on his fate got linked with Europe for good and all.



The manuscript of Grigol Peradze, Diary – 26 November 1920 – 6 November 1921, from the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts

THE STORY OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE CANONISATION OF FATHER GRIGOL PERADZE

Henryk Paprocki
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In 1977 I started my doctoral studies at the St Sergius Institute in Paris. After a few days in Paris, in early October, Father Elias Melia (1915–1988), the parish priest of the Georgian parish in Paris and a lecturer at the institute, asked me to meet. The conversation concerned the fate of the founder of the Georgian parish in Paris, Archimandrite Grigol Peradze. At that time, I only knew one thing: he died in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Father Melia asked me to collect all information and material relating to Grigol Peradze's stay in Poland and his death. I agreed to do it, and after I returned to Poland I started, so to speak, 'my lifetime adventure', which ended with the canonisation of Grigol Peradze twenty years later.

I started by collecting all the publications of Father Grigol Peradze in Polish, which was quite easy as the scientific journal of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Warsaw published annual reports on the activities of its lecturers. These reports also included information on publications in foreign languages. Nevertheless, it took several years to collect all the publications and prepare a bibliography, because, for example, only one library in a small German town had a full set of the periodical *Der Orient*. In 1981, the results of my search were published in Poland.

It was much more difficult to establish the fate of Grigol Peradze during the war. The Pawiak Prison Museum in Warsaw informed that the name Peradze was unknown to them, although it could be found in memoirs of Pawiak inmates: *Archimandrite Peradze from Praga was the interpreter in Ward X*. As 'Praga' is both the name of a part of Warsaw and the Polish name for Prague, the Czech capital, the person index included the following information: *Peradze Grigol, Czech*. The Museum of the Concentration Camp in Oświęcim could only supply the well-known report of the underground army that *Fr Grigol Peradze, an outstanding*

specialist, died in the camp. The camp books were still in Moscow, as a kind of war prize, and could not be accessed.

Unexpectedly, a huge amount of source materials was found in the archives of the Orthodox Metropolis in Warsaw, including a telegramme from the commandant of the Auschwitz camp that notified about the death of Grigol Peradze in the camp, a copy of his doctoral certificate, and correspondence from Pawiak, which significantly advanced the search. My visits to the Bonn University also resulted in obtaining photocopies of documents relating to the period of studies and scientific work of Grigol Peradze at that university.¹

In addition, some witnesses to the events were still alive (presumably, none are alive in Poland now). It was from them, mainly from the former students of Father Professor Grigol Peradze, that a huge amount of information was obtained. Thus, I was able to share my knowledge with Father Melia and submit an article about Grigol Peradze for publication in the journal *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes*.

Before that, however, it became possible to organise the first scientific session dedicated to the memory of Father Grigol Peradze, on the 45th anniversary of his death, on 6 December 1987. Work on the life and legacy of Grigol Peradze gained momentum. Rezo Tabukashvili (1927–1990) came to Warsaw, intending to make a documentary film about Grigol Peradze. He collected a large amount of material in Poland, relating to the life and work of Grigol Peradze. It was thanks to Rezo Tabukashvili that the issue of the arrest of Grigol Peradze was largely unraveled. Giorgi Nakashidze (1890–1991), resident in the USA, a pre-WWII lecturer at the University of Warsaw and a friend of Father Grigol Peradze, handed documents from World War II and the immediately post-war period over to Rezo Tabukashvili (these are currently in the archives).

A little digression is necessary here. One hundred and eight Georgian contract officers, including seven generals, served in the Polish Armed Forces before WWII. In addition, there were also large groups of doctors, scientists and officials. Archimandrite Grigol Peradze was the spiritual father of the Georgian colony. The Caucasian Committee was headed by General Alexander Zakariadze (1884–1957). The situation changed in 1939. The German occupation authorities dissolved the existing Caucasian Committee and set up their pro-fascist committee in its place.

¹ All documents related to the person of Grigol Peradze are held in the Archives of the Warsaw Orthodox Metropolis.

Father Grigol Peradze distanced himself from that group of small people. Colonel Vali bey Yadigarov (1897–1971) spoke of 2–3 such persons. However, with the support of the German occupation authorities, they could achieve a lot through terror. The ‘Bill of Indictment’ (‘Obvinitelnyy Akt’) against the chairman of this group, compiled by Georgian officers and published after World War II, explains many details regarding the arrest of Grigol Peradze. I will not mention the names of these people, they do not deserve it. It is known, however, that it was because of them that Father Grigol Peradze was arrested.

The scientific session on the 45th anniversary of the death of Grigol Peradze was an opportunity to present the results of the research carried out so far and to allow the then living witnesses of the events to speak. Their testimonies painted a figure of a man of extraordinary intellectual and spiritual values, devoted to the Church and to Georgia. Zurab Chavchavadze (1953–1989) attended the session as an envoy of His Holiness the Catholicos-Patriarch Ilia II. Zurab Chavchavadze had also collected materials about Father Grigol Peradze, among others he brought to Georgia photocopies of all significant publications by Grigol Peradze and of documents related to him, as well as copious film footage. Unfortunately, Rezo Tabukashvili died soon, while Zurab Chavchavadze became a political leader. The documentary about the life of Father Grigol Peradze was not made. A third attempt was made by Tamar Dularidze and a Polish documentary film director, Jerzy Lubach. This time it worked. The footage from Poland, Germany, and France was prepared quite quickly. But we could not reach Georgia. We finally got there. It was literally days before the canonisation, which we did not know about. The film *In the Search of the White Angel* was made in 1995. In 2001, Jerzy Lubach made a new documentary, *The Saint Professor*, while a documentary by Irakli Tripolski, *Grigol Peradze*, was made in Georgia the same year, based on the materials of Rezo Tabukashvili. A lot of material about Saint Grigol Peradze was also featured in Jerzy Lubach’s 2008 documentary *Wearing a Four-Cornered Cap and a Tiger Skin*.

At the same time, publication of the works of Father Grigol Peradze commenced in Georgia and in Poland. This work goes on. The University of Warsaw publishes all works of Grigol Peradze.² The canonisation of

² [Prepared for publication by H. P a p r o c k i:] Św. Grzegorz Archimandryta, *Dziela zebrane*, Warszawa 2010, vol. 1, pp. 246+2 nbl., *Dziela zebrane*, Warszawa 2011, vol. 2, pp. 336, *Dziela zebrane*, Warszawa, 2012, vol. 3, pp. 263, *Dziela zebrane*, Warszawa 2015, vol. 4, pp. 128+4 nbl. [Współprzygotowanie: B. Outtier]

Grigol Peradze became possible thanks to the collected material and the testimonies of witnesses.

As a side effect of this search, all publications by Grigol Peradze, scattered in various hard-to-reach periodicals, which are of great importance primarily for Georgia, but also for the entire oriental studies, have been found. Grigol Peradze's work does not suffer from 'ageing'. The work on Georgian pilgrims' inscriptions on the margins of books in the Holy Land, the works related to the Georgian liturgy in the first centuries, and catalogues of Georgian manuscripts in various libraries, are of particular importance here. Descriptions of scientific expeditions to the Balkans,³ and to the Holy Land and Syria⁴ constitute a separate item. The latter description, unfortunately incomplete, is included in the line of descriptions of Georgian pilgrims: Timothy, the Archbishop of Kartli from 1755, Jonah, the Metropolitan of Ruisi from 1783–1790 and Peter, the Bishop of Alaverdi from 1899. It seems to be one of few journals of travel in the footsteps of Georgians in the Holy Land, and also showing the author's great literary talent. The well-known and often quoted work *Starochrześcijańska literatura w przekładach na język gruziński (Old Christian Literature in Georgian Translations) (OC 1928–1933)* has been supplemented and re-published⁵ (*Dzieła zebrane*, Warszawa 2015, IV).

Usually canonisation means the end of the research. In the case of Saint Grigol Archimandrita is different. It was after the canonisation that the original doctoral certificate of the Bonn University and several very important documents were found, including the original death certificate issued by the camp registry office at Auschwitz.

However, the very death of Saint Grigol still eludes the hagiographers and historians, as is the death of Mother Maria Skobtsova (1891–1945) and thousands, if not millions, of martyrs of the 20th century. The martyrs of the first centuries died in public view, while the martyrs of our time died in the snows of Siberia or in gas chambers. It is not even known when this happened. In the case of Saint Grigol, this is known and we also know how it happened.

³ Św. Grzegorz Archimandryta, *Udział Gruzji w dziejach kultury duchowej na Balkanach*, [in, idem:] *Dzieła zebrane*, Warszawa 2012, vol. 3, pp. 7–29.

⁴ Św. Grzegorz Archimandryta, *Róże Jerychońskie. Dziennik podróży po Ziemi Świętej i Syrii* (5. VII.–28. IX. 1936), [in, idem:] *Dzieła zebrane*, Warszawa 2012, vol. 3, pp. 31–132.

⁵ Św. Grzegorz Peradze, *Dzieła zebrane*, Warszawa 2015, IV.

After the canonisation, scientific Caucasological sessions named after Saint Grigol Peradze have been organised at the University of Warsaw,⁶ an Orthodox Church brotherhood in his name was established in Warsaw, a similar brotherhood was established in Georgia (recently this brotherhood published the biography of Saint Grigol Peradze in Georgian; it was also thanks to their efforts that a street in Tbilisi was named after Grigol Peradze). The Polish brotherhood has organised a pilgrimage to holy places in Georgia every year. So, there are very clear effects, and very positive ones. A chapel dedicated to Saint Grigol was established in Warsaw at 5, Lelechowska Street, while a church dedicated to him is being built in Białystok at the Dojlidy Górne estate. A commemorative plaque was unveiled in 2020, on the house where Saint Grigol used to live, at 20, Okrzei Street in Warsaw.

I would like to emphasize here the participation of many people from France, Germany, and Belgium who have given extraordinary help in the search for materials related to Saint Grigol Peradze. First of all, however, I would like to emphasize that it was thanks to the request of Father Melia that all the materials were collected. It was also actually perhaps the last moment to do that. Had this work been undertaken 10–20 years later, there would have been no living witnesses left. However, I still hope that other documents will be found, which will allow us to reconstruct more completely the last months of the life of the man who played such an important role in the scientific life of Poland and who became the patron of Georgia and Poland. In this sense, the work started thirty years ago still goes on. Currently, it consists in preparing the scientific works of St Grigol for publication. We hope that such initiatives will strengthen the ties between Georgia and Poland.

The universalism of Grigol Peradze is also worth emphasizing, as he has published his works in five languages in five countries. At the same time, however, he lived the culture and life of his nation, which became for him a source of the universalism.

⁶ The role of Dr David Kolbaia in organising these sessions, as well as in promoting the history and culture of Georgia, should be stressed here. Dr Kolbaia is the editor of the Georgian edition of the *Collected Works* of Saint Grigol Peradze.

The Circumstances of Arrest and Detention of Saint Grigol Peradze in the Pawiak Prison and in KL Auschwitz

Father Grigol Peradze was arrested by the Gestapo on 5 May 1942 in his apartment (no. 11) at 22, Brukowa Street (now Stefana Okrzei Street), in Warsaw. The direct reason for the arrest was provocation and denunciation,⁷ as Giorgi Nakaszyde said in an interview:

“... he was denounced (...). I know that his journal was taken to the Gestapo, I know their names. This shame of ours ... But now it’s not necessary ... Several officers who served in the Polish Army, after all there were Georgians in the Polish Army, were summoned. And these officers said, the three that I personally knew, said that it’s all so scrawled that it’s impossible to read and they refused, but you can always find, and they found, his enemies, enemies of this poor man ...”⁸

This is also confirmed by Sevdia Darejan (Aka) Lukac-Ugrekheldidze:

“It is difficult for me (...) to add anything to what I have stated several times, and what I have always heard from my father while still in Warsaw, namely that A. and K. were waiting for Peradze and were guilty of his imprisonment and death. My father was sure that it was not only about personal animosities, as A. was on the side of the occupiers, and Peradze on our side, but that (...) he coveted the precious books and incunabula in the possession of Grigol Peradze, and that he also wanted to seize everything that the man kept for those who were wanted or imprisoned, for example Jews and others who were threatened with death by the occupiers, which he clearly (...) knew”⁹

A similar description can be found in the ‘Bill of Indictment’, prepared after World War II by Georgian contract officers:

“While A. could easily trade the lives of defenceless prisoners of war or Jews, it was not as easy to accuse and arrest Archimandrite Peradze on the basis of a simple denunciation. It was necessary to justify the accusation

⁷ H. Paprocki, Analiza dokumentów odnoszących się do sprawy aresztowania w 1939 roku w Warszawie trzech Gruzinów, *Pro Georgia* 4(1994), pp. 64–77. Compare the statement of A. Lukac-Ugrekheldidze [the daughter of Captain Vitalis Ugrekheldidze (1902–1983)] in the documentary film ‘Wearing a Four-Cornered Cap and a Tiger Skin’ directed by Jerzy Lubach, screenplay by David Kolbaia.

⁸ Giorgi Nakashidze was interviewed in 1989 by Rezo Tabukashvili.

⁹ Letter from A. Lukac-Ugrekheldidze of 28 October 2009.

against him and this is how A. deceived Archimandrite Peradze. They take photos of A.'s documents, sent from the Gestapo, and with the help of Peradze's servant, one B. M., they hide the photos in a hole made in the back of an icon in Peradze's room. Then A. reports on Peradze as an English spy who has photographed his secret documents for the English, and informs the Gestapo about the location of the photographs. The Gestapo searches Peradze's apartment and finds the photos, so the accusation is true. Peradze is isolated in the camp, where he dies after 18 days of a terrible regime. B. M. receives a good payment from A. and currently lives in Argentina. All this was written down on the basis of testimonies of Georgians serving in the Polish HQ and soldiers currently in London".¹⁰

In 1986, seven documents were found in the Archives of the Warsaw Orthodox Metropolis, allowing reconstruction of some events from the period of Father Peradze's detention:

1) Report from the sealing of Father Grigol Peradze's apartment on 5 May 1942 (in Polish) (I),

2) Report from the search carried out on 28 May 1942 in the apartment of Father Grigol Peradze (in Russian) (II),

3) Power of attorney signed by Father Peradze on 10 June 1942 that authorised deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin¹¹ regarding the care of the apartment and property (in German) (III),

4) Report on taking personal belongings from Father Peradze's apartment on 10 June 1942, to be handed over to the detainee (in Polish) (IV),

5) A copy of a letter sent by Father Peradze on 20 June 1942 from Pawiak to deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin (in German) (V),

6) Telegram from the Commandant of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp of 11 December 1942 to deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin, notifying about the death of Father Peradze (in German) (VI),

7) Letter from the Warsaw Orthodox Metropolis of 15 December 1942, to the Commandant of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp (in German) (VII).

¹⁰ *Obvinitielniy akt*, b. m. w. r., p. 3

¹¹ Jerzy Berkman-Karenin (1918–1978), deacon (ordained on 9 November 1941) of the Metropolitan Cathedral of St Mary Magdalene in Warsaw, a friend of Fr Grzegorz Peradze, he left Warsaw in 1944, after World War II he lived in Brazil, where he was a lecturer at Colégio Vítor Viana in São Paulo, author of the books *Vinde a Mim, Crianças!* (São Paulo 1956) i *Doutrina Cristã Ortodoxa* (São Paulo 1957; Los Angeles 19992).

In addition, a few years ago, an envelope with documents of Father Peradze,¹² hidden in the archives of the Metropolis, was found, including the original death certificate (Sterbeurkunde), issued by the Standestamt Auschwitz (in German) (VIII).

These documents allow us to establish at least some details from the last period of Fr Grigol Peradze's life. First of all, it can be said that the arrest of Fr Peradze took place in the first days of May 1942, most probably on 5 May, because shortly after the arrest, the dean of the Warsaw district, Protopresbyter Jan Kowalenko¹³ (1875–1950), sealed the apartment of Fr Peradze, located in Warsaw at 22, Brukowa Street, Apt 11. The apartment was sealed on 5 May 1942 at 4:00 p.m. (I). According to the information of Fr Atanazy Semeniuk (Afanasiy Semenyuk), Father Peradze managed to call the Orthodox Metropolis just before his arrest and say that "they have just come for me".

After Fr Peradze was arrested, he was imprisoned in the Pawiak Prison in Warsaw. His fate in Pawiak can be recreated on the basis of other inmates' memories. Leon Wanat, the prison record-keeper, wrote down the personal details, after which the prisoner was directed to a cell of Ward VII, transitional, located in the basement. The stay in Ward VII lasted about 14 days, after which Fr Peradze was transferred to Ward V, known as the transport ward, on the second floor.¹⁴ In Ward V, Father Peradze was used as an interpreter (the cell for the interpreter and record-keeper was No. 117). In early October 1942, Father Peradze was transferred to the working department (the so-called 'Arbeitszela', No. 186), also as an interpreter.¹⁵ At the request of Metropolitan Dionizy,¹⁶ Giorgi

¹² Which also included Father Peradze's Georgian passport, his student's transcript, the original of the doctoral certificate and certificates of passed exams.

¹³ Protopresbyter Jan Kowalenko (1875–1950), during 1939–1949 the parish priest of the Metropolitan Cathedral of St Mary Magdalene in Warsaw and the dean of the Warsaw district.

¹⁴ See: L. K a r z i n k i n, *Pisarz na V oddziale (7. X. 1941–17. I. 1943)*, [in:] *Wspomnienia więźniów Pawiaka*, Warszawa 1964, p. 126; 2nd ed.: Warszawa 1978, p. 117.

¹⁵ "In Ward V, in early October, I received more parcels, and because my wife wrote the address in Gothic style, the SS-man Heller, who controlled the parcels, noticed that. He exchanged a few words with me in German, asking about my origin and how I learned to speak the language, and said to the writer that this would be a good dolmetscher (interpreter). (I come from Września and I graduated from a German school). Indeed, the next day I was released from the cell into the corridor as an interpreter in place of Archimandrite Peradze from Praga, who was transferred to the working ward, also as an interpreter...". See: A. B r u c z y ń s k i, *Byłem tłumaczem na Pawiaku (28. VIII. 1942 – 29. IV. 1943)*, [in:] *Wspomnienia więźniów Pawiaka*, Warszawa 1964, p. 144; 2nd ed.: Warszawa 1978, p. 135. However, incorrect information that Fr Peradze was Czech is included in the 'Person index', in both editions of the book: 1st ed., p. 429; 2nd ed., p. 431.

¹⁶ Dionizy (Dionisii), secular name Konstantyn Mikołajewicz Waledyński (Konstantin Nikolaie-

Nakashidze¹⁷ unsuccessfully intervened with the German authorities in the case of Father Peradze.¹⁸

On 28 May 1942, at the request of the German police, Protopresbyter Jan Kowalenko, assisted by deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin, removed the seals from Father Peradze's apartment, and the policemen took the money (in American and English currency) from the library cabinet behind the books (II). This indirectly confirms the version that Father Peradze kept the money of Jewish people in his apartment. During his stay in the Pawiak prison, on 10 June 1942, Father Peradze authorized deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin to look after the apartment at Brukowa Street (III). At Father Peradze's request, underwear and a summer coat were taken from his apartment to be handed over to the detainee (IV).

There is also a copy of a letter written by Fr Peradze on 20 June 1942, in Pawiak to deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin. This letter is actually a will, since Fr Peradze gave several instructions regarding his personal property. It says, among others:

"... Please hand over the furnished flats to someone from the Consistory [...]. If I am not released, I donate the library to the Metropolis, my personal belongings should be sold and the proceeds donated to our parish orphanage in Wola. [...] My Georgian books and documents (including pictures) should be sent after the war by the Metropolis to the Georgian Church..." (V).

The Orthodox Church, despite its very difficult situation, made efforts to release Fr Grigol Peradze. It also provided certain food and material assistance, as can be seen from the letter to deacon Jerzy Berkman-Karenin.

Fr Grigol was transported to the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, most probably on 18 November 1942. Further attempts to free the prisoner were fruitless, either. On 11 December 1942, the commandant of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Rudolf Höss, notified the deacon Jerzy

vich Valedinskii) (1879–1960), bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, and then head of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church with the title of the Metropolitan of Warsaw and All Poland. He brought to a successful end the efforts for autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Poland, obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople. He held the office from 1923 to 1946, when he was removed by the Stalinist authorities and placed under house arrest.

¹⁷ Giorgi Nakashidze (1890–1991), Georgian linguist and political activist, before WWII lecturer at the University of Warsaw and at the Eastern Studies School at the Eastern Institute in Warsaw, lived in the USA after World War II.

¹⁸ Interview with Prof. Giorgi Nakashidze (Part related to Saint Grigol Peradze), *Pro Georgia. Journal of Kartvelological Studies* 19 (2009), pp. 213–217.

Berkman-Karenin by a telegram that Fr Peradze died at Auschwitz on 6 December 1942, at 4:45p.m. (VI), that is after eighteen days in the Auschwitz Concentration Camp.

At the request of the church authorities of 15 December 1942 (VII) the Auschwitz Registry Office sent an official death certificate (issued on 30 December 1942, sent on 4 January 1943) (VIII). The death certificate is confirmed by the files of the Delegation of the Exiled Government of the Republic of Poland for the Home Country regarding the Auschwitz Concentration Camp for the period from 16 to 31 December 1942: "Camps. Auschwitz. Fr Grigol Peradze, Prof. of UJP Faculty of Orthodox Theology,¹⁹ Georgian, outstanding specialist, died here after a few weeks stay (recently arrested)".²⁰

In 1945, two unidentified former prisoners of the concentration camp made a verbal statement at the Orthodox Metropolis in Warsaw that Father Grigol Peradze voluntarily reported that he had stolen bread, thereby saving the entire *komando*.²¹ Unfortunately, this statement has not been written down, or it has been lost and waits to be found. In a letter to Patriarch Alexy I of 1 February 1946, Metropolitan Dionizy wrote: "... professor of our Theological Section, Doctor of Philosophy, Archimandrite Grigol Peradze, Georgian, graduate of the Seminary in Tbilisi, and then of the Universities of Bonn and Oxford, an expert in languages: apart from his mother tongues, Russian and Georgian, also French, German and English, was arrested, taken to the Auschwitz concentration camp and shot there",²² which may be a reference to the information provided by the two former prisoners of the Auschwitz camp.

The death of Father Grigol Peradze still eludes hagiographers and historians. Did he take the place of another man, pleading guilty of a theft of bread he had not committed, and was shot, or was he sent to a gas chamber?²³

¹⁹ The actual Polish text said 'Theology, Law'. This error was caused by the similarity of the word 'Prawa' (Law) and the abbreviation 'Praw.', short for 'Prawosławna' – 'Orthodox'.

²⁰ Zeszyty Oświęcimskie. Numer specjalny (I). 'Obóz Koncentracyjny Oświęcim w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu R. P. na Kraj' 12(1968), p. 75, annex no. 44.

²¹ Information from Archpriest Atanazy Semeniuk (1904–1996) and Protoiereus Mikołaj Lenczewski (1912–2003).

²² Archiwum Warszawskiej Metropolii Prawosławnej, ref. no. AWMP R IV-2B/1144 (document 5).

²³ See: „Matka Maria zmarła w Ravensbruck sześćdziesiąt lat temu. Czy zajęła miejsce innej kobiety, przeznaczonej do komory gazowej, czy też sama została do niej skierowana? Jej śmierć wymyka się hagiografom”, [see:] O. C l é m e n t, *Wstęp*, [in:] S. H a c k e l, *Matka Maria (1891–1945)*, translated by H. Paprocki, Białystok 2008, p. 11.

As Bishop Anthony Bloom wrote: ‘No one has greater love than he who lays down his life for his friend’. These words characterize the ideal of the Gospel and are shown as the only correct Gospel way of life. Too often are the words of the Saviour retold as to how a Christian should die. But in this case it refers to life itself; ‘to lay down life’, to donate it for a neighbour, to devote it to a neighbour. Above all it means to live for Him, to live a decent day-to-day life, to live with persistence, to shoulder the burden of life – the whole of life – and not just your own but that of strangers (if that word can ever be used as, after all, we can never be ‘strangers’ in relation to others as we are all without exception ‘kindred’). And when one’s love ends in death by the sacrifice of one’s life then that is a triumph and a victory of life.²⁴

²⁴ Antoni (Bloom), *Slowo o Matce Marii* [in:] S. Hackel, *Pearl of Great Price: The Life of Mother Maria Skobtsova, 1891–1945*, p. 9.

G 1

Sterbeurkunde

(Standesamt Auschwitz _____ Nr. _____)
 Der Priester *Gregor Peradze*
 _____ *griechisch orthodox* _____
 wohnhaft *Warschau, Pruskastrasse Nr. 22* _____
 ist am *30. Dezember 1942* _____ um *16* - Uhr *45* - Minuten
 in *Huschwitz, Kasernenstrasse* _____ verstorben.


Der Verstorbene war geboren am *31. August 1899* _____
 in *Tiflis, Russland* _____

(Standesamt _____ Nr. _____)
 Vater: *Roman Peradze, zuletzt wohnhaft in Tiflis* _____
 Mutter: *Maria Peradze geborene Samadlaschwili, zuletzt wohnhaft in Tiflis* _____

Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Auschwitz, den *30. Dezember* 1942

Der Standesbeamte
 In Vertretung



Gebührenfrei 5

Fig. 1. Death certificate of Archimandrite Grigol Peradze from Auschwitz, 30 December 1942.
 Archive of the Archdiocese of the Orthodox Church in Warsaw

AUSCHWITZ – THE LAST STATION OF SAINT GRIGOL PERADZE’S LIFE

Wojciech Materski
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Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Father Grigol Peradze, an eminent world-famous scientist, priest and intellectual, met his death in the Nazi concentration camp, Konzentrationslager Auschwitz. Numerous people were killed by the Nazis, but very few gave up their lives voluntarily – so that another human being could be spared – in an act of profound love for humanity, offering themselves for the sake of other people.

When the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Region (*Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*), a German zone of occupation established after the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany, Slovakia and the Soviet Union, was established in 1939 Father Peradze stayed in Warsaw having refused the German offer to give lectures in the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, the Humboldt University of Berlin. Peradze did nothing to hide his extremely negative attitude to the Third Reich and he supported himself working as a translator. He kept in touch with Dionizy the Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland and the primate of the Polish Orthodox Church.¹ Peradze worked as spiritual adviser for the local Georgian minority and conducted his research—as far as his rich home library permitted.

On May, 5, 1942 Father Peradze was arrested in his home by the Gestapo following an act of wicked provocation when evil people denounced him as a traitor. Falsely accused of being a British spy² he was

¹ Dionizy, the primate of the Polish Orthodox Church was then held prisoner by the Germans in the house arrest in Otwock.

² H. P a p r o c k i, *Życie i dzieło św. Grzegorza Peradzego*, [in:] Św. Grzegorz P e r a d z e, *Dziela zebrane*, t. 1: *O monastycyzmie gruzińskim. O liturgii gruzińskiej*, ed. H. P a p r o c k i, Studium Europy Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2010, pp. 21–22; D. K o l b a i a, *Biographical Outline of Saint Grigol Peradze*, [in:] Saint Grigol Peradze, *Diaries*, ed. D. K o l b a i a, Institute of National

initially imprisoned in Warsaw in Pawiak, the biggest political prison in the occupied Poland.

Despite the efforts to free Peradze undertaken by the Orthodox Church and well-connected members of Polish-Georgian minority in Warsaw³ he was kept there for months. After a lengthy investigation, probably on November, 18, 1942, he was transported to the ominous town of Oswiecim, in the south part of Poland, where the infamous Auschwitz Concentration Camp was situated.

The Auschwitz Concentration Camp opened in former Polish army barracks in June 1940. Its main function was to detain people from the region of occupied Poland and in the following months it was continuously enlarged as the Nazi regime kept isolating more and more (real and imagined) enemies of the Third Reich. Initially, the prisoners were mostly members of the Polish Resistance and, to a lesser extent, inmates of the overcrowded Polish prisons located in the south of the country, criminals and the so-called “anti-social people” [pol. “elementy aspołeczne”]. After the summer of 1941 the Soviet POWs in German captivity were also being sent to Auschwitz (Auschwitz I), and, after April 1942, Auschwitz was the main destination of the European Jews—the ones who were chosen as “fit for work” at the railway ramp. The rest of deportees would die immediately in the gas chambers of Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Other nations sent there included Roms and Sinti.⁴ As the Germans managed to destroy most of the records, the exact number of these victims is unknown, but most historians estimate that about 1100000 – 1300000 people were killed there. These are the smallest numbers—in the years to come the estimates will probably grow much higher.⁵

Auschwitz was operational until the beginning of the year 1945. On January, 27 1945, the Soviet soldiers of the 60th Army of the First Ukrainian Front entered the German concentration and extermination camp in

Remembrance, Warsaw 2021, pp. 9–26.

³ See also H. Paprocki, *Niektóre okoliczności aresztowania i pobytu w więzieniu Pawiak ks. archimandryty Grzegorza Peradze, Wiadomości Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego*, 1987, vol. 2–3, pp. 68–72.

⁴ Ibid, vol. 3: *Zagłada*, Oświęcim Brzezinka 1995.

⁵ Adolf Eichman who was responsible for executing the Endlösung der Judenfrage project and Rudolf Hoess, the longest serving commandant of Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp testified during their trials that the number of victims was 2,500 000. Witold Pilecki, the Home Army officer who voluntarily infiltrated Auschwitz to draw up reports detailing German atrocities there estimated that 2,000 000–5,000 000 people were killed there. The Soviet commission investigating the Auschwitz genocide in 1945 estimated that the biggest possible number of victims was 5,000 000.

Auschwitz and liberated the old camp Auschwitz I, as well as Auschwitz II (Birkenau).⁶

Father Peradze was sent to Auschwitz at the moment the camp was being transformed into “a death factory”. The Konzentrationslager Auschwitz was supplemented with a direct extermination center at Birkenau, where the prisoners were exterminated in the gas chambers. In January 1942 Auschwitz II was appointed the main institution responsible for implementing “the Final Solution to the Jewish Question” (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*).⁷ This choice was made by the Head of the SS and Chief of the German Police, Heinrich Himmler, who created the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA). Since then, Auschwitz has become a universal symbol of terror and genocide. The prisoners, albeit lesser in number, were also killed in Auschwitz I, a forced labor camp, where Father Peradze was detained. Between several thousands and as many as 20 thousand prisoners were kept there at any given time, and their number was constantly changing. Although, technically, it was not just “a death factory” of Birkenau kind, in Auschwitz I prisoners were terrorized into submission and killed on a daily basis.

Father Peradze was one of many priests detained in the camp. It is estimated that no fewer than 464 clergymen from Poland and other European countries, mainly France, Czech and Austria,⁸ were sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp during the World War II. The camp authorities treated them very harshly and every attempt at engaging in religious practices was severely punished. Although the inmates were of about thirty nationalities, Father Peradze was most probably the only Georgian to be sent there.⁹ His stay in Auschwitz was very short and lasted barely over a month. According to his death certificate he died as a martyr's death on December 6, 1945.¹⁰

⁶ D. C z e c h, *Kalendarz wydarzeń w KL Auschwitz*, Oświęcim-Brzezinka 1992.

⁷ The decision to commence this genocide was taken on 20 January 1942, at a meeting of fifteen high ranking representatives of the German Nazi party (NSDAP), the Security Police and the Third Reich administration was held at the villa Minoux on the Greater Wannsee.

⁸ *Duchowieństwo wśród więźniów Auschwitz*, *Niedziela*, 14 June 2017; *Duchowni z Auschwitz. Ogniowa próba wiary*, KAI, 27 January 2018 (<https://pl.aleteia.org/2018/01/27/duchowni-z-auschwitz-ogniowa-proba-wiary/>).

⁹ J. G a r l i ń s k i, *Oświęcim walczący*, p. 180; J. S e h n, *Obóz koncentracyjny Oświęcim-Brzezinka*, Warszawa 1964, p. 39. It seems plausible that these authors do not take into consideration the Georgian POWs who were the Red Army soldiers.

¹⁰ This date was given on the wire sent from KL Auschwitz on December 11 1942 r. – H. Paprocki, *Życie i dzieło św. Grzegorza Peradze*, p. 23.

As we have no records of what exactly happened on that day, it is impossible to reconstruct the circumstances leading to Peradze's death. There are two versions of these events, both based on the oral testimonies of other inmates.¹¹ According to the first witness, Father Peradze took the blame for stealing some bread from the camp kitchen. Such an offence, in reality committed by some other prisoner, was punishable with death of the whole Kommando (a team of inmates who work together). The second witness claims that Father Peradze volunteered to replace another prisoner who had been sentenced to die and who, as Peradze knew, had a family.¹² Most probably, Father Peradze had to line up and was executed by firing squad against the special wall (called the "Death Wall,") which stood between Block 10 and Block 11. His martyrs' death was the heroic feat proving his vocation and his profound belief in humanism.

The research on Father Peradze's life, martyrdom and death took decades. Although his canonization process was commenced just after the war it was only completed on September, 19, 1995. Then, the Council of Orthodox Church of Georgia declared that in recognition of his heroic death and his pious life devoted to divine worship and service, he is an officially recognized saint. Today he is also recognized as the Monk Martyr by the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.¹³

The Martyrs' Death of Father Peradze is commemorated in the former camp of Auschwitz and Birkenau. There, in September 2005 his memory was celebrated during the special commemoration service attended by Ilya II of Georgia the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia and the spiritual leader of the Georgian Orthodox Church who came to Poland invited by Metropolitan Sawa the Archbishop of Warsaw and Metropolitan of All Poland. The 70th Anniversary of Peradze's martyrs' death was commemorated in 2012 when the Panichiada (Orthodox Memorial Service) was celebrated by the "Death Wall" between Block 10 and Block 11 and attended by President Michel Saakaszwili and the delegation of the Patriarchate of the Georgian Orthodox Church.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 25–26; J. Charkiewicz, *Męczennicy XX wieku. Martyrologia Prawosławia w Polsce w biografiach świętych*, Warsaw 2008, p. 182.

¹² *Auschwitz-Birkenau były niemiecki nazistowski obóz koncentracyjny i zagłady*, <http://www.auschwitz.org/historia/kary-i-egzekucje/rozstrzelania>.

¹³ H. Paprocki, *Życie i działalność św. Grzegorza Peradze*, p. 28; J. Charkiewicz, *Męczennicy XX wieku*, pp. 83–101.

¹⁴ *Oświęcim: uroczystości 70. rocznicy śmierci św. Grzegorza Peradze z udziałem prezydenta Gruzji*, KAI, 9 December 2012.

Father Peredze remains the most recognizable Orthodox victim of Auschwitz. His pious and studious life, his invaluable contribution to Christian theology and the history of the Church, and his heroic self-sacrificial death have made him world-famous.¹⁵ The Georgian priest, who was also a Polish intellectual persecuted for, among other things, helping Jews, has become an universal embodiment of the terror-defying Love Thy Neighbor ideal.

Auschwitz – the last station of Saint Griogol Peradze's life

The paper is devoted to the last tragic period of the life of Father Grigol Peradze who was a eminent scientist, priest and intellectual killed by the Nazis in the death camp Konzentrationslager Auschwitz. The paper discusses Father Peradze's attitude to the German occupation of the part of Poland known as Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete and also briefly presents the history of Auschwitz. Auschwitz was created as a concentration camp and then transformed into a death camp where, among other inmates, clergymen of diverse confessions many denominations were cruelly murdered.

Thanks to his invaluable intellectual contribution to theology, his research in the History of the Church and also his martyrdom and canonization, Archimandite Grigol Peradze is the best known Orthodox victim of Auschwitz.

Key words: KL Auschwitz, Saint Grigol Peradze.

¹⁵ The canonized saints of the Roman Christian Church: Saint Maksymilian Maria Kolbe and Saint Teresa Benedykta of the Cross were also killed in KL Auschwitz. In 1999 Pope John Paul II beatified other Polish martyrs of Auschwitz: Father Jan Antonin Bajewski, Father Ludwik Pius Bartosik, Father Stanisław Tymoteusz Trojanowski, Father Piotr Bonifacy Żukowski, Father Piotr Edward Dańkowski, Father Bolesław Strzelecki, Rev. Kazimierz Sykulski, Rev. Roman Sitko, Rev. Wojciech Nierychlewski, Brother Feliks Ducki, Father Anicet Kopliński, Rev. Józef Kowalski, Rev. Józef Jankowski, as well as the nuns: Sister Maria Klemensa Staszewska and Sister Katarzyna Celestyna. See J. G a r l i ń s k i, *Oświęcim walczący*, Londyn 1974, pp. 271–272. See also *Idziemy*, 20 February 2015; <http://www.idziemy.pl/spoleczenstwo/duchowni-w-kl-auschwitz/>.

ROMAN MILITARY SETTLEMENTS IN COLCHI 1ST – 4TH CENTURY AD (ACCORDING TO WRITER SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS)*

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Historical-geographical overview

When we talk about old Colchis, we mean western Georgia. It is difficult to determine exactly where the territory of Colchis extended from. There are several opinions on the issue. One part of the scholars places this region west to Sinop and further away, while the other limits the area to modern Georgian settlements. The eastern border is also problematic, Krasnov divided Colchis into southern and northern parts and named the River Cholok as their border.¹

According to one part of the researchers Colchis is divided into several parts according to its regions and centers: 1. South-western Colchis – economic center Pichvnari. This region includes modern Adjara (both along the coast and in mountainous areas) and the coastline of Ozurgeti municipality, which extends from Gonio to Ureki; 2. Central Coast of Colchis – Economic Center Phasis, which includes the coast of modern Lanchkhuti Municipality, city of Poti and its environs, Khobi, Zugdidi and Gali municipalities; 3. North-western Colchis – the economic center is Dioscuria. The region includes the territory of modern Abkhazia, both along the coast and inland areas, with the exception of Gali; 4. Central Colchis, South of river Rioni – with Old Vani in the center. It includes the inner parts of Ozurgeti and Lanchkhuti municipalities, Chokhatauri municipality, the part of Senaki, Abasha and Samtredia municipalities located south of the Rioni River, as well as Vani and Baghdad municipalities. 5. Central Colchis, North of river Rioni. Due to the lack of a distinct

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¹ А. К р а с н о в, *Южная Колхида. Знание для всех*, vol. 8, 1915, p. 5.

center in the 5th-1st centuries BC, the region may have been subordinated to the old Vani.² 6. The region of Eastern Colchis, like its predecessor, may have been subordinated to the Old Vani. 7. Northeast Colchis – Center Sairkhe. The region includes mainly modern Sachkhere and Chiatura municipalities. 8. Mountain range of Colchis – the monuments that express the archeological culture of this region are mainly found in Mestia and Oni municipalities. Colchis mountain strip has no center.³

In the Greek world, the name “Colchis” (Colchis) – had earlier acquired a general meaning and often referred to the country on the Black Sea from the Caucasus Mountains to the present-day Trabzon region. However, in addition to such a broad meaning, the term was sometimes used to describe a narrower ethnic or political entity.⁴

Colchis and its predecessor, Daiaeni, are mentioned in Urartian and Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the 12th-8th centuries BC.⁵ According to Strabo, we can say that in the first half of the 1st century AD, the Romans ruled the area from Phasis to the Euphrates and these territories were ruled by Roman-appointed dynasties, although their servants, if necessary, “rebelled” against Roman-appointed rulers.⁶ Strabo names the Heniochi, Kerketoi and Macroni among the state entities of Asia, and says that after the Heniochs there is Colchis, below the Caucasus and the Moskhes Mountains, and then begins to list the “countries” one by one.⁷

Based on Arrian, it is possible to make a reconstruction of the situation that existed in 132 AD. The eastern Black Sea coast was then inhabited by various tribes who had their own kings and most of whom were appointed by the Romans. The situation was different in the southern Black Sea

² V. Tolordava, *Bichvintis nakalakari IV ubani, didi pitiunti* (IV district of Bichvinta town), vol. 2, Tbilisi 1976.

³ D. Akhvlediani, M. Elashvili, M. Kirkitadze, G. Kharabadze, S. Asatiani, *Masalebi dz.v. 5–1 ss-is kolkhetis arkeologiuri tukistbis (namosaxlarebi, masalebi)*, (Materials for the archeological map of Kolkheti of 5th-1st century BC (settlements, cemeteries)), Tbilisi 2017, p. 19.

⁴ *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi* (Essays on the history of Georgia), vol. 1, Tbilisi 1970, p. 273.

⁵ G. Melikishvili, *Shavi zghva dz.ts. 13–12 ss-is asurul-lursmul tsartserebshi, kavkasiis xalxta istoriis sakitxebi* (Black Sea in 13th-12th BC in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, Issues of the history of the peoples of the Caucasus), Tbilisi 1966; *sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, vol. 1, Tbilisi 1970, p. 252.

⁶ T. K auk h e h i s h v i l i, *Tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb* (Sources about Georgia), Tbilisi 1957, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

region, where only one tribe of Sans did not have a king. The tribe was at the same time neighbors and enemies of the Trabzons.⁸

According to Arrian we know that Iberia was quite intruded into in the territory of Colchis, in the area of the Roman division, and they ruled over Zidrits, who lived on the territory of about present-day Adjara. According to his story, the power of influence of Rome spread to Sebastopolis, followed by Pitius,⁹ which seems to have been under the influence of the Bosphorus kingdom.

Based on Ammianus Marcellinus, we can assume that from the territories of ancient centers of the southern and eastern Black Sea regions, only Trapezunt and Pitius continue to flourish with active urban life in the 4th century AD.¹⁰ Marcellinus also mentions the river Phasis and the people from Phasis, who are referred to as the “ancient descendants” of the Egyptians. He also mentions that the next territory that stretches across is Dioscuria.¹¹

“Notitia dignitatum”, which dates back to the beginning of the 5th century AD, mentions the tribes living in Colchis, the cohort of Abazgs and Chans, who were part of the Roman army at that time and were deployed on the right bank of the Nile.¹²

The anonymous author of the fifth century, in his work, tells us that: “From the river Arkabe to the water of Ophiunt, the so-called Ekkhirian tribes used to live, but currently the Machelons and Heniochs are living. From the waters of Apsari to the river of Arkabe so called Bizers lived here earlier, but now Zidrits are living”.¹³ According to the same anonymous source, from Sebastopolis to the “water” of Apsaros the Colchians lived there, which later were renamed “Laz”. This information indicates that already in the 5th century the entire eastern seaside (the territory of Colchis) was called Lazika.¹⁴

⁸ The Sans disobeyed the Romans and as a rule did not “systematically” pay taxes to the treasury, which angered Arrian and made him hope that the Sans would not continue misbehaving, otherwise, he promised, they would be expelled (Arrian, PPE, 1,11).

⁹ Arrian, PPE, 1,18

¹⁰ Amm. Marc.12,16

¹¹ Amm. Marc. 12,24.

¹² Notitia dignitatum 31.

¹³ T. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i, *Tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb* (Sources about Georgia), p. 5.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 7.

Sources and Historiography

Sources, both written and material, play an important role in the study of our history and archaeology, especially when the event or period we are studying dates back to the distant past.

From the written sources the first author of our interest that provides us with information about Colchis is Xenophon (5th-4th centuries BC). In his work “Anabasis” he describes the tribes settled in the territory of Colchis, their attitude towards each other and other tribes.¹⁵

Strabo, who lived and worked on the edge of the Before Common Era and the Common Era, describes in his “Geography” that already in the first half of the 1st century AD, the Romans ruled the area from Phasis to the Euphrates, and they were ruled by dynasties appointed by the Romans.¹⁶

Pliny speaks of the presence of Roman troops in Colchis before 77 AD, naming one Castellum in Sebastopolis, near Dioscuria, and the other in Apsaros. Then he notes that there is Pitius after Sebastopolis, “the richest city” which was robbed by Heniochis.

Arrian’s “Periplus” describes the condition of the detachments and fortresses stationed on the eastern Black Sea coast in 132 AD. The forts, which were the controlling force of the territories under Roman rule. He mentions the following fortresses in his work: Apsaros, Phasis and Sebastopolis.¹⁷

Among the cities, Ammianus Marcellinus mentions Phasis and Dioscuria, “Phasis is a famous city by the river and is still well known Dioscuri”.¹⁸

An anonymous figure in the 5th century provides us with information that more or less seems to repeat Arrian’s references, but at the same time there is something new in his references that is credible and acceptable to us. For example, if you are heading to Dioscuri (Sebastopol) the first port is in Pitius. Unlike Arrian, the anonymous already refers to Apsaros as a village.¹⁹

The 5th century author Zosim describes the siege of Bichvinta by the Scythians, the first invasion of which resulted in the defeat of the Scythians through the efforts of Sukessianus, the commander of the local army.

¹⁵ Xen. 4,1

¹⁶ Strabo, 6.4.2.

¹⁷ T. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i, *Tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb* (Sources about Georgia), p. 9.

¹⁸ *Georgika* (Georgica), vol. 1. Tbilisi 1961, p. 112.

¹⁹ T. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i, *Tsnobebi sakartvelos shesakheb*, p. 9.

After the recruitment of Sukessianus, the Scythians again attacked Bichvinta and even took the castle. After Bichvinta they also attacked Phasis.²⁰

Notitia dignitatum, which translates as “List of all positions and governments, both civilian and military, of East and West,” dating to the early fifth century, refers to Pitius and Sebastopolis as fortresses named as wings and cohorts.²¹ At Sebastopolis stood the first cavalry cohort (XXXVIII) named on behalf of Claudius, which was hierarchically subordinated to the “Armenian ruler” of Dux Armenic, not Cappadocia. According to the same source, one “Ala Felix Theodosiana” (at least 500 horsemen) is camped in Pitius.²²

4th century author Procopius of Caesarea tells us the history of naming Apsaros and then already mentions how populated the city is. The theater around the city, the hippodrome and “many other things” that the city had. Then Procopius mentions Sebastopolis and Pitius. He notes that the Romans placed Roman soldiers in these fortresses from the beginning and that they had guards until his time, that is, until the time of Procopius.²³

The Novels of Justinian, which date back to the 6th century, mention Petra, Pitius, and Sebastopolis, which he considers to be fortresses rather than cities.²⁴

Inscriptions from Italy and Egypt are important from the **epigraphic materials**. The material found in Italy speaks of someone named Marcus Plaetorius Celer, who was Praeposites humerorum tendentiu in Ponto Absaro, who was rewarded by Emperor Trajan for his participation in the battle against the Parthians (years 113–117), who at the same time served as the head of Roman support Cohort for some time, which at that time was located in Apsaros. The given information allows us to assume that by this time, during 113–117, a supporting cohort was stationed in Gonio-Apsaros.²⁵

In Egypt, a papyrus was found in Faiyum in 2nd century AD containing information about someone called Marcial who was a veteran of Cohorta II Claudina, a cohort which was deployed at Apsaros. According

20 Ibid, p. 269.

21 *Georgika* (Georgica), vol. 1, p. 37.

22 G. Lortkipanidze, *Bichvintis nakalakari* (Town of Bitvhvinta), Tbilisi 1991, p. 57.

23 *Georgika* (Georgica), vol. 1, p. 105.

24 Ibid, p. 37.

25 S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, *Вестник древней истории*, Moscow 2002, p. 33.

to M. Spidel, Cohorta II Claudina was an auxiliary cohort of the Roman Empire, based in Cappadocia in the middle of the 2nd century AD. As a confirmation to the fact, we can consider the inscription on the bricks discovered during the archeological excavations in 1995–1998 with the initials COH and II, which archaeologists attribute to Cohorta II Claudina.²⁶ Important inscriptions include the inscriptions on the bricks and tiles found in Gonio-Apsaros:

Overall four copies of inscription COH II [---] or similar were found: two on a roof tile, two on a brick. Bricks were found in the so-called “Principia”. The discovered layer dates back to 1st-3rd centuries AD. Fragments of a tile with a similar inscription have been found in Therma, but the layer in which it was found belongs to the Byzantine period, archaeologists suggest, the tile was used a second time. Scholars define the inscription as: COH II [CLA], read as Coh (ors) II Cla (udia) or Cla (udiana).²⁷

Two copies of the inscription I SAGI or [II] I SAGI were found, with one being completely preserved, the probable reconstruction of which is as follows: (Cohors) I sagi (ttaria) or (Cohors) [II] I sagi (ttaria).²⁸ From what has been known until now, there was an auxiliary cohort here, part of the army in the province of Cappadocia, and it is probable that this inscription also belonged to them Cohors III Syrorum sagittariorum.²⁹ However, archaeologists believe that there may have been three cohorts of archers: Cohors I Bosporanorum milliaria equitata sagittaria.³⁰ or Co-

²⁶ M. P. Spidel, *The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis, in studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms III, 13 Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen*. Stuttgart 1985, p. 106; S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, *Вестник древней истории*, p. 34.

²⁷ M. P. Spidel, *The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis, in studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms III, 13 Internationaler Limeskongress, Aalen*, p. 106; S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, *Вестник древней истории*, p. 34; E. Kakhidze, A Roman Fort in Southwestern Georgia, *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence, Black Sea Studies* 8, Aarhus 2008, p. 19; T. B. Mitford, *East of Asia Minor*, Oxford 2018, p. 412.

²⁸ S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, *Вестник древней истории*, p. 35; E. Kakhidze, A Roman Fort in Southwestern Georgia, *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence, Black Sea Studies* 8, p. 20; T. B. Mitford, *East of Asia Minor*, Oxford 2018, p. 550.

²⁹ M. Spidel, *The Development of the Roman Forces in Northeastern Anatolia. New evidence for the history of the exercitus Cappadocicus, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 617.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 612.

hors I Ituraeorum milliaria equitata sagittaria.³¹ or Cohors I Numidarum (equitata?).

COH ∞ [-] inscribed tile, was found in the Roman layer.³² The seal was probably worn by the Cohors milliaria equitata civium Romanorum.³³ If this assumption is correct then the inscription reads as: COH ∞ CR – Coh (ors) milliaria c (ivium) R (omanorum).

The second ∞ sign was found in the fortress of Gonio-Apsaros. This indicates that the signatures of this group represent the production of the same military unit as discussed above, or Cohors milliaria equitata civium Romanorum.

The X sign is depicted on ceramic pipes, which are dated to the 2nd century AD.³⁴ Ceramic materials with similar images were discovered in Satala)³⁵ in 2004 and they were found in a layer of humus. A similar image engraved on the tiles was also found.

The stone, which shows only two letters, was discovered last year, in 2020. The stone reads DM, archaeologists define it as: Dis Manibus, on the basis of this definition it is suggested that it belonged to the tombstone.

The epigraphic material of Gonio-Apsaros is also particularly interesting, which has not been published yet, but is in the process of being studied.³⁶ Graphites consisting of one letter (X, P, Ψ ...) are engraved on fragments of pitchers, amphorae, lutheria of the Roman period, mainly around the handles, neck.³⁷ Among the inscriptions found in Gonio is the Latin inscription on the lamp: C.CO H AVR C.R. Archaeologists have interpreted this inscription as follows: The first letter C is the initial of

³¹ Ibid, p. 616.

³² R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, S. Mamuladze, L. Aslanischvili, M. Daszkiewicz, Ceramic building material from the Roman forts on the Cholchis coast: archaeology and archaeoceramological analysis. *Polish archaeology in the Mediterian* vol. 27, Warszawa 2018.

³³ M. Speidel, *the Development of the Roman Forces in Northeastern Anatolia. New evidence for the history of the exercitus Cappadocicus, Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, p. 617.

³⁴ S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, вестник древней истории, p. 38; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, S. Mamuladze, L. Aslanischvili, M. Daszkiewicz, Ceramic building material from the Roman forts on the Cholchis coast: archaeology and archaeoceramological analysis. *Polish archaeology in the Mediterian* vol. 27, p. 500.

³⁵ Satala became an important spot in the system of formation of the Roman Empire. It was located in Anatolia (present-day Turkey). Satala housed the XV Apollinaris, which guarded the northeastern border of the Roman Empire for centuries.

³⁶ Archaeologist Nino Dzneldadze is working on the material.

³⁷ (G.A. 2018/120; G.A. 2016 / 193,202,224; G.A. 2017 / 164,165; G.A. 2018/251 ...).

the owner, the later letters COH belong to AVR (elia), probably belonging to the emperor abbreviated initials Marcius Avrelius (161–180 AD). The last two syllables are defined as: C.COH (ors) AVR (elia) c (ivium) R (omanorum).³⁸

In 1896, a stone with an inscription was discovered during construction works in Sokhumi, near the sea. On one side of the stone the red color and Latin inscriptions have been preserved. The inscription was interpreted by specialists as: “Hadrian built this port through Flavius Arrian”.³⁹

A fragment of Latin inscription was found during the construction works on the territory of Sokhumi fortress. It read LEG.⁴⁰ The fragment has been lost.

In 1998, during an archeological excavation on the territory of the Sukhumi Fortress, an ancient Greek inscription was discovered, made of local limestone tiles. 5 strophes are preserved:

1. Ordinance of the people, to express admiration, payable, equipped (yours?) [Triremes] (wind?). The arrangement of the letters, the sequence, the style and other hints allow archaeologists to assume that the monument belongs to the 2nd century.⁴¹

Archeological expeditions in Sokhumi Fortress have been resumed since 1999. Excavations were carried out near the seashore. Among the materials found were several alphabetic symbols and a piece of graphite expressed on a fragment of the amphora neck of the 2nd-3rd century: a) A (alpha) – as one symbol, as well as a combination with other symbols; In this case, when expressing with other characters: Alpha – the first letter with straight sides and a horizontal line in the middle. The second scratch is simple, with one long line; B). Ligature consisting of three letters.⁴²

In Bichvinta during archeological excavations three fragments with inscriptions were discovered. One of them was found in a tower near Inkiti Lake, in the 1st-2nd century layer. The inscription reads LEG. The second fragment was found in the Castellum of Pitius, which dates to the end of the 2nd century. Part of the seal (stamp) was also found at the south gate, with surviving inscriptions: G and XV. In the layer of the 2nd-3rd

³⁸ S. Mamuladze, M. Khalvashi, L. Aslanishvili, Римские гарнизоны Апсара, *Вестник древней истории*, p. 33.

³⁹ В. Курптин, *Материалы к археологии Колхиды*, Tbilisi 1949, p. 154.

⁴⁰ V. Lekvinadze, Понтийский Лимес, *ВДИ*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1969.

⁴¹ V. Vetrogradova, *Новая греческая надпись из раскопках сухумской крепости, в Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры*, Moscow 2002, p. 385; A. Gabelia, *Абхазия в предантичную и античную эпохи*, Sukhumi 2014, p. 483.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 452.

centuries.⁴³ Only one letter G has remained on the tile. Archaeologists define the inscription found according to analogues as: LEG [IO] XV [Apollinaris].⁴⁴

Latin inscribed brick VEX.FA was found in Tsikhisdziri. Archaeologists have suggested that it belonged to the Phasis workshop. The researchers read the inscription as: vex (Illationes Legionum XII] F (ulminatae) et XV A (polinaris), which testifies to the joint construction activities of the XII and XV legions. In this case, it is thought that the soldiers of the Phasis garrison carried out some military engineering work on Petra, which, according to Spidel, could have been an outpost of Apsaros, rather than a Phasis-dependent fortification.⁴⁵

Research Interest in our topic derives from the beginning of the twentieth century. However, more intensive work in this regard began in the 1960s, when the Niko Berdzenishvili Research Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences conducted small-scale scientific work in Gonio-Apsaros.

In 1994 Gonio-Apsaros Museum-Reserve was founded. Since 1995, the Gonio-Apsaros Museum-Reserve has been conducting archeological research every year, on the basis of which a multi-volume research – “Gonio-Apsaros” – has been created. Gonio-Apsaros permanent expedition cooperates with international archeological research centers and universities.

The “reconnaissance” of the Poti-Phasis area was carried out as early as 1834 by Frédéric Dubois de Montpereux, when he was to the east of Poti, in the area of the present-day aerodrome.⁴⁶ In 1953, Nino Khoshtaria conducted small archeological excavations in the vicinity of Poti.⁴⁷ In 1961–65 and 1971–80, archeological research of Poti surroundings was conducted at by Iv. Javakhishvili Institute of History, Ethnography and Archaeology. Since 1985, excavations in Poti have been carried out by the Black Sea Hydro-Archaeological Expedition of the Archaeological

⁴³ N. Kiguradze, G. Lortkipanidze, T. Todua, Клейма XV легиона из Пицундского городища, *ВДИ*, vol. 2, 1987, p. 88.

⁴⁴ G. Gamkrelidze, *Sakartvelos romauli Xanis arqeologia*” (Archeology of Roman period in Georgia), Tbilisi 2014, p. 13.

⁴⁵ N. Khoshtaria, *Tsikhisdziri* (Tsikhisdziri), Tbilisi 1962; M. P. Spidel, Kavkasiis sazghvari II saukuneshi. garniozenebi apsarosshi, petrasa da pazisshi (The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis in II AD), *Matsne*, vol. 1, Tbilisi 1985, p. 138.

⁴⁶ Fr. Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage autour du Caucase chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Georgie en Armenie et Crimee*, Paris 1943.

⁴⁷ N. Khoshtaria, *Tsikhisdziri*, Tbilisi 1962.

Research Center of the Georgian Academy of Sciences under the leadership of Gela Gamkrelidze. Over the last decade, international studies have been conducted to determine the localization of Phasis, involving both the Georgian and German parties.

Archaeological research in the vicinity of the Sokhumi fortress began in 1952. In 1958–1959, the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR participated in the excavations led by Apakidze, L. Shervashidze and M. Traps. Underwater surveys were conducted as part of the expedition. Since the 90s of the XX century, the Georgian side can no longer continue archeological expeditions. The material that is currently available to us is the materials found during the ongoing expedition in 1999–2002, which were worked on by V. Vetrogradov, G. Shamba and A. Gabelia. Publications published in various Abkhazian or Russian magazines.

Archaeological excavations of Bichvinta started in 1952 under the leadership of A. Apakidze, whereas from 1975 they were carried out under the leadership of G. Lortkipanidze. Articles about the archeological discoveries in Pitius can be found in the multi-volume works – “Great Pitius”, where archaeologists working on the monument provide their reports and conclusions. Researches to explore Bichvinta Cape and Fortress were discontinued in the twenty-first century, with only accidental discoveries in 2009 can be outlined in the articles devoted by R. Bartsits.

Material remains

Archaeological material excavated in the forts of interest to us accurately replicates the information given in the sources, and accordingly the excavated material once again confirms the period of the setting up and departure of garrisons in Roman Colchis.

Among the materials found in Gonio-Apsaros, Bichvinta and Sokhumi are **amphorae**, the types of which are sometimes used simultaneously in the castles of our interest.

Brown amphorae, characterized by a concave body and a ribbed neck, were found in the materials extracted in Gonio-Apsaros. Similar types of amphorae were made in the 2nd century AD.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ M. Khalvashi, Gonio-apsarosis shida cixis centraluri natsilis arkeologiuri gatxrebis shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi (report of archaeological excavations of the central part of the inner fortress of Gonio-Apsaros), *Gonio-Apsaros* vol. 3, Batumi 2002, p. 14.

Double-handled amphorae, characterized by a double handles, a carrot-shaped body and an arched bottom, amphorae were found in Gonio-Apsaros, and dates to the middle of 1st century AD.⁴⁹

Amphorae with edge-pointed handles found in Gonio-Apsaros are considered to be a product originating from Sinop because of the clay structure of similar types of amphorae. In Gonio-Apsaros it was widely spread in 1st century BC and 1st century AD. This type of amphorae continues to exist till the beginning of 2nd century AD.⁵⁰

Funnel-shaped neck amphorae, the mentioned specimens were discovered in Apsaros, Bichvinta and Sebastopolis in the upper level of the layers dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.⁵¹ Researchers name the western coasts of Asia Minor as the production center.

Narrow-necked amphorae, found in Gonio-Apsaros, Sebastopol and Bichvinta. I. Zeest, suggested that their origin was connected with Asia Minor, in particular with the southern Black Sea region.⁵² I. Kamenetsky dates similar amphorae to the 1st-3rd centuries AD, and, like Zeest, considers the southern shores of the Black Sea to be the center of production.⁵³ T. Knipovich and V. Gaidukevich considered Sinop as the production center where these amphorae were produced.⁵⁴

Amphorae with handles sculpted and attached are known from Gonio-Apsaros, Lake Inkita, Bichvinta and Sokhumi. Archaeologists attribute them to the Sinop type.⁵⁵ Similar amphorae in both the northern and eastern Black Sea coasts date back to 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

Upward-gazing amphorae, fragments of similar type of amphorae were found in Gonio-Apsaros, in the layers containing the first half of 2nd and 3rd AD.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 25.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 28; K. Berdzenishvili, R. Phuturidze, *Bichvintashi mopovebuli amporebi, didi pitinuri* (Amphoras found in Bichvinta), Tbilisi 1975, p. 251.

⁵² I. Zeest, *Керамическая тара Боснора*, Moscow 1960, p. 15.

⁵³ I. Kamenetskiy, Светлоглинные амфоры с Нижне-Гниловского городища, *КСИА* vol. 116, Moscow 1969, p. 30.

⁵⁴ V. Gaidukevich, Раскопки Тиритаки в 1935–1940 гг, *МИА*, vol. 25, Moscow 1952, p. 96; M. Khalvashi, *Gonio-apsarosis shida tsikhis centraluri natsilis arkeologiuri gatkhebis shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (Report of archaeological excavations of the central part of the inner fortress of Gonio-Apsaros, Gonio-Apsaros), vol. 3, Batumi 2002, p. 30.

⁵⁵ M. Khalvashi, *Gonio-apsarosis shida cixis centraluri natsilis arkeologiuri gatxebis shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (Report of archaeological excavations of the central part of the inner fortress of Gonio-Apsaros), *Gonio-Apsaros*, vol. 3, Batumi 2002, p. 34.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 35.

Large red amphorae, thick-walled: have a broad neck and handles decorated with massive cannelures. According to archeological data, this type of amphorae is mainly date back to the beginning of the 2nd century AD and 3rd century AD. The same is true of the Gonio-Apsaros samples.⁵⁷

High, cylindrical bulging neck and outward-facing amphora. According to the contemporary materials, this amphora dates back to the end of 1st century AD. M. Khalvashi considers Sinop as the center of production.⁵⁸

Large thick-walled, wide-necked amphorae. These types of amphorae were found in Bichvinta in the layers dating to the first half of 3rd century AD. The artefacts of Sebastopolis also date to about the same period, whereas in Gonio-Apsaros similar samples were found in the cultural layer dating to the beginning of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD.⁵⁹

A characteristic feature of the next type is the with a bulging mouth, towards the shoulder, which is separated from the narrowed neck by indistinct cannelures. In Gonio-Apsaros they are found mainly in the cultural layer of the beginning of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD.⁶⁰

Brown clay, ribbed neck amphorae which dates to 3rd century AD were also widespread in Bichvinta. Similar amphorae were found in the Sukhumi fortress. In the second half of the 4th century in Bichvinta, very thin-walled, light and conical, hollow-heeled amphorae from the inside were widespread. Archaeologists trace their origins to Samo. Similar amphorae continued to exist throughout the 5th century.⁶¹

In the territory of Gonio-Apsaros, **red lacquered pottery** appears from the end of the 1st century AD, and in the 2nd-3rd century their number increases even more.⁶²

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 36.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 37.

⁵⁹ K. Berdzenishvili, R. Phuturidze, *Bichvintashi mopovebuli amporebi, didi pitiunri* (Amphoras found in Bichvinta), Tbilisi 1975, p. 263; M. Khalvashi, *Gonio-apsarosis shida cixis centraluri natsilis arkeologiuri gatkhrebis shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (Report of archaeological excavations of the central part of the inner fortress of Gonio-Apsaros), *Gonio-Apsaros* vol. 3, Batumi 2002, p. 38.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 39.

⁶¹ K. Berdzenishvili, R. Phuturidze, *Bichvintashi mopovebuli amporebi, didi pitiunri* (Amphoras found in Bichvinta), p. 275.

⁶² T. Ebralidze, *Samkhret-dasavlet sakartvelos zgvispireti gvianelinistur da romaul khanashi, gonio-apsarosi* (Seaside of southwest Georgia in Late Hellenistic and Roman times), *Gonio-Apsaros*, vol. 6, Batumi 2005, p. 29.

Most of the red lacquered pottery found in Bichvinta is plain. Discovered pottery covers the period up to 1st-4th century AD. The first century AD is represented by a fragment of a thin-walled and flat – edged bowl.⁶³

The pottery dating back to the 2nd-3rd Century AD is represented by aryballos, pieces of pottery decorated with relief images, fragments of unfolded-edged trays, cups, folded-edged bowls, vertical and cannelur-edged bowls.

The products from the 4th-6th century AD are represented by large, wide, plain and wide-edged cups, folded-edged plates, flat-edged cups, fracture fragments of small, round-shaped and semi-spherical cups, bottoms of plates decorated with various ornaments. Some pottery is represented by only one fractured fragment.

Glassware is quite numerous presented in the area of Gonio-Apsaros. Their chronology is also quite long. 1st century BC through 1st-3rd centuries AD and earliest 6th century AD, Samples of so-called vertical glass cups or other types glassware made of mosaic and molding-pressing are considered to be the produce of the Western Mediterranean.⁶⁴ Most of the goods are made by free glass blowing technique. Naturally, they represent the most numerous and diverse group of samples. It is noteworthy that glassware conveys the same pattern of contacts with the Roman or Byzantine world as we see in Apsaros in other series of finds (pottery, imported pottery, coins, etc.).

The earliest **coin** found in Gonio-Apsaros named after Tiberius is considered to be a denarius minted in Lugdunum (Gaul). The denarius of Augustus in the 1st century was minted in the same mint, as was the similar one was found in Eshera.

Most of the coins from 1st century AD found in Gonio-Apsaros were minted in Antioch, the kingdom of Pontus, Rome, Lugdunum, one on the Bosphorus, Judea, Gadara, Ephesus. Most of the coins are made of copper, dominated by the coins minted in the middle and in the second half of the 1st century AD.

In other fortresses of the eastern Black Sea the coins which date back to the 1st century AD are found in very small quantities. In Abkhazia, a total of 10–15 pieces are known from the coastline.

⁶³ L. A s a t i a n i, *Bichvintis tsitellakiani keramika, didi pitiunti* (red lacquered pottery from Bichvinta), vol. 2, Tbilisi 1977, p. 177.

⁶⁴ T. S h a l i k a d z e, *Minis natsarmi samxret-dasavlet sakartvelos zgvispiretidan* (Glassware from the southwestern littoral of Georgia, Pichvnari), *Gonio-Apsaros*, vol. 9, Batumi-Oxford 2009, p. 54.

Pitius is not distinguished by the abundance of coins from the 1st century AD, and of the coins of that period, only the copper coin of Augustus (years 27 BC-14 AD), Polemon II (49–63 AD), silver coins of King Pontus and Vespasian (69–79 AD), were found one price for the city of Amastris (Pontus). The number of coins from the following centuries increases significantly.⁶⁵

The coins minted by the 2nd century AD are: Trajan, Hadrian, Faustina I, Antonius Pius, Commodus, Septimius. They are minted in Rome, Trabzon, Caesarea, Neocaesarea and other mints in the East.

Caesarean coins dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD occupy a dominant place in the territory of Colchis. Caesarean coins were found in Tsikhisdziri, Ureki, Supsa, Nokalakevi, Vani, Sokhumi, Bichvinta and Gonio-Apsaros.⁶⁶

Most of the coins of 3rd century are made of silver. Most of them were minted in Caesarea, Rome, Trabzon, Thessaloniki, Sinope. A total of 267 coins of the first half of the 3rd century were found in Bichvinta. Most are minted in Trabzon, whereas a relatively small group was minted in Caesarea. More than 100 coins of the second half of the 3rd century are found here. They are minted in Rome, Antioch, Kizik, Meliolanum and Thessaloniki mints.⁶⁷

The materials found in Bichvinta showed that Hadrian (117–138), Caesarean didrachms and Commodus (180–192) coins were still in circulation in the second half of the 3rd century.

The leading position in the monetary-commodity relations of Pitius in the second half of the 4th century is occupied by the emissions of Constantine II Provincial Copper coins along with the coins of Constantine the Great and his successors. According to scholars, there is an interruption in the circulation of money in the last quarter of the 4th century, which must be explained by the devastating expedition of the Huns. Throughout the 5th century, Pitius's monetary economy seems to have declined as the Byzantine garrison really no longer stands here. This fact is also reflected in the coinage, where the 5th century is represented by several copper coins. These are the two coins of Arcadius (395–408), Theodo-

⁶⁵ G. Lortkipanidze, *Bichvintis nakalakari* (Town of Bitvhvinta), Tbilisi 1991, p. 100.

⁶⁶ I. Varshalomidze, *Monetebi gonio-apsarosidan, gonio-apsaros* (Coins from Gonio-Apsaros), *Gonio-Apsaros*, vol. 7, Batumi 2009, p. 53.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

sus V (408–450) and his wife. A new rise in Pitius money circulation has been observed only since the 6th century.⁶⁸

We have to categorize jewelry separately. Among the latest discoveries, a treasure accidentally discovered in 2013 in the vicinity of Gonio-Apsaros, in the village Kapandidi, was particularly interesting. In Kapandidi. It consisted of various specimen of gold and silver: a hanger, buckles, a crown of chyori, a bracelet, a silver-legged cup, and a silver kantharos. They are dated to 1st century AD.⁶⁹ The discovered specimens are decorated with precious stones, which bear a resemblance to the treasures found in Gonio-Apsaros, which was accidentally discovered in 1975 near the Gonio-Apsaros fortress, during road works. The discovered treasure dates back to 1st-2nd centuries AD.⁷⁰

The issue of military organization

The first contact between Colchis and Western civilization is related to Greek colonization. There are differences of opinion in historiography about the functioning of Greek new settlements.⁷¹

Greek colonization on the territory of Colchis began in the 6th century BC. The Greeks established empirions on the eastern Black Sea coast: Phasis, Gienos, and Dioscuri. The main purpose of establishing empirions was trade.

⁶⁸ G. Lortkipanidze, *Bichvintis nakalakari* (Town of Bitvhvinta), p. 105.

⁶⁹ A. Kakhidze, T. Shalikadze, T. Putkaradze, *Batumis arkeologiuri muzeumis sagandzuri, katalogi* (Treasurer of Archaeological museum of Batumi, Catalog), Tbilisi 2015; K. Digmelashvili, *Kabandidis baltebis sheswawlis sakitkhistvis, shromebi* (For the study of Kabandidi buckles, Works), Batumi 2019, p. 155.

⁷⁰ O. Lorkiphanidze, T. Mikeladze, D. Khakhutaishvili, *Gonios gandzi* (Treasurer of Gonio), Tbilisi 1980; A. Kakhidze, T. Shalikadze, T. Putkaradze, *Batumis arkeologiuri muzeumis sagandzuri, katalogi* (Treasurer of Archaeological museum of Batumi, Catalog), Tbilisi 2015.

⁷¹ N. Lomouri, *Egrisis samefos istoria* (Histori of Egrisi Kingdom), Tbilisi 1968, p. 61; O. Lorkiphanidze, *Bichvintis shidatsikhis XIII nakvetis arkeologiuri gatkhrebi da iq aghmochenili arkitekturuli kompleksebi, didi pitiumi* (Archaeological excavations of plot XIII of Bichvinta inner fortress and the architectural complex found there), Tbilisi 1975, p. 56; I. Brashinski, *Основные черты греко-варварской торговли в античном Причерноморье и ее особенности в Колхиде*, Издательство Тбилисского университета, Tbilisi 1980, p. 98; A. Kakhidze, M. Vikers, *Kolkhebi da berdnebi agmosavlet shavizgvispiretshi, Pichvnari VI* (Colchians and Greeks in Eastern Black sea cost), vol. 6, Batumi-Oxford 2004; A. Kakhidze, *Antikuri samkaro agmosavlet shavizgvispiretshi, pichvnari* (Antiquity in Eastern black Sea cost, Pichvnati), vol. 2, Batumi-Oxford 2007; A. Kakhidze, E. Kakhidze, *Agmosavletshavizgvispiretis berdnuli kolonizatsiis shedegebi, pichvnari* (Consequences of Greek colonization of the Eastern Black Sea), *Pichvnari* vol. 5, Batumi-Oxford 2014.

Strabo's "Geography" provides interesting information about the socio-political development of Colchis, and it contains a note: "How famous this country was in ancient times is evidenced by the myths about Jason's journey. After that, the successor kings divided the country into *skeptuchs* and had moderate power".⁷² It seems that thanks to the moderate power of the central government, *skeptuchs* began to aspire to independence, which eventually resulted in the weakening and disintegration of the Kingdom of Colchis at the end of 5th century.

From the verge of the 2nd-1st century BC, Mithridates VI Eupator started appearing on the political arena of Colchis, who conquered the coastal cities of Colchis and joined it to the kingdom of Pontus on the verge of 2nd – 1st centuries BC.⁷³

Annexation of Colchis by the Kingdom of Pontus should have taken place in 111–110 BC, but Mithridates' controversy with Rome brought the latter to the Caucasus. In 65 BC Pompey defeated Mithridates and Colchis, as well as Armenia and Iberia and subordinated to Roman rule.⁷⁴ Pompey left Aristarchus in Colchis.

At the time of the appearance of the Romans, inner Colchis was divided and ruled by *skeptuchs*. Gamkrelidze notes that it is possible that some part of it could have been affected by the political influence of Iberia, while others could have pursued a separatist, relatively independent policy.⁷⁵

In 44 BC, unrest broke out again in Rome. After the assassination of Julius Caesar, confrontation broke out between the so-called Caesareans and the Republicans. Eventually power passed into the hands of Caesarian supporters, who formed a second triumvirate which included Gnius Octavian, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus. The Triumvirs divided the provinces: the East fell to Antonius, and he immediately set out for Asia. By that time Roman power here had been weakened. The measures taken by him changed the system of governing the eastern provinces, which

⁷² Strabo, 12, 2, 18

⁷³ G. Dundua, Samoneto mimoktseva da savajro ekonomikuri urtiertobani bichvintashi numizmatikuri masalebis mikhedvit dz.ts. II ax.ts. IV ss, didi pitiunti (Coin circulation and trade economic relations in Bichvinta according to numismatic materials BC. II AD. IV cc.) *didi pitiunti* vol. 1, Tbilisi 1975, p.146; G. Gamkrelidze, *Kolkhetshi romanizaciis globalisturi procesis mimdinareobis shesaxeb, kolkxologiuri narkvevebi* (On the progress of the globalist process of Romanization in Colchis), *Colchological Essays*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 2010, p. 35.

⁷⁴ G. F. Hind, *Mithridates, The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IX, Cambridge 2008.

⁷⁵ G. Gamkrelidze, *Kolkhetshi romanizaciis globalisturi procesis mimdinareobis shesakheb, kolkxologiuri narkvevebi* (On the progress of the globalist process of Romanization in Colchis), *Colchological Essays*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 2010, p. 44.

was established first by Pompey and then by Caesar. Antonius restored or re-created the whole system of kingdoms dependent on Rome and put the dynasts he preferred at their head. The kingdom of Pontus was also restored, at the head of which Antonius first appointed Darius, son of Parnake, and later replaced him with Polemon, ruler of Cilicia. Sources say nothing about the situation in Colchis at that time, or who ruled it after the death of Mithridates of Pergamon. According to Strabo, Colchis was ruled by Polemon, who ruled the kingdom of Pontus and the Bosphorus along with Colchis.⁷⁶

Polemon I, a city dynast appointed by Antonius, enjoyed the support of Augustus. In about the 8 CE, when Polemon died, his kingdom was handed over to his widow, Pythodorus, and she married Archelaus I, ruler of Cappadocia, uniting Colchis and Cappadocia. In 17 AD, when Archelaus died, Cappadocia was directly subordinated to the Roman administration, and Pythodorus again ruled her kingdom, including Colchis, until her death. In 18 AD, her son Zeno was enthroned in Armenia under the name of Artaxerxes, and her daughter Tryphaena married King Cotys VIII of Thrace. In 38 CE, Gaius bequeathed all three of Tryphaena's sons to kingdoms: Romes became king of Thrace, Cotys received small Armenia, and Polemon inherited the kingdom of his grandmother.⁷⁷

Thus Colchis became part of Polemon Pontus and remained so until the time of the emperor Nero, until in 64 AD, Nero annexed the kingdom of Polemon II. The abolition of the kingdom was a political decision for Nero, which had its reasons. For Nero, this region served a different purpose. His aim was to start a campaign in the Caucasus, because he planned a campaign in India, for which he formed a special legion Legion I Italica, which he called his "Alexandrians". As D. Braund points out in his work, Nero's project included Ethiopia, perhaps at the same time the emperor paid homage to Sesostris himself, who is said to have marched even better than Alexander in the East, and whose invasion of Colchis also began in Ethiopia, but was a part of more grandiose campaign. Nero was not able to carry out this campaign because of his murder or suicide.⁷⁸

Since 64 AD the eastern Black Sea region is observed to be quite destabilized, an example of which is the Revolt of Anicetus in 68–69 AD. It

⁷⁶ N. L o m o u r i, *Romaelta lashkroba iberiasa da kolxetsgi, romaelebi samkhret-dasavlet sakartveloshi. Samkhret-dasavlet sakartvelos narkvevebi* (Roman expedition to Iberia and Colchis. Romans in Southeastern Georgia), *Essays in South-West Georgia*, Batumi 2007.

⁷⁷ D. B r a u n d, *Sakartvelo antikur khanashi* (Georgian in Antiquity), Batumi 2014, p. 252.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

is possible that after these events Vespasian decided to deploy a Roman military forces in Colchis. Pliny also speaks of the presence of Roman troops in Colchis before 77 AD, who moved one Castellum to Sebastopolis near Dioscuri and the other to Apsaros in modern-day Gonio.⁷⁹

Arriane's "Periplus", which dates back to 132 AD, is also a very important source as it describes his journey to the eastern Black Sea coast. It turns out that in his time there were local rulers, some of whom had received royal authority from Trajan and Hadrian. The only exceptions are the Sans, as they had no king and at the same time were not subject to the requirements and order of Rome.⁸⁰

In 132 AD. Arrian mentions Roman castles and the number of soldiers in them. According to him, five cohorts were stationed at Apsaros,⁸¹ which was a very significant accumulation of military force. It has been suggested that Cohors II claudiana,⁸² stood there. The inscription from Italy mentions that someone N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer was praepositus humerorum tendentium in Porto Absaro. In Phasis there were a total of 400 men, although they were an elite force. Arrian calls them "select men" armed with artillery. There were both infantry and cavalry in Sebastopolis, but there is nothing known about their sizes. The standing of the cavalry here indicates the need for a rapid response.⁸³

Arrian names Sebastopolis as the last point in Roman rule on the eastern Black Sea coast. He points out that Sebastopolis is the last point on which the Roman administration extends and ends. As the discoveries of coins and glassware show, the Roman fort must have been established about a decade after Arrian's visit to Pitius, some 58 miles [58 km] north of Sebastopol, along the coast. The inscription on the bricks found here indicates that the garrison vexillatio of legio XV Apollinaris was placed here. Since the time of Hadrian, this legion has been stationed in Satala, south of Trabzon, across the Pontus Mountains.⁸⁴

Some scholars believe that in the beginning of the 2nd century, Trajan, during the preparations for the Eastern expedition, gave formal in-

⁷⁹ Plin. HN 6, 14.

⁸⁰ Periplus, 11.

⁸¹ Periplus, 11,

⁸² M. P. Speidel, *The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis, in studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms III*, vol. 13, internationaler Limesgongres, Aelen. Stuttgart 1986.

⁸³ D. Braund, *Sakartvelo antikur khanashi* (Georgian in Antiquity), p. 264.

⁸⁴ H. Kiguradze, G. Lordkiphanidze, T. Todua, Клейма XV легиона из Пицундского городища, *ВДИ*, vol. 2, 1987.

dependence to the rulers of separate tribal associations in Colchis, thus enabling the establishment of separate “kingdoms” in the Eastern Black Sea region. These “Kingdoms” were separate political entities of Colchis in the 2nd century AD: Macron-Heniokhs, Lazi Apsilae, Apsilae, Abazgi and Sanigi. The fact that during this period a part of the Colchis coast was under the control of the Kingdom of Iberia is particularly interesting. According to Flavius Arrian, the Zidrits living between the Macron-Henioches and the Laz were subject to the kingdom of Parsman, Iberia.⁸⁵

It seems that the relationships established from the beginning of the 2nd century between Rome and the separate “kingdoms” of the eastern Black Sea coast were acceptable to both parties. The main duty of the “friendly” and “allied” rulers approved by Rome was to establish order in their “kingdom” and to provide military assistance to the Roman army if necessary. According to G. Melikishvili, the presence of Roman garrisons on the Colchis coast and the maintenance of a certain political relationship with the empire was beneficial to the rulers of these new unions, as in return for their service, to maintain their power, these “kings” could hope for Roman help if necessary. All these “kingdoms” formed on the territory of Colchis were involved in the unified frontier defense system of the eastern borders of Rome and were under the command of military leadership of Cappadocia. This is evidenced by Arrian’s voyage to the eastern Black Sea, where he informs Adrian about these “kingdoms” and kings. It is also clear from the records that the coast of Colchis was under the direct ownership of the Romans.

The strongest Roman garrison stood at Apsaros in the 2nd century AD. Its main function was to control the sea routes to the Caucasus and to stop the expected aggression by Iberia, already established in the Dzidrit region.⁸⁶ The same defensive system includes Phasis and Sebastopolis, and Pitius from the middle of 2nd century.

As a result of the establishment of the kingdoms on the territory of Colchis in the second half of the 2nd century AD, and their subsequent confrontation, the kingdom of Lazeti started advancing and its borders expanded to the north.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ N. Lomouri, *Egrisis samepos istoria* (History of the Kingdom of Egrisi), Tbilisi 1968, p. 36; K. Phiphia, *Traianes agmosavluri politika da sakartvelo* (Traiane’s easter politics and Georgia), Tbilisi 2005, p. 36.

⁸⁶ M. P. Speidel, *The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis, in studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms*, vol. 13, internationaler Limesgongres, Aelen. p.136.

⁸⁷ G. Melikishvili, *Shavi zghva dz.ts. 13–12 ss-is asurul-lursmul tsartserebshi, kavkasiis*

The events in Rome also affected the provinces conquered by the empire. Rome is characterized by significant changes in the 4th century, which were preceded by processes that, already in the 2nd-3rd centuries, revealed the difference between the eastern and western parts of the empire. The first step in this direction was taken by Diocletian (284–305). During his rule Iberia was divided into two parts. Each was headed by the supreme authority – Augustus and their deputies – the Caesars. The next step was taken during the reign of Constantine I (306–337), when he founded a new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus, in the ancient Greek city of Byzantium, which was later renamed as Constantinople. With its founding, the eastern provinces had a unified political and cultural center. The empire maintained formal unity for a long time, which ended at the end of the 4th century, when the emperor Theodosius I divided the empire between his sons Arcadia and Honorius before his death. As a result, the eastern provinces became a separate state. Colchis also became part of the Eastern Empire, the same Byzantium.

If in the first half of the 3rd and 4th centuries Rome managed to resist Sasanian Iran, from the second half of the 4th century the positions of the Western Empire in the East weakened considerably. Eventually Byzantium was forced to recognize Persian influence in Armenia. Iran, in fact, also ruled in Kartli, which was recognized on the basis of a 387-year truce.

In such a situation the relationship with Lazika could not have remained the same, because in reality only this state remained the stronghold of Eastern Rome, at the same time the situation in Byzantium was getting complicated by nomadic tribes, first the Goths, and the from the 70s of the 4th century by Huns. Therefore, Byzantium needed a relatively strong presence in the East in the form of Lazika. At this time Rome is forced not only to reconcile with the existence of the Lazika kingdom, but also to help strengthen it so that it can be a defensive line in the fight against the Huns and Goths.

Roman garrisons were no longer stationed even in its coastal fortress on the territory of Lazika of 4th century. Byzantine writers make it clear that the Laz did not pay contribution or obey the Romans in anything other than strictly guarding the borders so that the Huns would not invade

khalkhta istoriis sakitkhebi (Black Sea in 13th-12th BC in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, Issues of the history of the peoples of the Caucasus), Tbilisi 1966, p. 552; N. L o m o u r i, *Egrisis samepos istoria* (History of the Kingdom of Egrisi), Tbilisi 1968, p. 40.

Roman territory. The Laz kings' dependence on Rome was limited to the fact that they were ascended to the throne by the emperor.⁸⁸

Colchis, Iberia, and Albania were also attractive to Rome as they held important trade routes connecting the Far East, China, India, and Central Asia passed through here. In addition to trade, the roads connecting Colchis and Iberia to the North Caucasus, which was of military-strategic importance, were important. It was these passages that the owner of the roads and passes could use the nomadic tribes according to his interests, both as a military ally and to raid the territory of enemy.⁸⁹

Fortifications

After the conquest of Colchis by the Romans, in as early as the 70s of the 1st century AD, they began to set up their garrisons on the eastern Black Sea coast, which of course required the maintenance of an appropriate fortification system.

V. Lekvinadze called the chain of castles created on the eastern shore "Pontus Limes". He believed that the Roman defense system was established in the eastern Black Sea region during the reign of Emperor Vespasian (70–79 AD) and linked it to the modernization-reorganization of the eastern frontier.⁹⁰ Vespasian increased the number of Roman legions in Cappadocia and deployed additional legions in Melitena and Satala. It was these events that Lekvinadze connected with the so-called formation of "Pontus Limes", however, also noted that the name "Limes" is conditional for this region, because the system of castles located here differs in its specificity from the typical Roman "Limes", which means the organization of protection of the borders of the Roman Empire: Defense system connected to each other by special communications, well-equipped roads, guard units, intermediary forts. He also stressed the fact that the term "Limes" was not used in the relevant literature in relation to the eastern border, because the defense system of this region was distinguished by certain features. Despite these remarks, the researcher considered it expedient to call the system of Roman garrisons stationed on the eastern Black

⁸⁸ D. B r a u n d, *Sakartvelo antikur khanashi* (Georgian in Antiquity), Batumi 2014, p. 418.

⁸⁹ S. J a n a s h i a, *Fazisi. shromebi* (Phasis. Works), vol. 2, Tbilisi 1952, p. 181; G. M e l i k i s h - v i l i, Shavi zghva dz.ts. 13–12 ss-is asurul-lursmul tsartserebshi, *kavkasiis xalxta istoriis sakitxebi* (Black Sea in 13th-12th BC in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions), *Issues of the history of the peoples of the Caucasus*, Tbilisi 1966, p. 502.

⁹⁰ V. L e k v i n a d z e, Понтийский Лимес, *ВДИ*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1969, p. 76.

Sea coast “Pontus Limes”. The assumption about the creation of Pontus Limes is shared by other researchers.⁹¹

N. Lomouri questions the existence of Ponto Limes. He believes that there is no reason to think that the Romans created a system of permanent fortifications in Colchis, which functioned in 1st-6th centuries AD.⁹²

The issue of “Pontus Limes” is also addressed by M. Spidel, and he calls this system the “Caucasian frontier”, which functioned as a chain of Roman fortresses located on the Black Sea, and was aimed at curbing piracy of local tribes, strengthening trade and security.⁹³

Apsaros Fortress is located in the village of Gonio, 15 kilometers from Batumi. From the rectangular fortress that Romans built in the second half of the 1st century, the west and east gates, 22 towers and stairs that can be used to climb to the top floor of the castle fence, are still preserved. The height of the fortress walls is 4–5 meters.⁹⁴ The interior of the prison was lined with various public buildings, the archaeological study of which began actively in 1995 and continues to this day.

The fort was a Roman military garrison where soldiers guarded the border and controlled strategic routes, including the navy. At the same time for them the castle was a place of residence where they spent their daily lives. Accordingly, the fortress was to be equipped with all the necessary buildings and facilities necessary for the operation of the military camp. Both military and public buildings were located in the prison.

From the public buildings, attention needs to be drawn to the remains of the monumental buildings erected in front of the 21st tower near the south gate. Archaeologists consider it a garrison barrack. This building is built using the Orthostatic style. Its foundation is made of large partially processed stones. A stone plinth built on a clay solution passes over it. The walls of the building and the roof frame should have been made of wood. Tile was used to cover the roof. Some sections of the foundation, basement, hydraulic mortar or brick floor are preserved. In the eastern part of the building the barracks had underfloor heating. In the north-western part of the building, there should have been a dining room with

⁹¹ G. Lortkipanidze, *Bichvintis nakalakari* (Town of Bitvhvinta), Tbilisi 1991, p. 43.

⁹² N. Lomouri, *Egrisis samepos istoria* (History of the Kingdom of Egrisi), Tbilisi 1968, p. 36; K. Phiphia, *Traianes agmosavluri politika da sakartvelo* (Traiane’s easter politics and Georgia), Tbilisi 2005.

⁹³ M. P. Spidel, *The Caucasus frontier: second century garrisons at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis, in studien zu den Militargrenzen Roms III*, 13 Internationaler Limesgongres, Aelen, p. 134.

⁹⁴ E. Kakhidze, A Roman Fort in Southwestern Georgia, Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence, *Black Sea Studies* 8, Aarhus 2008.

its own kitchen. Much of the northeast was occupied by the waiting hall. The building was supposedly two-story. It seems that the upper floor was completely, while only a certain part of the first floor was occupied by bedrooms.⁹⁵

According to archeological excavations, there were two relatively late baths (2nd-3rd centuries AD) in “Abanotubani”. The first is quite large, the second smaller (possibly of the chairperson of the garrison). The latter has ceased to function after the Roman era.⁹⁶

The most powerful cultural layer in the area dates back to 1st-3rd centuries AD. According to the data, the researchers distinguish two subperiods. The earliest period is marked by the end of 1st century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Remains of this period include early water supply systems, building remains, and various archeological materials from that period. Even more diverse is the cultural layer of 2nd-3rd AD, which presents the remains of buildings of various purposes, water supply and sewerage systems. For drinking purposes the garrison used a spring water from the south of the castle, located in the mountains. A large pool was made with the facade paved from smoothed stones, while the interior space is lined with limestone. Three rows of large pipes were coming out from the pool inside the head building, which was spreading to the area of the south gate. The inner as well as the outer area of the garrison is covered with water pipes.⁹⁷

Archaeologists have unearthed remnants of the principia – with architectural details, water pipes and archeological artifacts. Building dates back to the 2nd century AD, which is determined by the analysis of the material, especially the one found in the upper level of the stone pile in 2nd century AD Caesarean drachma.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ A. Kakhidze, S. Mamuladze, *samkhret karibichisa da abanotubnis teritoriaze 1995–1999 tslebshi tsarmoebuli kvleva dziebis umtavresi shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (The main results of the research conducted in the area of South Gate and bath place in 1995–1999), *Gonio-Apsaros* vol. 4, Batumi 2004, p. 41.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁷ A. Kakhidze, S. Mamuladze, *samkhret karibichisa da abanotubnis teritoriaze 1995–1999 tslebshi tsarmoebuli kvleva dziebis umtavresi shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (The main results of the research conducted in the area of South Gate and bath place in 1995–1999), *Gonio-Apsaros* vol. 4, Batumi 2004, p. 66.

⁹⁸ M. Khalvashi, *Gonio-apsarosis shida tsikhis centraluri natsilis arkeologiuri gatkhebis shedegebi, gonio-apsarosi* (Result of archaeological excavations of the central part of the inner fortress of Gonio-Apsaros), *Gonio-Apsaros*, vol. 3, Batumi 2002, p. 136.

A study of the building located next to the principia showed that the building was used in different periods, with varying functions. According to the discovered materials, it dates back to 1st-3rd centuries AD.

There was a building with mosaics and furnace remains used to heat the basements of the hypocaust (praefurnium) found in 2016 in Gonio-Apsaros. Archaeologists attribute the construction of the furnace to the 1st phase of the construction of the castle, while the pillars installed in the adjacent basement were subsequently remodeled. Both the furnace and the supporting pillars in the basement of the hypocaust were used a second time.⁹⁹

Second-hand stone materials and architectural details were found in the furnace used to heat the bath. Near the south wall of the mosaic room was found a deep foundation made of several rows of stone, the remains of the wall of an earlier building preserved in the discovered foundation. The construction from the earlier period is located 1 meter below the mosaic floor. To the south of the room with mosaic was a three-step staircase located at the same time below the level of the mosaic floor. According to their location, it was impossible to use the stairs to enter the mosaic room while the stairs were actively used, which means that the stairs were no longer used when the mosaic floor room was functioning.¹⁰⁰

The collected data allow to determine the functioning of the building built at the excavation site in the first period, after the arrival of the early garrison in Gonio-Apsaros. Researchers have estimated that the date is approximately the middle period of the 1st century AD. There should have been a barn under the mosaic floor, which should have been 18.4 meters long and 7.5 meters wide as a result of combining the mosaic and the pool room. Such measurements suggest to archaeologists that another identical barn was located within the boundaries of the late bath complex, east of the explored barn. The discovered barns are believed to have belonged to the earliest stage of life of the garrison.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros*. Early headquarters buildings (principia). New localization, *Pro Georgia* vol. 26, Warszawa 2016, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰ R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, Before there were thermae. A Few words of the remains of the earliest building of the Apsaros fort (Gonio, Georgia), *Pro Georgia* vol. 28, Warszawa 2018, p. 101.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 107; R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, S. Mamuladze, L. Aslanischvili, M. Daszkiewicz, Ceramic building material from the Roman forts on the Cholchis coast: archaeology and archaeoceramological analysis, *Polish archaeology in the Mediterian*, XXVII, Warszawa 2018, p. 498.

Thus, the most powerful cultural layer in Gonio-Apsaros prison dates back to 1st-3rd centuries AD. According to previous data, researchers distinguish two subperiods. The earliest period denotes to the end of 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, and the cultural layer of 2nd-3rd century AD is considered even more diverse.

However, recent Georgian-Polish studies provide some means of correction. Discovered fragments of the defensive, early walls, both outside and inside the prison, and the first phase of the early bath, are similar to each other.¹⁰² The walls were built of crushed stone and clay mortar. Archaeologists have suggested that a wooden structure may have been used.¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that two buildings of different periods were found in the NO sector. After the demolition of the building in the first phase, a second building was built on it. However, the remains of the first phase building are still preserved, which seems to have been used as the foundation of the bath. The construction of the bath was to take place on the first building in the second half of the 1st century AD. But here the archaeologist emphasizes that “it is unknown whether the second building was built immediately after the demolition of the first phase or after some time”.¹⁰⁴ The final destruction of the bath should have taken place somewhere around the second half of the 2nd century AD, an assumption that is supported by the accompanying archeological materials. Based on the above data, we can assume that the abovementioned building in Gonio-Apsaros was already built in the second half of the 1st century AD. Of particular importance is the defensive wall, the construction of which archaeologists link to the early period, therefore it is likely that these defensive walls of the fortress were built before the second half of the 1st century AD. Of course, the hypothesis we are developing regarding the dating of the fortress needs more archaeological evidence, which we will have to prove in the future as a result of archeological materials.

Unfortunately, apart from written sources, we have not discovered any material monuments about Phasis yet. Researchers are still investigating the topic of location of Phasis. Written sources seem to point to a spe-

¹⁰² R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, Before there were thermae. A Few words of the remains of the earliest building of the Apsaros fort (Gonio, Georgia), *Pro Georgia* vol. 28, p. 93.

¹⁰³ R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, S. Mamuladze, P. Jaworski, M. Wagner, Gonio (Apsaros) in Adjara: excavation of a Roman fort interim report on the first session on the Polish-Georgian archaeological expedition. *Polish archaeology in the Mediterranean*, vol. XXV, Warsaw 2016, p. 521.

¹⁰⁴ R. Karaszewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros*. Early headquarters buildings (principia). New localization? *Pro Georgia* vol 26, p. 54.

cific area, but archaeological research is not able to confirm anything yet. Strabo notes: “Here is a town called as the river Phasis. It is the trading center of Colchis, bordered by the river (Rioni-LB), the lake (Paliastomi-LB) and the sea”.¹⁰⁵

The records of Arrian’s travels are particularly important to describe the fortress of Phasis, where Arrian mentions that there were 400 chosen warriors in the garrison, and under his leadership the prison was expanded and the defense system strengthened.¹⁰⁶

Important and interesting are the records of the Swiss traveler Frédéric Dubois de Montpereux, who visited city of Poti and its surroundings in 1833. Where he found a hill at the site of the swamp, which by his description bears a striking resemblance to the castle described in Arrian’s “Periplus”.¹⁰⁷

Among the spots named by Arrian the last one is Sebastopolis, which in his times marked the last area of the Roman-influenced territories of Colchis. The study of Sebastopolis is hampered by the fact that the city of Sukhumi is located on the territory of occupied Abkhazia, which certainly does not allow archaeologists to conduct proper research. Archaeological excavations in the last century, unfortunately, do not provide enough information about the city, this is due to the fact that the modern city was built directly on Sebastopolis.

The preserved southern wall of the late Roman fortress, which follows the coastline, is so close to the sea that the waves hit the walls directly, while the north-eastern part of the wall runs directly into the sea. The width of the wall is 2.25 m. The wall is lined with medium-sized stones and limestone. At a distance of 25 meters from the corner were found square-shaped holes for the water system to pass through the garrison. Near the water system, the floor inside the fortress was found to be paved with brick tiles (53X53 cm, 7 cm thick). By measuring both brick and ground firmness, researchers assume that fires have been heating up here for some time, as evidenced by soot residues on the brick. Based on the location of the bricks and the round brick remains found nearby, it is likely that this area was a hot bath section. However, archaeologists sug-

¹⁰⁵ Strabo 11.2.17.

¹⁰⁶ Arr., PPE, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Fr. Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage autour du Caucase chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colshide, en Georgie en Armenie et Crimee*, Paris 1943, p. 30.

gest that the floor does not represent the initial construction and it has been remodeled.¹⁰⁸

The southern fortification of the discovered fortress area dates to the 1st century AD, the construction of the west dates back to 1st-2nd centuries AD.

Researchers assume that the western part of the coastal wall of the fence must have been built not earlier than 4th century AD, and the eastern wall, which stretches over the top of dwelling house with included fenced yard and well – to the later period of 2nd century. The dwelling house was rectangular, built of cobblestones. In the yard connected to it, pottery for storage and a well made of cobblestone were found. It seems that around the 2nd century AD there was an urban settlement here.¹⁰⁹

Already at the end of the 2nd century AD, in the north-western sector of modern Sukhumi, Odense, a tower was built, which of course was used to control the roads leading to the fortress. Researchers suggest that the tower could not have been built before 175 AD and it should have been used until the 5th century. It is probable that it was a defensive outpost for the Sebastopolis fortress.¹¹⁰

In the 4th century AD or perhaps a little later, the fort was extended by a wall built in a northern direction. This wall intersected the early layers, which date back to 1st century AD. According to Arrian, the Sebastopolis garrison consisted of cavalry, which he tested. The presence of cavalry indicates the existence of a garrison to some extent. Much of the Arrian-era garrison fence and defensive trench is still undiscovered.¹¹¹

Meanwhile Bichvinta served as the last point of Pontus limes. In the 3rd century AD Pitius is referred to as a fort. Pitius was the best place for the building a fort. It seems that it was erected at a certain distance from the sea, which obviously created the need to also have a proper access to land to move overland. As researchers suggest, Pitius also had a dock.¹¹² There is an opinion that in ancient times the fort was connected to the sea by a canal and at the end of this small bay the dock was built directly into the fort. Aerial photographs revealed tab spots that speak in favor of this view. In addition, a wall of vicus appears to be broken in the proper

¹⁰⁸ L. Shervashidze, L. Soloviev, *Исследование Древнего Севастополиса*, Советская Археология, Moscow 1960, p.173.

¹⁰⁹ D. Grund, *Sakartvelo antikur khanashi* (Georgian in Antiquity), Batumi 2014, p. 279.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 304.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 283.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 309.

place, which may have met the need for such a channel.¹¹³ The idea of existence of a strong Roman fortress in Pitius in the first half of the 1st century AD, is abandoned, as evidenced by Arrian, which shows that in the first half of the 2nd century, the Colchis coast ended with the fortress of Dioscurias (Sukhumi). Arrian's records clarify that the Romans did not yet have a firm foothold in Pitius during this period. There was still no strong fortress here. In addition, as mentioned above, the fortification of Pitius had to take place in the second half of the 2nd century or at the beginning of the 3rd century AD.¹¹⁴

The next stage in the history of Bichvinta is represented by the 3rd-4th centuries. In the 3rd century the city already has a fortified center. In the first half its role is played by the Roman castellum, which is relatively small, rectangular, almost square, it belongs to the second half of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century. It seems that the need to expand the inner fortress arises later, around the end of 3rd and the beginning of 4th centuries. In the second half of the 3rd century, the expanded inner fortress also included a small part of the city.¹¹⁵

It is widely believed that Pitius had an "inland port". The reason for this was the change in the relief of Bichvinta Cape, in particular, the movement of one of the branches of the river Bzipi at an interesting period of time for us. A. Rostovtsev's point of view on the fact is as follows: "River Bzipi once joined the sea at the village Kaldakhvari line, later this bay gradually disintegrated and became the delta of Bzipi river. Several islands were formed instead of bay. In the 2nd century AD one of the branches of the Bzipi river crosses the Bichvinta Cape, passes through the Inkiti and Anishtsari, and joins the sea in the Bichvinta Bay, near the small river Tsara. In such a situation, the Cape of Bichvinta is an island, and the lakes are Inkiti and Anishtsari become "inland ports".¹¹⁶

The plan of the inner fortress of "Great Pitius" makes it clear that both parts are enclosed by a common fence equipped with towers, piers and buttresses. A small difference is observed in the layout of the towers, their dimensions and the length of the sections between them. The towers in the eastern part of the castle-town are quadrangular, polygonal and slightly rounded at the corners, while in the western part they are quadrangular and sectoral, from the outside they are pentagonal and much larger. There

¹¹³ G. Lortkipanidze, *Bichvintis nakalakari* (Town of Bitvhvinta), p. 74.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 76.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 74.

¹¹⁶ A. Rostovtsev, Пицундская сосновая роща, *Зорго*, vol. 29, 4, Tbilisi 1916, p. 18.

is also a difference in the thickness of the fence and, of course, in the construction of the two main parts of the fortress-city itself: between the rectangular (almost square) border of the western part and the eastern part bordered by the oval fence.¹¹⁷

The construction of Bichvinta Fortress almost repeats the construction of Gonio-Apsaros, as it also has various buildings: barracks, baths with mosaic floors, storerooms, various buildings, paved streets.

According to the archeological material excavated in the town of Bichvinta, the active city life here seems to have slowed down in the 1st century AD, and from the 2nd century, especially in the 3rd-4th centuries, on the contrary – it is very active. Such a revival of city life seems to be explained by the emergence of a strong Roman fortress here.

In 2009, as a result of infrastructural works in Bichvinta, the water supply system, “Aqueduct” of almost 10 meters, was accidentally discovered. In the same area was a well with a water dam that flowed towards the city. Towers were located on the water supply system. Three towers were also discovered during the excavations. One of the towers was damaged as a result of construction works; The second is located inside the temple complex in the center of the modern city of Bichvinta; The third force is in the surrounding area, which was the subject of study by archaeologists.¹¹⁸

During the excavations of the old city, an artificial drainage and sewerage system was also discovered. The water supply system probably originates from Blue Lake, which is located 10 kilometers from Bichvinta. According to the second theory – the cistern, from which the water supply system takes the headwaters, was seen at the foot of Mount Amzhara.¹¹⁹

As for the age of the monument, the issue is more complicated because no special analyzes have been made, although traces of ceramic communications found in the area of the ancient settlement date back to 2nd-6th centuries AD.¹²⁰

It seems that the exact date of construction of the ancient Pitius water supply system can only be dated by modern methods and be obtained after conducting thorough archaeological research.

117 A. Apakidze, “Didi pitiunti”, arkeologiuri gatxrebi pitiuntshi, didi pitiunti (“didi pitiunti”, Archaeological excavation in Pitius), *Didi pitiunti* vol. 1, Tbilisi 1975, p. 61.

118 R. Bartsits, Акведук – древняя система водоснабжения Пицунды, *Абхазове*, VIII-IX Выпуск, Sokhumi 2013, p. 23.

119 Ibid, p. 24.

120 Ibid, p. 25.

Conclusion

The Roman garrisons were mainly located on the coast of Colchis, close to the sea, and these fortresses were located near rivers, which, of course, was the best means of communication, both within the country and as well as in the Roman-controlled territory – by sea. The Caucasus was attractive to Rome for its trade routes. The road from Central Asia was especially noteworthy: from the Caspian Sea to the Mtkvari River, crossing the Likhi Range, via the river Phasis to the Black Sea. This road acquired special significance after the Parthian Empire took control of the overland highways coming from China and India. In addition, the Caucasus Range was a good barrier to regulate the invasion of tribes from the north.

The main means of traffic was sailing, but there were also land roads and bridges. Part of the tribes living in Colchis during Roman rule were inhospitable and aggressive, so it was important for the Romans to protect the roads from “barbarians”. The coast of Colchis was known for piracy, for which Rome had to take certain measures.

The deployment of Roman garrisons on the eastern Black Sea coast, of course, led to a relatively active and quiet trade connection with Rome and its provinces, the most convenient route being the sea. For the forts located on the eastern Black Sea coast, various Roman products were imported: pottery, glass, jewelry, among which Asia Minor products predominate.

As we have mentioned, the best means of communication for the Romans in Colchis was the sea and rivers, hence the fact that imported goods are located in the coastal regions of Colchis, whose consumers were mainly the population living along the coast.

From the 1st century AD, parchment products can be seen in Apsaros, with widespread distribution of the products followed later in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. Ceramics and pottery imported from Sinop from the 1st-3rd centuries AD, coins circulated from the production centers of Syria-Palestine were also important. If we pay close attention to the numismatic monuments, we will see that in the discovered materials we can find silver and copper coins minted in Caesarea of Antioch and Cappadocia, as well as Trapezunt coins. Accordingly, the coins found from these centers indicate their trade relations with Colchis. Archaeological finds and numismatic material found in Bichvinta replicate the imported materials of Apsaros, only here attention should be paid to the fact that the materials

found in Bichvinta are contemporaneous with the Bichvinta fortress or 2nd-4th centuries AD, which does not coincide chronologically with the cultural strata of Apsaros: 1st-3rd centuries.

Unfortunately, in Colchis it is difficult to estimate the trade relationship between the Roman and the local population. According to researchers of this period, the local population was not romanized, as in other conquered lands.

As for the Colchian export, it was mainly timber, which was the best material for shipbuilding. Researchers also suggest that the Romans exported oil from Colchis, along with flax, resin, honey, wine, and timber.

Supply of Roman garrisons in Colchis was carried out from Trabzon in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, and in the 4th century it was done from Antioch.

Finally, it can be said that the Roman infiltration into Colchis still began with the entry of Pompey, when in 65 BC he invaded Colchis. In the autumn, the Romans began to establish their garrison, which date back to the second half of 1st century AD. First of all, this period is connected with the construction of Apsaros fortress. According to archeological materials and written sources, it must have taken place before 77 CE, but the results of archeological excavations carried out outside and inside the castle in recent years, during which fragments of the wall were discovered, indicate an earlier period of the Apsaros fortress, and possibly dated to earlier period than 77 AD.

Phasis, which was probably built before Arrian's voyage (132 AD), must have originally been a wooden structure. During Arrian's journey, it was fortified and built of burnt bricks. It is probable that this must have happened in a period between 77 AD and the journey of Arrian, or 132 AD. Roman garrisons must have left Phasis as well as Apsaros in the 4th century AD. The operation of the Roman military garrison in the fortress of Sebastopolis dates back to about the same period.

The last castle of Pontus Limes, which did not function in Arrian's time, was Pitius. Apparently, it was built at the end of 2nd or in the first half of 3rd centuries, and was emptied at the end of 4th century.

Roman military settlements in Colchi 1st – 4th century AD
(According to writer sources and archaeological materials)

The subject we address in the article covers one of the most important periods in the history of Colchis. The ancient period, which, according to the written records and archeological materials, seems to be quite active and varied in Colchis, is attracting more and more interest of scholars every year.

Contacts with the ancient world date back to Greek colonization, when Greeks and Colchians coexisted side by side. The Romans began expressing their interest in the Caucasus, including Colchis, from the 1st century BC as the area seemed attractive to them as a protective barrier from the tribes coming from the north, but also for them it was a potential market for trade and economic activities. Like in other countries conquered by the Romans, they began to set up garrisons in Colchis to make it easier for them to fight the piracy that prevailed in Colchis at the time and at the same time to make it easier to control the northern frontier.

The fact is that the process, which aimed at the deployment of Roman garrisons and the conquest of new territories, began from the 1st century AD and continued until the 3rd century, until the Romans settled up in the most extreme point in Colchis for them at that time, Bichvinta. The process of “appropriation” of territories may have spread deeper into central Colchis, as well as into other eastern provinces, had it not been for the problems of the Roman Empire that eventually led to its partition.

To confirm the written sources we can cite the archaeological discoveries that date from the 19th century to the present day, and every year new discoveries are being recorded, which complement not only the history and archaeology of Colchis, but also the history of Rome and the world in general.

Key words: Colchi, Roman empire, Gonio-Apsaros, Phasis, Sebastopolis, Pitius.

HOLY FATHER GREGORY OF KHANTSTA IN GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS

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The name of Gregory (Grigol) of Khantsta, Holy Father and great figure of the 8th-9th centuries, initiator of the monastic life in Tao-Klarjeti, despite his immense service before the Georgian church and the country, occurs in a small number of manuscripts. The oldest of these is the Synaxarion of the 11th c., A 97. The marginal note of one of its pages (6r) bears the following inscription written in minuscule nuskhuri script by the hand of the copyist: “and of our Holy Father Gregory of Khantsta”. In the Synaxarion of the 12th c., A 635 (15v), the commemoration is found already in the main text, but without offering the synaxarion life. The feast day in the majority of manuscripts is October 5, e.g.:

- A 97 (6r) – Synaxarion, 11th c.
- A 635 (15v) – Synaxarion, 12th c.
- A 426 (72v) – Feast Hymn Book, 16th c.
- A 111 (52r) – Gulani, 18th c.
- A 366 (66r) – Gulani, 1714.
- A425 (102r) – Redaction of Feast Hymn Book by Catholicos Domenti, 1718.
- A220 (71v) – Redaction of Feast Hymn Book by Domenti Jandierisshvili, 1726.
- A 122 (66r) – Typicon, 1749.
- S 3269 (302v) – Collection of Catholicos Besarion, 1720s.
- Q 87 (315v) – Martvili Gulani, 1578–1605.
- Q 1053 (56r) – Typicon, 1760.
- Q 62 7(358r) – Selected Menaion, 18th c.
- H 1452 (145r) – Qanchaeti Horologion Gulani, 1674.
- H 1028 (32r) – Synaxarion, 19th c.

S 1464 (123v) – and other manuscripts of the redaction of Feast Hymn Book by Anton I.

The commemoration day of Gregory of Khantsta on October 6 occurs in several manuscripts, e.g.:

Q 1160 (202r) – Collection: Horologion, Feast Hymn Book, Paraklesis, 18th c.

Q 646 (7v) – Collection, 17th-18th cc.

A 911 (229v) – Horologion, 1813.

A 231(134r) – Horologion Gulani, 17th-18th cc.

The manuscripts mentioned above include only the commemoration, but in some of them small-sized hymns dedicated to Gregory of Khantsta were found, without the indication of authors. These are mostly the so-called common hymns, i.e. those in which the text is the same and only the names of saints are changed.

Before the period of Catholicos Anton I the Rite of Gregory of Khantsta did not exist. In the period of revival of Georgian Literature, in the 17th-18th cc., the Georgian church became interested in the national saints. That is exactly why Anton I composed the *Rite* of Father Gregory and entered it into his Feast Hymn Book. The acrostic canon and part of small hymns arranged for various voices belong to Anton, whereas authors of some small hymns are unknown (in general, Anton indicates in his Feast Hymn Book the identity of hymnographers, in case he knows the authors). The text of one small hymn is the last stanza of the Iambic, which was dedicated by Catholicos Anton to Gregory of Khantsta in the historical-bibliographic collection *Tsqobilsitqvaoba* (“Ordered Discourse”).¹

The textological study of the Rite demonstrated that it does not contain any factual material, which confirms once again that the biography of Father Gregory was not known even to such a conscientious scholar and author with encyclopedic knowledge as Anton.

The only surviving manuscript (circa the end of the 11th c.), containing the *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* by Giorgi Merchule, written in the 10th c., is kept in the collection of Georgian manuscripts of the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (N2). It was found in 1845 by N. Chubi-

¹ Anton Bagrationi, *Tsqobilsitqvaoba* (“Ordered Discourse”), prepared for publication, furnished with a study, commentary and glossary by Ivane Lolashvili, Tbilisi 1980, p. 208–109 (in Georgian).

nashvili at the Monastery of the Cross near Jerusalem.² Al. Tsagareli, who worked afterwards on the collection of Georgian manuscripts of Jerusalem, did not notice the text of the *Life* there. Only in 1902, Niko Marr saw the text of the *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* at the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and published it in 1911.³ After that, the *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* was published several times and is studied well by scholars.

It may be said with confidence that because the text of the *Life* was not kept in Georgia, over the centuries the great service of Father Gregory although was not forgotten by his fellow countrymen and he was commemorated among the saints, but nothing much was known about him.

This is confirmed by a piece of evidence, preserved in one manuscript, On 41 E-106 (E-184), f.VI, of St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies (this is a document compiled by the support group and intended for Catholicos Anton I, which contains a calendar of Georgian saints).⁴ Here we can read the following about Gregory of Khantsta:

“[October] E, of our Holy Father Gregory of Khantsta, Georgian. We know nothing about him”. Apparently, in Georgia, during the period of the revival of Georgian literature, there was not much known about Father Gregory of Kantsta.

The manuscripts also include two miniatures of Gregory of Khantsta. The first of these was published by Niko Marr in 1911.⁵ This miniature is preserved in the Collection of Catholicos Besarion (S3269), in which colour images of several saints are presented. The miniature of Saint Gregory has the following inscription below: “The month of Octobere, of our Venerable Father Gregory of Khantsta, who was a Georgian”. Next to the representation of Gregory of Khantsta, free space is left for a small hymn, but obviously no such hymns were available to the compiler of the collection and his intention remained unfulfilled.

The second miniature of Gregory of Khantsta is kept in the redaction of Feast Hymn Book by Catholicos Domenti (A425 (102r)).⁶ This

² A. Tsagareli, *Evidence on Specimens of Georgian Literature*, vol. I, SPB., 1889, p. 89 (in Russian).

³ Giorgi Merchule, *The Life of Saint Gregory of Khantsta. The Georgian text. Furnished with an introduction, edited, translated by N. Marr, together with the Diary of the Journey to Shavsheti and Klarjeti*, ТРА-ΓΦ, VII, SPB, 1911 (in Russian).

⁴ M. Kavtaria, *From the History of Old Georgian Poetry, 17th-18th cc.* Tbilisi 1977, p. 116 (in Georgian).

⁵ Giorgi Merchule, *The Life of Saint Gregory of Khantsta. The Georgian text. Furnished with an introduction, edited, translated by N. Marr, together with the Diary of the Journey to Shavsheti and Klarjeti*, ТРА-ΓΦ, VII, SPB, 1911 p. LXXI.

⁶ G. Mikadze, *Portrait of Gregory of Khandzta*, Mtsignobari, Tbilisi 1984, p. 240.

is a very noteworthy manuscript. It contains the Synaxarion readings of Georgian saints together with small hymns.⁷ The commemoration of Father Gregory is entered on October 5, together with Martyr Charitina. The observation of this manuscript demonstrated that the compiler and redactor of the collection initially intended to illuminate the collection with illustrations, to offer the miniatures of the commemorated saints.

In the manuscript, at each day from September to February free space is left for miniatures. Only the month of October is illustrated, and even that partially, in September a few images occur, and after February illumination with illustrations is abandoned altogether.

On October 5, two illustrations are presented – those of Martyr Charitina and Gregory of Khantsta (unknown painter). This image of Saint Gregory does not bear portrait resemblance with the well-known miniature preserved in the Collection of Catholicos Besarion, and according to the artistic viewpoint is markedly inferior to it.

Thus, the name of Gregory of Khantsta occurs in Georgian manuscripts from the 11th c. The liturgical collections mainly include only the commemoration (in some manuscripts small hymns are also offered). The text of the *Life* of Father Gregory has come down to us in a single manuscript. In the 18th c., when the national-patriotic topics became one of the leading directions in Georgian ecclesiastical literature, in the redactions of Feast Hymn Books by Catholicos Anton I, there already appeared a whole *Rite* (9-Ode Canon with small hymns). In addition, Anton's *Tsqobilsitqvaoba* also includes an Iambic, dedicated to Gregory of Khantsta, whereas two liturgical collections of the same century contain two miniatures of the Holy Father. The number of the manuscripts, in which the name of Gregory of Khantsta is mentioned, is so insignificant, that it may be noted, that due to the separation of Tao-Klarjeti from the motherland, Holy Father Gregory of Khantsta was not duly valued in Georgia, at least until the publication of the *Life* at the beginning of the 20th c.

⁷ M. Kavtaria, *From the History of Old Georgian Poetry, 17th-18th cc.*, p. 81; Specimens of Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature, Book IV, *Synaxarion Redactions (11th-13th cc.)*, prepared for publication and furnished with a study by Enriko Gabidzashvili, Tbilisi 1968, p. 1963 (in Georgian).

Holy Father Gregory of Khantsta in Georgian Manuscripts

The name of Gregory (Grigol) of Khantsta, Holy Father and great figure of the eighth-ninth centuries, initiator of the monastic life in Tao-Klarjeti, despite his immense service before the Georgian church and the country, occurs in a small number of manuscripts. The oldest of these is the Synaxarion of the 11th c., A 97. The liturgical collections mainly include only the commemoration (in some manuscripts small hymns are also offered). The text of the Life of Father Gregory has come down to us in a single manuscript. In the 18th c., when the national-patriotic topics became one of the leading directions in Georgian ecclesiastical literature, in the redactions of Feast Hymn Books by Catholicos Anton I, there already appeared a whole Rite (9-Ode Canon with small hymns). In addition, Anton's *Tsqobilsitqvaoba* also includes an Iambic, dedicated to Gregory of Khantsta, whereas two liturgical collections of the same century contain two miniatures of the Holy Father. The number of the manuscripts in which the name of Gregory of Khantsta is mentioned is so insignificant, that it may be noted, that due to the separation of Tao-Klarjeti from the motherland, Holy Father Gregory of Khantsta was not duly valued in Georgia, at least until the publication of the Life at the beginning of the 20th c.

Key words: Gregory of Khantsta, Georgia, Manuscripts.



Fig. 1. Saint Gregory of Khantsta, f.302v, MS S3269, 18th c. Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.



Fig. 2. Saint Gregory of Khantsta and Saint Charitina, f.102r, A425, 1718. Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND GEORGIAN UNITY IN THE 8TH-9TH CENTURIES

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In contemporary humanities and social sciences important place is given to the study of national identity. In general, the issue of national identity is considered based on the universal criteria for a nation's existence, such as language, religion, historical memory, tradition, and territory; besides, it is essential to understand how the society apprehends each of them as well as national symbols. Naturally, the abovementioned should be understood through the demands and aspirations of the concrete epoch, because the public mentality has experienced various transformations throughout centuries at different stages of historical development due to the challenges of the concrete epoch different was the meaning of features of ethnic identity and their defining criteria. As is well known, the consciousness of the Georgian nation had undergone a certain way of development and during the first two decades of the 20th century, it entered a new phase. For understanding national identity it is necessary to represent the past based on the historical representation of Christianity, language, motherland, historical memory, and traditions. In most of the present research works in contemporary Georgian historiography on national identity, just these characteristics are properly emphasized. However, the comprehensive study of the problem necessitates a complex analysis, including identification and consideration of the role and ideology of different social layers and social groups. Several problems in the history of Georgia — political, cultural, social-economic, or religious, have been thoroughly studied and numerous scientific works have been written. However, of no less importance are the study of those issues, which will allow us to find out how the Georgian nation, social group, or the society perceived themselves as a part of the Georgian nation and what was the system of values that defined their struggle for self-salva-

tion and self establishment. The analysis of self-consciousness or national identity of the Georgian nation, i.e. revealing social perceptions, will give us the possibility to examine new different historical phenomena and treat numerous related scientific issues from a different perspective.

Hagiographic literature is of great importance in terms of the study of national identity. The work – *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* – written by Giorgi Merchule, contains important information for the analysis of the history of the Georgian Church and the political and socio-economic situation in Georgia in the 8th-9th centuries. The life of Gregory of Khantsta occupies an important place in studying various aspects of this chronological section. Before moving directly to the discussion of the burden of the national idea in the 8th-9th centuries and how the author assesses the national self-consciousness, we consider it inevitably necessary to describe the political or socio-economic situation in Georgia of that historical period. Some part of Eastern Georgia was under the influence of the Arabs and the Arab Emir was ruling from Tbilisi. The protectorate of the Byzantine emperor was established in western Georgia. Therefore, the process of the national liberation movement started from Tao-Klarjeti. The events described in the book take place in Tao-Klarjeti, which served as the center connecting the whole of Georgia. „In this work, the ecclesiastical situation of Georgia is presented in more detail. For the first time, the Georgian Church was bred here as a whole national and independent organism, which governed itself and was not responsive to the influence of any of the foreign patriarchs. The head of the church, the patriarch-catholic was elected by a congregation of secular and clerical members, both men and women, and the church life was generally governed by the principle of the congregation, the inviolability of which was steadily sustained by the representatives of the Church. The attitude between the church and the state seems to be benevolent: the church does not interfere in purely state affairs, it only stands on guard steadily for strengthening the new state and unequivocally exposes everyone, be it the king, who betrays the moral principle. For this purpose, the supreme representative of the state – King is even circled by Church with the nimbus of biblical origin”.¹ Giorgi Merchule seems to have intended to describe not only the *Life of Gregory Khantsteli* but also the political, socio-economic, and

¹ K. Kekelidze, Giorgi merchule, udabnota kalakmkopeli tsminda grigol khantsteli (Father Gregory of Khantsta, a city builder in the deserts), *Literaturis institutis gzamklevi*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 20.

cultural situation of those times that was widespread in Georgia, in particular in Tao-Klarjeti. It's worth mentioning that if we look through the above-mentioned work we find that besides the in-depth transmission of the ecclesiastical situation, it deals with multifaceted historical facts or events, which serves as an important base for the study of the history of Georgia during that period. The monument features various historical, ecclesiastical, or secular figures. It reflects the negative aspects of Arab domination and highlights the importance of Tao-Klarjeti in the fight against the Arabs. Against the background of the fact that there are not many historical sources for studying the Georgian history of that period and not only, the merits of Giorgi Merchule are also invaluable.

“Giorgi Merchule composed a multifaceted monument to Gregory Khantsteli, based on narratives of his relatives and various historical and literary sources. In his work, he elucidated the public life of south-western Georgia and also introduced to us the prominent figures distinguished at the first stage of the restoration of Georgian statehood and the cultural situation of that time. His information about the Bagrationis of Tao-Klarjeti is of great importance”.²

Giorgi Merchule's *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* „is at the same time a large-scale encyclopedia of our historical life, which allows us to study all areas of life and reality: life, economy, nature, geographical environment, architecture and construction techniques, science, features, aims and Ideals, the way of thinking, sphere and scale of interests”.³

In addition to the above indicated, it should be noted that the *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* occupies a large place in the study of the history of Georgia. Against the background of the fact that there are not many historical sources for evaluation of different chronological sections of the history of Georgia, this monument acquires special importance. Apart from the fact that the work of Giorgi Merchule is a hagiographic monument, it contains rich information for analyzing certain issues. It should be taken into consideration that it was the time when Georgia was divided and Kartli – the main center of Georgia was occupied by the Arabs. Therefore, a certain part of the Georgian society turned to a new stage of the national liberation movement. They intended to apply the culture and unity of the nation, instead of armed fight, against the enemy. This mission was

² L. Menabde, *Dzveli kartuli kulturis kerebi* (Old Georgian Cultural Centers), *literaturis institutis gzamkvlevi*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 29.

³ R. Baramidze, *Giorgi merchule kartuli prozis didostati da mshvneba* (Giorgi Merchule – Master of Georgian Prose and Beauty), *Literaturis institutis gzamkvlevi*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 33.

headed by South Georgia, in particular Tao-Klarjeti. As Revaz Siradze notes: „The Arabs conquered Kartli from the seventh century. The monarchy was overthrown and the Emirate of Tbilisi was established. Life in Kartli died. Kartli lost its importance, and the whole of Georgia- the most important center. And if Georgia wanted to maintain its cultural face, it had to create a substitute for Kartli, a kind of center that would serve as Kartli. Gregory Khantsteli undertook to carry out this great national mission Gregory's departure to Tao Klarjeti had a great future purpose. This part of Georgia had to acquire the function of Kartli. Moreover, the movement should have been started and directed stealthily so that the Arabs could not guess the essence of this movement. It is rightly pointed out that Nurse's stories served as a good example for Gregory to realize that the confrontation against the Arabs was unpromising by that time. The violence of the Caliphate spread throughout the world and the Georgians could not do anything with it. The violence of the Arabs was so high that calling for a fight against them meant a national betrayal. Therefore, Tao-Klarjeti could replace Kartli due to great reconstruction and faith in the future. To obscure the main target, ordinary monks traveled to the desolate side, away from any political arena, to build monasteries”.⁴

At first glance, the purpose of Giorgi Merchule was to describe the *Life of Gregory Khantsteli*, which he successfully coped with, however, if we go deeper into his story, we find that information presented here is comprehensive and acquires a broad national generalization. Ensuing from the events described in the work, although the relationship between the State and the Church was somewhat strained, in the process of doing common work, both institutions united for a common cause and aim to strengthen Georgia. Representatives of secular ranks are ready not to spare their forces in the construction of churches, because the goal, in addition to regulating the relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, was to achieve a national goal. As has been mentioned in the introduction, monastic construction in the Tao-Klarjeti area extended beyond a narrow regional scale and acquired a broad generalization. Although the starting point for creating a hagiographic monument is to elucidate the life of a saint, most of the hagiographic works that enrich the sources of Georgian history of the fifth-tenth centuries go beyond this meaning and contain interesting information for the study of the epoch.

⁴ R. Siradze, *Literaturul estetikuri narkvevevbi* (Literary-Aesthetic Essays), Tbilisi 1987, p. 76–77.

In this respect, the mentioned work is no exception. „The great monastic colonization that was spread on the territory of south-western Georgia was carried out with the support of the secular authorities and material support. The initiative and leadership of the construction of churches and monasteries were the responsibility of the clergy, while the material assistance was usually from the secular authorities”.⁵ And as he came up to the door of the temple then the Kuropalates rose and went to meet the Blessed Father Gregory, and they, with great humility, greeted each another and sat down. And the Kuropalate said, „May blessings of God spoken through your mouth be above us all, holy”. And he answered: „May you all be blessed by Christ and by every saint, for the word of yours is true: for wherein is the righteousness of the government, there is the likeness of the gods, you – the sovereigns are created by Lord to reign the country and we glorify and thank the Lord for this mercy. And as the Lord saith unto Abraham, „Abraham longed to see my light, he saw it and rejoiced”; similar to Abraham I too have longed to see and worship you and now I am full of joy and I will offer a gift of prayer to the Lord, may Christ glorify and protect your kingdom with heavenly blessings and rejoice eternal glory with government and children of yours”.⁶ Giorgi Merchule’s writing is interesting in many ways. As has been mentioned, the information presented in the work goes beyond the description of the Life of Gregory of Khantsta and the author gives us important information about the history of Georgia at that time. Therefore, it is so important to realize and study the issue of national identity, due to this work. Apart from the fact that Giorgi Merchule focuses on national issues and speaks directly or indirectly on the formation and development of the national idea and emphasizes the importance of the unity of Georgians. He goes further and draws attention to the autonomy of the Georgian Church. His purpose is to justify the rights of the Georgian Church in terms of independence. „The Christian faith and culture were so deeply rooted in Georgia that the Arabs, despite their drastic measures, failed to make a significant impact. During the mentioned period in Georgia, especially in the 8th-9th centuries, the growth of national self-consciousness manifested itself sharply. The revelation of the national spirit in the sphere of culture was corroborated by the fact that Georgians considered themselves equal

⁵ M. Lortkipanidze, *Akhali peodaluri samtavroebis tsarmokmna* (The Emergence of New Feudal Principalities), *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1973, p. 447.

⁶ Giorgi Merchule, *Grigol khantstelis tskhovreba* (Life of Gregory of Khantsta) http://saunje.ge/index.php?id=1495&option=com_content&lang=ru

to the Greeks, and what is more, the Georgian culture at that period was side by side with the main ruler of world civilization – Byzantium, and even contested with it”.⁷ As Revaz Baramidze notes: „... it reflects the historical reality with epic completeness and in many ways. Our historical past and the variety of problems presented in this work give us a complete idea of the essence of the epoch and the world of thought of the thinker of that time. We perceive the historical situation with conviction: what bothered and delighted the patriot of that time, what was the subject of his thinking and judgment, and what was his lifestyle”.⁷ The factor of religion and the Georgian Church plays a big role in Giorgi Merchule’s work. The author tries to substantiate and highlight the multifaceted function of the church, to connect it with the national idea. This fact is also natural because in the mentioned epoch the understanding of Georgianness and Christianity was considered in a single context. It is noteworthy, that this phenomenon maintains its relevance in modern Georgia also. Revaz Baramidze rightly points out that “Grigol after the functional load of the church, prays to the Lord: You, Lord, bless this place, the holy sanctuary of yours,” – and this inheritance is his native land. Nor is it a coincidence that the Khantsta temple is conceived by the name of St George. For Georgians, St George is a national holy knight, and during the period of Arab rage, the Georgian man needed help and support from the Holy Knight. The blessing of the name of St George of the Khantsta Temple had a deep national purpose together with the religious one”.⁸ This idea, along with many other factors, served the unity of Georgians in the fight against the Arabs. Merchule seeks another deep and powerful foundation for the revival of national integrity and its greatness. The idea of the biblical origin of the Georgian Bagrationis is especially prominent and emphasized in his work. This idea was not only a connection with a great, ancient civilization, but it was at the same time a wise conception of the national self-knowledge and the realization and establishment of its traditions. He proudly addresses Ashot Kurapatat, a worthy representative of the glorious Bagrationi dynasty. „You, named as the son of David the prophet, anointed of the Lord inherited the kingdom, kingship, and virtues of his and now I declare:” Do not deprive your children and the relatives of their lands, May they be firmly like a rock and be glorious forever to

⁷ C. Lomtadze, *Kartuli kultura da kopa meekvse-meate saukuneebshi* (Georgian culture and existence in the 6th-10th centuries), *sakartvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 1973, p. 574.

⁸ R. Baramidze, *Kartuli prozis sakitkhebi* (The Issues of Georgian Prose), Tbilisi 1995, p. 91.

eternity”.⁹ With the development of the idea of the biblical origin of the Bagrationis, Merchule esteemed the Georgian culture, its history, and ethnogenesis in the realm of global events, which was a great statement to show national dignity before history. Identifying and acknowledging the biblical roots of the Bagrationi origins was linked to a new big problem, the Messianic idea, and this idea became the strongest stimulus for the mobilization of national forces and self-determination. Thus, Merchule formulated the national problem on a surprisingly large scale and with far-reaching perspectives, and therefore, his creation laid an ideological basis in the field of national self-determination and establishment, thus creating a solid, worldview precondition for the epoch of the king David the Builder”.¹⁰ The peculiarity of Giorgi Merchule’s artistic thinking lies in the fact that he develops the national idea not only by wise and impressive teachings, not only by creating attractive and unforgettable faces of the caring people of the country but also by a wide, comprehensive realistic reflection of reality. As a result, the reader is exposed to the degraded faces of foreign enemies and degenerate citizens, whose reckless actions, along with their antipathetic feelings, make the reader feel even more vigilant and self-sacrificing to the homeland.¹¹

The work focuses on and brings to the fore such national characteristics as religion Christianity, Georgian language, territory, historical memory, the idea of kingship, and the ideal of Georgian unity. A well-known phrase that significantly defined not only the sign of the national self-consciousness of the medieval Georgians but also the idea does not lose its relevance at present and in the future. „Kartli embraces the wider country, where the liturgy and preys are sacrificed in the Georgian language”.¹² To be unanimous in the struggle for national independence, the society has to understand clearly its role in the history of the nation; it must be thoroughly familiar with the history of the country, and traditions and must love them. The main goal of the intelligentsia was to foster this idea. Besides that the activities of the intelligentsia had national meaning and were aimed at the strengthening of the national consciousness among the Georgians, it was not devoid of political motives as well. Intelligentsia propagandized the country’s history and cultural heritage within the

⁹ Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁰ Ibid, 1996, pp. 136–137.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 138.

¹² Giorgi Merchule, *Grigol khantstelis tskhovreba* (Life of Gregory of Khantsta). http://saunje.ge/index.php?id=1495&option=com_content&lang=ru

country and abroad. The importance of these ideas in the nation's consciousness has always been great and in the ideology aiming to strengthen national self-consciousness through centuries, the historical memory was rather important. All nations should know their historical past. But it has an especially important place in the consciousness of the conquered nation. The past is no longer a mere historical fact, but also each event acquires the sacred meaning and often becomes the nation's unifying power. In the new phase of the National-liberation movement, the Georgian cultural and political elite has an ideological influence on the overall national unity and pays attention to the common national interests.

National Identity and Georgian unity in the 8th-9th centuries

Hagiographic literature is of great importance in terms of the study of national identity. The work – *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* – written by Giorgi Merchule, contains important information for the analysis of the history of the Georgian Church and the political and socio-economic situation in Georgia in the 8th-9th centuries. The *Life of Gregory of Khantsta* occupies an important place in studying various aspects of this chronological section. Before moving directly to the discussion of the burden of the national idea in the 8th-9th centuries and how the author assesses the national self-consciousness, we consider it inevitably necessary to describe the political or socio-economic situation in Georgia of that historical period.

Key words: Gregory of Khantsta, Identity, National, Georgia.

DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS OF THE GEORGIANS WITH THE MONGOLS (1235–1335)

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From the beginning of the formation of Pax Mongolica, the Mongols sought to conquer the settled peoples not only militarily but also diplomatically. The status of ambassador to the Mongols was very high, he was greeted with great honors. The first diplomatic contacts of the Mongols in Georgia began not with the queen, but with the *mtavars*, who sought to preserve their possessions and get out of the influence of Tbilisi. When the large landowners recognized the power of the Mongols, Queen Rusudan also had to submit to the power of the khan. As a result of establishing contacts with Europe, roads for Catholic missionaries were built in Georgia.

The Mongols used the principle of *divide and rule* not only in the relationship with the queen and *didebuls*, but also with the Bagratians family itself. Thus, in 1249, two kings were put on the throne – David Ulu and David Narin, to whom the khan showed ostentatious compliance. Although such a policy did not prevent anti-Mongol riots, the conflict was resolved thanks to well-planned diplomatic negotiations

Kurultai and Mongolian festivals, to which Georgian rulers were invited, contributed to the support of allied relations. Informally, the Mongols tried to show respect for the conquered peoples and the possibility of their peaceful coexistence. Such holidays were often held in honor of Georgian-Mongolian marriages. In order to strengthen the alliance with the Christians, the Mongols showed religious tolerance, performed Christian rituals, and treated the shrines with respect. Such a policy was a key component in building an alliance to fight the Muslim Ulus of Jochi and Syria.

Although Georgia was subordinate to Ilkhanate, that did not prevent its leaders from conducting secret diplomacy with Egypt and Ulus of

Jochi, which were the Hulaguid's main rivals. Ilkhan had to carefully eliminate the forces that focused on the Golden Horde. The Georgians, realizing that the Hulaguids depended on them, were often in the khan's immediate entourage, and, enjoying his trust, the Georgian kings gradually managed to get rid of their influence and recreate the Georgian kingdom. Therefore, the specifics of diplomatic relations between the Mongols and the Georgians stood out with significant compliance, in contrast to their relations with other conquered peoples.

In the first half of the thirteenth century on the Eurasian continent there began to develop the Mongol Empire, which, according to researchers, became one of the largest states in the world of all time. The nature of this state formation can be reasonably named militaristic.¹ One of the main conquest directions of Genghis Khan and his descendants was the Caucasus region, where the Georgian kingdom took a dominant place.

But in addition to military conquests, the Mongol Empire had to establish peaceful ties with the captured peoples. By annexing large numbers of settled lands, the Mongols had to be open to dialogue in order to prevent rebellious movements and gain the support of new allies. Diplomacy was an integral part of the development of Pax Mongolica.²

Evidence of Georgian diplomatic relations with the Mongol states was preserved to a greater extent in Armenian and Georgian chronicles. Among them there are 'Kartlis tskhovreba' and 'History of Armenia' by Kirakos Gandzaketi. In the historical literature, the issue of diplomatic contacts between Georgians and Mongols is considered in the context of relations between the Golden Horde and the Hulaguids or the Mongol states with Europe or Egypt. Among the most recent studies on rituals used in diplomatic missions there are works by historian Yurchenko.

The main sources that describe the laws, rules and principles of the Mongols in the days of the creation of the state of Genghis Khan are 'Yassa' and 'The Secret History of the Mongols.' It is in the mentioned sources that we find evidence of the basics of Mongol diplomacy. The Mongols had no written language until 1240, although some sources mention their writing from 1204; according to the Chinese chronicle, the Mongols of Genghis Khan's time used wooden sambar tablets as notebooks, but those were probably isolated cases and only at the khan's court. In order to

¹ Р. Храпачевский, *Военная держава Чингисхана*, Москва 2005, р. 48.

² К вопросу о дешифровании дипломатических документов монгольских ильханов, *Известия АН СССР. Серия истории и философии* 7, 1935.

transmit information at a distance, there were ‘oral reports’ of rhyming forms.³ In order to memorize such messages, the ambassadors cut marks on the plates for themselves. The ambassador had to convey each word to the addressee exactly, without any variations.

The high status of the ambassador is evidenced by ‘Men-da bey-lu’: when the emperor’s ambassador or go-wan arrived, all the inhabitants of a settlement had to come out to meet them; the rulers arranged a holiday in their honor. The ambassadors and all those who accompanied them could change their horse for any other horse they saw.⁴ The ambassador was an inviolable person and the khan took any insult towards the ambassador personally. Therefore, it was necessary to support diplomacy with Karakorum and promote friendly development of embassy exchanges. Diplomatic letters from the Ilkhans to European monarchs emphasized that the Mongols wanted to maintain the status quo in the relations with both European courts and the conquered settled peoples; Ilkhan promised to exchange embassies and maintain diplomatic relations.⁵

Georgia’s first diplomatic relations with the Mongol authorities began during Noyon Chormagan’s invasions of the Caucasus in the 1330s. At the same time, it can be noted that Georgian society was beginning to disintegrate as a result of attempts of the *mtavars* to secede from the power of the Bagratians. In addition, the local *mtavars*, who wanted to keep their principalities intact, accepted the power of the conqueror. One of such rulers was Atabek Avag, who was to surrender to the Mongols after his defeat in the siege of Caen Fortress.⁶

Ishkhan married his daughter Hoshak to Muhammad Shams ad-Din who was a man from Khan Hulagu’s retinue, sent treasures as a gift to the Mongols.⁷ However, when that was not enough, Avag went to the Chormagan camp in Bardava, a winter residence of Noyon, to recognize the power of the Mongols.⁸ Chormagan greeted Ishkhan with honors; at the

³ Сокровенное сказание: Юань чао би ши, С. А. Козин, Москва-Ленинград 1941, pp. 32, 48, 49, 181.

⁴ Мен-да Бей-лу, *Полное описание монголо-татар*, ред. Н. А. Кукушкина, Москва 1975, pp. 52, 78.

⁵ К вопросу о дешифровании дипломатических документов монгольских ильханов, *Известия АН СССР. Серия истории и философии* 7, 1935.

⁶ *Всеобщая история Вардана Великого*, Перевод Н. Эмин, Москва 1861, p. 178; Киракос Гандзакци, *История Армении*, Москва 1876, p. 163.

⁷ Plano Carpini notes that the Mongols demanded generous gifts from the embassies; otherwise the ambassadors were not perceived as persons of high rank. *История монголов именуемых нами татарами*, translated А. И. Малеина, СПб., 1911, p. 44.

⁸ *Kartlis iskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), edited by Simon Kaukhchishvili, Tbilisi 2008, p. 346.

reception Avag swore to the Mongols⁹ on gold, which showed the highest status of diplomatic relations.¹⁰ As a sign of recognition, Avag received a letter from Noyon, who confirmed the allied relations of the Mongol authorities with the Atabek. With this letter Avag went to the khan in Karakorum, to approve this alliance.¹¹ The Mongols promised not to touch his possessions, but instead, Avag had to take part in the Mongol campaigns.¹² The example set by Avag was followed by other *mtavars*: Varam Gagsky, Gamrekeli of the Torah, Sargis of Tmogvi, who were also involved in supporting the conquerors and, pledging to pay the mal and the tagar, swore allegiance to them.¹³ Thanks to such actions, the *mtavars* were able to save their possessions from destruction and retain their power.

The cooperation between the Mongol khan and the Georgian *didebules* was supported by the hasinju. The *mtavars* who adopted the hasinju gained independence for their possessions, which led to economic decentralization and the development of a particular *samtavro*. Tribute from each *samtavro* did not come to the divan, but to the treasury of the khan or his confidants. Thus, each *mtavar* had a strong protector, with whom they had a direct relationship, bypassing the Georgian king.¹⁴

Queen Rusudan tried to resist the Mongols. To do this, she corresponded with the Pope, hoping that he would help her in exchange for Georgia's conversion to Catholicism.¹⁵ Thanks to the relations with the Europeans, Georgians created stopping places for monks and missionaries, who were to establish contacts with the Georgian rulers. Later these places served as rest stops for monks who went to Karakorum with diplomatic missions.¹⁶

However, Rusudan was left without the support of Europe, so the queen had to recognize the power of the Mongols. Ambassadors were sent to Rusudan from two sides of the Mongol government: from Khan

⁹ The oath of allegiance on gold Mongols was inherited from the Turks. The main message in the oath is 'whoever betrays his promises will turn yellow, that is, he will get sick.'

¹⁰ А. Юрченко, Клятва на золоте: тюркский вклад в монгольскую дипломатию, *Тюркологический сборник*, Москва 2009, pp. 410–423.

¹¹ Киракос Гандзакец, *История Армении*, p. 167.

¹² При взятті фортеці Ані ішхан Аваг вже виступає на боці монгольської армії. М. Тімоту, May Mongol Empire: Chormaqan and the Mongol Conquest of the Middle East. <https://www.historynet.com/mongol-empire-chormaqan-and-the-mongol-conquest-of-the-middle-east.htm>.

¹³ *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), pp. 346–347; Магакия Инок, *История народа стрелков*, <http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus10/Magakija/frametext.htm>.

¹⁴ Д. Пурцеладзе, *Уложение Георгия V-го Блистательного*, Тбилиси 1988.

¹⁵ А. Лопухин, Католицизм и его пропаганда в Грузии в XI–XVIII вв., *Серия История. Политология* 27(2020).

¹⁶ Р. Хаутала, Коммуникативные аспекты дипломатических связей между государствами Западной Европы и Империей монголов в XIII веке. *Сходознаство* 57–58(2012), pp. 158–184.

Batu, the ruler of the Golden Horde, and from Bachu, the military leader in the Caucasus. “Both invited her to come in peace and friendship and to get their permission for ruling her kingdom”.¹⁷ The queen sent the embassy headed by Mtsignobartukhutses Arsen to the Volga residence of Batu. As a result of the Mongol-Georgian negotiations, the western part of Georgia was recognized as subject to the tsar; the state had to pay 50,000 perpers and to field its soldiers for the Mongol campaigns.¹⁸

Rusudan’s son, David Narin, was to be put on the throne. He went for approval first to the Horde, where his identity as the future king was agreed by Khan Batu. After staying in Saray for two years, David went to Karakorum.¹⁹ At that time, Karakorum was not only the capital of the Mongol Empire, but also the centre of various cultures and religions. It was a reception centre for ambassadors, travellers, missionaries and merchants.²⁰ According to Wilhelm de Rubruck, ambassadors from different countries could communicate with each other at the court of Kaan, which was forbidden at the court of Batu Khan.²¹ Arriving in the capital, David Narin met with the son of Georgian Tsar George Lashi – David Ulu, who also claimed the Georgian throne. The brothers disputed each other’s rights to the throne, and opinions among the *mtavars* were divided: some of them believed that the woman’s son, David Narin, could not be king; others stressed the legitimacy of Rusudan’s power and the impossibility of entrusting the government to the bastard.²² The Mongols’s actions were far-sighted and cunning: Georgia was divided into two parts. David Narin got the western part, and the eastern part passed to David Ulu.²³ At the same time, the Mongols supported their actions with the will of «Yassa», according to which each brother had the right to power, and most of the power should go to the elder brother.²⁴ As that caused rivalry between

17 Киракос Гандзакечи, *История Армении*, р. 195.

18 Н. Бердзенишвили, В. Дондуа, М. Думбадзе и др. *История Грузии с древнейших времен до начала XIX века. Часть первая*, Тбилиси 1962, р. 123.

19 *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), р. 353.

20 D. Vayratsikhan, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*, Boston 2011, р. 85.

21 *История монголов именуемых нами татарами*, СПб., 1911, р. 123.

22 David Ulu was an illegitimate son of George IV Lasha.

23 *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), р. 358; Киракос Гандзакечи, *История Армении*, р. 196.

24 Джиованни дель Плано Карпини, *История Монголов*; Гильом де Рубрук, *Путешествие в Восточные страны // Путешествия в восточные страны Плано Карпини и Рубрука*. Перевод А. И. Малеина; Редакция, вступительная статья и примечания Н. П. Шастиной, Москва 1957.

the brothers, each of them would rule their territories in coordination with the Mongols, not with each other.

However, the situation in Georgia was mainly calm from 1249. In order to maintain diplomatic relations with the protector, the Caucasian elite married representatives of the Mongols. Thus, besides Hoshak, the daughter of Avag, who was married to a Mongol, some sources mention other marriages: Avag and a Mongol woman donated by Khan Guyuk, Smbat Sparapet and a Mongol woman, the daughter of Demeter and Noyon Buga, and others.²⁵

Diplomatic relations between Georgians and Mongols persisted even during their confrontation. A clear illustration of that was the revolt of David Ulu against the Hulaguid rule in Georgia in 1259.²⁶ Despite the confrontation that lasted for several years, the king, accompanied by *mtavar* Sargis Jakeli, met with Hulagu Khan for reconciliation. The moment was chosen aptly: each of the negotiators benefited from the allied relations. David could no longer be in disgrace and hide from the Khan's troops. Sargis Jakeli sought to obtain the status of inviolability for his possessions – *hasinju*. Ilkhan was preparing for the war against Ulus of Juchi who was the main rival in the struggle for the establishment of power in the Caucasus, where one of the main objects was the Georgian kingdom.²⁷ In addition, trade relations were established between Georgia and the Jochids, so that Georgia could side with the Golden Horde.²⁸ Therefore, Hulagu Khan showed compliance to the rebels. Instead, David was to bring his troops to combat readiness for the future struggle against the Jochids in the shortest possible time.²⁹

In order to establish ties with the allies, the Mongols held lavish celebrations that served as informal negotiations. It was in the interests of the Georgian authorities to attend such holidays, as issues of state importance were raised there. For example, at a celebration held after the kurultai, they divided the lands under the Mongol Empire between the noyons. Thus, the Caucasus came under the control of Chormagan. The festivities

²⁵ Dashdondog В а у а r s а і k h а n, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*, pp. 93–94, 221.

²⁶ О. М а ч а й, Антимонгольське повстання царя Давіда за свідченнями писемних джерел. Україна. Європа. Світ. Історія та сучасність: *Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції*, Київ, 4–5 грудня 2020, pp. 40.

²⁷ С. З а к и р о в, *Дипломатические отношения Золотой Орды с Египтом*, Москва 1966, pp. 11, 14.

²⁸ *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), p. 409.

²⁹ Н. Б е р д з е н и ш в и л и, В. Д о н д у а, М. Д у м б а д з е и др, *История Грузии с древнейших времен до начала XIX века*, p. 129.

were held with rituals and sports competitions.³⁰ It was probably a traditional Mongol festival of Naadam, where they tried to demonstrate the strength of their most skilled warriors. The development of this holiday is attributed to the time of Genghis Khan, who in 1206 began to hold an annual large meeting to maintain friendly relations between members of different tribes.³¹ Such sports competitions were an important element in maintaining friendly relations within the empire.

In essence, Naadam reminded of the Greek Olympic Games, which were to put an end to quarrels during the competition and demonstrate honest and allied relations between peoples both in the game and in the political, military spheres of life.³² It is possible that on such a holiday *mtavar* Sargis Jakeli showed his strength by accurate shooting and killing deer, fox and hare, impressing the khan by his physical skills.³³

Vardan Areveltsi recalled how Hulagu had arranged a reception of the nobleman Snorkhavor, who was a frequent guest at the court of Khan Batu. The described holiday took place in honor of the kurultai and lasted for a month. The rulers of the surrounding states, including Georgian King David Narin, gathered at Hulagu's residence. At such receptions they demonstrated tolerance, which was evidenced by the fact that Christians were permitted not to kneel before the khan,³⁴ as required by Mongolian custom, because "Christians can bow their knees only before God".³⁵ In order to attract Christians to their side in the struggle against Baghdad and Ulus of Jochi, permission was granted to build temples; shrines were guarded, pilgrimage routes were planned.

³⁰ А. Юрченко, Какой праздник отметил хан Узбек в июне 1334 г. *Золотоордынское наследие. Политическая и социально-экономическая Золотой Орды (XIII-XV вв.), материалы международной научной конференции*, Казань, 17 марта 2009 г. р. 114; А. Юрченко, Клятва на золоте: тюркский вклад в монгольскую дипломатию, *Тюркологический сборник*, Москва 2009, pp. 410–423.

³¹ Х. Маньдугла, Традиционные спортивные игры в культуре народов Центральной Азии и их роль в сохранении традиционного наследия, *Философия, культурология, социо-логия, социальная работа* 4(57) 2014, p. 147.

³² Р. Бабенко, О. Мачай, Військово-спортивні змагання в суспільно-політичній структурі Монгольської імперії, *Вчені записки ТНУ імені В. І. Вернадського. Історичні науки* 31(70)2020, p. 122–127.

³³ *Kartlis iskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), p. 371.

³⁴ The ritual of kneeling before the khan was obligatory not only for the ambassadors, but also for the rulers who were in vassal dependence on the Mongols. 'You are worse than evil, Tatar honor,' the chronicler writes, describing how Danylo Halysky performed a humiliating ritual while being in Batu's residence in 1245. В. Потёмкин, *История дипломатии с древнейших времен до нового времени*, 1, Москва 1941, p. 129.

³⁵ *Всеобщая история Вардана Великого*, Перевод Н. Эмин, Москва 1861.

During the feast of 1261, which was held at the very beginning of Ilkhanate, Hulagu met with the monks, listened to all of their wishes, sang sharakans, Armenian spirituals, and asked Christians to pray for his success. Catholics and clergy were invited to feasts and weddings as honorable guests.³⁶

The clergy often acted both as secretaries and diplomats in the Mongols' relations with the captured peoples. It is known that the Mongols, whose language was understood by few people, had to hire foreigners as translators and diplomatic agents.³⁷ Thus, Kirakos Gandzaketi was to serve the secretarial needs of the Mongol chancellery, writing and reading letters throughout 1236. In 1246, Lord Wahram Gagetsi was sent to Caesarea to represent Baiju in the negotiations for the release of David, the son of King Lasha, from prison. Priest Barseg accompanied the embassies to Khan Batu.³⁸

Historians explain this attention to Christians by the fact that Hulagu's mother and wife were Nestorians; in addition, the Mongols believed in the cult of Tengeri – the power of Heaven, which could be embodied in the image of the gods of other religions, which the Mongols were afraid to offend.³⁹ However, there is a more rational explanation: Hulagu tried to find in Christians – Georgians and Armenians, resistance and support both for internal rule and for future wars against Islamic countries, and especially against Ulus of Jochi.⁴⁰

In fact, one of the reasons for the war between the Jochids and the Hulaguids was the murder of the ambassadors of the Golden Horde in Ilkhanate, as historians note. It was after the deaths of Tutar, Kuli and Abaga that the conflict gained resolve. In the first campaigns against the Jochids Georgian troops took part not only in the battles against the Horde, but also in the construction of sibe – defensive lines in the North Caucasus. Acting as a hashar, the Georgians dug ditches and erected fences of the Chaganusun fortifications. As a result, the army was getting weaker.⁴¹

³⁶ Киракос Гандзакети, *История Армении*, pp. 182, 193.

³⁷ А. Юрченко, Клятва на золоте: тюркский вклад в монгольскую дипломатию, *Тюркологический сборник*, pp. 410–424.

Г. Федоров-Давыдов, *Общественный строй золотой орды*, Москва 1973, p. 35.

³⁸ Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*, pp. 94, 222.

³⁹ О. Мачай, Релігійний чинник у встановленні монгольської влади в Грузії, *Вісник МДУ. Серія Історія. Політологія* 27(2020), pp. 29, 32.

⁴⁰ А. Шереметьев, Религиозный фактор в политической жизни Золотой Орды при хане Берке, *Известия Саратовского университета. Новая серия. Серия История. Международные отношения*, т.13. Вып. 3., Саратов 2013, p. 7.

⁴¹ *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), pp. 372, 374. А. Криштопа, *Дагестан в XIII начале XV вв. Очерк политической истории*, Москва 2007, p. 75.

The Georgian tsars were dissatisfied with such attitude towards the Georgian contingents. Beginning in the 1260s, the king of Imereti, David Narin, who did not want to be completely dependent on Ilkhan, began to establish relations with Mamluk Egypt, exchanging embassies with him. In addition, contacts were established with the Golden Horde.⁴²

However, other kings were not as independent as David Narin. Especially the son of David Ulu, Demeter II, came under the rule of the Mongol governor. When he became king of Western Georgia, he was still underage, so Sadun Mankaberdeli, a man who enjoyed high authority among the Mongols, was appointed regent,⁴³ Excessive taxes to the Mongol treasury were imposed on the young king. Sadun took over paying them.⁴⁴ For such a service, the *atabag* demanded the cities of Dmanisi, Kars and their environs.⁴⁵ He took possessions of the impoverished Georgian *mtavars*, becoming a large landowner and achieving the status of the most influential man in Georgia. However, after Sadun's death, Demeter II deprived his son Hutlubug of atabag, giving him only the status of amirspasalar.

Hutlubug's insults dealt a fateful blow to Demeter. Georgia's first vizier, Buga, a close friend of the tsar, was accused of betraying Khan Argun, which resulted in the execution of an official. The khan's attitude to Demeter became suspicious, but the king, not being active during the rebellion, hoped to justify the khan. Therefore, despite the advice of the *Darbaz* to hide from the Mongols in the mountains, Demeter decided to talk to the khan and went to the Horde.⁴⁶ Argun Khan was determined to drop the charges against the king, but Khutlubuga presented to him a plan for further manipulation of Georgia.⁴⁷ Amirspasalar proposed the execution of Demeter II and the transfer of control of Western Georgia to Vakhtang II, the successor of Eastern Georgia. Thus, the khan's vassal would be the ruler of united Georgia. Therefore, as a result of Hutlubug's intrigues, Demeter II was executed and the power passed to Vakhtang II.

42 Н. Бердзенишвили, В. Дондуа, М. Думбадзе, *История Грузии с древнейших времен до начала XIX века*, p. 132.

43 Speaking different languages, Sadun Mankaberdeli often acted as a translator. He himself helped David Ulu to come to terms with the Hulaguids after his uprising. D. R a y f i e l d, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia*, London 2012, p. 135.

44 И. Јавакхишвили, *Kartveli eris istoria* (The History of Georgia), vol. 3, 1966, pp. 97, 99.

45 О. Г ü в е н, *Artvin'in kültürel tarihinde türk izleri*, Ankara 2008. p. 106.

46 D. R a y f i e l d, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia*, p. 136.

47 *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), p. 391.

Diplomatic relations were established during the reign of Ilkhan Gazan, which was facilitated by the reforms he introduced. Important diplomatic contacts took place during the celebrations organized at the initiative of Gazan. Such holidays were held in the South Caucasus, especially where a large number of Muslims lived, and among these places there stood out the town of Ujan, which was called ‘Shahr-i Islam’.⁴⁸

Under Gazan Khan, one of the most important means of transmitting information was postal service. That was made possible thanks to the ‘yamas’ – post stations, where there were coachmen and horses. The functioning of such yards was ensured by the state treasury of Ilkhanate.⁴⁹

However, in the early part of Gazan’s reign, relations with Christians were bad. Giving Islam the status of the state religion, Gazan ordered to destroy other temples and shrines which did not belong to Islam. However, hoping to get help from Georgians in the future campaign in Syria, Ilkhan eventually stopped the persecution of Christians.⁵⁰ Perhaps, such aggression was caused by the double policy of the son of Demeter II, King David VIII. Gazan invited him to his reception, but the king tried to avoid the trip to the residence of the khan.⁵¹ Instead, David sent an embassy to Khan Tokhta of the Golden Horde, which became known to Gazan. The Hulaguids brought their troops to the Kartli lands, plundering and destroying everything as they went. The only way out for the king was to submit to Gazan, and to refuse to cooperate with Tokhta. In reconciliation, David sent his embassy consisting of his relatives to Ilhan. As a result, allied relations with the Hulaguids were restored.⁵²

However, despite the prohibitions of Gazan Khan, David continued to maintain relations with the Golden Horde Khan Tokhta, who sought to return the lands of the South Caspian (Arran and Azerbaijan) to the rule of the Jochids.⁵³ David allowed the khan to pass through the Derbent route,

⁴⁸ Х. Казвини, *Улада сердец*, Баку 1983, р. 42; Эльмира Буюкага Кызы Мурадалиева, *Города Кавказа на Великом Шелковом пути*, Баку 2011, р. 81.

⁴⁹ С. Закиров, *Дипломатические отношения Золотой Орды с Египтом*, pp. 113–114; Магакия Инок, *История народа стрелков*, pp. 35; К. Рыжов, *Все монархи мира. Мусульманский Восток. VII–XV вв.*, Москва 2004, pp. 139.

⁵⁰ Рашид ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей*, III, Москва-Ленинград 1952, р. 162.

⁵¹ The leaders of lands under Mongol rule were to appear at the khan’s court at the first invitation. The refusal was perceived as betrayal. В. Потёмкин, *История дипломатии с древнейших времен до нового времени*, р. 129.

⁵² *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), p. 396.

⁵³ М. Гаджимурадов, *Восточный Кавказ в сфере взаимоотношений Золотой Орды и Державы Хулагуидов, Исторические, философские, политические и юридические науки, культурология и искусствоведение. Вопросы теории и практики*, Тамбов 2012, 6(20), р. 68.

which infuriated Gazan Khan. As a result, Gazan installed Vakhtang III as king instead of David. Joint military campaign to Syria in 1299 helped to settle the conflict between the Georgians and the Hulaguids.⁵⁴ One of the objects in this campaign was Jerusalem. Gazan Khan promised to hand the city over to the Georgians. Exact evidence that Jerusalem was captured has not been preserved, but the monastery of the Holy Cross located on the outskirts of the city was given to Vakhtang III by Gazan-khan. However, the Georgians did not manage to finally secure the monastery. Georgia sent embassies to Egypt in 1305 and 1310, asking the sultan to give them a monastery.⁵⁵

After the death of Vakhtang III (1308) power was again transferred to George V, who first came to the throne in 1299. The beginning of his reign came at the time when the state was going through a difficult political and economic period. However, being an excellent diplomat, the new king was able to turn the course of events in a favorable direction. He had friendly relations with Chopan, who was the first vizier of Khan Abu Said. As soon as young Abu Said was enthroned, George went to the khan to show respect and gain recognition. Thanks to such support, George V could restrain the arbitrariness of the baskaks and obtain permission from the Khan to rule throughout Georgia.⁵⁶

In 1327, quarrels and struggle for power broke out among the Mongol nobility in Ilkhanate. George took advantage of Abu Said's weakening power. Breaking the alliance with him, and driving the Mongol troops out of Georgia, he launched a campaign to create united Georgia. Therefore, when Ilkhan died in 1335 and the Hulaguid State ceased to exist, the lands of Georgia were already more united and subordinate to the king.⁵⁷

During the Mongol rule, Georgia lost its role as the strongest state in the Caucasus, the "golden age" of its development came to an end. But thanks to the diplomacy supported by both the Georgian *mtavars* and the tsars, the country was able to establish contacts with the invaders and keep its possessions relatively intact. Diplomacy played an important role in building the Mongol state, so the khans were also interested in de-

⁵⁴ Iv. Javakhišvili, *Kartveli eris istoria* (The History of Georgia), p. 145.

⁵⁵ Б. Хурцилава, Кому достался Иерусалим во времена илхано-мамлюкского противостояния в 1299–1300 годах? *Христианство на Ближнем Востоке*, 5(2020), pp. 256, 259; D. Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia*, p. 138.

⁵⁶ *Kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia), pp. 406; Iv. Javakhišvili, *Kartveli eris istoria*, p. 168.

⁵⁷ Н. Бердзенишвили, В. Дондуа, *История Грузии с древнейших времен до начала XIX века*, pp. 138–139.

veloping peaceful contacts, which became especially relevant during the Hulaguids struggle against the Jochids. Thanks to informal talks on holidays, marriage diplomacy, and religious tolerance, the Mongols were able to reach a consensus with the Georgian authorities, and the Georgians, in turn, could gradually build their own policies.

Diplomatic Contacts of the Georgians with the Mongols (1235–1335)

From the beginning of the formation of Pax Mongolica, the Mongols sought to conquer the settled peoples not only militarily but also diplomatically. The status of ambassador to the Mongols was very high, he was greeted with great honors. The first diplomatic contacts of the Mongols in Georgia began not with the queen, but with the mtavars, who sought to preserve their possessions and get out of the influence of Tbilisi. When the large landowners recognized the power of the Mongols, Queen Rusudan also had to submit to the power of the khan. As a result of establishing contacts with Europe, roads for Catholic missionaries were built in Georgia.

The Mongols used the principle of ‘divide and rule’ not only in the relationship with the queen and didebuls, but also with the Bagrations family itself. Thus, in 1249, two kings were put on the throne – David Ulu and David Narin, to whom the khan showed ostentatious compliance. Although such a policy did not prevent anti-Mongol riots, the conflict was resolved thanks to well-planned diplomatic negotiations

Kurultai and Mongolian festivals, to which Georgian rulers were invited, contributed to the support of allied relations. Informally, the Mongols tried to show respect for the conquered peoples and the possibility of their peaceful coexistence. Such holidays were often held in honor of Georgian-Mongolian marriages. In order to strengthen the alliance with the Christians, the Mongols showed religious tolerance, performed Christian rituals, and treated the shrines with respect. Such a policy was a key component in building an alliance to fight the Muslim Ulus of Jochi and Syria.

Although Georgia was subordinate to Ilkhanate, that did not prevent its leaders from conducting secret diplomacy with Egypt and Ulus of Jochi, which were the Hulaguid’s main rivals. Ilkhan had to carefully eliminate the forces that focused on the Golden Horde. The Georgians, realizing that the Hulaguids depended on them, were often in the khan’s immediate entourage, and, enjoying his trust, the Georgian kings gradually managed to get rid of their influence and recreate the Georgian kingdom. Therefore, the specifics of diplomatic relations between the Mongols and the Georgians stood out with significant compliance, in contrast to their relations with other conquered peoples.

Key words: Dyploamacy, Mongols, Georgian king, Mtavari.

LITURGICAL INFLUENCES
IN THE WESTERN PART PAINTINGS
OF TBILISI CHURCHES IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

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The situation in Georgia in the 19th century has changed dramatically compared to previous periods. By the treaty of 1801, the royal throne was abolished and annexed to the Russian Empire with the status of Tbilisi and Kutaisi provinces. Over and above that, the Apostolic Church lost its autocephaly and the Synod of the Russian Church appointed Russian Exarchs to rule.

Russian influences were also reflected on the Georgian way of life. Nowadays it is written that: „Russian-type temples appeared in Tbilisi as well as outside the city, which were decorated together with medieval Georgian temples with Russian iconostasis, wall paintings, icons, fabrics, pottery and furniture. Some of the temples were whitewashed by the lime in order to “give it a proper look”, hence, old Georgian paintings were covered with plaster”.¹

New-style Russian icons and ecclesiastical inventory were also imported from Russia, as well as that, Russian masters, settled in Tbilisi, crafted them in Georgia. As a result, ecclesiastical art in Georgia completely lost its original character and became a peripheral branch of Russian-European style which was widespread in Russia at that time. Thus, in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the development of Georgian national ecclesiastical art was paused for a long time.²

This was the real picture in Georgia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, but if we go into the depths and observe the lower layers, we will discover the other circumstances as well. In particular, in the samples

¹ N. Burchuladze, *Tanamedrove kartuli saeklesio khelovneba. Katalogi* (Contemporary Georgian Ecclesiastical Art, Catalogue), Tbilisi 2009, pp.11–12.

² Ibid.

of this period we see the emphasis of Georgian themes alongside common Orthodox themes. The artists try to portray national saints, Georgian historical sources on the walls of the churches.³ At the same time, the church life is evolving, the liturgy is undergoing a certain change, which is reflected on art as well.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, several churches were painted in Tbilisi, but not many of them have survived and I would like to focus on the scenes in the western part of the three churches. These are the paintings of the Choir of Mtatsminda Mama-daviti Church, the western gate of the Holy Trinity Church and the western arm of St Nicholas of Chugureti. In the western parts of these churches, the artists placed illustrations of the Gospel parables, so these three churches have much in common, they are influenced by the liturgy, the following scenes are depicted: “Pharisee and Publican” and “The Firstborn Son” (of course, next to the other illustrations, “The Good Samaritan” is added to these two scenes in the Holy Trinity Church, only these two are depicted in St Nicholas Church and in Mama-daviti Church “Jesus Walking on the Water”, “The Story of Jesus and Sinful Woman” and “The Rich Man and Lazarus” are added to these existing illustrations.)

From today’s perspective, if we examine the art of this period, it becomes clear that the liturgy has a strong influence on the paintings of that time, which, in turn, is very interesting for the study. Before the profound discussion of the subject-matter I will present the overview of the literature around it. The problem has never been researched by anybody before from this point of view. I have conducted some research in Tbilisi on the paintings of the western parts of the Holy Trinity Church and St Nicholas Church in Chugureti, both depict similar themes. My first research is dedicated to the painting of the western portal of the Holy Trinity Church, where the influence of the liturgy on the painting is studied.⁴ The same issue is also arisen with similar topics involved in the western arm of St Nicholas Church in Chugureti, where the influence of the liturgy is

³ L. Osepashvili, “Erovnuli ikonografiuli temebi longos mokhatul tbilisis tsmida samebis eklesiashi (National Iconographic Themes in the Holy Trinity Church in Tbilisi Painted by Longo), *Sakhelovnebo mecnierebata dziebani* 3 (84), 2020, www.dziebani.tafu.edu.ge

⁴ L. Osepashvili, “Evropuli talgis shemochra me-19–20 ss mijnis kartul tadzarta mokhatulobebshi (tbilisis tsmida samebis eklesiis magalitze) (The invasion of the European wave in the 19th-20th centuries. In the painting of the Georgian temples (on the example of the Holy Trinity Church in Tbilisi), International Conference on New and Contemporary Art Issues, Memory, Art and Art History in Search of Identity, October 27–28, Tbilisi 2011, pp. 32–34.

also revealed.⁵ Tamar Khosroshvili mentions the painting of the Choir of Mama-daviti church in the article, however, it does not address a similar problem, namely the impact of the liturgy on painting.⁶

The aim of the following research is to highlight the common ideological meaning of the western parts of these three churches, i.e. the reflection of liturgical influences in art, for I think it is not by chance that the gospel parables that are read in the church in the weeks leading up to Lent are selected; During the medieval period the scene of “Day of Judgement” was depicted in the western arm of the churches and similarly, the scene of “Day of Judgement” is mentioned together with gospel parables in the weeks before Lent and as I have already mentioned, the situation changes during this period. In the present work I will try to analyze these abovementioned problems and in addition, I will attempt to show the general picture of the performing arts, in which the European painting traditions are already evident.

Thus, as mentioned above, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries “Day of Judgement” in the churches of Tbilisi was replaced by the Gospel parables which are read in the church during the start of the Lent weeks. At this stage it is difficult to identify reasons, because neither the liturgy nor the Christian art of the mentioned period has been properly studied and revealed, in fact, the problem posed in this paper should be considered as the beginning of the study.

I will try to analyze each scene from these three churches. “Return of the Firstborn”, “Pharisee and Publican” and “The Good Samaritan” are depicted in the portal of the Holy Trinity painted by Longo. Also “Pharisee and Publican” and “Return of the Firstborn” are illustrated in the western arm of St Nicholas of Chugureti painted by Zaziashvili and in the central part of the Choir of Mama-daviti, “Jesus walking on the water” is depicted, artist is unknown, to the right a scene of “The Rich Man and Lazarus” and to the left – “Pharisee and Publican” are portrayed, on the northern chamber “The Story of Jesus and Sinful Woman” and to the south “Return of the Firstborn” are painted. The list of the scenes clearly distinguishes two scenes that all three churches have in common. These are: “Pharisee and Publican” and “Return of the Firstborn”. Moreover, as

⁵ L. O s e p a s h v i l i, Gigo zaziashviliseuli ramdenime kompozitsia chughuretis tsmida nikolozis mokhatulobidan (Several compositions by Gigo Zaziashvili from the painting of St Nicholas Church in Chugureti), *sakhelovnebo mecnierebata dziebani* 3–4 (76,77), Tbilisi 2018, pp. 81–87.

⁶ T. K h o s r o s h v i l i, Mtachmindis „mamadavitis” mokhatulobis taviseburebani (Peculiarities of Mtatsminda “mamadaviti” painting), *Antiquities of Georgia* 16, Tbilisi 2013, pp. 198–213.

mentioned above, these two scenes have a liturgical character and they are referred to in church service the weeks before Lent starts.

I will begin the discussion of scenes with “Pharisee and Publican”, as Theophylact Bulgarian writes: “As the Lord mentions sorrows and dangers, He also offers healing from them. This healing is prayer, not just a prayer, but uninterrupted and enhanced prayer. All of this, he says, must happen to the man at the time, but the prayer provides great help, which we must perform continually and patiently”.⁷ “Two men went up to the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a tax collector”. (Luke 18,10) So, according to the Gospel two people of different social class are represented. “The Pharisee prayed with a great conceit of self, a glorification of himself, showing his good works as a merit in front of God, and humiliating other people”.⁸ As stated in the Gospel he said: “I fast twice a week and give a tenth of everything I get”.(Luke 18,12), “But the tax collector stood at a distance. He would not even look up to heaven, but beat his breast and said, “God, have mercy on me, a sinner”. (Luke 18,13). As these excerpts from the Gospel illustrate, “One considered himself worthy to stand at the altar, while the other thought that not only he was unworthy of the altar, but he could not even look up at the sky because of the severity and abundance of his sins”.⁹

In abovementioned three churches the moment of Pharisee and Publican standing in prayer is illustrated. However, the iconographic scheme is somewhat different, of course we are not discussing the intellectual difference.

As for the second parable, that is, “The Return of the Firstborn,” its theological meaning is narrated in the Gospel of Luke: “There was a man who had two sons. 12 The younger one said to his father, Father, give me my share of the estate. So, he divided his property between them”. (Luke 15,11–12). A man had two sons: in the face of this man God is represented; the two sons-sinner and ostensibly righteous-the scribe and Pharisee;” the youngest son, who seems to have already come of age, but is certainly still inexperienced and immature, asks his father to give his share of the property, according to the Law of Moses (Law 21,17) -one-third, while the elder brother received two-thirds.¹⁰ “As soon as he received the inheritance, the younger son wished to live freely, of his own

⁷ *Biblia ganmartebebi* (Bible with explanations), vol. 19, Tbilisi 2021, p. 532.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 536.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

free will, and left for a distant country, where he squandered the property he had received, because he lived leisurely in luxury”.¹¹ The younger son, who has fallen into sin and poverty, says: “I’ll get up, go to my father, and say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in your sight. I’m no longer worthy to be called your son. Make me like one of your hired workers”. (Luke 15,18–19). Article 20 draws attention: “But while he was still a long way off, his father saw him and was filled with compassion for him; he ran to his son, threw his arms around him and kissed him”. (Luke 15, 20). Blessed Theophylacte of Bulgaria explains this Gospel passage as follows: “Behold also the mercy of the Father: he waited not for the Son to come to him, but hasteth to meet him, and to embrace him. For, being a Father by nature, God is Father also in his goodness. He completely wraps his hand around the Son to join him on every side, as it is said, “The glory of the Lord will follow you” (Isa 58: 8). The father “wrapped his neck” around his son, showing that he had previously been in disobedience, was now obedient, and “began to kiss” to celebrate the reconciliation, purifying what had been done to the former, as a kind of threshold, and purifying the inside through it”.¹²

Artists choose to portray this last moment when the Firstborn Son approaches the old father and the father embraces him. In all three compositions, the father has an amazing calmness on his face.

Thus, we can say that before the beginning of the Lent the Church exhorts believers to repentance, to deepen in their own souls, to repent of sins and to intensify prayers so that every faithful soul may be sanctified to meet and celebrate the glorious feast of Easter. In addition, as I mentioned, besides these liturgical scenes, there are other gospel parables in these churches that do not have a liturgical character. I will try to briefly describe each one to highlight the theological point of view.

Next to the above discussed two scenes in the Holy Trinity Church there is an illustration of the parable of “The Good Samaritan”, which is told by Luke in chapter 10. “But a certain Samaritan, as he traveled, came where he was. When he saw him, he was moved with compassion, 34 came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine. He set him on his own animal, brought him to an inn, and took care of him”. (Luke 10, 33–34). Bishop St Gabriel attaches a great importance to the parable of „The Good Samaritan”. The Samaritan is God and the Jewish

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

man- a sin-stricken humanity who, before the Savior came, was even left unattended by sins. He has both, a priest and a jurisprudent (a Levite), but they did not care. The Samaritan came-Jesus Christ, heard the wailing of the one who had been abandoned. We were enemies of him, our God Jesus Christ, and he had mercy on us and loved us”.¹³

In Mtatsminda Mama-daviti Church three illustrations of parables are added to the two above discussed scenes. These are: “Jesus walking on the water”, “The Rich Man and Lazarus” and “The Story of Jesus and Sinful Woman”. Matthew the Evangelist tells us: “In the fourth watch of the night, Jesus came to them, walking on the sea. When the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, “It’s a ghost!” and they cried out for fear”. (Matthew 14, 25–26). „By walking on the water Jesus Christ manifested his divine power as the king of the nature, but he used this power neither for himself nor any personal purpose, but in order to save apostles from hardship and tribulation”.¹⁴

In regard to the parable of “The Rich Man and Lazarus”, Luke the Evangelist tells us: “Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, living in luxury every day. A certain beggar, named Lazarus, was taken to his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man’s table. Yes, even the dogs came and licked his sores”. (Luke 16,19–21) “The main idea of this parable is that the misuse of wealth deprives a man of the kingdom of heaven and throws him into hell for eternal torment”.¹⁵

The fifth scene is the parable of “The Story of Jesus and Sinful Woman”. John the Evangelist tells us: The scribes and the Pharisees brought a woman taken in adultery. Having set her in the middle, they told him, “Teacher, we found this woman in adultery, in the very act”. (John 8,3–4). “But when they continued asking him, he looked up and said to them, “He who is without sin among you, let him throw the first stone at her”. (John 8,7) As Ekvtime Zigaben writes: “Here is his wisdom, which is wisdom itself; How rightly he exposed their intrigue, he accomplished the law and the woman was pardoned. He commanded nobles that the one who was sinless could throw the stone at this woman, but Jesus, definitely, knew they were sinful”.¹⁶

¹³ *Biblia ganmartebebi* (Bible with explanations), vol. 19, Tbilisi 2021, p. 494.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, vol.16, Tbilisi 2020, p. 477.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 19, p. 494.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, vol. 20, Tbilisi 2021, pp. 340–341.

Thus, the Gospel parables conveyed in the paintings of these churches are, of course, doctrinal in nature, and at the same time, the semantics of the western entrance of the church is of interest as well, the part of which is known to all, and which I will not dwell on.

I would like to focus on the performing art of compositions. I will start the discussion and artistic analysis with the painting of the gate of the Holy Trinity Church and then I will try to compare it to the paintings of the western part of St Nicholas Church in Chugureti and the “Mamadaviti” Church in Mtatsminda. There are several theories to characterize the painting of this period, as this stage is unfortunately still unexplored and neither the iconographic nor the stylistic features have been thoroughly revealed. As Dimitri Tumanishvili noted, this is “a painting that almost no one likes nowadays, which is often referred to as” Russian”, such a nickname is not surprising. At first glance, the images of the 19th century are really very non-Georgian – spatial-voluminous, illusory, which is radically different from the typical flat-conditional images of the Middle Ages. However, it is not Russian at all, it is an European style and it was as unknown to Russia as it was to Georgia. European style has spread in Georgia since the beginning of the 18th century”.¹⁷ I think that the European style, which can be called neoclassicism, was greatly ingrained in Georgia during this period and was also revealed in the paintings of these three churches in Tbilisi. Everything is done in accordance with European painting traditions. In the Holy Trinity Church in the painting of “The Return of the Firstborn” the eldest son stands on the edge and the father’s cane lie in front of the father and son closing the foreground of the composition and leaving the space for us to perceive, it visually penetrates the eye overcoming the flatness of the wall. The main principles of easel painting, which has come a long way of development in the western European painting, is observed. The figures are large-scaled and painted in a single tone of the color. Under the heavy garment, heavy bodies can also be felt, and another interesting detail-the lights fall from the side to the central figures and the shadows are reflected, in addition, „the coldness that comes out of each figure attracts attention, as if they should be full of emotions, the father finds his lost son, the Pharisee tells us about his “innocence”, the Samaritan helps his friend, but each composition is cold and devoid of feelings”.¹⁸ While in the Holy

¹⁷ D. T u m a n i s h v i l i, *Tharsulis pirispir; krebuli gzajvaredinze* (Face to Face with the Past, Collection at the Crossroads), Tbilisi 2008, p. 306.

¹⁸ L. O s e p a s h v i l i, *Evropuli talgis shemochra 19–20-e ss mijnis kartul tadzarta mokhatulobebshi* (tbilisis tsmida samebis eklesiiis magalitze) (The invasion of the European wave in the 19th-20th

Trinity church Longo offers a kind of classicist serenity, the compositions in the Choir of Mtatsminda Mama-daviti are relatively full of energy with more focus drawn on the colorful solution. Energetic colors are used as well. The iconographic scheme in “The Return of the Firstborn” draws attention, it seems to be close to the diagram used by Longo and I think, they had a common original of the iconographic, moreover, when I speak about the common original, it is impossible not to imply the illustrated Bible of Julius Schnor von Karolsfeld published in Leipzig in 1854–1860 and the Bible illustrated by Gustave Doré published in 1864–1866. As it seems at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the artists, working in Tbilisi, used these books as an original in the process of church painting.

A clear example of this is the comparison of the artistic solution of each scene with one another. Even if we compare “Pharisee and Publican” in Mama-daviti to the similar compositions from Bible of Schnor von Karolsfeld the iconographic scheme is absolutely the same; the poses of the figures, the architectural entourage of the composition, the complete clothing of the figures is exactly similar. The artistic solution of the compositions is same as well. Even the motif of the cane form the scene discussed above which is often repeated in European paintings and is one of the main components of building a composition. For instance, “The Return of the Firstborn” in Longo’s painting and in Doré’s work, I mean the iconographic scheme; hugged figures of the father and son, father’s cane and separately the cane, these all affect the rhythm of the composition, balance and symmetry. The cry coming from the mouth of the father seems to reach the sky, it is such an energetic scene. There is more tranquility expressed in Mama-daviti Church, in the Holy Trinity and in St Nicholas, and with Dore, as I mentioned, amazingly strong emotions are depicted (even Rembrandt himself is remarkably calm). Each figure radiates amazing emotion, notably the gesture of the father’s right hand with which he hugs a son; With Schnor von Karolsfeld, too, this composition is dynamic, it reflects the moment when father and son approach each other, however, the classical calmness is maintained here as well, and these compositions are related to each other by common characteristics.

Thus, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the books created by European artistic traditions should be considered as the original sources

centuries. In the painting of the Georgian temples (on the example of the Holy Trinity Church in Tbilisi), International Conference on New and Contemporary Art Issues, Memory, Art and Art History in Search of Identity, Tbilisi, October 27–28, Tbilisi 2011, p. 33.

of the paintings of Tbilisi churches, they had a great impact on the paintings, a larger scale influence is implied on the iconographic scheme rather than on the stylistics.

To summarize, I can formulate the following conclusion. At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, paintings were made in Tbilisi, directly influenced by European works of art, and at the same time, some changes were reflected in the spreading of the iconography on the walls of churches. I imply the influence of the liturgy, in the western part the theme of “Judgment Day” is replaced by gospel parable.

Liturgical influences in the western part paintings of Tbilisi churches in 19th and 20th centuries

At end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, several churches were painted in Tbilisi, but not many of them have survived and I would like to focus on the scenes in western part of the three churches. These are: The Choir of Mtatsminda Mama-daviti Church, the paintings of gate of Holy Trinity Church and the western arm of St Nicholas of Chugureti. In western parts of these churches, artists placed illustrations of Gospel parables, so these three churches have much in common, they are influenced by liturgy, depicting scenes: “Pharisee and Publican” and “Firstborn Son”.

The following research is substantial, iconographic schemes in ecclesiastical art are not randomly selected, and beyond these images both art historian and contemporary artist must seek basis for what led to selection of given scenes, as well as how they are interwoven into common idea.

The research problem in this paper is the influence of the liturgy on the paintings of the churches and the connection of these scenes with other scenes of this church as well as with other churches of the mentioned period, i.e. showing relationship. Literally speaking, the illustration of Gospel parables in the western part of the church seems to be conditioned by the instruction of one who enters it, but in addition to these two themes, doctrine also has a liturgical content, namely, before Lent begins, the church celebrates the Sunday of Pentecost; and their presentation serves and presents purification of man, his spiritual, inner eye. This problem has not been stated by anyone before, it should also be noted that as I mentioned, there is no uniform opinion among scholars about paintings of churches of this period and it is less studied, which once again emphasizes the problematics of issue to be studied. On the one hand, I use method of iconographic analysis as method of research, which as a whole implies both theological understanding of forms and the judgment of artistic performance analysis, as well as comparative method.

Key words: Georgia, Tbilisi, Art, Liturgic, Wall painting, Saint Nicholas Church, Mama-daviti Church.



Fig. 1. Return of the Firstborn Son by Gigo Zaziashvili, Chugureti Saint Nicholas Church, 1914.



Fig. 2. Return of the Firstborn Son, Mama-daviti Church in Mtatsminda, 1889.

SCIENTIFIC ISSUES IN ILIA CHAVCHAVADZE'S "IVERIA"

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“Science and art are viewed as life-improving measures... everything is mortal except an idea,” – as Ilia Chavchavadze, well-known Georgian writer and publicist writes in the program letter in the first publication of the “Moambe of Georgia” magazine in 1863.

What is science? – Theorists and researchers share different opinions on this issue. Niklas Luhmann, a German scientist, believes that science is an institutionalized, multi-level system with the aim of acquiring and accumulating knowledge by objective methods. Science creates its own public sub-system in modern society. Knowledge gained is transferred and preserved by generations. The scientific expression shall define the subject (object) in such a precise way as to enable others to identify it (inter-subjectivity). Besides, the objective of scientific research shall be innovation, distinctive views, and new data.

Aristotle (384-322 BC) distinguished practical, theoretical, and poetic, creative sciences. He believed that science is more valuable as it analyzes and predicts the truth.

In the modern context, science is a form of activity to create /systematize objective knowledge about reality, determine the cause-and-effect relationship between facts and events through reconciliation and generalization of facts, as well as to predict events.

Scientific communication – dissemination of scientific thoughts and ideas has been a practice for centuries. Dissemination of scientific thoughts through various communication channels means, and forms, i.e. active cooperation of the scientific community with the society, dissemination of scientific knowledge in a popular language understandable for the society, has been and is of crucial importance. Public awareness about science and its role shall be raised.

Scientific knowledge has been transmitted between generations in verbal, followed by written form, and it may be considered as originating as hunting scenes drawn by the primitive men on cave walls, serving as a guide for the next generations. “House of Life” in ancient Egypt – a kind of higher educational institution, can be viewed as the oldest example of the creation and dissemination of scientific knowledge, where scientific research, collection, and dissemination of outcomes of intellectual work and scientific achievements were carried out. Ancient libraries were established here as well, keeping scientific and religious literature. Pharaoh ordered priests and mentors to research the causes of the well-known 7 year famine, drought, and drying up of the Nile in the “House of Life” library, to present the public with the way out from such severe circumstances.

Science and mass communication – this direction originated in Europe in the 17th century – the relationship of science communities and scientists both with each other and with the general public. Various associations were created – the so-called Republic of Letters headed by the famous French thinker Pierre Bayle. Later, the Republic of Scientists under the leadership of the French scientist, philosopher, and physicist Maren Mersenne – one of the founders of the dissemination of scientific information and experience sharing, with about 80 correspondents in different countries worldwide. The purpose of their activities was to coordinate the exchange and sharing of scientific information and experience, and the dissemination of such information through periodic publications.

Modern science journalism originates from the publication of the *Digdarshan* magazine, with the first copy published in 1818 in Bengal, India, which published articles on important scientific issues. It should be noted that it was released in Bengali, Hindi, and English languages. Besides, one of the first articles published by a science correspondent in the history of the mass media was William Crookes’ article “Storm in the Bay of Biscay” published on January 18, 1871, in “The Times” newspaper. However, in 1928 particularly, the history of science journalism began after the appointment of James Crowther as a science correspondent for “The Guardian” newspaper. According to Sally Cooper, BBC Radio 4 journalist: “Science values details, accuracy, techniques, durability, facts and figures, objective truth. While in journalism, the most important are brevity, popular language, approach, personal factors, stories, words, and

telling the truth relevant for a given time. Therefore, a certain tension is inevitable".¹

However, the transition to truly open science i.e. wide coverage of scientific issues and problems by means of mass information eventually commenced at least in the 19th and 20th centuries. Society showed a higher interest in science and its issues. Such interest and relationship were two-way: the sense of responsibility and accountability of scientists to the society increased, on the one hand, and the level of public awareness and education increased on the other hand and being just curiosity at the beginning, afterward, there was a desire for science as a force and institution for the public good. It became necessary to inform the public about the current events in the field of science, which turned out to be mutually beneficial. Science acknowledged that relations with other social institutions are vital and the mass media began to widely cover scientific topics.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, after the publication of the first Georgian newspaper, the periodicals of that time, regardless of the social and political trends, paid considerable attention to science, and lots of materials were published about this issue. The introductory letter of the Iveria newspaper published in 1877 under Ilia Chavchavadze's editorship states that Iveria aimed to promote scientific knowledge (scientific achievements) in society. "Learning, knowledge, science – are efforts which cannot be confronted by any obstacle nowadays: neither a fist, nor a sword, nor the number of troops" – as Ilia writes. Information on this topic was often printed under the columns "Our News", and "Abroad".

Scientific knowledge, learning, and education were recognized as the cornerstone of life in Ilia's times, the most important event for people's well-being and overall advancement. The press of that period attributed miraculous properties to learning, and Iveria was still distinguished from all others with its educational activities and promotion of various fields of scientific knowledge. It is hard to establish which subjects were considered the most important: applied practical knowledge, humanitarian sciences, agronomy, engineering art, medicine or history, political economy, and literary studies. Illiteracy was considered the major reason for the backwardness of the country and the misery of the people by Iveria's publicists. As the writer and critic Aleksandre Kalandadze writes, "Akaki

¹ Martin W. Angler, *Science Journalism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge 2017, p. 5.

Tsereteli said and we will repeat, as Ilia says, learning, knowledge and science are indispensable cures”.²

Ilia published the newspaper “Iveria” in 1877. The first issue was released on March 3 in the format of a political and literary newspaper, although the outcome exceeded expectations due to the truly phenomenal abilities and encyclopedic knowledge of the founder and editor-in-chief, Ilia Chavchavadze. As Titsian Tabidze writes in his essay, “Ilia Chavchavadze created the 19th century in Georgia, and even sealed it with his own blood, strengthened it... our observations and the testimonies of contemporaries prove that three-quarters of the words used by Georgian journalism nowadays have been invented by Ilia”.³

As Ilia writes in the leading article of the very first issue, “Journals-newspapers constitute a part of literacy; Just like the entire literature and every power of human mind and work, the subject of magazines and newspapers is the human life... what can attract bring material collected from life experience to the science and transfer the essence from the science to the to life? On the other hand, what is the way to describe the good and the bad of everyday life? – literacy in general and, in particular, magazines and newspapers.”⁴

Ilia Chavchavadze attaches major importance to science and reflection of current scientific events in periodicals.

Thus, according to Ilia, magazines, and newspapers have a dual purpose: being mediators between life and science, on the one hand, spreading the truth acquired and acknowledged by the wisdom of humanity, and a mirror of the hard life of society, its intellectual and moral engagement, on the one hand.⁵

Magazines and newspapers, as disseminators of opinion and knowledge, are among the greatest schools through which public opinion, faith, feeling, and taste should be revived, nurtured, and beautified. As mirrors of life, magazines, and newspapers should reflect public opinion, feelings, desire, attitude towards other and different subjects, matters of life.”⁶ Besides, Ilia adds that these two purposes of magazines and

² A. Kalandadze, *Kartuli zhurnalistikis istoria*, (History of Georgian journalism), vol. IV, Tbilisi 1986, pp. 340-341.

³ Titsian Tabidze, *Ese Ilia Chavchavadze* (Essay Ilia Chavchavadze), 1922 / <https://m.wiki-source.org/>.

⁴ Tsinasitkvaoba (Preface), *Iveria, sapolitiko da saliteruro gazeti kartul enaze*, (Iveria, Political and Literary newspaper in Georgian language), ed. Ilia Chavchavadze, Tiflis 1877, no. 1. p. 1.

⁵ Ibid, p. 2.

⁶ Ibid.

newspapers are different and specific in various countries, depending on national identity, and historic and cultural aspects.

Therefore, Ilia Chavchavadze believes that in the 19th century Georgia was enslaved by the Russian Empire, “in a country with weak power of self-action of the society, where mental and moral talents are dormant, the primary objective of magazines and newspapers shall be the spread of knowledge and learning”.⁷ Therefore, in the program letter, he emphasized that the primary purpose of “Iveria” will be “to convey and spread scientific information in the society, to observe and explain lives of Georgian people and those of foreign nations”.⁸ Ilia acknowledges that the source of advanced scientific thought, knowledge, and education should be the European countries and their scientific-educational systems, although not blindly copied, and calcified, but rather adapted to Georgian national identity, as he explains.

Ilia Chavchavadze writes in the article published in the same issue of “Iveria” newspaper: The critics of our newspaper would say – science and life?! Should the newspaper be a mediator between science and life? What does our colorless, tasteless, slow-moving life have to do with science? Or will science itself be unable to survive without us?⁹ In the same article, Ilia defines the essence and basis of science and the goal of scientific activity: “Science is a treasury keeping the best treasures obtained by the better intelligence and feelings of man, it is the greatest temple in which the glorious icon of humanity is enshrined.” According to Ilia, such knowledge and experience accumulated over the centuries is transferred between generations through scientific thoughts.

Notably, the editorial office of “Iveria” newspaper had a separate scientific department in which, as its editor mentions, “letters about all kinds and forms of science “ were published.

Ilia’s letters in “Iveria”, irrespective of referred aspects of public life, are distinguished by the in-depth knowledge of the matter and the scope of thinking. He was truly a man of encyclopedic knowledge. In the article “Due to Caucasian Agricultural Society”, he discusses the necessity of agricultural development, especially since Georgia has poorly developed areas of economic production. Ilia tries to draw the public attention to the fact that “all governments throughout Europe pay great attention to

7 Ibid.

8 Tsinasitkvaoba (Preface), *gazeti iveria (newspaper Iveria)*, 1 (1877), p. 3.

9 Ibid, p. 14.

agriculture and spend lots of money to ensure that this main source of wealth for people has an uninterrupted flow and develops freely”.¹⁰ The author further reviews forms of the agricultural system in various countries – France, and Germany, examines the reasons for small Belgium being much more developed than France in this field. He also emphasizes that agricultural workers receive major state benefits in Netherlands and peasants have active relationships with scientists, that in this country, taking into account its natural environment, large amounts are allocated to dry lakes as advised by the scientists. By this, Ilia Chavchavadze emphasizes the role of science in the progress of all aspects of public life and concludes: “This analysis shows the basis for our agricultural society to flourish”¹¹

The publication under the column “Georgian Chronicle “ of the newspaper refers to the deplorable and difficult situation with respect to teaching the Georgian language in Georgia at that time, in particular, in the four-grade civil school at the Tbilisi Pedagogical Institute, where Georgian, or the so-called “local language” – a term of that time, had not been taught for 4 years and teaching has started with significant delay by Iakob Gogebashvili’s “Deda Ena” (Mother Tongue)... speaks about “Gori Master’s Seminary as well, which shall prepare teachers for rural schools and where not even a single hour is devoted to the Georgian language in a year”.¹²

One of the publications under the “Foreign Countries” column – “Movement of the Slavs, its origin and present before the defeat of Serbia”, discusses the current situation on the Balkan Peninsula, the fate of the Herzegovinian Slavs under Ottoman rule, rebellion against Ottomans and the reaction of European diplomacy to those processes, to the fact that Russia did not help the Slavs of the Balkans in the decisive moment and a major role of the Russian press in those events, among other factors.

The permanent newspaper column “A short story for various states” reviewed the political management system, geography, and public institutions of European and North American countries.

Newspaper articles were often devoted to the issue of teaching the Georgian language since the loss of the language was attributed to the loss of identity for the country which turned into a province of Russia.

¹⁰ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 2 (1877), p. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2, p. 4.

In the 3rd issue of 1877 of "Iveria", the rubric "Georgia's Chronicle" presented a harsh publication in response to the article printed in the newspaper "Kavkasia" by Likhachev, school inspector of the Caucasian Society for the Restoration of Literacy, who claimed that he "had not created any obstacles for Georgian language and even sent the Gospel in the Georgian language together with Deda Ena (Mother Tongue) to a public school in January, however, according to eyewitnesses, he told the local teachers at a meeting: "Give up your language, lessons for the native language are not developed or intended, and we do not have textbooks"... As for sending the Gospel and Deda Ena in February, it was true, but sending just a dozen copies to a school in which up to two hundred Georgian children study will not obviously facilitate learning of the mother tongue".¹³

In this issue of the newspaper, under the heading "Life and Law" is discussed the economic situation after the abolition of serfdom in Georgia. Issues associated with land reform, agrarian, and tax policy are discussed at the scientific level. The publication states that after 13 years of the abolition of serfdom (since 1864), no actions have been carried out by the Government to solve the issue, and laws adapted to Russian reality are not useful for Georgia; "Georgians are great admirers of their State, the place where their parents and ancestors lived, and that is why they rarely sell the land, being more eager to buy the land adjacent to where they live".¹⁴ The solution is proposed by the author at the end of the letter: the establishment of the bank, which was implemented by Ilia Chavchavdze in just a few years, by establishing a Nobility Land Bank in 1885.

The topic of healthcare and the relationship between science and practicing doctors are addressed in the letter "Health of our city residents" published in "Iveria" newspaper, stating that an extraordinary commission was established within the City Council of Tbilisi with the duty to ensure the health of the city residents. The letter criticized "Caucasian Medical Society" for which any critical opinion was unacceptable and if told that "there is some disparity in the city, a flaw due to which people get sick, they react as if listening to an unbelievable fairy tale"¹⁵ they ignore warnings of professionals in this field that river Mtkvari water is polluted and harmful for health. They reject such judgment and state: „what is the point of discussing such a simple matter in our scientific

¹³ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 3 (1877), p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 4 (1877), p. 1.

community?” The author of the letter further publishes the statistics of deaths due to various diseases throughout Tbilisi and gives the example of England, where the average number of deaths determines the state of healthcare during various years. Due to water and air pollution issues, lack of greenery and development, Tbilisi lacks a productive labor force”. This article is a clear example of how the editorial staff of “Iveria” newspaper was aware of environmental issues and attempted not to lag behind and share the leading European scientific opinions in all fields.

The article “Domestic Governance” published in the same issue of the newspaper analyzes local and central governance, explaining that “decentralized governance, i.e. when local residents are engaged in local affairs, is more supportive to the prosperity of the country, awakens people, and opens their minds with the joy of caring for public affairs”.¹⁶ To support the above opinion, the author cites the examples of those European countries where “after the establishment of such governance mode, life improved and the burden of the government was reduced, turning out to be equally beneficial in England, where aristocracy, nobility serves as the basis for the system, and in the US as well, where the indefinite equality of people is the cornerstone of the State. Self-government flourished both little Switzerland and great North America.” Obviously, Ilia Chavchava-dze, one of the first authors of the idea of Georgia’s Autonomy, discusses the above issue with respect to the State-territorial arrangement of the Russian Empire for the future of his country and concludes that the major difficulty is the delegation of rights and responsibilities to be performed with dignity.

Information given under the column “News collected from newspapers-science” refers to the discovery of the famous German anthropologist, historian, and biologist Rudolf Virchow about the origins of Bulgarians, resulting in a major reaction in Europe: “Virchow investigated the ancestry and origins of Bulgarians and concluded that Bulgarians are not descendants of Slavs, but the Finns, evidenced by a skull discovered in Bulgaria having nothing in common with the skull of the Slavs.”¹⁷

Correspondence published under the same column of the newspaper refers to the new initiative of Bonhillier, Swiss scientist and teacher, who established the “Travelers’ Association” with the purpose to “reduce the costs and facilitate the travel to Europe or other countries for young pe-

¹⁶ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 4 (1877), p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

ople who wish to learn and study the science.” They will be supported by knowledgeable professionals from all fields of science”.¹⁸ Young people will visit cultural and scientific centers of major cities of Europe and North America and attend classes given by prominent local scientists.

The heading “Messenger of Georgia” of the newspaper gives the first scientific description of the inhabitants of the Caucasus. It is noted that an ethnographic map was published, on which “the inhabitants of the Caucasus are divided based on families and tribes of origin” (N 6, April 7, 1877): I – Georgian tribes, Georgians, Lithuanians, Slavs, Greco-Romans. Georgians themselves are divided as follows: Georgians, Imeretians, Gurians, Megrelians, Khevsurians, Tushs, Pshavs”.¹⁹

The same publication brings forward the issue of teaching the Georgian language in the Tbilisi seminary. As it turns out, the students of the seminary, who should be the future priests serving the Georgian parish, study only in the Russian language. That is why the publication ends with a rhetorical question: “Preaching in the Georgian language has been completely eradicated in the seminary church, and how should the students learn to preach in Georgian?!” It should be noted that after this information, the translation of Alphonse Daudet’s famous story “The Last Lesson” was published referring to the importance of the native language in preserving the Nation’s identity and independence.

The rubric “Materials for our history” published data about various periods of Georgian history, which were very important for Georgian society to restore its historical memory. Ilia’s famous letter “Ottoman’s Georgia” was published in the 9th issue of “Iveria” in 1877, where he writes: “Every nation lives with its own history... Ottoman’s Georgia have great respect and merit in the history of our nation, with a lot of work, and a lot of sacrifices along us for the very existence of the nation of Georgia”... Ilia does not lose hope that one day the lost territories will be returned and the country will be reunited, “the day will come when we join each other, become brothers”.²⁰

The publication “Some about our history, archeology, life and other” reviews the past and current activities of Georgian clergy on Mount Athos. According to the article, the information was provided to the newspaper by a monk from Mount Athos, Greece. 15-20 monks were practicing in

¹⁸ Ibid, 5 (1877), p. 6.

¹⁹ Ibid, 6 (1877), p. 3.

²⁰ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 9 (1877), pp. 1-3.

the Georgian monastery of Athos at that time, Iverian monastery, a unique Georgian library was in danger and its door was closed to Georgian monks. A Georgian monk brought the most precious Georgian book of the 11th century from Mount Athos, authored by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli. The author of the publication hopes that Georgian scientists, historians, and ethnographers will pay proper attention to the above book since it contains quite noteworthy unknown facts about the history of Georgia in the 10th -11th centuries. As the author says: “Where people have an open mind, where they understand what their present and future well-being lies in, the past is as important for them as the present and future destiny.” Criticism is also expressed here that due to the country’s enslavers, the remarkable historical treasure left from ancient times is not given due attention: “If by a mere chance it had not been discovered in 1870, we would not have known until now what kind of archaeological site we have next to Samtavro Cathedral in Mtskheta. The discovery attracted major attention of European scientists to the old churches and monasteries of Georgia”.²¹ The necessity to open historical and archaeological museums in Georgia like in European countries is also mentioned – “only people with their own real museum can have a real history.” The publication once again confirms that “Iveria” covered and analyzed not only the science but also offered the audience a way of solving the problem and its vision, which is very important.

The column of the newspaper “News collected from magazines and newspapers” reviewed news on scientific topics regularly. One of them refers to the greatest discovery of the 19th century – the invention of the telephone. The newspaper calls this fact “strange and highly unbelievable”, however, it clarifies that a lot of people in the United States attended the test of the new device; “Professor Graham Bell in Salem, Massachusetts, invented a thing like a telegraph, which he called the telephone, which carries every voice, word, whole story, and even chant over a very large distance... If this invention is valid, it proves the full power of mankind”.²² The second piece of information in the same column is dedicated to the scientific method of revealing wine falsification in France: “Recently, a paper was introduced in Paris with the help of which one can easily find out whether the wine is of natural color or dyed. When the

²¹ *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 8 (1877), p. 13.

²² *Gazeti iveria* (newspaper *Iveria*), 14 (1877), p. 14.

paper is soaked in colored wine, it will take on different colors depending on what the wine is colored with".

It was not accidental that Ilia Chavchavadze, as the leader of the generation, set as one of the main goals of the work of his associates to equip and strengthen the country's youth and its future with "European science": Our youth should be guided by diligent and qualified knowledge as much as possible, should study the European science in depth and use European experience as a guide, and benefit our country using such weapon".²³ Ilia was aware that in the 19th century, the way to the country's liberation, unlike in previous centuries, was not through strong armaments, but rather through competitive knowledge and progress. He considered Europe, European science, and culture to be the stage of progress and success, while reproached Asia for self-isolation and lack of activity: history and success belong to able, hard-working, vigorous ones and fighters for the future, and Europe turns out to be such.

Thus, as a result of the thematic-genre research and analysis of materials published in "Iveria" in 1877-78 (a total of 92 issues) and taking into account main trends, it was identified that "Iveria" newspaper was an indisputable flagship in the history of Georgian journalism in terms of scientific coverage. Issues of science are within the priorities of the editorial policy of the newspaper.

Ilia Chavchavadze, as the founder and editor-in-chief of the newspaper, along with an entire editorial staff of "Iveria", was well aware of the importance of knowledge and scientific opinion in general and in particular in Georgia at that time – in the country which had lost its statehood and was almost deprived of the means of learning and spreading knowledge in its native language. Besides, Ilia, as a truly forward-thinker and progressive-thinker sharing Western values, acknowledged the role of science in the progress and well-being of society. The newspaper tried to expand the reader's horizon by covering current scientific processes in the country or by conveying information about scientific innovations, new discoveries, and technological innovations in Western countries. Also, he focused specifically on the practical application of scientific knowledge, linking science with everyday life, and being in full conformity with the modern perception and priorities of science and scientific activities.

Time lapsed and Geronti Kikodze assessed Ilia Chavchavadze's work and thinking as follows: "The main idea involved in Ilia Chavchavadze's

²³ *Zhurnali iveria*, (magazine *Iveria*), 6 (1881), p. 3.

consideration is the idea of the power of the human mind and the progress of mankind”...²⁴ but the main distinctive feature as a background of Ilia’s public, journalistic character, reflected in all periodicals published under his editorship was the belief in a better future for his small country and progress, along with the progress of humanity, the inevitable liberation from the Empire’s yoke. And, for that, it was necessary to fight and work, not to blindly transfer and copy the best experience of the Western world, but to first implement it at the national level, considering national characteristics. As Ilia Chavchavadze and his associates truly believed, such an attitude would become the solid foundation for the country’s progress and prosperity.

Scientific issues in Ilia Chavchavadze’s “Iveria”

The article refers to the coverage of scientific issues in the newspaper “Iveria”, founded and edited by the well-known public figure, writer and publicist Ilia Chavchavadze. Coverage of scientific issues is important for studying the history of Georgian scientific journalism of the 19th century. The introduction includes a small excursion about the process of formation/development of scientific communication and scientific journalism.

Science journalism originates from the publication of the *Digdarshan* magazine, with the first copy published in 1818 in Bengal, India, which published articles on important scientific issues. It should be noted that it was released in Bengali, Hindi, and English languages. Besides, one of the first articles published by a science correspondent in the history of the mass media was William Crookes’ article “Storm in the Bay of Biscay” published on January 18, 1871, in “The Times” newspaper. However, in 1928 particularly, the history of science journalism began after the appointment of James Crowther as a science correspondent for “The Guardian” newspaper.

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²⁴ G. K i k o d z e, *Kartuli kulturis traditsiebi da Ilia Chavchavadze, tserilebi, eseebi, narkvevebi* (Traditions of Georgian Culture and Ilia Chavchavadze, Letters, Essays, Feature-stories), Tbilisi 1985, p. 336.

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Key words: Science communication, Science journalism, Scientific issues, Georgian Press, Dissemination of scientific knowledge, Science and everyday life.

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1877/3

საქართველოს რევოლუციური
მუსეი რევოლუციური გრუზინი.

№ 1.

წელიწადი
პირველი

3 მარტს
1877 წ.



სახლიტეო და სალიტერატურო გაზეთი.

ბაზოლის სუთუბათოზიოთ

ხელის მოწერა: ტუფლისს, ჟივერიაის რედაქციას, შიჯწმინდის ქუჩას, შიოყვის სახლუას სესმად. № 3
ქუთაისს, ასტრან ლორთქიფანიისის პისლითეოკაძი.

ჟივერიაის ფასი 1877 წელს.

თი თვისს გეწეუთი და გეწეუთეუდა . . . 6 მარ. —
თითთი ნოჟერი — 15 კაპ.

თუ სუბოზუა შიოთხთს, ჰედქეცა გასქოპის და უე
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წინასიტყვაობა

ჟურნალ-გაზეთობაში შემოღებული ერთი ასირებული
წყუელეა. გამოკა ასლი გაზეთი თუ არა, მისი რედაქ-
ცია ურელი ვლად ჰირცის პირველ ნომერშივე სასოკა-
დოუას აუსისის თვისი დედაზარი, თვისი მიმართულება,
ანტუისის უოკელი ის, რითაც უბირობს გაცეთის სულს
ჩადგმა და ხორცის შესხმას. ამ წყუელეს ძალმიმრე-
ობით გაცხილი სასოკადოუაგ დაისახეს ასლს გაცეთის
თუ არა, გულადუტეულები რომ პირველს ნომერშივე
აზოვის რედაქციის აღსარებას მასხედ თუ რა აზრი და
დანიშნულება აქვს ამ ასლს გაცეთის; რის შემოტასა
ქურს შეინობობაში, თუ ცხოვრებაში; რა გზას, რა
კვლს დაადგება სასოკადო ცხოვრებისაგან მოვლინეული
საგნთა გამოძებნაში; რა თვლით. განხილავს უოკელს
მას, რაც წყენი თუ სხვის ცხოვრება თვის დაუდგრო-
მელს მიდინარობაში აღმოახსენს; რას და როგორ გეშ-
სურება და ბოლის რას გეპირდება და რას გეპიჯისთ.

ამ წყუელეს თვისი მართებული და ზატეო-სადები
საბუთი აქვს. სასოკადოუაგ, რა საგვირუდია; უნდა იცო-
დეს რა აზრის კაციან ბუტრს საჟეს, რისა და გისმი-

დვარს უნდა ათხოვოს თავისი ურადლება. მაგრამ ეო-
ველს მასხედ რაც წინ მოვიხსენიეთ, ზასუსის მიცემა
თითქმის შეუძლებელია. თუნდ მკ არ იყოს, ცოტა უხერ-
ხოთაც მიავანია. ამ შემთხვევაში ზასუნდ რომ ცარიელი
დღეტიანი სიტუკე უნდა იყოს,—და ცარიელი სიტუკე რა
თამასუქია ნამეტნავად ამისთანა ბეჭითი სასუქოში, ვი-
ნა ვარ, რა აზრის ვარ, რა საქმის დადგენს მინდა, რის-
თვის გამოვადვარ შიჯანსუდ—ესე ეველა იმისთანა სა-
გნთა, რომელსედაც საუბარი ვერ ეხერსება გაცეს. ორში
ერთი: გარეს იტუკის კრთა—თავისთავსედ თქმა იჟეპა
და თუნდ მართალი იყოს, ტრანახობაში ჩამოართმეკენ,
ცუდს იტუკის ვიდეკ—სულელობა გამოკა ჰეინესი არ
იყოს.

არც ერთი ეს თვისება ისე მიმჩნეველი არ არის
რომ გაცეს თავი იტუკის და იმ ზემოხსენებულს წყუ-
ელეს თავიდაც ბოლიძე მიეცეს. გაცეთის საქმე დრო-
თა მიმდინარობისა. დროს დაგვდლოთ მის თქმა, რის
მოლოდინია აქვს შეითველს რედაქციისგან.

ჩვენ დღეს მართა სოკეთრის ჩვენს აზრს გამოხს-
თქვამით მასხედ თუ გაცეთ-ჟურნალთა რა დონეა, რა
ძალა, რა იფრ-მხლადი აღმანისთვის ცაქმე და სასოკა-
დოუებისთვის სუერთოდ რის უფლებას აძლევს მას, ვინც
მაგის ასპრესიედ გამოვად და რა მოვალეობას სდებს
გისრად.

ჟურნალ-გაზეთობა აზრს ერთგვარი ნაწილი შეი-
ნობობისა. როგორც მრთელს შეინობობისა, როგორც
უოკელს გეწეუთის ძალს აღმანისის და მის ნამიჟე-
დას ისე ჟურნალ-გაზეთობა მას მრთელს სდობო-

საქართველოს რევოლუციური
მუსეი რევოლუციური გრუზინი.
3 მარტს 1877 წ.

Fig. 1. Iveria, sapolitiko da saliteraturo gazeti kartul enaze, (Iveria, Political and Literary newspaper in Georgian language), Tiflis 1877, nr 1. ed. Ilia Chavchavadze. The National Parliamentary Library of Georgia

THE UNKNOWN EPISODES
OF THE LIFE OF GIORGI JURULI
MINISTER OF FINANCE, TRADE AND INDUSTRY
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA
(1918–1921)

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Durmishkhan Juruli and his wife Ketevan Namoradze had four children. Two of them, sons Luka and Andria died at an early age. As Mikheil Makarashvili writes: “My grandmother and the grandfather had four children. Two boys died as children. All that was left was my mother and my uncle Giorgi, who was a one year younger than my mother”,¹ Nino Durmishkhan’s daughter Juruli, was the wife of the famous military figure – Lieutenant-General Iia son of Sakvarela Makarashvili, and his son – Giorgi Juruli Trade-Industry of the Independent Republic of Georgia and the Minister of Finance. Durmishkhan Juruli had a great desire and that his son had a military career, but Giorgi’s heart did not want to go to military service. He entered the military officer school in 1886, after graduating from the cadet corps.² With the support of his parents, Giorgi Juruli traveled to Europe, in particular to Paris, to study agronomy at the Mining Institute.³ After that he studied in Moscow with Petrovsky Razumovsky, he continued in the academy. The great chief – Mikheil son of Nikoloz helped him in this regard.⁴ After graduation of school, Giorgi Juruli in 1893, along with three Georgians Elected as a member of the society: in the Georgian school committee, in the bank – in the supervisory committee and in the management of the dramatic

¹ P. Natsvlishvili, *Arbo, parizi, lima ... samshoblo* (Arbo, Paris, Lima...Arbo, *Samshoblo*), 1990, p. 8.

² G. Sharadze, *Sakartvelos mze da sikvaruli nislian albionze* (Georgian Sun and Love on Albion Island), Tbilisi 1986, pp. 162–163.

³ *Georgian Palace of Arts-Culture History Museum*, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 42742.

⁴ G. Sharadze, *Sakartvelos mze da sikvaruli nislian albionze*, p. 164.

society. The source notes: “Juruli, a necessary member of Georgian institutions and perhaps of all Committees.⁵ In 1897–1903 George Juruli was a censor In the Caucasus Censorship Committee. After that he worked in the Ministry of Land Management. Giorgi Juruli had a close relationship with Ilia Chavchavadze.⁶ Here is how he remembers seeing Ilia Chavchavadze: “when I first had an encounter with Ilia, about 55 years ago, should have been 1881–1882, I was still in Cadet Academy. My father Arrived from Batumi to Tbilisi to see me and as usual, first he took me to the Cathedral of Sioni and led me to the priest Aleksandre, who lived in the yard, and blessed me.⁷ We passed the Chancellery of the Literacy Society, where my father greeted by the story of some old deed of the Juruli family”.^{8,9} From here Durmishkhan Juruli took his son in the school community, as he was taken to the congregation of the Georgian Noble School Was held in the building. Giorgi Juruli writes: “I looked up, this is the tradition; There were three men sitting at the table and one of them was the bell was ringing loudly. My father explained to me – here he is, sitting in the middle is General Konstantine Mamatsashvili; Here, that one is Tskhvedadze¹⁰ and the other Gogebashvili.¹¹ The teachers. Our writer Ilia Chavchavadze; Listen carefully.¹² As of Giorgi Juruli letter to his father Durmishkhan Juruli, one of the letters sent shows that Ivane Machabeli and Aleksandre Kazbegi knew and had a close relationship with Durmishkhan and with the Juruli family.

In the letter of Giorgi Juruli sent to his father, we read: “My beloved father! I just received your book. I was going to send you a notice, when I did not receive any communication from you. I have not come yet, I do not know what to do and I will not write to you if the answer did not come to

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ N. K i t i a s h v i l i, Giorgi juruli ilia chavchavadzis megobari da tanamoazre (a friend and accomplice of Ilia Chavchavadze – Giorgi Juruli *Literary-Memorial Museum Collection of scientific works*, 2.) *Tbilisi ilia chavchavadzis literaturul-memorialuri muzeumis tanamshromelta samecniero shromebis krebuli*, Tbilisi 2013, p. 32.

⁷ Refers to a famous clergyman, from different times in Abkhazia, Bishop of Kartli-Kakheti, Guria, Guria-Samegrelo and Gori Alexander Okropiridze (1824–1907), who was orthodox in Georgia in 1995 He was canonized by the Apostolic Church.

⁸ G. S h a r a d z e, *Sakartvelos mze da sikvaruli nislani albionze*, p. 157.

⁹ We are talking about the “blood certificate” of the bulls dated 1460 above, as we have mentioned above. Deed of Tedo Zhordania by Giorgi Juruli – Durmishkhan Juruli Handed over.

¹⁰ Refers to Niko Tskhvedadze (1845–1911), one of the founders of public societies that spread literacy among Georgians. refers to the great Georgian teacher Iakob Gogebashvili (1840–1912).

¹¹ G. S h a r a d z e, *Sakartvelos mze da sikvaruli nislani albionze*, p. 158.

¹² Ibid, p. 159; G. J u r u l i, Ilias siakhloves (purtlslebi chemi mogzaurobis dgiuridan) (Standing close to Ilia (sheets of my adventure from the notebook), *Kartlosi* 21–22, Paris 1937.

me. I've been waiting for you for today. I saw it that day Isaralov (meaning Luka son of Stefane Isarlishvili 1814–1893, Georgian poet, publicist, censor of the Russian Empire-GS) and told me that your father does not quit his job. If true do not write to me. I had your cross....¹³ In these heats, you can imagine how could you would be, but these Dondukovs Even he no longer thinks and? I'm fine, but I'm not Fat, but when was I fat? That day I was in the "Droeba" editorial office, where I met Vano Machabeli, he asked me your story. Sandro Kazbegi asked of you. Do not bother about me, yours Giorgi. My studies are going very well. On my learning, do not be sad. I have always loved learning — and now I love it more. But my request was and is that do not make me become an official, do not be an officer, I just want to become Giorgi Juruli. Now we have some parade on 25 this month. Made lines, Gendarmerie officers were appointed, but I did not want to stand and went far away. Now they suffer for two hours every day and I stay silently and or talk to you with this book, sometimes to my sister, and mother. Wasn't that better? Your faithful son Giorgi Juruli".¹⁴

As we have mentioned, Giorgi Juruli was not involved in military affairs. He is actively involved in public activities. Giorgi, got very close to Ilia Chavchavadze. He worked in the Iveria editorial office for a year. Giorgi Juruli with Ilia and Niko Nikoladze, was part of the delegation that was sent to St Petersburg from the Caucasus to elect deputies. It is known that in front of the the "Higher Commission" Ilia Chavchavadze took a principled position in front of the chairman of the assembly Solsky (Dmitry Solsky, Chairman of the Imperial State Council). As Giorgi Juruli remembers, he demanded more attention to be placed on the Caucasus from the government.¹⁵ In 1903 the future minister of finance was elected as a representative of Batumi city Council.¹⁶

¹³ *Georgian Art Palace-Museum of Cultural History*, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 38. 491.

¹⁴ We could not read a single word in this place, it should probably be written "All".

¹⁵ G. S h a r a d z e, *Sakartvelos mze da sikvaruli nislian albionze*, pp. 197–198.

¹⁶ The famous Georgian historian Moses refers to this period Janashvili's letter, addressed to a member of the Batumi City Board Giorgi Juruli. In the letter we read: "Son of the deeply respected Giorgi Durmishkhani. I appeal to you as a member of Batumi City Board and public Figure, at this request. The citizen of that town in your collection ended my letter Print. For example, I have promised a fee for the letter. Please, if you can, now provide me with this royalty on the assumption that, for example, the compilation of the letter, As I was sending it to N.S. Derzhavin, I did not use Less than 150–180 hours. You know very well that I am no longer at work and I save my house with such royalties, and that is the reason! That you addressed this request directly to you. Money is too much for me now necessary. Your deepest respect Mose Janashvili. It is mentioned in the letter of Mose Janashvili dated April 25, 1904 On the collection "Batumi and its surroundings", which is connected to Batumi 25 Dedicated to the anniversary".

Giorgi Juruli worked in the self-government of Batumi, then Tbilisi. He was the acting mayor of Batumi (1910–1913). Voter of Tbilisi City Council, Board Member, as well as Chairman of the Finance Commission. As real Member, was actively involved in the activities of the Georgian Literacy Society. In 1908–1910 he headed the board of the Batumi branch of the mentioned society. In 1917 it was included in the Council of Nationalities established under “Ozacom” In the composition. He was the founder of the Georgian University, as well as the Georgian National Inter-Party Council Member. In June 1917, at the founding congress of the NDP (National Democratic Party), he was elected one of the deputy chairmen of the congress. The congress heard His report on the agenda is “Georgia Finances”.¹⁷ Delegates shared g. Jury view that “Establishment and existence of Georgian autonomy in terms of finances provided”. Juruli was then elected in the National Democratic Party, as a member of the Mountain Committee. He later became a member of the NDP’s Kutaisi Provincial Committee. In September 1917 Giorgi Juruli was one of the chairmen of the Georgian Ecclesiastical Assembly. Of the Assembly, which elected the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia Kirion II (1855–1918). In November of the same year he was the first of Georgia Delegate to the National Assembly and elected a member of the National Council. In May 1918, as an advisor to the Transcaucasian delegation, Participated in the Batumi Peace Conference. He was invited to the said conference as an expert by the conference participants, who should be consulted on the issue of staying in the Georgian space of Batumi. Giorgi Juruli writes about it: “The subject that my expertise had to touch upon at the conference was Batumi issue. Not in Georgian circles then Rumors were heard that along the provinces of Little Georgia, already a fairly long seashore is given, with such posts as Such as Poti and Sukhumi and therefore it is totally superfluous to Batumi Clashing and arguing with the Turks to return ... Of course not That thus asking a question is more unfriendly to us Was dictated by feelings rather than justice; Historical By concealing the facts and by neglecting the subsistence interests of Georgians. Because of this it became necessary for Georgians It turns out that we have to follow the right and correct line”.¹⁸ May 26, 1918, the restoration of state independence of Georgia and the Democratic

¹⁷ O. Janelidze, *Narkvevebi sakartvelos erovnul-demokratiuli partiis istoriis shesakheb* (Essays on the History of the Georgian National-Democratic Party), Tbilisi 2002, p. 208.

¹⁸ G. Juruli, *batum-atcharis mkhareebi (furtslebi rveulidan)* (Batumi-Adjara sides (sheets from notebook), *damoukidebeli sakartvelo* 145, Paris 1938, p. 5.

Republic of Georgia During the creation, Giorgi Juruli held the post of Minister of Finance and Trade-Industry. He held this position until March 1919,¹⁹ it was before the Constituent Assembly of Georgia formed the government with representatives of one of the parties that won the election – the Social Democrats. His facsimile is fixed in the nominal treasury bonds of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (5%) on one-year liabilities issued in January 1919 to withdraw cash from the population.²⁰ C. Jury 1917 was elected Deputy Chairman of the Chiatura Black Stone Industrialists' Lobby. He has been in charge since 1919 Chiatura Black Stone Industrialists' Council, which funded a number of cultural projects in the country.²¹ Giorgi Juruli made a report on the production at the sitting of the Budget-Finance Commission of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia the so-called Marganets “safuto” packages ranged from 3 kopecks to 20 kopecks. However the Social Democrats in July 1919 at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the refusal to increase the tax rate imposed on the shipment of man-made neoplasms was refused and the tariff was reduced to only 8 kopecks. I was agreed to increase.²² In February 1920 Giorgi Juruli, the founding meeting of the Board of the State Bank of Georgia, was elected as a member.²³

In 1919–1920, Giorgi Juruli headed the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, which held talks with Commander of the Allied Army stationed in Batumi. After the occupation of Independent Georgia by Soviet Russia, on March 18, 1921, Giorgi Juruli left Batumi with the government of the democratic Republic of Georgia and eventually settled in Europe. Giorgi Juruli while in emigration also continued active public activities in July of 1922 to July 1924, he chaired the Berlin-Char Lotenburg-based organization “The Vintage Citizens' Society in Germany”. The former minister of the independent Georgia lived in Paris. He, in Paris the first chairman of the Georgian community. In France and Georgian emigrants living in Germany often organized evenings dedicated

19 F. Kress von Kressenstein, *Chemi misia kavkasiashi* (My Mission in the Caucasus) Kutaisi 2002, p. 77. “It is unknown at this time what he will do after leaving the post Head of the Military-Diplomatic Mission Baron Friedrich Kress von Kressenstein made the following assessment of the Minister of Finance and Trade and Industry of the First Republic of Georgia: “Giorgi Juruli” belonged to the National Democratic Party and you can not fulfil your tasks”.

20 N. Javakhišvili, *Kartuli bonistika* (Georgian Bonistics), Tbilisi 1996, p. 113.

21 *Constituent Assembly of Georgia, Minutes of the Session*, Vol. II, 30 1919 May – July 25, Tbilisi 2019, p. 404.

22 *Constituent Assembly of Georgia, Minutes of the Session*, vol. 2, Tbilisi 2019, p. 405.

23 *Constituent Assembly of Georgia, Minutes of the Session*, vol. 5, 1920 14 January – March 16, Tbilisi 2019, p. 247.

to the memory of local writers. Anniversary dates were held on 30 August 1932 in Germany; At one of such evenings dedicated to Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Juruli read his memoir “Standing Far and Close to Ilia”. This memoir was first published in the magazine “Kartlos” (1937, N 7–8) edited by Victor Nozadze in Paris. Giorgi’s letters were also published in magazines – “Fate Kartli” (*bedi kartlisa*), “Caucasus” (*kavkasioni*), “Motherland” (*samshoblo*). In the newspaper “Independent Georgia” (*damoukidebeli sakartvelo*) Giorgi Juruli periodically published materials From the history of Adjara (according to the diaries of his father, Durmishkhan Juruli), entitled “Sheets from a notebook”.²⁴ G. Juruli as one of the builders of free Georgia suffered severely during the occupation of the country, he wrote with great pain in 1930 in the newspaper “Independent Georgia” (*damoukidebeli sakartvelo*) about the declaration independence of Georgia. “May 26 is the day of restoration of Georgia’s independence of Georgia May 26 will be recorded in a glorious date in a varied history. Twelve years ago, the Georgian people celebrated May 26 with great celebration. Today, Georgia is forced to celebrate its big national holiday in silence. Moscow the butchers do not shy away from any cruelty that the Georgian people will forever carry the idea of May 26 in their souls. Despite this, Georgia’s independence, the more time passes, the stronger it takes root in the people and its best children sacrificed thousands to the idea of May 26. Even today, the whole nation, as one man, continues to fight relentlessly against the oppressors of Moscow. At the same time, the political cohesion of Europe and the United States accompanies Georgia’s just cause. Instead the end of the Bolshevik regime is approaching. This regime devastated us and the whole of Russia and the Caucasus turned into ruins. Under such a regime, we will be left with a country with a completely impoverished economy, deprived of all vitality”.²⁵ Giorgi Juruli’s pen includes a number of essays, including Economic etude: “Georgian Nation as a Builder”.²⁶ In 1933 in the mentioned work published by G. The jury has discussed the economic situation of the current Georgia. In the Soviet routine the development of a backward and land-alienated country the perspective of the former

²⁴ Biographical information about Giorgi Juruli at: <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/emigrants/ka/00000401/>

²⁵ G. J u r u l i, Didi 26 maisis pesvebi (Great May 26 Roots), *damoukidebeli sakartvelo* 53, Paris, p. 4.

²⁶ G. S h a r a d z e, *Kartuli emigrantuli jurnalistikis istoria* (History of Georgian Emigrant Journalism), vol. 5, Tbilisi p. 52. It was to create this work that he needed to emigrate Finding various statistical information about Giorgi Juruli From Georgia, which is why in one of the letters he addressed a request to his niece’s spouse-Anatoly Kiziria. See. Appendix 18.

Minister of Independent Georgia is correct saw in economic calculations and strategic planning and Lacking a scientific basis and research analysis in a pseudo-vision that would lead a country far beyond the modern European economic space to the abyss.²⁷ C. The jury published an extensive letter in 1934–1936 where numerous arguments substantiated the need to establish a Caucasus confederation in order to reduce the number of people living in the region. Nations have survived Russian aggression. G. Juruli writes: “Our whole 117 years have been doomed to swallow up Russia, and if we do not bring down the unity of the Caucasian nations, it will continue, so be it”.²⁸ Giorgi Juruli lived in Paris with his family. He had close relations with Georgian figures living in emigration, among them: Grigol Robakidze, Grigol Diasamidze, Mikhako Tsereteli, Tamar and Akaki Papavas, Mikheil Kaukhchishvili. From the letters written by Giorgi Juruli to the Papavas, it turns out that books were sent to him by Grigol Robakidze, a well-known European writer. Michael Kaukhchishvili, who worked at the University of Karlsruhe assisted by Giorgi Juruli’s son Konstantine (Kote).²⁹ Giorgi Juruli, who was in emigration, lived in poverty. According to one of the letters sent to Tamar and Akaki Papavas, he was selling a photo album of Tretyakov Gallery³⁰ was a relic dedicated to a sophisticated Georgian figure abroad. He kept it tenderly. The unfortunate condition of his family was further complicated by the ill phobia of one of his sons, Durmishkhan, who had been receiving long-term treatment. Members of the government of the First Republic in France had no disagreement on a number of issues between the representatives of the Georgian community who emigrated with them. In early March 1941 of the Government of Georgia Commander Noe Jordania tried to make the opposing sides common to meet at a meeting. However as it turned out, this meeting In the interests of only one political group Was held, which was followed by sharp protests from some representatives of Georgian politicians. Together with the organizers Noe Jordania and Ekvtime Takaishvili, Spiridon Kedia, Mukhran (Iona) Khocholava, Ios. Gobechia, Giorgi Kereselidze, Svimon Tsitsishvili, Apolon Kobakhidze, Elise Pataridze extended his appeal. As it is clear from the mentioned letter, the emigrants living in France emigrated with

²⁷ *Samshoblo* 14, Paris 1933, p. 7.

²⁸ G. J u r u l i, *Kavkasiis konfederaciis irgvliv gaz. damoukidebeli sakartvelo* (About the Confederation of the Caucasus, *damoukidebeli sakartvelo* 115, Paris 1934.

²⁹ See, appendix 18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

great hope to the March 2 meeting. They thought it was a narrow party confrontation on the page and It would be postponed and the main concern would be to think of a homeland in a hopeless situation and a difficult political situation, but It seems that this meeting disappointed most of the Georgian figures. In the appeal we read: “We are talking about March 2 at the meeting-G.S.) about this. Twenty years of emigration and it was for the first time, when the representatives of the two main governmental bodies deemed it necessary to organize a meeting. We make this an unusual event, completely Naturally, we saw it as the result of a profound spiritual transformation Of those circles that are still here, in emigration, under the Georgian name And to share the Georgian cause and share it with others, they would own a group ... This is how we heard your leadership, this is how we explained the meaning of your invitation, and therefore with great hopes and thoughts We brought the March 2 meeting to life. But in vain! What we saw and heard at this meeting flattened ours Explanation and our fair expectations from both the session everyone visited us hopelessly. Our leadership also showed us a completely different plan. From the very first minute it became clear that the whole DOM should have been held under the terror of dubious speed ... Maybe You too were tired of the frequent bits and bits about this subject and you had everything in mind beforehand. But we? After all, we were the first to gather with you to discuss the fate of Georgia in the fateful moments of this human history. And everything as the height and grandeur of the subject itself, so the tragic content of the current international situation did not entrust us with all our heart and mind the power of careful, unhurried and exhaustive resolution of this issue Dedicated? The violence of speeding the congregation does it for us Made it impossible and the whole case you started lost a lot of money... so we lied ... we thought You were looking for a way out of the national tribulation and you called it Magi, that we would all be saved ... We even saw that The meeting was more about finding a way out of the crisis and Attendees were also used to it. We saw the old method, all that inventory cursed Emigrant “political activity”, which is twenty years it destroys the Georgian cause and diminishes the dignity of Georgia. This not is a Georgian case. Similar action if for the country always Harmful and never to be judged, today’s domestic and in foreign terms it is a betrayal of national duty. We cannot become a participant in the case and therefore we cannot become a “national we will remain a member of the council. Some of us think this verbally if I have already told you in writing. And today we are all with

them Let us know your overall appreciation. This appreciation is a strongly rejected office and could not have been otherwise, since it is out of the net on national grounds. The time and the essence of the issue urge us to say our opinions openly. It is our duty towards our country. This meeting was not attended by many, however, by the authors of the appeal the pathos was fully shared by Giorgi Juruli. He wrote: “As No attendees at the March 2 meeting were able to enter its holding room, the critique, I see only with heartache that the adult part of the congregation is dissatisfied with its results, which will undoubtedly prevent contributions. So I share the opinion expressed here, that the necessary steps have been taken for the agreement to be taken.³¹ Giorgi Juruli die on September 9, 1951 (as according to other sources, he died on September 12).³² Buried in Leville Cemetery with his wife, With Elene Muskhelishvili-Zhuruli (1879–1974).³³ The statement about the death and burial of Giorgi Juruli was published by the magazine: “Fate of Kartli”. According to the statement, Georgians working in emigration are asking for words from a prominent public figure at Leville Cemetery: Konstantine Kandelaki, Chairman of the Georgian Community Shalva Abdushelishvili and Mikheil Chubinidze. In “Fate of Kartli” It was reported that in the next issue, an obituary dedicated to Giorgi Juruli would be published.³⁴ Dedicated to Giorgi Juruli, a funeral letter was published in the magazine: “Our Flag”, where we also read:” Giorgi Juruli, equipped with a wide range of Russian and with European education, was well known in the high society of Tbilisi; Having received a good education, a brilliant career awaited in the

31 O. Janelidze, Masalebi spiridon kedias personaluri arkvidian, shesavali, komentarebi da shenishvnebi dauro otar janelidzem (Materials from Spiridon Kedia’s Personal Archive, Introductory Letter, Notes and Comments), Tbilisi, pp. 191–194.

32 G. Shara dze, Kartuli emigrantuli jurnalistikis istoria (History of Georgian Emigrant Journalism), vol. V, p. 51.

33 O. Janelidze, Giorgi juruli, ikhilet sakartvelos demokratiuli respublika (1918–1921) (Giorgi Juruli, see Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921), Tbilisi 2018, p. 323; G. Sosiashvili, Giorgi juruli, sakartvelos pirveli finansta ministries ojakhi da sopeli arbo (Giorgi Juruli, the first Minister of Finance of Independent Georgia Family and Village Arbo), *Istoriani* 5 (113), pp. 41–49. As mentioned above, Giorgi was a comrade-in-arms of Giorgi Juruli Elene Muskhelishvili-Juruli. Presumably Giorgi Juruli’s wife is mentioned in 1901 in News. In the correspondence published in the “Notice Sheet”, According to which Elene Muskhelashvili (the surname is removed in this way) gained the title of “Shinauri Teacher” after graduating from Saint Nino School in Tbilisi, *cnobis pirtseli* 1491, 1901 p. 1. Elene Giorgi Muskhelishvili-Juruli’s daughter is mentioned as Giorgi Juruli Nephew, Nikoloz Makarashvili, who died prematurely in Shamkori in 1918 in the obituary published in 1918 by *Gaz. Kavshiri* on bread pieces. A 1918 document in the name of Helen, wife of George Juruli according to him, a plot of land was registered in the village of Arbo. See. Appendix N 16.

34 *Bedi kartlisa* (“Fate of Kartli”) 10, September, Paris, p. 32.

Russian government; But to provide the official with a comfortable and comfortable life, he preferred the thorny path of a Georgian state figure and a restless life Giorgi Juruli preferred it here as well calm life and in the role of an irresponsible critic to stay, to take on very heavy responsibilities, to take charge of the country's most destructive and reluctant service: rested was the first government of independent Georgia to finance and Minister of Trade and Industry. In parliamentary circles, in the coalition government, in negotiations with neighbors and foreigners, with his experience and great loyalty he has always deserved the trust and respect of all the people. But rested even now with a materially secured spot on hand Took, stayed abroad and the bitterness of Georgian political emigration shared ... We, together with the whole Georgian society, with deep respect we will remember Giorgi Juruli as great A cultural Georgian, a loyal political figure and a comrade-in-arms in the greatest responsible era of Georgia".³⁵ 1952 Vakhtang Ghambashidze and Giorgi Juruli, figures who died in emigration in February, were commemorated by the periodical publication of the National Democratic Party – Iveria: 1951, our At the beginning of the second half of the century, it turned out to be fatal for the elderly and the elderly to emigrate. Many people, by the will of God, have died, deservedly honored before the nation and history, dear and beloved to Georgians, Doctor Vakhtang Gambashidze and Giorgi Juruli. These two dignified Georgians belonged to the greats of the sixties and eighties, the group of national-political figures who awakened Ilia Chavchava's son, with the greatest national consciousness, love, unlimited energy and strong will. They often hold many responsible and honorable positions, they were caught in Georgia or in emigration and they had not good life, but to the end they appropriately served their beloved country and the nation. In their form emigration lost the members of the last echelon of the worthy men. Our condolences to family members and the Georgian society. We pray to the heavens of the homeland for their souls.³⁶ Giorgi Juruli and Nino Muskhelishvili had two sons, Durmishkhan and konstantine Jurulis. They did not cut ties to their homelands, as it is confirmed in the letter sent to his aunt, Nino Juruli and cousin Irina Makarashvili, authored by Konstantine Juruli. He expressed great emotion

³⁵ G. Sh a r a d z e, Kartuli emigrantuli zhurnalistikis istoria (History of Georgian Emigrant Journalism), vol. V, p. 52. *chveni drosha*, September 10, Paris 1951, pp. 43–44;

³⁶ *Iveria* 4, February, Paris 1952, pp. 44–45.

to the native village Arbo in Georgia asked to send photos.³⁷ Konstantine died 1947, leaving no heirs.³⁸

Giorgi Juruli's second son, Durmishkhan did not cut ties with the homeland either. He had poor health and underwent several surgeries. In 1934, Durmishkhan's cousin – Irina Makarashvili sent a letter from one of the French sanatoriums. As it is clear from the letter, Durmishkhan was immensely in love with his native country. From Georgia Irina Makarashvili sent a gift to her cousin Mikheil Javakhishvili's novel "Arsena Marabdeli".³⁹ He needed long-term rehabilitation and was lying motionless in the sanatorium. Giorgi Juruli suffered a lot from his son's health shock, which is confirmed by one of his letters to Tamar and Akaki Papava, living in Germany. It is clear from this that during the treatment Durmishkhan studied the history of Georgia well and that he also wrote a book about the past of his native country in French. We read about this in Giorgi Juruli's letter: "A little with Robakidze⁴⁰ I was stunned because I could not reply and thank those for the book he sent me ... I could not write it because that's it at the time when my son, Durmishkhan got sick again. Once again he has to be in the sanatorium where the he has to stay till January 1939. The operation will be performed in June and they will be prepared for it; Imagine being able to lie still for 4–5 years. He was fascinated by the study of history and took with him many materials. Now he writes that in French he has already composed "History de Georgien". I read some part of it and I think it is written in good language".⁴¹ Durmishkhan Juruli passed away after a long illness in 1987. Durmishkhan Juruli married Huguette (1916–2003) whom gave birth to a daughter Katherine (1948) named after her grandmother (Ketevan Namoradze-Juruli) Katherine married Patrick Desbans (b. 1947)⁴² Catherine and Patrick have two sons Cedric (b. 1974) and Loic (b. 1977). Cedric was first married Laure (b. 1974) with whom he had two children: Valentine and Timothee. And his second wife is Helen (Born 1981) with whom Cedric has one son, Clement, born in 2019. Cedric's brother Loic (b. 1977) is married to Audrey (b. 1982) and they have four children:

³⁷ Appendix 20.

³⁸ I. T e l i a, Kvela gza samshoblosken modis gaz, samshoblo (all the way to the homeland), *Samshoblo* 3 (25) 833, p. 2.

³⁹ Appendix 20.

⁴⁰ Refers to the great Georgian writer Grigol Robakidze (1880–1962)

⁴¹ L. T e l i a, Kvela gza samshoblosken modis, *Samshoblo*, p. 2. Appendix 18;

⁴² It is thus, worth mentioning that Durmishkhan Juruli had a son (Mikheil) with unknown lady; Mikheil had five children Marie, Vincent, Cristophe, Celine and Eduard.

Logan, Manon, Nathan and Thea. Cedric chose the profession in the field of history. He graduated from the Sorbonne University. In the late 90s of last century Cedric Desbans traveled to Georgia with his parents and visited the native village of Arbo. Photographed a historic house on the verge of demolition, where Juruli and Makarashvili families lived. Cedric has a desire to study the history of Giorgi Juruli and to revive the unknown pages of the history of the First Republic of Georgia.⁴³ We have contacted Cedric Desbans, who lives in Franc. He was overjoyed when he learned of our interest in the history of the Makarashvili and Juruli families. He has kindly provided us with a few photos preserved in the family album and a genealogy of the Giorgi Juruli family. We think our cooperation will acquire a closer character and much will be written about Giorgi Juruli's life and work in the future.

Appendix 1.

Giorgi Juruli's letter to Tamar Papava (manuscript, in Georgian language. The letter was sent from Paris on October 5, 1937; Tamar and Akaki Papavas at this time Lived in Germany, Presumably in Berlin).⁴⁴

Greatly respected Mrs. Tamar!

Deepest thanks for your wonderful book. I always enjoy reading your writings and of course I will enjoy it, again and again! I'm so glad You are going to do this useful work and it will enrich us with historiographic Literature. The most joyful thing is that a Georgian woman is still standing in the old way, in service and for the glory of our homeland.

Yours faithfully, Giorgi Juruli.

K. Kekelidze National Center for Manuscripts, Tamar and Akaki Papava Archive, N 128.

Giorgi Juruli's letter to Tamar and Akaki Papavas (manuscript, In Georgian. Letter sent from Paris to Berlin, 1937 On December 29th. Letter has an inscription at the top of the first page, in the corner: "Akaki, I will

⁴³ L. Telia, *Kvela gza samshoblosken modis*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ G. Shara d z e, *Utskhoetis tsis kvesh* (Under the Foreign Sky), vol. 1, Tbilisi, p. 243.

greatly owe you if you give me the address of Mich. Kaukhchishvili.⁴⁵ At one time he managed to do a good job my son Kote. Do not forget).

Our family also wishes you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year! Both you and your children. We send regards to the friends you meet there. G. Robakidze,⁴⁶ Mikhako Tsereteli,⁴⁷ Gigo Diasamidze⁴⁸ and Lado⁴⁹ and others. With Robakidze I was a little embarrassed because I could not reply and thank him for the books sent to us (?) Both my sons read them with great pleasure. I could not write to him because at that time my Durmishkhan got sick of again and I was no longer happy. He is still in the sanatorium where he wants to be until January 1939. The operation will be performed in April-June and they will be prepared for it. Imagine 4–5 years of bed rest. He was fascinated by the study of history of Georgia and took many materials with him. He now writes that he has already compiled the “History de Georgien” in French. I read some of it and I think it is written in good language. At this time it is being printed on a typing machine and he is very happy: we are happy about it too.

I have one request for you and when you come to Paris Please visit us. It comes down to our luggage, which is stored with Freu Kruger.⁵⁰ For example I am personally interested to know what I owe, an honest woman who kept things for a long time. These items – are precious to me: my mother’s⁵¹ notebooks, Georgian books, my Durmishkhan’s “Skripka” and a wonderful edition of Tretyakov’s art

Of the museum pictures, I think they are completely printed in color. I will sell it there somehow and change my hand. One in that chest of the desk is also a “treasure”: several thousand billion marks Shares: Berbiner Bank, which went bankrupt and the participants also went bankrupt. These stocks can be thrown into the water at this time, or as wallpaper If it can be used to hang on the walls ... Mr. Tamar, I will send you a wonderful book in due course To my sick son to use for his story if Let us. My wife and Kote have given you many greetings. Yours faithfully, Giorgi Juruli.

45 See, below.

46 Refers to the great Georgian writer Grigol Robakidze (1882–1962)

47 Georgian scientist, politician and public figure (1878–1965).

48 Georgian journalists, historians and public figures (1870–1960).

49 Presumably referring to Lado Akhmeteli (1874–1942). Independent Ambassador of Georgia to Germany, 1924–1937 Georgian New Year in Berlin Head. Encyclopedia *sakartvelo*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1997, p. 301.

50 Could not identify the person.

51 Referring to Ketevan Juruli.

P. S. Your ...⁵² arrived at the old address, I was sent yesterday. You will also rent a new apartment. G. J.

K. Kekelidze National Center for Manuscripts, Tamar and Akaki Papava Archive, no. 129.

A letter sent by Giorgi Juruli from France to Irina to Makarashvili (letter is undated and the cover is missing. Sent to nephew and her husband Anatoly Kiziria; the letter should be written probably from the late 1930s because the letter refers to Mikheil Makarashvili's children: Giorgi and Ines. Manuscript, in Georgian language).

When did I start writing to you, and when did I send it to you. The day after tomorrow is your birthday and Elichka,⁵³ me, Misha,⁵⁴ Kote and my Durmishkhani⁵⁵ from Megeve congratulated a lot. Misha made us happy with his coming. When he gets up early in the morning, he comes in his pajamas to me and Elichka and we have a conversation about you. He writes to us about his pearly children⁵⁶ and his wife⁵⁷, about her good motherhood. He is promoted; however, they are not usually valued by the capitalists here and cared for by money. This factory is even better than others. Zizo, with a husband⁵⁸ and child, and Giorgi⁵⁹ are also well. We see them sometimes. Zizo has a very good boy, talented and educated, his name is Givi and he is 11 years old. We do not meet Gogi Chichinadze⁶⁰ at all, so we heard that Mito had taken the bride to the island on Tahiti and have been there for ½ years. They are back now. Undoubtedly

I will see someone to quote Kato⁶¹ words. Dear Ira and Tolya⁶² be happy and healthy. Tolya, thank you so much for the book. Greetings from your uncle, Giorgi! Kisses from your aunt, Elichka!

52 One word could not be read.

53 Refers to his wife, Elene Muskhelishvili.

54 Refers to Mikheil makarashvili.

55 Refers to Giorgi Juruli's children.

56 Refers to Mikheil Makarashvili's children: Giorgi and Ines.

57 refers to the wife of Mikheil Makarashvili, Elisabeth Glass.

58 Could not be identified.

59 Could not be identified.

60 Could not be identified.

61 Could not be identified.

62 Refers to Anatoly Kizira, husband of Ira Makarashvili.

The mentioned letter is protected by the Georgian Art Palace- In the Museum of Shi-Cultural History, in the archives of the Jurors, though a document does not have a registration number. Georgian Art Palace, Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 3035.

A letter sent from France by Giorgi Juruli to his niece – To Irina Makarashvili.

(Manuscript, in Russian).

The letter is undated, though the mentioned card must be sent in 1933. In the letter of Giorgi Juruli to Irina Makarashvili's husband – Anatoli Kiziria, he asks for sending different types of statistical information to him about the condition about Material of peasant families living in Georgia. It seems that Anatoly Kiziria complied with the request of his wife uncle and sent the said information.

It is based on these materials, that the work of Giorgi Juruli: “Georgian nation as Builder” published in the newspaper “Samshoblo” in 1933”.

My dear Irochka, ask Tolia⁶³ to collect data for me from the Statistics Division of Georgian Peasant Families Budget. I know that The Statistics Division has recently investigated this issue. Dear Tolia, maybe information about the amount of public wealth and national income of Georgia would be great as well. Tell him that I personally performed the calculation with respect to the above, based on indirect data, and now I want to compare with real data. Kisses to both of you. Your uncle.

P.S. I need this data for my little book, which I wrote while still in Berlin and finally I am going to revise the text. The data that I am asking for is subject to publication.

The mentioned letter is protected by the Georgian Art Palace- In the Museum of Cultural History, in the archives of the Jurulis, though a document does not have a registration number. Georgian Art Palace – Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 3035.

Letter from Elene Muskhelishvili, wife of Giorgi Juruli, to NinoJuruli

⁶³ Refers to Anatoly Kiziria.

The letter was sent from The Hague. Indicated at the beginning of the text date – 15.01.1922. (Manuscript, in Russian).

Dear Nina!

We are still with George on his way to The Hague and Berlin Only this week we are going to make our boys⁶⁴ finally Arrange where they expect a great job, but that will remind me Our separate life with George, I am very worried And I'm sorry for the children ...⁶⁵ and care alone I will have to. There is no complete happiness for me, but what I will do it _ I must obey fate! Ira and Misha⁶⁶ what they do

– Do they study in German? How are Tamar, Alex And Otariko Chelidze⁶⁷ (?) All of us greet them and kiss them we send. My boys are offended. For you in a mess I read the written letters. Until the grief is forgotten Letter is no longer written in anyone's name. The deranged do not understand (Thus) who is being punished! We are sad without Martha,⁶⁸ but what can we do? The possibility of bringing it from Constantinople at times we do not have – he is still with good people ...⁶⁹ is present and so am I.

I am calm. Greetings to all who remember us, separately Elizabeth Rostom's daughter ...⁷⁰ George, children and I kiss you hard everyone, including the nanny, who we do not forget and from time to time

We often look back on his favorite expressions. Your loving Elia.

Georgian Art Palace – Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 42763

⁶⁴ Children of Giorgi Juruli and Elene Muskhelishvili, Durmishkhan and Konstantine are meant.

⁶⁵ Could not be read.

⁶⁶ Referring to Nino Juruli's children, Mikheil and Irina. Supposedly, Mikheil had not left for Europe for studies yet.

⁶⁷ Could not identify the persons.

⁶⁸ Could not identify.

⁶⁹ Could not be read. Should be written Jakelis.

⁷⁰ Could not be read.

Appendix 2.

Letter from Durmishkhan (Duma) Juruli to Nina, Ira and Tolya
(Anatoly Kiziria)

(Manuscript, in Russian)

The address of the addressee is written on the card in French: USSR, Via Moscow, Tbilisi (Georgia), Perovskaya (formerly Anastasievskaya) # 8, Nina D. Makarashvili. Sender at the top left of the card

The address is in French. The letter has a date at the beginning: 23.04.34. At the end of the letter he wrote: Greetings to the Krivozubkins, Kisses and greetings to our relatives and friends.

Dear Aunt Nina, Ira and Tolya!

I received all your letters, some through testimony, some came straight. Yesterday I received your, another, April 11 letter. No need to talk about how happy I am when yours I receive letter. Getting a Schmerling session "... Tbilisi" too Messiah pleased. I will be very happy if you do not bother and Tbilisi

You will send me views (for example: album). To your amateur I look forward to the photos and whether I will be given the opportunity, I will send it to you too. I want to thank you very much Because of the interesting letters where you convey them very vividly All that our relatives, friends and acquaintances

it's about. While reading your letters, head to Tbilisi (Georgia) or Arbo I think! You'd know how to enjoy all this. I will try as often as possible to write to you, but from my condition Therefore I often have nothing to say. If you can imagine what does a monotonous life in a sanatorium mean. Well yes, the question And I have always really loved writing (Ira our "writings" if do you remember ?!) So at least a little bit of relief from boredom. Sometimes when the weather is good my bed is rolling they roam on the balcony, or on the beach, and I am proud of the ships And I watch the boats with binoculars. Great beard this winter I let it go, I was very funny. I shaved last week, but I left it with a long mustache, which made it even more ridiculous! However it is for all the photography, then I shave my mustache too, so

– I am proud. I'm in a pretty good mood and I'm not in the mood either. Hopefully, it will continue like this. The course of my illness nothing new in terms. I see that through my father You are aware of everything ... this postcard directly I will send you from the sanatorium. Hopefully it will come down to you. The same

I sent the postcards to Mashura⁷¹ and Mamuna (?)⁷² at the same time. I wonder if you will get it at once?

Goodbye my dears, kiss you hard and hard.

Your Durmishkhani.

P. Sh. Greetings to the nanny.

Georgian Art Palace-Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 42732.

Letter from Durmishkhan (Duma) to Nina, Ira and Tolia (manuscript, in Russian).

The cover of the postcard indicates the addressee in French: USSR, via Moscow, Tbilisi (Tbilisi), Perovskaya (Anastasievskaya) # 8, Nina D. Makarashvili. The sender's address is written at the top left of the card In French, and below we read: To our relatives and friends to whom it belongs, greetings and kisses, greetings Nanny, at the same time I write to Mashura and ...⁷³

The date is given at the beginning of the letter: 25.10.34.

My dear Nina, Ira and Tolya!

Dad probably wrote to you about why you have not answered so far, ours I was scared of letters because of my neglected summer residence Do not get stuck in the mail. And now you are “with you” and I will send you this postcard too. Inform yourself that you are doing very well I feel and pave the way for recovery. But the future I will have to move to a new operation in the spring, because the first,

What I did in Paris did not produce the proper result and if at all it will be fine, I hope to have a sanatorium in a year I will leave, however, at

⁷¹ Could not identify.

⁷² Could not identify.

⁷³ Could not identify the name.

least two years before myself at all I can not consider it healthy. It is true that it will be stretched all the time, but I am already used to it. Well, that perspective on my mood Do not act negatively. The spiritual mood of such diseases Time is of the essence. I have received all your letters (Including Mashuras). I liked very much “Arsena Marabdeli”.⁷⁴ Thank you. It would be good, Tbilisi and, in general, if I had Views of Georgia. Do the usual with you not even illustrated postcards? And even yours I want photos. How long have you not seen me? Recently one an acquaintance of mine, a naval officer, was in Batumi because of the oil. But he did not pass by before leaving. Sorry, otherwise I would give him task, so he would bring me a bottle of wine, plates and views! In the sanatorium my new room is very good – bright and sunny, it is the ocean swells. Loneliness does not scare me, on the contrary ... mother and father I miss it, but it does not matter – next year it will be the same.

Kisses, your дума.

Georgian Art Palace – Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 42743.

Appendix 3.

Letter of Kote (Konstantine) Juruli to Nino and Ira Makarashvili.

The letter was sent from The Hague. Date of sending the letter is written at the top of the sheet: 23.07.25. (Manuscript, in Russian).

Dear Aunt Nina and Irochka!

I have not received any news from you for a long time, so it looks like your new r life to total forgetfulness. To be equal to me, Your younger brother, hold your head, I’m not angry with him if sometimes Remind me, that will be enough for me too. Duma⁷⁵ passed exams very well. Mom and Dad on August 15th They are leaving from Holland, but do not know yet where to enter. Strong in Germany. I’m here ...⁷⁶ I am left alone until April 1926, My friend ...⁷⁷ I will live with Lipel.⁷⁸ He’ll be with me

⁷⁴ Refers to Mikheil Javakhishvili’s novel *arsena marabdeli*.

⁷⁵ Refers to Durmishkhan son of Giorgi Juruli.

⁷⁶ Could not be read.

⁷⁷ Could not be read.

⁷⁸ Could not be identified.

next year, we will pass exams together. I wrote to Grandpa about them.⁷⁹ After the test, most likely, from here I will go to the headquarters, to the Polytechnic.⁸⁰ What I come up with – so far I do not know. I am currently in Hamburg,⁸¹ my boyfriend's parents invited me, He himself traveled to London for vacations.⁸² Unusual The weather is a bit hot even 39–40 degrees, in the shade, the house belongs to the Lipel family, in gardens and vegetables, The forest is also here, but in comparison with our Arbo, in no way It is very. What would I not get for our village if one looked at me. I will stay here until September 1, my address is: K. Juruli P / A. Lipeli, Konigengeracht 56, The Hague, The Netherlands. Life here flows in full swing, dances, evenings, etc. I have already danced 2–3 times. Recently ... I took⁸³ Duma to Holland and I think he took some photos and will send you the cards. Ira, we do not have cards and photos of neither of your nor from Aunt Nina. I do not even know your spouse. If he writes one or two words, I will immediately understand who he is. So, my sister, I give you an assignment to send your photos to my address. You know, I feel alone. True here are amazingly good people, there are surroundings, but they are all foreign to me. Tell your grandmother, Mashura and ...⁸⁴ You would probably notice that in Russian I got used to writing and expressing my opinion.

In the future, you and your “deeply respected” husband, please, you do not forget me and write to me “often”. I understand Aunt Nina, He cares the most and I know if he finds the time, he's one or two too Write me a word, So goodbye until your hasty reply. Everyone

Kisses, (do not forget to pass it to Tolya too) Kote

P. S. Greetings to Malalo⁸⁵ and all my acquaintances, kiss the nanny.

K. J. (Konstantine Juruli)

Georgian Art Palace – Museum of Cultural History, Fund I, Case 135, Man. 42763.

⁷⁹ Could not be identified.

⁸⁰ A town in Germany.

⁸¹ A town in Germany.

⁸² referring to his friend.

⁸³ Could not be read.

⁸⁴ Could not be read.

⁸⁵ Refers to Malalo Meskhishvili-Andronikashvili, friend of Irina Makarashvili.

The unknown episodes of the life of Giorgi Juruli
Minister of Finance, Trade and Industry of the Democratic Republic of Georgia
(1918–1921)

In the current work, based on the document and narrative sources, we have researched a prominent village, distinguished with its antiquities, located in Patara Liakhvi Gorge – Arbo’s past, its location, ethnic appearance and political history, material culture sites and its ecclesiastic sanctities. The adventure of the family in the mentioned village, that of the member of the government of the First Democratic Republic of Georgia – Giorgi Juruli. A separate place is designated to the life and activities of the family of Ilia Makarashvili – a son-in-law of Juruli family, who also resided in Arbo. Juruli’s and Makarashvili’s played an important role in the development of the political, cultural and public life of our country. Their family estate located in Arbo had represented a place for gathering for the Georgian intellectual elite during the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The rich archival materials helped us to a certain extent to revitalize the activities of these families, who nowadays are forgotten and younger generation does not know much about them. The descendants of Juruli’s and Makarashvili’s reside in France and Peru. From our point of view, the current book will arouse an interest among the members of our society in reference to the renowned figures and will bring a modest input into bringing the descendants of the famous families close to their homeland and roots.

Key words: Giorgi Juruli, First Democratic Republic, Georgia, France, Village Arbo.

ARTISTIC RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND GEORGIA*

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Artistic Research – Overview

Artistic research studies the creative process that leads to an artwork. The aim of artistic research is to produce knowledge on the basis of research outcomes and thus to contribute to development of various disciplines of culture.

The idea of artistic research is quite new. Even the definition is a subject of ongoing discussions. The co-author of the present article, pianist Nino Jvania, took part in one of those discussions held in the framework of the AEC European Platform for Artistic Research in Music in 2015 in Graz, Austria. It is this platform that served as a source of inspiration for the project proposal (Fundamental research “Development of Artistic Research Methodology on the Example of Exploration of the Piano of the 21st Century and its Future Perspectives”) that was submitted to the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia. The project received the funding and its participants were given a unique opportunity to actively participate in the formation of a new research form and to contribute to its development at the international level.

Within the project, we carried out the first research in the field of Georgian academic music which was conceived as purely artistic research. However, the issue is highly relevant for the entire field of arts in general. The research may serve as an example for other fields of art in Georgia.

Despite its young age, artistic research has already been implemented at the third-cycle level in several countries and became, in this regard,

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equal to the scientific one. This field is still unexplored in Georgia, even though artistic research has its background in our country as well. Our main goal was to thoroughly study the artistic research methodology and support the implementation of a new research form in Georgia and, at the same time, contribute to its development at the international level.

In the preface to the book „Artistic Research – theories, methods and practices”, the authors write:

Artistic research means that the artist produces an artwork and researches the creative process, thus adding to the accumulation of knowledge. However, the whole notion of artistic research is a relatively new one, and, indeed, its forms and principles have yet to become firmly established.

It is of great importance that this kind of research is given a fair chance to develop free from excessive formalities and that the basis for the systematic accumulation of knowledge in the artistic field can be built upon practice.¹

Thus, artistic research is concentrated on the creative process resulting in an artwork. It shares the aim of any scientific research, contributing to the accumulation of knowledge in a given field. Though it frees a researcher from excessive formalities, such as obligatory research outcomes stated in a written form – this function could be taken over by a piece of art – building the knowledge upon the practice. Consequently, one characteristic of artistic research is that it accepts subjectivity as opposed to classical scientific methods.

Many interesting examples abundantly represented in the history of art help us grasp the essence of artistic research. Although we have emphasised its “young” age, artistic research has its historical harbingers. As Mika Elo, Professor of artistic research and Head of Doctoral Programme at the University of the Arts Helsinki, states, “today Leonardo da Vinci would most likely identify as an artist-researcher”.² Though, artistic research is developing into a separate research form with its specific features

¹ M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vaden, *Artistic Research – Theories, Methods and Practices*, Cosmoprint Oy, Espoo, 2005, p. 5.

² *The utopia of artistic research – Research pavilion 2017 – Uniarts sites*, 2017. https://sites.uniarts.fi/web/research-pavilion-2017/news/-/asset_publisher/IdwokuiuAebS/content/the-utopia-of-artistic-research

determining its essence. In „Artistic Research Methodology. Narrative, Power and Public” the authors state:

Here, the researcher works as an insider, as a participant in the practice, as one of its embodiments, so to speak. But that is not all. In the practice itself, one also takes a step of minimal distance toward the practice, reflecting on it and one’s acts... [T]aking part in the practice, being engaged in an artistic process means moving back and forth between periods of intensive (insider) engagement and more reflective (outsider) distance-taking.³

German artistic researcher Angelika Boeck characterises artistic research in a very interesting way. According to her, artistic research is based

[F]irstly, on the artist’s activity in pursuit of a concrete question or a set of not yet clearly defined questions by employing artistic means and methods, and secondly, on the presentation of the process and/or outcome in the form of an artwork. The proximity to scientific strategies and practices lies in the “not-yet-knowing” ...; in the desire to show and understand; and in the fact that artists often use ethnographic, sociological, collecting/archiving or laboratory work practices; that they experiment with processes that produce images or deal with new media and technosciences (for example the Brazilian media artist and theorist Eduardo Kac, who manipulated living organisms according to aesthetic criteria as part of his Bio Art or Transgenic Art in the early 1990s).⁴

Based on this idea, many multidisciplinary studies conducted nowadays open the doors of artistic research to various sciences – be it, humanities, social or natural sciences.

However, it should be noted that artistic research methodology is still being developed worldwide. Many works dedicated to the issue mention methodological anarchy. “UNESCO defines research as any creative systematic activity intended to increase the stock and the use of knowledge.

³ M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vadén, *Artistic Research Methodology: Narrative, Power, and the Public. Critical Qualitative Research*, No. 15, Peter Lang, 2014, p.16.

⁴ A. Boeck, *What is artistic research? w/k – Between Science & Art*, 2021. <https://between-science-and-art.com/what-is-artistic-research/>

Often called a ‘trouble-maker’ in the academic realm, artistic research is not a discipline, nor an approach, and it doesn’t have a definable set of methods,” states the above-quoted article “The utopia of artistic research”.⁵ For example, it is still questionable whether artistic research should be bound to a word – to a written work and it is still unclear how important the role of practice is in artistic research. However, most artists and art lovers agree that artistic research contributes to the development of the field. In one of the fundamental works, “Share Handbook of Artistic Research Education”, Belgian architect and researcher Johan Verbeke wrote:

The arts, design and architecture are not involved in an exact logical understanding of our world (as are the exact sciences), but they complement this with a knowledge field that builds on human experience and behaviour and is interwoven with cultural and societal development. As with any other discipline, the arts, design and architecture build on their own specific positions in relation to reality.⁶

Consequently, the questions arise: Can art and the artist create knowledge without following the principles typical for the research process? How necessary is it to transform art into a form of research?

These questions are justified, but it should be noted that art has long been associated with research. This is evidenced by the art-related sciences – art history, musicology, theatre studies, films studies, etc. – which have been studying and analysing the processes in the field of art for centuries. However, in these cases, research is carried out not by those who create art, but by those who study and observe it. According to Mika Elo, artistic research is another way for artists to find their voice: “An artist in the 1990s was somebody who doesn’t talk but shows. Now artists actively take part in critical discussions demonstrating the relevance of their work”.⁷ To do this, paraphrasing Jonathan Impett, the composer and

⁵ *The utopia of artistic research – Research pavilion 2017 – Uniarts sites.*

⁶ *Share Handbook of Artistic Research Education*, M. Wilson & S. Ruiten (eds.), Elia Art School, 2013.

⁷ *The utopia of artistic research – Research pavilion 2017 – Uniarts sites.*

the research director of the Orpheus Institute,⁸ the artists conduct research *through* making art and not *about* making art.⁹

This, of course, does not diminish the urgency and importance of art history and other disciplines of art. Artistic research is not an alternative to scientific research. Art and science are not separate fields. Emerging from two different dimensions, they form a single cultural space used for the development of humanity. This means that the research is not only of an artistic nature. If it is carried out by the artist, it contains, to a certain extent, the attributes characteristic of the art-related science, but it is based on artistic experience and produces knowledge that is rather sensory or intuitive. If the production of intuitive knowledge has hitherto been the prerogative of art, because of artistic research, it also becomes the prerogative of the research process.

As a result, doctoral programs in artistic research have been established in about two hundred universities around the world, which challenge the artists to study their creative activity and thus allow them to reach the depths of this process, consequently elevating the accumulated knowledge. There are research projects, the main result of which is a dissertation. However, along with the dissertation, the outcome could often represent audio and video recordings of compositions, concert series, exhibitions, choreographic performances, etc.

We strongly believe that this highly interesting form of research, which allows the researcher to develop his *specific positions in relation to reality* and thus enrich the knowledge within an applied field, deserves the attention of Georgian artists and art researchers. Particularly, since artistic research has its historical precedents in the academic field of Georgia.

Artistic Research – Historical Precedents in Georgia

Although no research has been conducted in Georgia that has been defined as artistic research, its elements can be found in many research projects. In this article, we focus on the field of academic music, however, the situation is similar in other fields of art.

Vano Sarajishvili Tbilisi State Conservatoire is not only the centre in the country but also a research centre of academic music. Since 2011, it

⁸ Orpheus Institute, founded in 1996 in Ghent (Belgium), “is an international centre of excellence with its primary focus on artistic research in music”. See <https://orpheusinstituut.be/en/>

⁹ *Artistic Research in Music: Discipline and Resistance*, J. I m p e t t (ed.), Leuven University Press, p. 11.

offers to performers and composers special doctoral programs “Performing Arts” and “Composition” that allow doctoral students to examine issues related to performance and composition practice, based on theoretical and practical knowledge. According to the program description, “the doctoral program envisages the training of highly qualified academic staff and a high-class researcher focused on creative/performing practice for a higher music education institution”.¹⁰ Besides the research, the program also includes a practice-based part in which performers have to prepare a special repertoire and give several concerts, while composers have to compose a certain number of works.

Here is a list of dissertations defended in 2011–2021 for academic qualification of “Doctor of Musical Arts” at Vano Sarajishvili Tbilisi State Conservatoire within doctoral programs “Composition” and “Performing Arts”¹¹:

- Alexander Vasadze, “Organ as a tool of transcriber-interpreter and organ transcriptions (on the example of Mussorgsky’s suite ‘Pictures at an Exhibition’),” specialty – Solo Piano, 2021;
- Ana Mamisashvili, “The 20th-century solo violin sonata (Aspects of theory and performance),” specialty – Orchestral Instruments, 2019;
- Medea Kavtaradze – “Performing difficulties of the a cappella choral cycles by Sul Khan Nasidze (on the examples of PLEA and FROM THE PERSIAN POETRY),” specialty – Academic Choir Conducting, 2018;
- Levan Gomelauri – “The application methods of the verbal text as a part of the composition techniques in the works of contemporary Georgian composers (R. Kiknadze, L. Gomelauri, M. Virsaladze, E. Chabashvili),” specialty – Composition 2016;
- Mariana Asrieva – “Some aspects of the baroque violin performance technique,” specialty – Orchestral Instruments, 2014;

¹⁰ *Sadoktoro saganmanatleblo programa “kompozitsia”* (Doctoral Educational Program “Composition”), V. Sarajishvili Tbilisi Conservatoire, Tbilisi 2011a. <https://tsc.edu.ge/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/sadoktor-programa-kompozicia.pdf>; *Sadoktoro saganmanatleblo programa, sashemsruleblo khelovneba* (Doctoral Educational Program “Performing Arts”), V. Sarajishvili Tbilisi Conservatoire, Tbilisi 2011b. https://tsc.edu.ge/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/sadoktoro-rpograma-sashemsruleblo_xelovneba.pdf

¹¹ See <https://tsc.edu.ge/sadisertacio-sabcho/>

- Levan Bagration-Davitashvili – “The functions and methods of usage of percussive instruments in works by Georgian composers (1960 – till present),” specialty – Composition, 2014;
- Zaira Vadachkoria – “Issues of interpretation of choral works by Joseph Kechakmadze,” specialty – Academic Choir Conducting, 2012;
- Tamar Zhvania – “Three-part inventions by J.S. Bach: issues of interpretation,” specialty – Solo Piano, 2012;
- EkaChabashvili – “On the concept of multi-topophonic composition technique,” specialty – Composition, 2011;
- Natalia Volchenko – “Vocal methods by David Andghuladze: a defense mechanism of phonetic apparatus,” specialty – Academic Singing, 2011;
- Mamuka Sikharulidze – “Piano etudes by F. Chopin: issues of interpretation,” specialty – Solo Piano, 2011;
- Irina Aivazova – “The vocal cycle by Mussorgsky ‘Songs and Dances of Death’ (some aspects of theory and performance practice),” specialty – Collaborative Piano, 2011;
- Natia Azarashvili – “Place and role of ‘Kindertotenlieder’ in Mahler’s work in relation to performative tasks of an accompanist,” specialty – Collaborative Piano, 2011;
- Ketevan Eliava – “Problems of chamber vocal performance and vocal works by Hugo Wolf,” specialty – Academic Singing, 2011;
- Nino Kasradze – “Problems of sound-production in piano music of the 20th century on the example of work by O. Messiaen,” specialty – Solo Piano, 2011;
- Maya (Maka) Virsaladze – “*Aleatoric* techniques in contemporary Georgian professional music (on the example of works by N. Mamisashvili, R. Kiknadze and E. Chabashvili),” specialty – Composition, 2011.

Ilia State University also offers a very interesting concept of a doctoral portfolio within the doctoral program “Musical Arts”. According to the Concept:

A doctoral portfolio is a doctoral dissertation (portfolio) based on creative (composition/performing) practice, which demonstrates the new knowledge gained as a result of the original research. The final product of the doctoral portfolio is a collection of original compositions or interpretations (portfolio) of international level accompanied

by comments or a dissertation that clearly show the doctoral student's original artistic vision, technical competencies and new knowledge gained through creative research.¹²

Here is a list of doctoral dissertations/portfolios defended in 2016–2022 for the academic degree of Doctor of Musical Arts in the framework of the doctoral program „Musical Art” of Ilia State University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences¹³:

- Reso Kiknadze – “‘Extramusical’ in Music”, 2022;
- Dachi Taktakishvili – “The importance of technique for the art of piano performance and practical aspects of its improvement,” 2021;
- Natela Beraia – “Creative and pedagogical path of Anastasia Virsaladze and Ana Tulashvili – the founders of the Georgian piano school and their impact on modern Georgian piano school,” 2020;
- Irina Ebralidze – “Georgian folk-jazz and ethno-jazz,” 2016.

Even the titles of the dissertations listed above imply that they relate to artistic research to a certain extent, representing the results of the study of artistic practices. It is also clear that the researchers themselves take part in the practice as insiders. However, the topical issues of the relevant fields (performing arts/composition) are discussed in most cases in rather a musicological style. Besides, the other, practice-based part of the doctoral program in most cases is not related to the subject of the dissertation.

In contrast, the artistic research programs at many European universities, first and foremost, encourage an artist to analyse his artistic practice through his experience and practice and then contextualize it. This allows him not only to penetrate the depths of this process but also to find his place in the relevant field and thus contribute to the accumulation of knowledge. In the entrance exams, applicants submit a single project planned for several years which aims to study a certain creative process in a certain context. The duty of artistic researcher is “to develop and perfect their own artistic craft, creativity and conceptual thinking by doing art and thinking (conceptualizing) art, that is, developing a personal vocabulary

¹² *Sadoktoro portfolios kontsepsia* (Concept of Doctoral Portfolio. Doctoral Program: Musical Arts) [Unpublished manuscript]. Ilia State University, Tbilisi 2018, p.2.

¹³ See <https://iliauni.edu.ge/ge/iliauni/AcademicDepartments/mecnierebata-da-xelovnebis-fakulteti-269/sadoktoro-shromebi>

for speaking about art and its world”.¹⁴ What happens at the end of doctoral programs? At the Norwegian Academy of Music (Oslo, Norway), for example, a doctoral student is required to submit a PhD portfolio that encompasses “an artistic output as well as material documenting artistic reflection... The candidate is free to choose the medium and form for the reflective component and for any other documentation”.¹⁵ A doctoral student of the Orpheus Institute is obliged to support the „ambitious artistic project (a series of concerts, a coherent body of compositions, etc.) supported by a relatively short dissertation”. He “may also undertake a more scholarly informed project, seeking to answer questions of a historical, theoretical, pedagogical or other nature”.¹⁶

However, there are composers in the field of Georgian academic music who can be considered artistic researchers. For instance, Reso Kiknadze (*1960), in his research “‘Extramusical’ in Music” conducted at Ilia State University also tries to develop a *personal vocabulary for speaking about art and its world*. According to him:

Containing self-observation and verbalization of spontaneous, never fully comprehensible creative activities accompanying the process of composing, this research attempts to describe mechanisms of obtaining and transforming musical material for composition and methods of transferring “extramusical” conditions to musical categories and parameters. It is based on qualitative, descriptive, and axiological approaches without going deep into historical or typological details of such aesthetic principles and creative techniques. However, in the context of self-reflection, it often introduces and refers to artistic postulates, technological processes, and authors that invented, developed, and/or followed those concepts, methods, and techniques, “old” and “new”, that directly affected my formation as a composer and that makes up my modest composing arsenal today.¹⁷

¹⁴ M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vadén, *Artistic Research Methodology: Narrative, Power and the Public*, p.xi.

¹⁵ *Regulations for the PhD in artistic research degree*. NMH, The Norwegian Academy of Music, 2018. <https://ansatt.nmh.no/en/organisation/strategies/regulations-phd-artistic-research>

¹⁶ *DocARTES Handbook*, Orpheus Instituut, 2021, p. 27. <https://view.publitas.com/orpheus-instituut/docartes-handbook-2019/page/10-11>

¹⁷ R. Kiknadze, “*Ekstramusikaluri*” – *musikashi* (“Extra-musical” in Music) [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], Ilia State University, Tbilisi 2021, p. iv.

Nodar Mamisashvili (1930–2022) is one of the most prominent examples of an artistic researcher. He is the author of many scientific papers and publications. The major part of his work is related to research. He created a new acoustic system, defining it as a “holophony”. He also developed an acoustic scheme of resonant distribution of 9 church bells, according to which the bells were distributed on the Bell Tower of the Trinity Cathedral. In addition, he worked in psycholinguistics.¹⁸ His research has had a direct impact on his musical language and oeuvre.

It is these types of research and their methodology that became the focus of our attention. Having studied and analysed the methodology of artistic researches conducted in different countries worldwide we came to conclusions that form the basis of the philosophy of artistic research formulated by us – Georgian artistic researchers. Interestingly, the fact that we were raised in a country with the totalitarian past influenced our view of artistic research as a symbol of freedom of expression.

Artistic Research Philosophy

Art and literature have always been and will continue to be an alternative chronicler, or rather, a detector and prophet of potential innovations. Works of art tell us truth directly or metaphorically, as they are a true echo of the reality of the era in which the author lives and creates them.

“Artistic research is a transformative frame, a utopian moment, a hope that it doesn’t petrify itself into a discipline,” points Mika Elo, explaining his opinion in the following way: “Defining artistic research for me is a utopia, as it often seems to mean talking against existing definitions”.¹⁹ We would interpret this explanation, assuming, that established, existing definitions, interpretations of thoughts axiomatised by disciplines, and critical self-reflection of perception create discomfort in the overall system of knowledge, in paradigmatic thinking, in the form of commonly agreed-upon reasoning. Most importantly, acknowledging that there is an alternative form of knowledge delivery discomfits the education system and violates the regulated frames and standards by which it is guided.

We set the rules of objective reality and apply them in all areas based on financial security. The teaching process in the field of education is

¹⁸ See N. M a m i s a s h v i l i, “sitsotskhlis aniani anu chveni sasaubro samkarostan” (The alphabet of life or our conversation with the world), *Literaturuli sak’artvelo* March 14, 2014, p. 5. https://efiles.emis.ge/uploads/31384/conversions/Literaturuli_Sakartvelo_2014_N10-compressed.pdf

¹⁹ *The utopia of artistic research – Research pavilion 2017 – Uniarts sites.*

carried out in the prescribed manner, it is computable and planned, and in this respect, it is too formal, as it does not fully recognise the intuitive forms of knowledge transfer, the individual resources of the recipient and transmitter of knowledge. This approach could be defined as some kind of “fraud” committed to facilitate the management of the educational system, as individuality and subjectivity always complicate the standardization process and, instead of a homogeneous common frame, a transformative frame emerges.

Art, on the contrary, admits and even presents the fact that the existing systems created in our lives are absurd (that is pictured so well, for example, in works of Bosch and Kafka) and objectivity has the potential of alternative interpretation. Thus, the subjective perception of reality permits an “unrealistic” interpretation of the issues raised. The reality in art manages to discuss issues beyond objectivity, while reasoning and concluding based on self-reflection in an alternative context leads to the phenomenon of artistic research (especially since it can be based on any practical or theoretical experience). This event has long taken place in art. Any idea that is the beginning of every thought, even at the level of intuition, paves the way to become a logical thought or to shape a logical form of expression. This is the guarantee of its existence in objective reality. Art and art-based research, which are constantly looking for new and different forms and means of communication, maintain only the basic communication criteria. Therefore, the communication frame is constantly transforming.

What are the main communication criteria maintained in artistic research?

- Spreading the thought through the sources of sensations and resonating with the senses of the recipient (intuitive transmission of the thought expressed through one or several senses, when the primary form of information dissipation works and it may also become a source of knowledge);
- Visualization of thought into form through feeling proportions in the three-dimensional world and distributing our perceptual resources within the temporal-spatial parameter (here a temporal-spatial parameter of subjective reality adapts to temporal-spatial conditions of objective reality);
- Shaping thought (and not form), without bringing it to the logical construction (which often characterises works of art), or conveying it to the logical construction (which characterises some works of

literature and art) within which the thought is visualized in form through logical links (illusory construction of reality); The results of artistic research have similar characteristics.

Thus, art allows breaking the conventional logic-based reasoning and $2 + 2$ is no more 4. In this case, the whole system of thinking collapses because the mathematical pillar of the truth, which was agreed upon by many “subjects” that came to a consensus about objective criteria, is removed. Therefore, when art employs other forms of communication, it sets new benchmarks in logic and transfers into an alternate reality the temporal-spatial indicators that people follow and filter through their own, subjective filters of understanding. Temporarily art consumers move to another objective reality and a variety of alternative realities are constructed.

Although the science is considered to be the most impartial field, it relies on agreed objectivity, and its key is a critical approach to objectivity. It turns out that science also retains a certain amount of subjectivity. “Science does not rely on authorities and does not let any claim go without rigorous scrutiny and criticism. In a nutshell, science is open and critical – two criteria that set science apart from religion, technology and art, if not necessarily from philosophy,” write the authors of “Artistic research – theories, methods, practices”.²⁰

In order to maintain the agreement on the perception of objective reality, art and religion permit subjectivism. However, religion suppressed this ability and legitimized its own objective reality to neutralise the free subjective perception. It created a standard dogma for understanding religious phenomena to demolish free subjective perception, as the inadmissibility of multi-faceted thought is the best tool for gaining and managing power.

Artistic research is by far the most democratic field after art itself. However, we can say that with the strengthening and expansion of this field, when the competency parameter is set by a certain group of people, a frame is created. More ruthless and active people gain power, make decisions and gradually take over the reins of the field. They set the standard as the machinery of democracy and subordinate the freedom that comes from subjectivity to this machinery. It is at this time that the traditional mechanism of restricting the freedom of others and the use of power

²⁰ M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vadén, *Artistic Research – Theories, Methods and Practices*, p. 26.

begins to work in the form of selection, evaluation and discrimination of those who are different. The artistic research, however, should be “... framed by practice-based and practice-driven research within that large entity that is called ‘contemporary culture’. Its attitude is to open and to include, not to exclude or to build barriers between mediums of expression and methods of knowledge production”.²¹

In most cases, the masters of artistic research preach about free choices and democratic approaches. Though, the implementers of these ideas face the advocates/coordinators of the same ideas who in fact create barriers and again develop the field within the usual system. They remain committed to the paradigm that facilitates the management of the field and makes it part of the regulatory system of modern life. This is how a circle is created, an impasse that stems from an aspect of human nature that underlies the system of managing the perception of objectivity.

The search for a paradigm for artistic research has turned out to be very difficult – the expressed thoughts are constantly in conflict with each other. It is possible to agree on the basic postulates of artistic research, but it is impossible to systematize their implementation and prescribe the research process as a recipe because each case will be subjective.

We may agree upon the following postulates of artistic research:

- Research should not be limited to the field of art but should be carried out with artistic approaches;
- Research may be purely artistic and conducted within a single discipline, but it also could be multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and hybrid;
- Research should be conducted based on experience and practical skills through critical self-reflection, where criticism is implied in the Kantian sense and is a set of philosophical claims. Though pre-determining how those philosophical claims should be presented, what resources are useful for conducting research, what specific research methods should the researcher apply, is a kind of limitation, which contradicts, in our view, the essence of artistic research.

That’s why the Finnish artistic researchers suggest that

²¹ Ibid, p. 9.

...experience plays a special and central role in artistic research. In a nutshell: artistic research is a way in which experience reflectively changes itself. Moreover, in the spirit of the democracy of experiences, all areas of experience are at play in this circular or spiral movement, in the hermeneutic of (artistic) experience. These areas of experience might include experiences that do not lend themselves to easy conceptualization... Consequently, the privileged form of writing and reporting research results, a scientific thesis (such as a doctoral dissertation), has to be approached with a particular emphasis and methodological attention. Writing, as a way of thinking, doing research and reporting it, has to find a way of treating language in a pluralist manner so that the uniqueness of the artistic experience is not lost when our thinking about it is communicated".²²

As artistic research is still a young field, it seems to be trying to sharply differentiate itself from scientific research in order to establish itself. However, in our view, we must first acknowledge what common features they have in terms of knowledge creation (which both of them aim at) and then separate them from each other.

So, first, let's assume that

- Science is not knowledge, but the intellectual activity of a certain group of people to create knowledge, to produce it (the same could be said about art and religion);
- Knowledge is a product of scientific activity used to comprehend objective reality;
- Artistic research is also an activity that produces knowledge, but through comprehending subjective reality.

Thus, scientific research studies the objective, while artistic research tries to comprehend subjective reality. However, what is a subjective reality, or objective reality?

Each objective reality is a collection of subjective realities compiled at the expense of the agreement reached. That is why first there was art and religion/philosophy, then science emerged out of the depths of philoso-

²² M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vadén, *Artistic Research – Theories, Methods and Practices*, p. 37.

phy. When man separated religion from philosophy, he used it for power and began to rule through it.

Therefore, the primary is a subjective reality where there is no objectiveness yet. Thus, any scientific experience can be discussed in subjective reality, even via methods of studying objective reality. For what is not created (i.e., objectivity) cannot prevent the creation of knowledge gained from artistic research.

If subjective reality is based on intuitive logic in religion and art, to prove objective reality, science has created mathematics as a means of systematising and manipulating primary information ($2 + 2 = 4$, and here, another version is unthinkable). Religion objectified the subjective reality and succeeded. Otherwise, it would not be able to control people. Fortunately, art remains free from objectivity.

Finally, each of them (science, religion and art) creates a different source of knowledge. Yet knowledge confronted with the universe is also conditional and abstract. It just aims to shape our perception: for instance, we teach a newborn everything to make it part of the common objective reality. We teach our children how to communicate with the world (be it the perception of colours, basic math operations, etc.) so that they can exist. However, their artistic origins follow them from birth. They perceive the environment according to a subjective perception; often they surprise us and we think they are wrong, then we correct the “mistakes” and teach them how to become part of the common standard.

Knowledge was created by humanity to standardise perception, but instinct is the primary knowledge, part of our genetic system. We study the universe as an objective reality composed of our subjective realities, which forms the basis of evolution. Because the objective reality is always revitalised by subjective ones, it is constantly updated. Therefore, something will always appear that will be explored. As a counterbalance to evolution in objective reality, we created technologies, began to industrialise, and explore the world to use it.

If we consider that man has made the most unnatural phenomenon – money – a regulatory mechanism of life, it turns out that we have agreed to choose the absurd environment in which we live and are subject to one particular subjective reality. Therefore, when we say that science is based on objectivity, it turns out that this is the greatest utopia from this point of view because objectivity does not exist; It is a product of many agreed-upon subjective entities. And what is the basis of this agreement?

The most dynamic phenomenon characteristic of human nature is violence. It's an instinct of predatory nature, against which humanity seems to be constantly struggling, but still can not escape it. Why? Because man, following his own nature, created a system that, despite various prohibitive laws, is still aimed at gaining power. He subjected to this system the principles of control of all spheres (including the principles of art management) in varying doses. Yet art, by its function, still maintains the freedom of thought expressed in an alternative reality. Art is a cleft in a dead-end created by the system. And through the methodology of artistic research, we create a gateway out of the current system of thinking. If we do not protect this gateway, then this niche of freedom will be destroyed.

Every closed system goes into crisis, and the forms of thinking modify and transform themselves. All these processes take place in the fields of science and culture because a large part of thinking comes from these fields. Let's take physics, which seems to heavily rely on objectivity – the transformability of thinking and the artistic approaches to thought have already infiltrated it in the form of quantum physics.

Therefore, we create a system in which we condemn restrictions and gain the power to restrain further. In this way, more damaging violence is replaced by its mitigated form – the restriction. Though, the degree of restriction depends on the field and aspect of existence it is used in. In most cases, financial interest is the most important control manager. The field of education and culture also appears here as a “service point”. And research is one of the activities of this point which is governed by the attributes that represent the prerequisites of power.

What does a person use power for? For his well-being, or ambition. An authoritarian system is formed, where the most common form of violence – oppression, and in case of disobedience – even destruction emerge. Yet, in democratic forms where power works for the common good, another form of oppression continues to exist. This is neglect – the advantage of being an evaluator when the objective criteria are set by the part of the system that has the power. Its subjective decisions become a criterion that all other subjects must meet. This is how any subjective decision is constrained. Someone else's subjective perception, if it does not comply with the requirements, is not considered as a unique phenomenon and becomes a victim. And if it does not meet the established criteria, it is ignored.

That is why those who do not have power have to work within the frames created for the welfare of others. Welfare is conditional and is determined by the portion of “desire” for something. Power determines the “desire” and turns it into an objective criterion. In fact, power is a result of subjective “desire” by which it limits the “desires” of others.

Freedom is not a wild “desire” of doing something. It is rather a “wish” for the spiritual and physical harmony of the coexistence of many, a kind of utopia for human nature and psyche that is expressed through art (there is no strict control in art; it is voluntary, whether you follow any subjective opinion or not).

Another form of restriction inherent in the present system is the impasse, lack of alternatives, discrimination, disguised under voluntariness, and freedom of choice that does not consider the portion of your “desire”. It is the power gained by the veiled restriction of one’s freedom to establish one’s own opinion, which is manifested in all aspects of life, including education and knowledge production. All the elements of this system serve the agreed subjectivity, reduced to objectivity, where a different subjective “desire” is neglected.

In this system, there is an existence and there is no right to live. The right to live is a freedom that is subjective, and it excludes restrictions of the freedom of others. Here arises the diversity of harmony, which exists only when the agreement on objective reality becomes universal and acceptable to all, with no dogma; when a transformative frame is created that suits everyone’s portion of “desire”, as it does in art. The most democratic system of existence is still within art. Indeed, art sometimes falls into the clutches of totalitarian regimes, however, this field still is free from the system, due to its ability to create an alternative reality and subjective forms of expression.

Turning artistic research into discipline creates the danger of limiting it to the frame. It must therefore be free and not subject to the research rules. As soon as we begin to regulate specific methods of research, delimitation will emerge, which will reduce the effect of the unexpectedness of research and create norms of artistic expression. This is where the tendency to create elite art comes from, which suppresses innovative ideas. This can put real art in great danger, art can shift to behind the scenes, or even worse, it can be neglected.

Art is the only free arena where creative forces are democratically distributed. Artistic research, therefore, uses this arena for research where

the place of art itself is limited. And this is a very good decision for their coexistence. As noted by Finnish researchers:

It is not very productive to carry out artistic research in such a way that a person is first the artist who does the art and then becomes the researcher in order to study that artist. In this case, the experience and skill of the artist do not direct the research in anything than subconscious and opaque ways.²³

It is necessary to define the function of artistic research. It should be art-containing, not art-substituting. Therefore, the main basis of artistic research is practical experience, and the research process is carried out through self-reflection and self-criticism.

We can define 2 types of self-reflection:

1. Self-reflection of one's own creative experience;
2. Critique of experience of other fields, of information brought from outside, and self-reflection in this context.

In our opinion, the second type is preferred in artistic research methodology because the researcher should rather concentrate on the research problem (which he conducts based on his creative ability) and not on his oeuvre which he makes a research problem. The artistic researcher should select a specific research topic that can be considered a problem in the same way as in any other field (be it humanities, art-related or natural sciences, or any other field) and explore it employing creative and artistic approaches. Artistic research is dominated by this very form of reflection, based on which the research outcome is created (whether it is an artwork or any other form).

Artistic research, on the one hand, should borrow from the science the principles of research, and on the other hand, it should maintain the freedom of expression inherent in art. Therefore, artistic research should remove frames (attempt of standardisation) both in the research process and in evaluation. As this works against the mentioned system, it is hard to believe that this will ever be possible. Here, artistic research will find it difficult to gain a place in the management system, just as art has this

²³ M. Hannula, J. Suoranta & T. Vaden, *Artistic Research – Theories, Methods and Practices*, p. 58.

problem up to this day, despite the great desire of the artistic researchers quoted below:

Various standard views of ‘science’ have usually guided the assessment by which people have sought for some one-and-only correct way to carry out artistic research. As we see it, however, there is reason to keep the doors open to experimentation and making mistakes, and in this way enhance conceptual understanding. There is no reason to present rigid and methodical guidelines, but rather one should strive for openness and encouragedaring experimentation”.²⁴

And still, what art serves and researches is precisely what is left beyond the scientifically substantiated knowledge. There has been a need to establish a new type of research that would be legitimate to prove the reality beyond knowledge – a study the major result of which is not a theoretical work but a work of art itself; though, not any work, but the one that generalises and establishes new, legitimate knowledge of art. Thus, the main purpose of artistic research is to present knowledge that is concentrated in the obtained result, as knowledge is more important than demonstration of knowledge.

Conclusion

Artistic research based on self-reflection allows the artist to pursue a personal mission, a purpose in the profession. It can also form the basis of the ability to speak and explain artistic ideas and performances. The development and stimulation of such skills in itself leads to the need to ask questions, identify problems and find ways to solve them, which is extremely important for the development of art as a field. Today, in a developed society and educational system, there is an important trend related to the definition of human social function. Sustainable development of society is inconceivable without fundamental values, humanistic ideals, freedom, and considering human beings as the main value. Here art does not have a competitor. That’s why it is so important to establish artistic research in art-related educational system worldwide, and specifically in Georgia. The research-oriented art education will inevitably raise this issue, and perhaps the attention will be fully directed to the very role

²⁴ Ibid, p.14.

of the artist and art, the main purpose of which is to search and research most important issues that remain beyond scientific knowledge and consciousness. We do believe that legitimacy of freedom and humanistic ideals, baptized as the core values by the civilized world, could be achieved through evidence obtained within the language of art and artistic research.

Artistic Research Philosophy and Georgia

Artistic research studies the creative process that leads to an artwork. The aim of artistic research is to produce knowledge on the basis of research outcomes and thus to contribute to development of various disciplines of culture. The idea of artistic research is quite new and it is no surprise that the field is still unexplored in Georgia. Though, artistic research has its historical background in the academic field of the country. The authors of the present article were given a unique opportunity to actively participate in the formation of a new research form and to contribute to its development at the international level as their fundamental research “Development of Artistic Research Methodology on the Example of Exploration of the Piano of the 21st Century and its Future Perspectives” was supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia. Within the project, they carried out the first research in the field of Georgian academic music which was conceived as purely artistic research. At the same time, having studied and analysed the methodology of artistic researches conducted in different countries worldwide they came to conclusions that form the basis of the philosophy of artistic research. The article presents the essence and philosophy of artistic research formulated by Georgian artistic researchers on the background of historical precedents of art-based research in Georgia. The fact that the researchers were raised in a country with the totalitarian past influenced their view of artistic research as a symbol of freedom of expression. The authors hope the article demonstrates the necessity of developing the artistic research in the fields of art and art education both in Georgia and worldwide.

Key words: artistic research, art-based research, artistic research philosophy, artistic research in Georgia.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMER IRANIAN
LANDS OF THE SOUTH CAUCASUS FROM
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

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Iran's contemporary relations with the countries of the South Caucasus are marked by the centuries-old presence and influence of the Persian Empire on this region. Due to the complicated history of the Caucasus, historical disputes between their politicians and diplomats are very often the determinants of foreign relations. Even the ongoing conflicts often have a historical background, for example in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh war. Another, less obvious dispute is the Iranian-Azerbaijani antagonism, which is manifested in the historical narrative towards the former Iranian lands.

Currently, the geographical region of Azerbaijan is divided between two states – the Republic of Azerbaijan and Iran, thus creating an Azerbaijani minority in Iran estimated at 15 million people.¹ Considering such a numerical minority, Iranian-Azerbaijani relations are for Tehran not only a matter of foreign affairs but also of internal security. Apart from the problem of the national minority, there is a noticeable lack of understanding in the relations between the two countries regarding their common history. Radical slogans proclaiming the unification of the Republic of Azerbaijan with South Azerbaijan are confronted with arguments about the Iranian origin of Azerbaijan lands. The Azerbaijani-Iranian dispute over historiography is caused by attempts to clarify the historical right to the lands along the Arax River. This historical conflict is not a new phenomenon, as the right to rule in Azerbaijan was put forward already by

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¹ *Rights Denied: Violations against ethnic and religious minorities in Iran*, Ceasefire Center for Civilian Rights, Human Rights and Minority Rights Group International, March 2018, p. 11.

the parties a hundred years ago when the differences between the regions were not so clear.

In this article, I would like to present the historical context of Iranian-Azerbaijani relations and the differences in the perception of the region's history by the Azerbaijani and Iranian, and Armenian sides.

History of region

When discussing the history of the Caucasus and Iran, the parties of the dispute tend to refer to ancient times. The first traces of developed settlement in Azerbaijan date back to the second millennium BC. In the 10th or 9th century BC in the area of Lake Urmia (Iran), the state of Mannaea was created. It was adjacent to Elam, Media, Urartu, and Assyria, with whom it waged wars regularly. The collapse of Mannaea came at the end of the 7th century BC when it came under the sovereignty of Assyria and was then conquered by the rising Medes.² Iranian researchers Vahid Jolayi and Nayereh Reisi prove that the beliefs of the people of Mannaea were influenced by neighboring religions – Assyrian, Hittite, and the Urartu peoples.³ Ethnolinguistic research indicates that Mannaea's rulers were of Hurrians origin with a Kassite admixture.⁴ Although the state had no ethnic or linguistic ties to the Iranian people, it soon became part of the Empire. Between 615 and 590 B.C.E., Mannaea was conquered by the Media, and in 550 AD it became part of the Persian Empire as an important and wealthy province of Persia, with its former territories gradually becoming Persianized.⁵

The kingdom built by Cyrus II the Great and Darius I conquered a large part of the ancient world, making Armenia and the Caucasian lands its provinces.⁶ However, in 334 B.C.E. Alexander the Great's campaign in Asia Minor contributed to the fall of the Achaemenid Empire, and after

² R. Z adok, "MANNEA," Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, 2012, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mannea>.

³ VOL. Jolayi, N. Reisi, *A study of Manaeen religious beliefs based on archaeological evidence*, University of Mohagheh Ardabili, Ardabil 2020.

⁴ R. Z adok, *The Ethno-Linguistic Character of Northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Iran, vol. 40, 2002, pp. 89–151. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4300620. Accessed 5 Apr. 2021.

⁵ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *Historia Azerbejdżanu*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1987, p.22.

⁶ M. Herles, *Achaemenids and the Southern Caucasus*, [from Pavel S. Avetisyan Yervand H. Grekyan, *Bridging Times and Spaces, Papers In Ancient Near Eastern, Mediterranean and Armenian Studies*], Oxford 2017, p. 133.

the death of the new conqueror in these territories, power remained in the hands of local satraps. The area of today's South Azerbaijan fell under the rule of the former Median commander – Atropates, who joined Alexander the Great during the Greek expansion. The state of Atropates from the name of the ruler was called Media-Atropatene or only Atropatene by the Greeks and survived until the 2nd century AD. The etymology of today's name Azerbaijan comes from the Old Persian term for the country of Atropates – Āturpātākān, which has evolved over the years into the name used at that time.⁷ There is, however, another theory about the origin of the name Azerbaijan, namely from the Persian term for the place of fire worship, which was widespread in these areas in ancient times and closely related to Zoroastrianism.

To the north of Atropatene, there were lands called by the Greeks Caucasian Albania, which borders coincided with the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan and part of Dagestan. In the 4th century, some feudal lords in Caucasian Albania adopted Christianity, while in Atropatene dominated Zoroastrianism and later Manichaeism. At the end of the 1st century CE., Atropatene became a province of the Parthian state, and in the 3rd century, it passed into the hands of the Iranian Sassanid dynasty. Soon, Albania also found itself in the sphere of Iran's influence, but the shahs were unable to maintain a strong power in it. The territories of Caucasian Albania and Atropatene were frequently invaded by nomadic peoples or neighboring powers, such as the Byzantine Empire. They were also not spared by the Arab invasions, which first led to the fall of the Sassanids, and then subjugated the lands of later Azerbaijan in the 1330s.

One of the most visible consequences of the Arab invasion of Caucasian Albania was the conversion of its people to Islam. Christianity and Zoroastrianism were not as strong there as in the neighboring lands, and the adoption of the religion of Muhammad was associated with social advancement. However, the Caucasus was of rather marginal importance for the caliphs, therefore, over time, feudal states began to emerge there, often only loosely connected with the central government in Baghdad.⁸

In the mid-thirteenth century, took place one of the first settlements of Turkic people in the South Caucasus, when a group of Khazars willingly converted to Islam in exchange for the caliph's warranty protection. In

⁷ P. Kwiatkiewicz, *Przemiany polityczne w Azerbejdżanie – od republiki radzieckiej do współczesnego państwa*, FNCE, Toruń 2018.

⁸ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

the following years, more and more Turkic peoples arrived at the caliph's command, who wanted to maintain order in the conquered lands through engaged mercenary warriors.⁹ In the 11th century, the lands of Iran and later Azerbaijan came under the invasion of the nomadic Seljuk Turks under the command of Malik Shah. One of the most important centers of Seljuk power was Ganja in the East Caucasus, which caused the spread of the native Seljuk language among the local community – the Oghuz language, based on which the Azerbaijani language was developed many years later.¹⁰ The Seljuks were followers of Sunniism, fiercely fighting with Shiism and Christianity. As a result of the resettlement arranged by the Seljuk rulers and the widespread system of slavery, the ethnic structure in the South Caucasus changed and the population was displaced.¹¹ Until the thirteenth century, small state centers such as Shirvan and Maraga were established, favored by the weakening of the central Seljuq power. This period also saw a significant economic and cultural boom in the region, which shows the growing importance of cities such as Shemakhi, Barda, and Tabriz.

In 1220, the united Turkic and Mongolian nomads arrived at the walls of Tabriz. A dozen years earlier, warriors, led by the Mongol leader Genghis Khan, began their conquests, having conquered China, they headed towards Iran. After bloody battles, they subdued the territories of Persia and the Caucasus, and after the death of the Mongol's khan, these lands came under the rule of the Golden Horde. During the Mongol invasion of the Caucasus and Iran, cities, villages, and even irrigation canals were ruined, leading to an ecological disaster.

In 1260, Hulagu-khan – an envoy of the great Mongol khan, established his own Ilkhan state in Azerbaijan and Iran with its capital in Tabriz. Over the next years, the Ilkhans fought the Golden Horde for domination in the region. Only relative stabilization during the reign of the Ilkhans led to the reconstruction of cities and trade. Bringing to the region Turkish-speaking nomads from Central Asian tribes by Mongol rulers strengthened the Turkic influence and spread the Azerbaijani language.

With the weakening power of the Ilkhans, the people of the Caucasus and Iran began to rise against the foreign rulers. The reign was taken over by the lesser Mongolian dynasties, but none of the new forces was able

⁹ P. Kwiatkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

to stay in power. In the 14th century, Azerbaijani cities were invaded and plundered by the Golden Horde, which tried to introduce its rule there. Timur, the leader from Central Asia, joined the competition for leadership in these lands. At that time, Transcaucasia was plundered alternately by Timur or the Golden Horde, only the city of Shirvan, thanks to the diplomacy of its ruler, remained independent, as did Alinj Tower, which did not succumb to the siege for 14 years, thus becoming legendary.¹²

After Timur's death, the people of the Caucasus often revolted against the authorities. The ruler of Shirvan – Ibrahim I even enlarged his territories with Azerbaijani lands, but shortly after lost them due to the appearance of unions of Turkmen tribes – Kara Kojunlu and Ak Kojunlu in the Transcaucasia.¹³ The fifteenth century was marked by the rivalry of these two groups, and then the struggle of the victorious horde with the growing power of Ottoman Turkey.

Based on the above facts it can be seen that over the years South Azerbaijan, regardless of the political formations, was part of the main Iranian lands. On the other hand, the lands that now belong to the Republic of Azerbaijan were on the periphery of the Persian empires, ranging from Caucasian Albania to the sovereign Shirvan. However, it should be noted that these centers were heavily influenced by Persian kings. In addition, the ethnic structure of the region has also changed due to the migration and settlement of Turkic tribes.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Turkmen state of Ak Kojunlu collapsed, and the Safavid dynasty from Ardebil took over. The ethnic or national affiliation of the Safavids to this day is a controversial issue. Iranian historians believe that the Ardebil dynasty was of Iranian origin, citing quatrains and the biography of the family's founder, Safi-ad-din Ardabili. The Persian researchers prove that the royal dynasty became Turkic when they enlisted the support of the Turkic tribes and the Kizilbash who helped raise the Safavids to the Persian throne.¹⁴ On the other hand, the duo of Polish historians – Bohdan and Krzysztof Baranowski, with a perceptibly pro-Azerbaijani orientation, present the Safavids as an Azerbaijani dynasty that underwent Persianization.¹⁵ Baranowski state that the Azerbaijani language was spoken at the court of Shah Ismail I and

¹² B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Azerbaijan VII, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 2014, available at: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/azerbaijan-vii>.

¹⁵ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

only subsequent kings communicated in Persian. At the same time, the Polish historian emphasizes that in the 16th century, the religious affiliation of the ruler mattered more than his nationality. It was the Shiism of the Safavids that determined their governance, not Azerbaijani or Iranian roots.

The Safavid rulers quickly gained control of the Caucasus and Iranian lands. Shi'ite Shah Ismail I came into conflict with the Sunni Ottomans. The clash took place in Azerbaijan, and the victorious Turkish army soon conquered the Safavid capital city – Tabriz. In 1515, peace was signed between the two empires, but it was only a prelude to a conflict that lasted over 100 years. As a result of one of the Ottoman-Persian wars, Armenia and a large part of Azerbaijan were lost. Shi'ite inhabitants of this area were forcibly converted to Sunniism, killed, or enslaved by the Ottoman rulers. Because of the rebounding of the Transcaucasia from Turkey, Shah Abbas I ordered the Caucasian population to be resettled deeper into Iran, changing the ethnic composition of this region.¹⁶

Abbas I was the last outstanding Safavid ruler, and after his death, the kingdom declined more and more in importance. The impasse in Persia was also noticed by Russia under the reign of Peter the Great, which in 1722 conquered Derbent – a strategically important city in Dagestan. It was Tsar Peter I who initiated Russia's aggressive policy towards Iran and the Caucasus.¹⁷ Weakened by the Afghan invasion, Iran was forced to surrender and hand over the Persian coast of the Caspian Sea to Russia.¹⁸

The emergence of Russia in the Caucasus was a harbinger of the future Russian domination and the waning of Iranian influence in the region. The Russian influence was starting to get stronger, but the death of Peter the Great stopped further expansion in Transcaucasia, which continued only during the reign of Tsarina Catherine the Great.¹⁹ Put in a tragic situation, Shah Tahmasp II agreed to an extremely unfavorable agreement, which he, however, did not ratify. As Iran weakened, the Ottoman-Russia wars for Transcaucasia began. Religious persecution and the bloody actions of the Turks in the Caucasus provoked the local population into anti-

¹⁶ B. Rezvani, *The Islamization and Ethnogenesis of the Fereydani Georgians*, Nationalities Papers, Vol. 36, No. 4, September 2008, Routledge, p. 598.

¹⁷ E. Andreeva, *Russia I. Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution*, Encyclopedia Iranica, online edition, 2014, available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Russia-i-relations>.

¹⁸ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *Historia Azerbejdżanu*, p. 97.

¹⁹ E. Andreeva, *Russia I. Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution*, Encyclopedia Iranica, online edition, 2014, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Russia-i-relations>.

Turkish uprisings. Therefore, they expected the Iranian forces to change the fate of the Caucasus. Nadir Shah of the Afsharid dynasty recaptured Azerbaijan and Dagestan from the Ottomans, but this did not improve the situation of the region.

During the process of situating the new Qajar dynasty on the Persian throne, *de facto* independent feudal states appeared in the Caucasus lands, including the Khanates – Karabakh, Shirvan, Talshin, Shekhini, etc., which looked after minor sultanates, such as in Aresh, Kutqashen, Kazakh. Moreover, in the Karabakh mountains, there were supposed to exist Armenian states, subject to the Karabakh khanate.²⁰ Due to the expansion of the influence of the Quba Khanate to neighboring cities, which resulted from the able management of the Quba's state by its leader Fath-Ali Khan, Iranian troops bloodily invaded these lands to regain control in the Transcaucasia. Fearing the Persian army, many khanates, as well as the rulers of Georgia, asked Russia for protection.

Georgian kings surrounded by the Muslims – King of Kartli and Kakheti Heraclius II and King of Imereti Solomon, turned to Christian ruler from St. Petersburg. A treaty between Georgia and Russia was concluded in 1783 to ensure the patronage of the Russian Empire over the territory of Kartli and Kakheti. In 1795, after the Iranian military expedition, which ended with the plunder of Tbilisi and the death of Heraclius II, Russian troops stayed in the Georgian state permanently.²¹

The death of Catherine the Great in 1796 gave the Iranians a chance to recapture Georgia, but the triumphant return of Persia to the Caucasus was prevented by the murder of the Persian king Agha Mohammad Khan.²² Abbas Mirza, son of Fath-Ali Shah and heir to the throne, was appointed governor of the Azerbaijan Province in 1798 or 1799.²³ This fact shows the importance of this region, and also indicates the awareness of Fath-Ali Shah about the threat to the borders in the northwest of the country.

The annexation of East Georgian lands to the Russian Empire was announced in 1801 in Tbilisi and it included the Azerbaijani lands – Sham-

²⁰ B. Baranowski., K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²¹ C. King, *Ghost of Freedom History of the Caucasus*, p. 27.

²² E. Andreeva, *Russia I. Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution*, Encyclopedia Iranica, online edition, 2014, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Russia-i-relations>.

²³ *Abbās Mīrzā*, Encyclopedia Britannica, 21 Oct. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-Mirza>.

shadil and Kazakh sultanates.²⁴ It was a foreshadowing of Russia's later, permanent political and military presence in the region, even though most of the khanates pursued a policy of maneuvering – while recognizing Russia's sovereignty, they didn't break ties with Iran.²⁵

Russia's occupation of eastern Georgia and some of the Caucasian khanates provoked Persia to attack. In June 1804, the Iran-Russia war broke out, as a result of which the lands of Azerbaijan were divided between the two empires.²⁶ Despite the outnumbering of the Persian army, the organized and trained Russian army was more likely to win.

For Iran, the war with Russia was a priority because the defeat was associated with large territorial losses. Moreover, the image of Persia as a superpower in the region was also at stake. For this reason, the Shah received a fatwa declaring a holy war on Russia.²⁷ Tsar Alexander I put General Pawel Dimitrevich Cycjanov at the head of the Caucasian front, who was a promoter of an aggressive imperialist policy and the originator of Russian expansion into Persia, trying to conquer Khoy, Tabriz, and Gilan.²⁸ Soon the Russian Empire began to conquer the khanates neighboring Georgia, in 1804 Ganja was incorporated, and in 1805 the annexation of the Shekhin and Karabakh khanates to Russia was finalized.

The Karabakh khanate separated from the Persian empire as early as 1747 after the fall of the Afsharids, successors to the Safavid dynasty.²⁹ In 1795, the Khan of Karabakh – Ibrahim Halil rejected the request of the Persian Shah Agha Mohammad Khan to annex the territory to the lands of Persia, as a result of which the Persian army attacked Karabakh.³⁰ Khan of Karabakh first received help from Georgian king Heraclius II, and in 1805 he signed a peace treaty in Kurekchai which recognized the subordination of the Karabakh Khanate to the Russian Empire.³¹

In the light of the contract, during the Russo-Persian war, Karabakh was to be the site of the tsarist military garrisons.³² In August of the same year, Ibrahim Halil was murdered with his family, and the territory of

²⁴ *Abbās Mīrzā*, Encyclopedia Britannica, 21 Oct. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abbas-Mirza>.

²⁵ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

²⁶ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²⁷ *Golestān Treaty*, Encyclopedia Iranica, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/golestan-treaty>.

²⁸ E. Andreeva, *op. cit.*

²⁹ H. Hasanow, *Azerbejdżańsko-ormiański konflikt, rezolucje Rady Bezpieczeństwa ONZ o Górskim Karabachu (1993)*: Studio Lakerson, Warsaw 2012, p.12.

³⁰ H. Hasanow, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, 121.

Nagorno-Karabakh was included in the Russian Empire.³³ It should be emphasized that the events of 1805 are remarkably vivid in the memory of Azerbaijan to this day and are considered by the Azerbaijani people to be groundbreaking in relations with Russia.³⁴ The Russo-Persian war, which was the first confrontation with Western troops in many centuries, exposed the weakness and backwardness of the Persian army.

In October 1813, the Gulistan treaty in Karabakh was signed, based on the *status quo ad presentem*, under which the border between Persia and Russia was marked along the Arax River.³⁵ Russia gained the territories of Georgia – Kartli and Kakheti, Dagestan, and the Azerbaijani khanates – Shirvan, Baku, Quba, Sheekin, Ganja, Karabakh, and Talshchin. Persia retained sovereignty over the Yerevan and Nakhchivan Khanates and entire South Azerbaijan.

The arrangements of the Gulistan treaty, unfavorable for Iran, soon became the driving force for declaring another jihad. The conflict recovery plan was also promoted by British diplomacy, which wanted to weaken Russia in the Middle East after the Congress of Vienna. In mid-July 1826, the Second Russo-Persian war broke out. The sixty thousand troops under the command of Abbas-Mirza crossed the Arax River and set off against the Karabakh Khanate under Russia.³⁶ Due to the small number of Russian soldiers in the garrison near the city of Shusha (1,500 people), the people of Shusha – Azeris, and Armenians – defended the city themselves against the Persian attack. Initially, the Iranian army was successful, capturing cities in North Azerbaijan – Lenkoran and Salyan. Persian troops were often supported by the local insurgent groups with which help they captured Shamakhi, Ganja, and Nucha from the tsarist forces. However, the actions of Iranian troops in the reclaimed territories often prompted the locals to flee to territories ruled by Russia.³⁷

In the fall of 1826, reinforcements from Russia, commanded by General Iwan Paskevich, arrived at the Transcaucasian front. The Battle of Shamkhor ended with the victory of the Russians and started the reversal of fortune for the Persian army. Battle of Ganja between 9,000 Russian

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ H. Hasanow, *Azerbejdżańsko-ormiański konflikt, rezolucje Rady Bezpieczeństwa ONZ o Górskim Karabachu (1993)*, p. 12.

³⁵ P. Olszewski, *Uwarunkowania historyczne i dzieje nowożytny regionu na tle europejskim*, Wprowadzenie do Studiów Wschodnioeuropejskich. Eds. Mariusz Korzeniowski, Dariusz Tarasiuk, Krzysztof Latawiec, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 2013, vol. 4, p. 25.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

army and 33 thousand Persian army, forced Iranian commander Abbas-Mirza to withdraw over the Arax River.³⁸ In 1827, Russian troops captured Yerevan, Nakhichevan and Abbasabad, making their way deep into South Azerbaijan. Preparing to fight Russia, the Ottoman Empire offered military aid to Fath-Ali Shah, but when the Russians captured Tabriz, Urmia, and Ardabil on their way to the capital – Tehran, the Persian ruler could no longer delay and agreed to peace negotiations.³⁹

The war ended with the treaty of February 10th, 1828 in Turkmenchay, which confirmed the previous division of Azerbaijani lands between Russia and Persia and established the transfer of Azerbaijan border areas to Russia – the Yerevan and Nakhchivan Khanates. The treaty allowed Russia to have an exclusive navy in the Caspian sea, while Persia could only use Caspian trade routes. In addition, Iran had to pay 20 million rubles in war reparations.⁴⁰ The agreement concluded in Turkmenchay was the foundation of Iranian-Russian relations until the Bolshevik coup in 1917, and marked the borders of both countries until 1991.

The Agreement with Turkmenchay had serious demographic implications because Armenians from Iran were forced to move to Yerevan under Russian rule, and Muslims from the territories occupied by Russia during the war had to move to Turkey or Persia. As a result of the above arrangements, between 1828 and 1830, nearly 120,000 Armenians from Persia and Turkey came to the South Caucasus.⁴¹

The sovereignty of tsarist Russia over the Transcaucasia revealed and deepened the differences between North and South Azerbaijan. Even though these areas were subordinated to the Russian authorities, Azerbaijani cities experienced an economic and cultural revival. By far the most important factor that influenced not only the prosperity of North Azerbaijan in the 19th century but also the country's future, was the oil boom. The commencement of oil extraction in the Absheron Peninsula in the 1870s contributed to the creation of a large agglomeration of the multicultural and multi-ethnic city of Baku.⁴²

³⁸ B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³⁹ E. Andreeva, *Russia I. Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution*, Encyclopedia Iranica, online edition, 2014, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Russia-i-relations>.

⁴⁰ E. Andreeva, *Russia I. Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution*, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 2014, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Russia-i-relations>.

⁴¹ P. Kwiatkiewicz, *Przemiany polityczne w Azerbejdżanie, od republiki radzieckiej do współczesnego państwa*, Toruń 2013 r, p. 53.

⁴² T. Świętochowski, *Azerbejdżan*, p. 37.

The Russian uprising against tsarist absolutism also reached the Caucasus as an important industrial center of the tsarist regime. Throughout Transcaucasia, the working-class population gathered in revolutionary organizations and movements. The global crisis at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries caused an increase in layoffs and a deterioration of living conditions, which provoked the dismissed workers to strike.

The spread of revolutionary slogans initiated anti-feudal and even anti-Tsarist sentiments in North Azerbaijan. In addition to revolutionary speeches, national movements also were very popular. The Caucasian revolutionaries of the early twentieth century did not have uniform political goals, nor did they follow the same ideologies. For many protesters, the revolution was a reaction to the tsar's policy, not an attempt to win autonomy or independence. New intellectual trends resulted in many concepts among the Azerbaijani intelligentsia, including establishing autonomy within Russia and joining North Azerbaijan with Iran or Turkey. The success of the Young Turks' revolution and the crisis in Persia triggered by the constitutional revolution cooled down pro-Iranian sentiments among the Azerbaijani intelligentsia, which had ideologically approached Turkey.

Just like in neighboring North Azerbaijan, Iran was greatly influenced by revolutionary ideas that led to the Constitutional Revolution of 1907. In Tabriz, where magazines were printed, there were even separatist slogans, urging them to join the northern part of the region. Iran, mired in chaos and internal crisis, was exploited by foreign players, mainly Great Britain and Russia. To stop reforming efforts, foreign powers offered to help the commander of the Cossack Brigade later known as Reza Shah Pahlavi, who made a military coup forcing the Qajar king to emigrate and was then crowned Shah of Iran in 1925.

One of the events that determined the further history of the region at that time was the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman Empire. From 1915, the Young Turks' regime carried out ethnic cleansing, as a result of which 1.5 million Armenians were murdered, and the survivors emigrated, among others to the Caucasus, creating one of the largest diasporas in the world.⁴³ The Armenians migrating to Transcaucasia had a negative attitude towards the Azerbaijani population, identifying them with the Turks.

On the Caucasian front, the scales of victory were on the Russian side, but it was turned back in February 1917 after the outbreaks of the Feb-

⁴³ T. Świętochowski, *Azerbejdżan*, p. 60.

ruary Revolution and the fall of the tsarist regime. The governor of the Caucasus, Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich handed over the authorities to the Special Committee for Transcaucasia (Zakawkom), which resulted in the formation of many national parties.

Initially, all the leading parties of the South Caucasus peoples were in favor of a regional federation within Russia, a situation that changed after the October Revolution. On February 10, 1918, the Transcaucasian Seym was established, at which the detachment of Transcaucasia from Russia, the cessation of hostilities on the Caucasian front, and the future of the South Caucasus itself were debated. On April 22, 1918, the Transcaucasian Federal Democratic Republic was proclaimed, consisting of three republics.

The creation of the federation involved numerous compromises on each side. Transcaucasian states knew that building a strong, independent federation had to be done quickly, due to the momentary weakness of revolutionized Russia. The pressure was also exerted by Turkey, which at that time became the largest military power in the Caucasus. For Azerbaijan, the borders of the newly created state were also a compromise. Many Azerbaijani politicians linked the country's future with the incorporation of South Azerbaijan. Also, Turkey, which at that time was at a lower level of development, felt less and less attractive to the Azerbaijani people compared to the new state of Azerbaijan.⁴⁴

Soon, with the development of the Bolshevik revolution, Armenian communist activists began to seize power in the cities of North Azerbaijan. The events of Baku in 1918 went down in history as the so-called "March days", during which Armenian militias slaughtered Azerbaijani inhabitants of the city. The Bolsheviks created the "Baku Commune" under the leadership of the Council of People's Commissars headed by the radical left-wing Armenian Stepan Shaumian. The Baku Commune under Soviet rule was overthrown on July 31, 1918, by the combined Azerbaijani and Turkish forces.⁴⁵ The very period of the Transcaucasian Federal Democratic Republic was not long, after only 35 days (May 26, 1918) disintegrated under the pressure of the Ottomans and Germany, and above all, internal tensions.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 65.

⁴⁵ P. Kwiatkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴⁶ T. Świętochowski, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

From the 18th century onwards, Iran's presence in the South Caucasus was diminishing in favor of Russian influence. Despite this, the area is still seen by the Iranians as the periphery of the former Empire. Failure to come to terms with the loss of the Caucasus, and especially the division of Azerbaijan into two parts – Iranian and Russian (today the independent Republic of Azerbaijan), results in constant grievances and tensions in Iranian-Azerbaijani relations. It should be noted that the wars between Persia and Russia in the nineteenth century for the Caucasus territories show the significance of this part of the former Persian state. The loss in the war for influence and territories in the Caucasus was not only a manifestation of Persia's internal weakness but also intensified the progressive disintegration of the Qajar dynasty. The twentieth century brought the Caucasian nations completely different experiences related to their incorporation into the Soviet Union. The Russian and Soviet heritage changed North Azerbaijan for good, having a nation-building influence on its inhabitants. The national heroes of Azerbaijan, such as Mahammad Amin Rasulzade or Nasib bey Yusifbeyli, and tragic events such as the March Days in 1918 or the war in Nagorno-Karabakh, shaped the Azerbaijani nation and deepened the differences between the Azerbaijani people and Azeris from Iran.

Different historiography – Iranian version

Due to the real territorial claims of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and also Iran, there are different versions of the ancient history of the South Caucasus in modern books and textbooks.

The Iranian authorities, using the tools of historical policy, treat the former Iranian lands that once belonged to the Persian Empires as contemporary Iranian spheres of influence. This perception of one's homeland is in line with the Iranian national identity, which, in the opinion of the Iranian sociologist Ahmad Ashraf, has relied more on territorial thinking than on ethnic ties from the earliest years.⁴⁷ The first Iranian dynasty to lay the foundations for the modern Iranian state was the Achaemenid dynasty. However, according to the eminent specialist of Iranian Studies – Gherardo Gnoli, it was during the Sassanid times that "Iranianness" was created for states' propaganda.⁴⁸ This is evidenced by the concept of "Iran-Shahr"

⁴⁷ B. G. Fragner, *The Mental Mapping of Iran, Identity and Patriotism in Early Modern Iran – The Case of Moh ammad-e Mofid*, *Studia Litteraria Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*, 2019, Vol. 14, Special Issue, p. 61.

⁴⁸ R. N. Frye, *Iranian Identity in Ancient Times*, *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1/2 (Winter-Spring, 1993), p. 144.

(“The reign of Iran”). We can see the evolution of this understanding of Iranianness during the reign of the Ilhanids in Iran when the term “Iran-zamin” (“Iranian Territory”) was forged.⁴⁹ In the text from that period, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia are mentioned next to the lands belonging to Iran. Also, documents from the 17th century, apart from the territory of modern Iraq or Afghanistan, mention the Azerbaijani lands and Nakhichevan as part of the Persian Empire. However, the lands belonging to the present-day Azerbaijan Republic – the former Arran-o Mighan, Shirvan, and Tabarsaran were outside the land of Azerbaijan in the Safavid times.⁵⁰

One of the most important aspects of Iran’s contemporary foreign policy towards Azerbaijan is the issue of South Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani separatist slogans, calling to unify these lands with the Republic of Azerbaijan. To undermine the arguments of the Azeri minority, Iranian researchers refer to Persia’s several-thousand-strong historical and state continuity. One of the most prominent representatives of the Iranian intelligentsia in the first half of the 20th century, and also a representative of the Azeri minority in Iran, Ahmad Kasravi argued in his research that the Azeris were an Iranian people that underwent Turkification over the centuries. In his text „آذري يا زبان باستان”, („Azari – the ancient language of Azerbaijan”) Kasravi presents arguments in favor of the Iranian origin of the province and the Azeri language. The text was published in 1925 as a response to the ideology of Pan-Turkism spread by press centers in Istanbul and Baku. The author begins his dissertation by presenting the oldest history, when the ancestors of modern Iranians – the Aryans, abandoned their homeland and came to the present lands 3 or 4 thousand years ago. Then, the three tribes – Medes, Persians, and Parthians – successively established their kingdoms in those areas.

اینها در تاریخ روشن است و جای گفتگو نیست که ایران یا مردم ایر چون به پشته ایران آمدند دسته بزرگی از ایشان که ماد نامیده میشدند شمال غربی ایران را که اکنون آذربایجان و شهرهای همدان و اسپهان و تهران و کرمانشاهان و قزوین در آنجاست فرا گرفتند آن و این زمینها بنام ایشان سرزمین ماد خوانده میشد که آذربایجان ماد خرد و بخش دیگر ماد بزرگ بوده⁵¹

“It is also clear in history, and it is beyond dispute that the Aryans or Iranians when they reached Iran, a large part of them were calling themselves Medes. They took over the northwestern lands of Iran, where Azerbaijan and

49 B. G. Fagner, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

50 B. G. Fagner, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

51 A. Kasravi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

the cities of Hamadan, Isfahan, Tehran, Kermanshah, and Qazvin are now located, and they (Medes) named these lands Media after their name – Azerbaijan was the Small Media, and the rest was the Great Media”. The quoted fragment indicates that the lands of modern Azerbaijan belong to the Iranian lands by giving them the name “Small Media”. However, the distinction between the Small Media (Azerbaijan) and the Great Media (including Fars Isfahan) points to the peripheral nature of the Azerbaijani part of the empire.

Then, Kasravi quotes texts from medieval Arab travelers and points out the Iranian origin of the Azeri language and the affiliation of the Azerbaijani lands to Persia.

همه این شهرها و استانها يك کشور بود و يك پادشاه داشت، و زبانشان هم يکي بود
اگرچه به نیمزبانهاي گوناگون از پهلوي و دري و آذري و ديگر مانند اينها بخشیده ميشد.⁵²

“All these cities and provinces were one country that had one king and their language was also one. And apart from the different dialects of the Pahlavi language – the Dari language and the Azari language, the others are forgotten”. In the cited text, it is stated that the Azari language like Dari is an Iranian language derived from the Middle Persian language – the Pahlavi language. Kasravi also quotes the words of the Arabic geography – Al-Mukaddasi:

زبانشان خوب نیست و در ارمنستان بارمني و در آران بآراني سخن گویند . فارسیشان
را توان فهمید در پاره حرفها بزبان خراساني مانده و نزدیک است.⁵³

“Their language is not good, they speak Armenian in Armenia and Aryan in Aryan. Their Farsi (The way they speak Farsi – author’s note) can be understood, many of their words are similar and close to the language of Khorasan”. The above quotation shows that the Azeris were most likely speaking the Persian dialect and that it was understandable to the Persians. However, according to the author of the document, the words in Azeri were very similar to those in Khorasan, which belongs to the Turkic language family. Although Kasravi was intended to indicate the Iranian origin of the Azeri language, in this fragment we can see that already in the times of Mukaddasi Azerbaijan was approaching or was in fact the Turkic language.

⁵² A. Kasravi, *آذري يا زبان باستان آذربايجان*, *Azari – ja zaban-e baštan’e Azarbadžan*, Teheran 1925 r, p. 10.

⁵³ A. Kasravi, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Another 13th-century researcher quoted by Kasravi is Yakut Ibn Abdallah al-Hamawi who states:

نیمزبانی دارند که آذریه نامیده شود و کسی جز از خودشان نفهمد⁵⁴

“They have a dialect called Azari that no one else understands”. Again, based on historical texts, the Iranian linguist wants to present Azerbaijani as a specific dialect of the Iranian language. In the following pages, Kasravi outlines the history of the region, emphasizing the lack of Turkish presence in these areas. One of the most important events that took place in Azerbaijan in ancient history, mentioned by the historian, was the customary renaming of the region from Little Media to Azerbaijan, by assigning the northern lands of Iran to one of the Iranian satraps – Atropatene.

این را باسانی توان پذیرفت که جا باز کردن ترکی برای خود در آذربایجان و بکنار زدن آن آذری را ، پیش از پادشاهی صفویان انجام گرفته و دلیل این گذشته از چیزهای دیگر حال خود آن خاندان میباشد . زیرا ایشان بیگمان از بومیان آذربایجان بوده اند و زبانشان آذری بوده و ما دو بیتیهایی از شیخ صفی نیای بزرگ ایشان که در زمان مغول⁵⁵

“It can be easily assumed that the period of Azerbaijan takeover by the Turks and the marginalization of the Azari language there began before the reign of the Safavids, which was caused by the very presence of this dynasty there. The Safavids were the indigenous peoples of Azerbaijan, and their language was Azerbaijani, which is undoubted because we have records in the form of two bytes by the Safi-ad-din Ardabili, who lived during the reign of the Mongols”.

Based on Arabic and Persian sources, Kasravi aims to prove the thesis about the Iranian character of the Azerbaijani language as well as Azerbaijan province itself. Being himself a representative of the Azerbaijani minority, in the last words of his treaty, Ahmad Kasravi speaks about the situation of the Azerbaijani people in the first half of the 20th century:

از آغاز جنبش مشروطه یکی از آرزوهای آذربایجانیان برگرداندن فارسی بانجا بوده و همیشه

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

⁵⁵ A. Kasravi, آذری یا زبان باستان آذربایجان, *Azari – ja zaban-e bastan 'e Azarbadžan*, Teheran 1925, p. 19.

در برابر نگارش روزنامه های استانبول و باکو روی سرد نشان داده اند و با آنکه زبان کنونی فارسی بسیار نارساست و بسیاری از معنیهایی که بترکی توان فهمانید این زبان بفهمانیدن آنها توانا نیست ، و از هر باره بر یک آذربایجانی سخت است که با این زبان سخن راند ، با اینهمه در آذربایجان آرزوی رواج فارسی در میان خاندانها از سالها روان است.⁵⁶

“Since the beginning of the constitutional revolution, the Azeris dream of returning to the Farsi language, which has always been here (in Azerbaijan), and they have always (Azerbaijani people) feel cold towards press reports from Istanbul and Baku. The modern (1925) Persian language in Azerbaijan is not correct and many meanings that can be understood in Turkish are not possible to understand. It is difficult to communicate with an Azerbaijani person. After all, in Azerbaijan, there is a great dream of spreading the Persian language, which has been present among local families for hundreds of years”.

As Kasravi himself admits, the Persian language in Azerbaijan in the second decade of the 20th century is not common, and the language itself is marked by borrowings and traces from the Turkish language. However, the author emphasizes Azerbaijan’s attachment to Persian culture and its commitment to the constitutional revolution. Likewise, linguistics points out that although Turkish was widespread during the Safavid reign, Persian never completely disappeared from any area in Iran, including Azerbaijan. Kasravi notes that in his modern times, Azerbaijani still uses Farsi in writing – not only in books and articles but also in letters. For this reason, the constitutional revolution should spread the use of the Persian language. Kasravi emphasizes that if Azerbaijani people publish and read books and newspapers in the Turkic language, the Persian language will be supplanted and forgotten in the region. Critics of Ahmad Kasravi noted that the philosopher sought to “persianize” Iranian society at the expense of the country’s ethnic minorities.

Despite the criticism, Kasravi was right about the significance of Azerbaijan province. He emphasized the outstanding importance of Azerbaijan and the contribution of its intelligentsia to the constitutional movement, the province’s capital – Tabriz, was the center of constitutionalism in which intellectuals fought against absolutism and religious influences. The leading role of Azerbaijan is confirmed by the activities of “Anjiman-i Tabriz”. Many experts note that the Azerbaijani identity of that time was expressed in the Iranian identity – the Azeris felt they were

⁵⁶ A. Kasravi, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

“the best Iranians” who were true defenders of their homeland in times of danger and the struggle for constitutionalism in Iran.⁵⁷

Different historiography– Armenian version

In the belief about the Iranian character of the Azerbaijani people and even Azerbaijan’s state itself, Iran’s arguments coincide with the historical narrative of Armenia, which undermines Azerbaijan’s right to the lands of Nagorno-Karabakh. An example of such cooperation is, among others in the book “Clash of histories in the South Caucasus” by Armenian cartographer Rouben Galichian, in which the author often cites works by researchers of Persian origin – including Shireen Hunter from Georgetown University in Washington. The Iranian-American expert, quoted by Galichian, argues that the myth of the Caucasian Azerbaijan origin was created in the Soviet era and was perfected by the current authorities. Almost 5,000 years of Azerbaijani presence in the region, having an independent state in antiquity, early Turkification of society at the beginning of our era and the subsequent colonization of Azerbaijan by regional powers, are, in Shireen Hunter’s opinion, a mythology that has nothing to do with historical truth.⁵⁸

Galichian believes that the Azerbaijani state was invented in 1918, and the naming of the new country “Azerbaijan” in Soviet policy was aimed at further territorial expansion into Iran to win over South Azerbaijan.⁵⁹ The Armenian scholar in his work emphasizes that the Azerbaijani population did not call themselves “Azerbaijani” until 1936, and the invented history of the state was created in the 1960s by Soviet scientists and had anti-Armenian and anti-Iranian implication.

The Armenian writer admits that present Azerbaijan is located in the territory of an ancient geographic land – Caucasian Albania, which bordered three provinces of Greater Armenia – Siyniuk, Utik, and Artsakh (Karabakh). Based on the work of “Geography” by the ancient historian Strabon, the historian points out that Armenia bordered Albania and Caucasian Iberia, and after the conquest of the lands by Alexander the Great, part of the Iranian empire – Little Media was renamed Atropatene.⁶⁰ Later in the chapter, Galichian explains Armenia’s claims to the lands of ancient Great

⁵⁷ A. Kasravi, *From Nationalism to Internationalism*, L’Association Française pour l’Étude du Monde Arabe et Musulman, France 1996, p. 5.

⁵⁸ R. Galichian, *Clash of histories in the South Caucasus*, London 2012, after: S. T. Hunter, *The Trans-Caucasus in Transition. Notion-building and conflict*, Washington 1994.

⁵⁹ R. Galichian, *Clash of histories in the South Caucasus*, London 2012, p. 21.

⁶⁰ R. Galichian, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Armenia, citing accounts of Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, and Claudius Ptolemy, who described the history and geography of ancient Armenia.

The author of the book “Clash of histories in the South Caucasus” also notes that Muslim geographers and travelers, often of Persian ancestry, distinguished three ancient states in the region – Armenia, Persia with the province of Azerbaijan south of the Arax River, and Albania (Arran) which lay north of the Arax River and differed from Iran in terms of population, culture, and even religion.⁶¹

Later in his book, the writer presents the history of the region, how in the 4th century, the people of Albania adopted Christianity, but in the next century, the country was occupied by the Zoroastrian Sassanid dynasty of Iran. In the following years, the country was invaded by Arabs, Mongols, and Turks, which changed the original religious and ethnic character of the region, unlike the Armenian population which remained Christian. The term Caucasian Albania disappeared from Christian and Muslim historical and cartographic literature at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries.⁶² Interestingly, the historian admits that the only exception is Armenian historiography, which used the name Albania for the northern territories of Karabakh and Utik, because these lands used to be a part of one administrative district since the Sassanid invasion. The quoted texts by Arab and Persian authors from medieval times present the distribution of the geographical lands of the region – Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Arran. Until the 15th century, the territory of modern Azerbaijan was called by Armenian historiography with the Persian name Arran to distinguish it from the Iranian Islamized province.

According to the author of the book, the dispersion of the Armenians in Iran results from the resettlement of the Armenian population from their original lands in Ararat, Nakhchivan, Siunuk, and Artaz by the Saffavid king Abbas the Great. The Persian king displaced the Armenian population from the western borders of his empire, including Karabakh, to create a buffer strip between his state and the Ottoman Empire. The evicted Armenians were deployed inside Persia, mainly in the then capital – Isfahan, where they lived in their Armenian district – New Julfa.

The book “Clash of the History in the South Caucasus” emphasizes the inconsistency in the Azerbaijani historical narrative from the Armenian perspective. Galichian highlights the discrepancy between the name

⁶¹ R. Galichian, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

“Azerbaijan”, used by the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the actual lands of Azerbaijan, which was part of Persia from antiquity. According to Galichian, the claims to these lands, and even to the name itself, are a political maneuver aimed at annexing the Iranian province. The book also describes Baku’s attempts to appropriate Iran’s heritage and its history and culture. According to the Armenian cartographer, appropriating Armenian and Iranian monuments is a distortion of history.

Different historiography – Azerbaijani version

According to the official historical narrative of Azerbaijan, the first state in the territory of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan was Gamir founded by the Cimmerians, and its main center was in Karabakh. The Cimmerians were a group of Turkic origin, and their origins in the Caucasus lands date back to the 14th century BCE, the existence of the state is noted in written historical sources from the 8th century BCE.⁶³

Azerbaijani authorities believe that the ancient Turkic people had their territory, language, political formation, and culture. From the 3rd to the 8th century, the ethnic territory of the Azeri stretched north of the city of Derbent, in the south, it consisted of the (Iranian) cities of today – Zanjan, Qazvin, and Hamadan, in the east, it bordered the Caspian Sea, and in the west, the state consisted of cities – Tiflis, Goycha (Sevan), Yerevan and the western shore of Lake Urmia.⁶⁴ In the northern part of the country – Albania, Christianity spread, while in the south, Zoroastrianism and the cult of the Turkish god Tanra dominated. The inhabitants of ancient Azerbaijan were Turks from the Oguz group and spoke the Turkic language.⁶⁵

According to propaganda sources, in the almost 5,000-year-long history of Azerbaijan, starting with the country of the Cimmerians, the territory of the modern Republic included the states of Mannaea, the Scythian Empire, Atropatene, and Albania. The period of state autonomy lasted until the 3rd century when the Azerbaijani state was occupied by Sassanid Persia, and in the 7th century, the country was invaded by the Ar-

⁶³ H. Hasanow, *Przedmowa dla polskiego czytelnika, Kosowo a roszczenia terytorialne Armenii wobec regionu Górskiego Karabachu Azerbejdżanu*, Embassy of Azerbaijan in Poland, Warsaw 2013.

⁶⁴ S. Rumyantsev, *Ethnic Territories” Presentation Practices in Historical Textbooks in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan and Georgia*, *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 2008, vol. 30, No. 4, p. 815.

⁶⁵ *General Information About The History Of Azerbaijan*, Heydar Aliyev Foundation, <https://azerbaijan.az/en/information/301>.

abs.⁶⁶ The invaders deployed indigenously Turkic Iranians and Arabs to the lands, which changed the ethnic shape of the region. Soon, Islam began to consolidate the Turkic and non-Turkic population against the Christian coalition of Byzantium, Armenia, and Georgia. In the 9th century, Azeri's statehood was revived thanks to local dynasties such as the Shirwanshakhs, Salaryds, Sajjds, and Szaddads. Between the 15th and 18th centuries, successive empires were ruled by Azerbaijani dynasties – Kara Kojunlu, Ak kojunlu, Safavid, Afsharid, and Qajar.⁶⁷

Currently, Azerbaijan believes that under the Treaties of Gulistan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828), Azerbaijan was divided between two empires – Persia and Russia, which resulted in the creation of the historical concept of “North” and “South Azerbaijan”. Russia began to bring Christian settlers to North Azerbaijan to obtain support for the tsar's rule with the help of a larger Christian population. At a time when the Azerbaijanis were under Russian rule, the systematic elimination of the Azerbaijani Muslim part of the population was being implemented. An equally tragic course took place during the Bolshevik revolution, when in 1918 the Armenian group the Dashnaks, led by S. Szaumian, committed the genocide of the Azerbaijani people. Soon after, Azerbaijan created the first democratic state in the Muslim world, proclaiming the First Republic of Azerbaijan for 23 months. Until 1991, Azerbaijan as the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was part of the USSR.

This narrative emphasizes the local and native character of Azerbaijan and its culture, and also shows the country as a centuries-old and autonomous state. These claims naturally are opposite to Armenian or Iranian beliefs. But Baku's actions are to some degree understandable, as a young country Azerbaijan needs historiography to authenticate itself between old states such as Iran or Armenia. Moreover, there are solid pieces of evidence of Azerbaijani autonomous culture but due to the complicated history of the region and the multi-ethnic character of the Persian Empire, it is extremely difficult to differentiate it from Iran's heritage.

Conflicts in the South Caucasus – the war in Nagorno-Karabakh or the Iranian-Azerbaijani historiographic dispute are the aftermath of the turbulent history of the region. Changes in the demographic structure brought about by depopulation, resettlement, and even ethnic cleansing have effectively disparate the inhabitants of the Transcaucasia. Because the conflicts

66 Ibidem.

67 Ibidem.

are strongly embedded in the historical context, differences between the parties are visible in the way the history of the region is presented.

In this article, based on radical or even propagandist texts, I would like to present various ways of describing the history of the Caucasus region. Both Iran, Armenia, and Azerbaijan now use historical policies to justify their territorial claims or political actions. I tried to show that today's differences between The Republic of Azerbaijan and South Azerbaijan in Iran are the aftermath of historical events – mostly division between Russia and Persia based on the Turkmenchay Treaty or experiences from the Soviet Union for the Republic of Azerbaijan. I also tried to emphasize that even during ancient and medieval times North and South Azerbaijan were sometimes under the role of different states, which shaped the provinces in a unique way that differs from the main Persian character.

In the case of Iranian-Azerbaijani relations, the relations of both countries are determined by the centuries-old presence of the Azerbaijani population within the borders of the Iranian state. To settle a historiographic dispute, Baku and Tehran should define a harmonious and coherent historical narrative. The tensions between countries mentioned before or even the war in the Nagorno-Karabakh, prove that history and historiography can be used as a source of political and territorial claims. Unexpectedly, historiography in the Caucasus and Iran can be a dangerous and powerful tool not only in shaping the nations' consciousness but also to start an ongoing conflict or even war.

The problem of the former Iranian lands of the South Caucasus
from a historical perspective

The article presents the issue of Iranian lands in the South Caucasus – from ancient times to the fall of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. The South Caucasus was shown as one geopolitical entity that was ruled by neighboring powers, including Iran, Russia, and Turkey over the years. The author proves that relations between regional countries are deeply rooted in the historical background which causes different historiographies. Due to the fact historiography is used in politics and territorial claims, Armenian and Iranian historiographies are opposed to Azerbaijani's official narrative. The author's main goal was to underline the historical context of contemporary Iranian-Azerbaijani relations as well as the specificity of Iran's historical contacts with the countries and peoples of the South Caucasus.

Key words: Iran, Azerbaijan, historiography, Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Karabakh Khanate, Russia, ethnic minoritie.

AGGLOMERATIONS OF CAUCASIAN JEWS
AND GEORGIAN JEWS IN AZERBAIJAN.
LIFE OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN A MUSLIM STATE*

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Introduction

The Jewish community in the South Caucasus has been part of the history of this region for centuries. This is where representatives of Ashkenazi Jews, Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews live. The ethnogenesis of Caucasian Jews as well as Georgian Jews is an interesting topic today, as, unlike research on Ashkenazi Jews, there is relatively little material on their history and daily life, particularly in the publications of European researchers. In addition, the available sources do not detail the issues of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews from Azerbaijan, their history after the Second World War, cultural development among indigenous peoples living in Azerbaijan today and their political significance. For the above-mentioned reasons, this article aims to show the distribution of Jewish communities in Azerbaijan, describe the largest Jewish agglomerations and the process of assimilation and narration of Azerbaijani authorities towards this ethnic group. The time frame of the work covers the period after the Second World War to the beginning of the 21st century. However, in order to fully present the full picture of the current specificity of the Jewish community in Azerbaijan, the article also refers to earlier moments in the life of Jewish communities, in particular the circumstances of the emergence of Jews in a given agglomeration. They are the basis without which it would be difficult to understand some of the processes taking place today.

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Several issues were also encountered while writing the article. One of the most troublesome were the issues of geographical names, cities, districts, names, surnames and particular terms. First of all, the issue of their transliteration has become problematic. The problem of transliteration from the non-Latin alphabet brought a great difficulty.

The main source of the work are monographs and studies, scientific and journalistic articles, expert opinions, electronic sources and selected documents. The available literature and a lot of interesting information from internet sources allowed the author of the work to paint a picture of the everyday life of the Jewish community in Azerbaijan. Due to the fact that the main centers of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews were located on the territory of the Russian Empire, and then the Soviet Union, Russian-language literature predominates in the sources.

Size of the Jewish community in Azerbaijan

Before the creation of the State of Israel and the possibility of emigration of Jewish communities from the Soviet Union, Jews were one of the largest ethnic groups in the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic. In one of the first censuses of the USSR in 1939, the number of Jews in the Azerbaijan SSR was estimated at 41245.¹ It is worth noting that in this case the divisions among the Jewish community were not taken into account. Thanks to the next census of the Soviet Union, we can already establish a specific number of individual Jewish groups. According to the 1959 list, there were 40,204 Jews in the Azerbaijan SSR, including 29,350 Ashkenazi Jews, 10,324 Caucasian Jews, 322 Bukharin Jews and 202 Georgian Jews.²

In turn, in the census conducted in 1989, we already notice a significant downward trend in the inhabitants of the Azerbaijan SSR who qualify as Jews. This was mainly related to the first major wave of emigration at the end of the 1970s. Previously, it was practically impossible for the Jewish community to leave the USSR, and only a few requests to leave were considered positively. This was largely influenced by the provision established in 1967, prohibiting the return to the USSR for citizens who left its borders.³ In particular, the problem was that the Soviet Union did not maintain

¹ *Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 года. Национальный состав населения по республикам СССР.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Х. Абрамов, *Горские Евреи Кубы* (Mountain Jews of Cuba), Хайфа Израиль 2003, p. 164.

diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, which it considered an aggressor towards the Arabs living in Palestine.⁴ In response to the new ordinance, from the 1970s the most important factor was the struggle of Jews for the right to emigrate. It is worth noting that Caucasian Jews later and to a lesser extent than Georgian Jews demanded the possibility of repatriation. In practice, it was not until the times of Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika that the Jewish community began to leave the USSR en masse. According to the 1989 census, only 5484 Caucasian Jews, 88 Bukharian Jews and only 30 Georgian Jews lived in the Azerbaijan SSR.⁵

There are three Jewish communities in today's Azerbaijan: Caucasian Jews, Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews. At present, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact number of Caucasian Jews⁶ and Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan, since the 1999 and 2009 census documents compiled the numbers of both of these Jewish communities together with the number of Ashkenazi Jews (8916 and 9084 respectively).⁷ Some sources say that Azerbaijan is currently inhabited by about 5–6 thousand.⁸ Caucasian Jews. Previously, in the territory of present-day Azerbaijan, Caucasian Jews lived in such places as: Lankaran, Goychay, Sabirabad, Ismayilli, Qusar, Khachmaz and Shamakhi.⁹ Part of this community also lived in the Shirvan region, which is why it was common to call them Shirvan Jews. Currently, the Jewish community has emigrated from these regions or lives there in a very small number. Meanwhile, the remaining part of Azerbaijan's Caucasian Jews lives mainly in Baku and Krasnaya Sloboda and partially in Oghuz. The data on the number of Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan, as in the case of Caucasian Jews, are a matter of dispute. According to the *Jews Eurasia* portal, there are currently about 600 Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan.¹⁰ The main center of Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan

⁴ Ibid, p. 167.

⁵ *Всероссийская перепись населения 1989 года. Национальный состав населения по республикам СССР.*

⁶ Caucasian Jews themselves call themselves Juhuri (Russian: Джухур), from the word Juhud, meaning Jew. The word Juhud is a reflection of the Hebrew word Jehud, in other words, a representative of the tribe of Judah. The Russian name of Gorskie Jewrei (Polish: Żydzi Górcy) appeared only during the Caucasian War and was adopted in Russian-language sources. In Israel, however, Caucasian Jews are called kavkazi (Polish: kaukascy) or Caucasian Jews.

⁷ Национальный состав населения Республики Азербайджан 1999–2009.

⁸ Х. Б р а м, Горские евреи Азербайджана в постсоветский период (Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan in the Post-Soviet Period), In *История и культура горских евреев*. Edited by Е. М. Назарова, Е. М. Семенов. Москва 2018, p. 613.

⁹ В. А г а б а б а е в, О горских евреях Кавказа (About the Mountain Jews of the Caucasus), Израиль 2011, p. 39.

¹⁰ Portal Jews Eurasia, История еврейской общины Азербайджана <http://jewseurasia.org/>

has for centuries been the city of Baku, which today is the largest agglomeration of this community in Azerbaijan.

Major agglomerations. Baku

The largest agglomeration of Jews in Azerbaijan is the capital itself – Baku, where Caucasian Jews, Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews live. The first Jews appeared in Baku at the end of the 18th century, when the present capital of Azerbaijan had not yet experienced an oil boom. The second influx of Jews, much larger, came with the end of the 19th century. According to the first census of the Russian Empire in 1897, 2,340 Jews lived in Baku, most of them Ashkenazi Jews. With the discovery of huge amounts of oil fields, more and more people from all over the present Azerbaijan territory and from other parts of the region and the world began to come to Baku. At that time, Jews constituted 11% of the entire population of the capital, inhabiting the old part of the city.¹¹ Today, most of the city's Jewish community consists of Caucasian Jews, as a large proportion of Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews left Azerbaijan with the beginning of Aliyah. The capital of Azerbaijan at the time of the Russian Empire and the first independence of Azerbaijan was a cultural, political and industrial city for the entire Jewish community of the Caucasus. It was there that Jewish literature and education developed, and the first Jewish political parties were established. A large part of the members of the Jewish community were doctors, lawyers, teachers, musicians, journalists and engineers.¹² Additionally, the Jews made a worthy contribution to the development of the oil industry in Baku. The anti-Semitic policy of the Soviet Union led to a temporary stagnation in the development of Jewish culture in the Azerbaijan SSR by closing Jewish schools and synagogues. At present, Baku has once again become an agglomeration conducive to the development of Jewish culture and cooperation between Ashkenazi, Caucasian and Georgian Jews.

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¹¹ Л. Микдаш-Шаманилова, Горско-еврейская община Азербайджана (Mountain Jews community of Azerbaijan), In *История и Культура горских евреев Кавказа*. Edited by Л. Микдаш-Шаманилова. Иерусалим-Куба 2009, p. 45.

¹² М. Беккер, *Евреи Азербайджана: История и Современность* (Jews of Azerbaijan: History and Modernity), Баку 2000, p. 31.

Georgian Jews

In addition to two large Jewish communities, which include Ashkenazi Jews and Caucasian Jews, Azerbaijan also has a small community of Georgian Jews. According to historian Moishe Bekker, the Georgian community is considered a very cohesive and dynamic part of the Jewish community in Baku.¹³ Georgian Jews, the largest concentration of which, as the name suggests, is in Georgia, are believed to be descendants of captured Jews who were brought out of the Land of Israel after its conquest by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE. Georgian Jews who came to Baku came from small towns and villages, mainly from such Georgian regions as: Akhalkalaki, Oni, Kulashi and Kutaisi. The first Jewish immigrants from Georgia appeared on the territory of present-day Azerbaijan as early as the 17th century. However, the largest wave of migration took place at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The main reasons for emigration were economic issues and the prospects of the thriving city of Baku. Sometimes, persecution was also the reason. The Jews migrating to Azerbaijan consisted mainly of merchants, craftsmen and small entrepreneurs, as the main source of income for the Jewish community in Georgia was trade, the most popular profession of the Jewish community around the world.¹⁴ In the 19th century, some Georgian Jews in Baku became members of large Russian-Caucasian trading houses, stock exchanges, commercial banks and joint-stock companies. In the first half of the 20th century, a Sephardic Jewish Gymnasium was opened in Baku, where both Caucasian and Georgian Jews studied.¹⁵ Additionally, there was a yeshiva school for studying Torah, Talmud and Mishna. Moreover, until 1920, the “Society for the Promotion of Education among Georgian Jews of the City of Baku” was active in Baku. During the Soviet Union, after the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, Baku became the second largest concentration of Georgian Jews. At the end of the Great Patriotic War, Azerbaijan’s Jewish population grew significantly. This was due to the displacement of a large number of refugees from Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, the Baltic states and Russia. During this period, despite the anti-religious policy of the Kremlin, in 1945 first

¹³ Ibid, pp. 32–33.

¹⁴ С. Крихели, Евреи Грузинские (Georgian Jews), In Евреи: Бухарские, Горские, Грузинские в водовороте истории. Edited by Р. Пинхасов, С. Данилова Нью-Йорк 2017, p. 311.

¹⁵ М. Беккер, *Евреи Азербайджана: История и Современность* (Jews of Azerbaijan: History and Modernity), p. 29.

a Caucasian (Mountain) synagogue in Baku was opened, and in 1946 an Ashkenazi-Georgian synagogue.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that the building earmarked by the Soviet authorities as a synagogue for Ashkenazi and Georgian Jews previously served as a military warehouse and was an example of old construction. It is worth adding that the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards the Jewish people was not always unanimous, there were often moments of tightening of the anti-religious policy, and then the thaw came. With the increase in the population of the city of Baku, the Jews who mostly lived in the center near their synagogues were relocated to other, further regions of the city. As a result, this caused difficulties in communication and affected the assimilation process. In the 1980s, Hebrew lessons reopened in Baku again. It was also a time when, as in the entire Soviet Union, Jewish organizations began to emerge again with Gorbachev's perestroika. All the newly established initiatives were related to the tradition, culture and language of the Jewish community. Additionally, they were an example of closer cooperation between representatives of Ashkenazi, Caucasian and Georgian Jews. In 1992, an association for Azerbaijani-Israeli cultural ties, called AZIZ, was established in Baku, dealing with the issue of the revival of Jewish identity in Azerbaijan. Currently, AZIZ runs a joint civic and cultural initiative, and also lobbies for Azerbaijan in Israel. The association is financed by the Azerbaijan Foundation. Heydar Aliyev and supported by the Azerbaijani government. With the establishment of diplomatic relations between Azerbaijan and the State of Israel in 1993, more and more initiatives promoting Jewish culture began to appear in Baku. In 2003, a synagogue dedicated to Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews was opened in Baku at Dilara Aliyeva Street. The Jewish community decided that services could no longer be continued in the old building, which had functioned as a synagogue since 1946. The synagogue was built with the help of foreign Jewish organizations, the Russian Orthodox Church in Azerbaijan and the state of Azerbaijan itself. Georgian Jews used the Georgian language in everyday life, they kept Georgian cuisine, but at the same time faithfully obeyed all the laws of Judaism. Currently, despite the Georgian language, the Georgian Jewish community in Baku also often knows Azerbaijani and Russian. Despite the common religion and close traditions, the social life of Georgian Jews in the past was associated more with Ashkenazi Jews than with Caucasian Jews. Thus, in Baku, where both communities

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 45.

existed simultaneously, there were separate synagogues: Georgian-Ashkenazi and Caucasian (Mountain), separate schools, separate religious and social organizations. Characteristically, however, both communities used the same cemetery.

Caucasian Jews

After the Ashkenazi Jews, the Caucasian Jews were the second largest Jewish community in Baku. One of the first major influxes of Caucasian Jews to Baku took place at the end of the 19th century. It is difficult to establish the initial number of the Juhuri themselves as there are no exact data from that period, and all Jews in the Baku region are classified under one category as “Jews”. Meanwhile, during the October coup, the number of Caucasian Jews in Baku was estimated at around 2,000.¹⁷ Until the 1980s, about 10,000 people lived there. Caucasian Jews who came to Baku from various places such as Shirvan, southern Azerbaijan and Quba. The main reasons for emigration were, above all, pogroms, wars, revolution or the desire to earn money. Viewed from the perspective of the history of the Soviet Union, the situation of Caucasian Jews in Baku was in practice the same as that of Georgian Jews, despite being a separate part of the Jewish community in the Caucasus. The anti-religious policy left its mark on the entire Jewish community in the Azerbaijan SSR. However, it must be borne in mind that the relations between the Muslim and Jewish population in the territory of present Azerbaijan can be considered friendly from the very beginning, and the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is rare. The most famous streets inhabited by Caucasian Jews were Czadrova and Bondarn Streets, located in the old Muslim part of the city. Both these streets, which are now called Mirzaagha Aliyeva and Shamsi Badalbeyli, are to this day the center of the district inhabited by Jews, in which there is a synagogue of Juhuri, Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews. In 2011, the synagogue of Caucasian Jews in Baku was officially opened. Earlier, the Juhuri community used the one put into use in 1945 by the Soviets. Due to the destruction and condition of the building, attempts were made to find a new place. The chance appeared only with the independence of Azerbaijan. Today, the Caucasian Jewish community in Baku is developing dynamically and sets the tone for the Jewish life of Azerbaijan, which is closely related to the cooperation with

¹⁷ Л. Микдаш - Шаманилова, *Горско-еврейская община Азербайджана* (Mountain Jewish community of Azerbaijan), p. 45.

Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews. The Jewish House in Baku operates on this principle and provides support to all Jews in Azerbaijan. The association provides medical, food, home care and rehabilitation equipment rental. Another initiative was the organization of the Jewish cuisine week in Baku, which also featured dishes from Caucasian Jews this year. Moreover, the capital has three Jewish newspapers and women's Jewish charities, such as Chawwa, which maintain Jewish traditions in the Azerbaijani-Jewish community and support synagogues. To a large extent, most initiatives can be realized with financial help from foreign Jewish organizations and from Azerbaijan itself. An example of support from the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, was the construction of a Jewish-Caucasian (Mountain) synagogue.¹⁸ In 1992, the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences and the International Association of Judaism and Jewish Culture in Baku organized an international seminar on Mountain Jews: History and Modernity. The event became the impetus for the establishment of the first Jewish organizations – the Center for Jewish Culture and the Alef youth club. Since 2012, a representative office of the International Charitable Fund of Caucasian Jews STMEGI in Azerbaijan has also been operating in Baku. In the same year, a paper database of all Caucasian Jews in Azerbaijan was established, aimed at being able to quickly contact all members of the community. In addition, from time to time cultural events are organized in Baku, such as, for example, the Caucasian Jews' poetry day. Currently, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Caucasian Jews living in Baku, according to unofficial information, they are around 3,000.¹⁹

Quba

The most famous place of residence of Caucasian Jews in Azerbaijan is Krasnaya Sloboda, known by some as Jerusalem of the Caucasus, located in the Quba region in the northern part of the Quba state. It should be noted that Krasnaya Sloboda is not a separate city, namely it functions as a suburb of the city of Quba, located on the left bank of the Qudyal River. According to Azerbaijani historian Abramov, Caucasian Jews found themselves in the region as a result of the Iranian Sassanid

¹⁸ С. Данилова, *Горские Евреи в истории и в наши дни* (Mountain Jews in history and today), *Сиа* 2021, p. 61.

¹⁹ Х. Браам, *Горские евреи Азербайджана в постсоветский период* (Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan in the Post-Soviet Period), p. 613.

rulers wanting to secure their northern territories. Moreover, the researcher notes that in the Quba region, the Caucasian Jews used to live in the area on the right bank of the Qudyal River. However, due to numerous dangers, such as invasions and pogroms, they were ousted in favor of the Muslim peoples, as a result of which one of the Quba khans, Fatah Ali Khan, took the Jews under his protection and offered them to settle in the area of today's Krasnaya Sloboda, which was supposed to place in the second half of the 18th century.²⁰ The geographical location of the city of Quba made life easier for the inhabitants of Krasnaya Sloboda from the very beginning, in particular due to the professions they performed. Namely, the city was crossed by the road Baku – Rostov, connecting today's Azerbaijan with Russia, which made it much easier for Jews to distribute their goods. In addition, the fertile land in these areas allowed for the development of agricultural industry, which was the specialization of many inhabitants of the Jewish suburbs. On May 20, 1926, Krasnaya Sloboda, which previously came under the administration of the city of Quba, became an independent administrative unit with its own militia branch and a national court.²¹ Until 1931, Krasnaja Sloboda was called the Jewish Sloboda probably because, as it is the case today, it is, apart from Israel and cities in the USA, a place of compact residence for Jews. Jews from nearby villages, from Baku or from Quba itself, began to arrive in the new Jewish suburb. Moreover, in the 1880s, Jews from the Persian province of Gilan came to Jewish Sloboda.²² According to some publications, by the time of the revolution, 12–18 thousand of them lived there.²³ . Until the Soviet times, the suburb was very backward, almost 90% of its inhabitants were illiterate. In addition, there was no enterprise or center that would function as a hospital or cultural institution today, and until 1911, there was also no school. On the other hand, numerous synagogues were popular.²⁴ This was largely due to the immigrant population building temples in each of the newly inhabited neighborhoods. During Soviet times, the government strictly banned all religions, including Judaism. Many synagogues were renamed schools, and some of the local rabbis

20 Х. Абрамов, *Горские Евреи Кубы*. (Mountain Jews of Cuba), pp. 32–33.

21 Ibid, p. 68.

22 To this day, in the center of Krasnaya Sloboda, there is a district called *Giljaki mahalla*.

23 В. Агабабаев, *О горских евреях Кавказа* (About the Mountain Jews of the Caucasus), p. 39.

24 Я. М. Агарунов, *Большая судьба маленького народа* (Great fate of a small nation), Москва 1995, p. 67.

went to GULAG. However, religious life in Krasnaya Sloboda did not die, the Jewish tradition was saved by the widespread use of the so-called “people’s” and “family” Judaism.

Jewish tradition, which was still part of the ordinary way of life at that time, moved from synagogues and houses of prayer to families. The whole estate was renamed a collective farm producing pork. It was not until the end of the 1930s that the modernization of the Jewish suburb began, at that time the first medical points, delivery rooms, libraries, kindergartens and a greater number of schools appeared. In 1936, the first municipal power plant was built, supplying power to both the Jewish part and the entire Quba. An important aspect in the 1950s was the construction of a water supply system in the city of Quba, one branch of which ran through the Jewish suburb. Previously, local women had to go to the river every day for the need to replenish their water supplies and fill it with special barrels. The new waterworks, however, did not resolve the issue of access to water, which was only supplied for 2 hours a day. It was not until the 1980s that the construction of a well in Krasnaya Sloboda definitely ended the problem of water deficit.²⁵ Until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the suburb was still considered one of the less developed places. Today, the Jewish suburb is considered to be the richer part of the city of Quba. Quoting the account of Krasnaya Sloboda from the “Tablet Magazine”:

Both parts of the city seem quite similar, although Krasnaya Sloboda looks more affluent, full of houses with freshly painted brick, new windows, and new iron and lattice roofs blended into several dilapidated wooden houses.²⁶

Thanks to the support of Israeli and Russian organizations (Chabad, STMEGI) and wealthy immigrants in Krasnaya Sloboda, in recent years many buildings important from the point of view of the history and tradition of Caucasian Jews have been rebuilt and built, such as the new complex of ritual baths (mikvah) and the reconstruction of the synagogue from 1888. The restoration of the synagogue was a special event in the life of the community, because it should be remembered that as a result of the

²⁵ Х. Абрамов, *Горские Евреи Кубы* (Mountain Jews of Cuba), p. 112.

²⁶ S. Marcus, *Mountain Jews despite diminishing numbers, a historical Jewish community thrives in Azerbaijan*, 26 August 2010 <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/mountain-jews>.

religious struggles conducted in the Soviet times, religious life in Krasnaya Sloboda was relegated to the background, sometimes there were cases when Caucasian Jews, fearing death, called themselves themselves Tats.²⁷ However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the emergence of orthodox Jewish aid groups and Israeli organizations, the process of cultivating Jewish traditions in Krasnaya Sloboda began to be part of the life of this community again. Currently, there are 3 synagogues, some of them have a Beth midrash, in which, thanks to the involvement of rabbis, more and more men come to study the Torah. An important initiative was the construction of the first museum of Caucasian Jews, opened in 2020. The museum was established with the support of the STMEGI foundation, which promotes the memory of the culture and traditions of Caucasian Jews. For many, the construction of the museum became a symbol of the efforts of Caucasian Jews from Azerbaijan to preserve their identity. With the opening of the museum, the organizations operating in Krasnaya Sloboda are trying not only to preserve the history and traditions of their ancestors, but also to popularize the only fully Jewish suburb in a Muslim country. In April this year, at the initiative of the State Tourism Agency and the Israeli Embassy in Azerbaijan, new tourist signs in Krasnaya Sloboda were prepared and presented. They make it possible to identify and easily find tourist historical, cultural, religious and architectural monuments in the Jewish suburbs. In addition, they provide information on relevant tourist facilities. Since 2002, Quba has also published the “Birlik Jedinstvo” newspaper, whose mission is to inform about various aspects of the life of Caucasian Jews. The newspaper is published both in Russian and in Azerbaijani. Currently, about 1–2 thousand people live in Krasnaya Sloboda.²⁸ Caucasus Jews, however, there is a downward trend from year to year. Much of this is due to the lack of jobs and prospects throughout the Quba region. The suburb is mainly inhabited by old people and women with children whose husbands went to work abroad. All the villas in the center of Krasnaya Sloboda are empty, and their owners have been staying in Israel or Russia for years. The situation changes dramatically during the summer holidays, when, according to Jewish tradition, Caucasian Jews come to visit the graves of their relatives during the Tisha B’Av

²⁷ Tats one of the Iranian peoples. Representatives of this ethnic group use a Tat language belonging to the northwestern group of Iranian languages. According to some theories, Caucasian Jews are descended from Tats who converted to Judaism.

²⁸ Data for 2018: X. Б р а м, *Горские евреи Азербайджана в постсоветский период* (Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan in the Post-Soviet Period), p. 613.

festival. For this reason, one of the most important points of Krasnaya Sloboda are three cemeteries with graves and plates with images of the deceased, and sculptures depicting the profession of the deceased, which are characteristic of the Caucasus and Russia.

Oghuz

Currently, Caucasian Jews, apart from Quba and Baku, also live in the town of Oghuz, formerly known as Vartashen. Formerly, it was an Armenian-Jewish settlement that was part of the Shaki Khanate. Apart from Caucasian Jews and Armenians, the village was also inhabited by Udis. Like Quba Vartashen, it was in a good communication point, namely along the Baku – Tbilisi road. The Jews found themselves in these areas at the end of the 17th century, as a result of their displacement by one of the shamanic khans from the Gilan province.²⁹ At the end of the 19th century, the Jewish population of Vartashen accounted for about one third of the entire village's population. In 1873, there were 1628 Jews living in Vartashen, and in 1885 – as many as 2282. Then the Jewish population began to gradually decline due to migration to Baku and Tbilisi. The decrease in the population of Caucasian Jews was not only the result of migration, in the 19th century, due to poor sanitary conditions, fires and epidemics occurred in the settlement. In 1990, approximately 1200 Jews lived in Vartashen.³⁰ In 1991, however, Armenians and Udis were expelled from Vartashen, and the village was renamed Oghuz.³¹ Until the end of the 19th century, a separate Jewish district called *Jugutlar* operated in Vartashen, operating on the basis of Krasnaya Sloboda. With the passage of time, Juhuri lost its individual rights and is now the only suburb of the city of Oghuz inhabited by Caucasian Jews. The people of Oghuz constitute a special group among representatives of Caucasian Jews. First of all, due to their special dialect of the Juhuri language,³² which was created as a result of many years of communing with Armenians. For this reason, their everyday culture was strongly influenced by Armenian culture and their second language was not Azerbaijani but Armenian. There

²⁹ Л. Микдаш - Шаманилова, *Горско-еврейская община Азербайджана* (Mountain Jewish community of Azerbaijan), p. 44.

³⁰ В. Дымшиц, *Горско-еврейская община Азербайджана*. (Mountain Jewish Community of Azerbaijan), In *Горские евреи. История, этнография, культура*. Edited by И. Бегун. Иерусалим-Москва 1999, p. 161.

³¹ Ibid, p. 161.

³² Caucasian Jews call their language Juhuri, and it is also used as a judeo-tat language.

were two stone synagogues in Vartashen, one of which burned down as a result of a fire in 1839. In recent years, the Jewish population in Oghuz has declined sharply due to emigration, ranging from 60 to 100 Jews.³³ The reasons for this, just like in Krasnaya Sloboda, are to be found in the insufficient number of jobs. Currently, there are two synagogues in the city. In 1994, thanks to the financial support of the former residents of Oghuz, the reconstruction of the Great Synagogue was completed, which was restored according to the design of the main architect of Oghuz, Kerim Ragimov. The Great Synagogue is a huge two-story building with a peculiar architecture, its width is much greater than its length, and there is a gallery along the entire facade. There is a Jewish cemetery near the Great Synagogue, which is a silent testimony to the stay of Jews in this area. The Jews of Caucasus Oghuz are still engaged in agriculture today, growing mainly nuts. Among them there are also representatives of the local intelligentsia: doctors, teachers and the aforementioned chief architect of the village.

Assimilation of Jews in Azerbaijan against the background of the authorities' narrative to Jewish communities

Many publications, in the pages of Jewish websites, organizations that support the culture of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews, and today's Azerbaijani rhetoric emphasize the long-term cooperation and friendly relations between the Jewish community and Muslims living next to each other for decades in the territory of today's Azerbaijan. The Jewish diaspora in Azerbaijan and the one staying abroad in their narrative emphasize the strong ties between the two ethnic groups and the tolerance experienced by the Jews living in Azerbaijan for centuries. One of the proclamations of the Jewish diaspora of Azerbaijan in 2003 stated that in Azerbaijan, Jews have never experienced any kind of oppression or persecution because of their ethnic origin or religious affiliation. Moreover, the document emphasizes the struggle of both nations against common enemies in the past and the role of Azerbaijan in saving Jews from concentration camps. One fragment of the above appeal concerning the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is worth mentioning here: Azerbaijan is actively working against the emergence of any manifestations of fundamentalism and anti-Semitism, and is an outpost of democracy in the re-

³³ X. Б р а м, *Горские евреи Азербайджана в постсоветский период* (Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan in the Post-Soviet Period), p. 613.

gion.³⁴ The same opinion is shared by the largest Jewish virtual library, in which an article was published, clearly emphasizing the lack of anti-Semitism in Azerbaijan and friendly relations between the two communities. Azerbaijan is also a place willingly visited by foreign Jewish organizations. One of the most famous Israeli newspapers, „the Jerusalem Post”, repeatedly emphasizes the cooperation between the Jewish and Muslim communities in Azerbaijan and the favorable living conditions that Jews enjoy there today.

Heydar Aliyev, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and then the president of Azerbaijan, is of particular importance in the process of assimilation of Jews in Azerbaijan in Jewish sources. According to the Jewish side, the life situation of the Jewish community in Azerbaijan has improved significantly since Aliyev took office in 1969. It is even said that it was a period of the development of Jewish culture and the active participation of its members in the life of the country. Thanks to him, Jews began to take up positions in newspapers, offices and ministries. Often in Jewish articles, Aliyev’s words in 1998 are also cited in which the president made clear Azerbaijan’s position towards the phenomenon of anti-Semitism as a country where it never existed. The memory of the former president manifests itself both in the lives of the Jews in Azerbaijan and the diaspora in Israel. An important document for Jews in Azerbaijan was the Azerbaijan constitution issued by Aliyev in 1995, namely Art. 25 point. 3. which said:

The state guarantees equal rights and freedoms to all, irrespective of race, ethnicity, religion, language, sex, origin [...]. It is forbidden to limit the rights and freedoms of a person and a citizen on the basis of race, ethnic, religious, linguistic affiliation, sex, origin, beliefs, political and social affiliation.³⁵

After Heydar Aliyev’s death, his son, the current president, Ilham Aliyev, continues the same policy towards the Jewish community in Azerbaijan. Like his younger father, Aliyev repeatedly emphasized the multiculturalism and tolerance of Azerbaijan. At the conference in Baku on religious tolerance, the president emphasized the role of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism as one of the main priorities of Azerbaijan’s policy.

³⁴ Обращение еврейской диаспоры в Азербайджане Баку 2003.

³⁵ Конституция Азербайджанской Республики от 12 ноября 1995 года.

In 2015, a publication was issued on I. Aliev's policy of tolerance, which was warmly received by religious minorities in the country, including the Jewish community. The Jewish community in Azerbaijan is treated with special attention by the authorities of the country, as exemplified by the President's annual congratulations on the new Jewish year (Rosh HaShanah) and the financial aid granted by the government each year to Caucasian Jews, Ashkenazi Jews and Georgian Jews in Baku. The support for the Jewish community in Azerbaijan is also visible in the foreign policy of the state. An important event was the speech of Elmar Mammadyarov, former Azerbaijani foreign minister at the opening of the AJC Global Forum in Washington in 2013. The politician at the beginning said: Our 35,000 Jewish community has lived in Azerbaijan for 2,500 years without persecution, with full dignity and respect – among the few places on Earth where people may not know what anti-Semitism is.³⁶ The first lady and vice-president of Azerbaijan, Mehriban Aliyeva, also contribute to the position of president and government. At the Seventh United Nations Global Forum in Baku, the president's wife on Muslim-Jewish relations made the following statement:

Both Jews and Christians live freely in our country. In addition, Azerbaijan has representatives of various religious minorities, including 24 non-Muslim denominations. For example, in Quba there is a suburb called Krasnaya Sloboda. It is the only place in the world where the Mountain Jews live together.³⁷

The Jewish community serves as an important factor in Azerbaijan's bilateral economic and diplomatic relations with both Israel and the United States. The memory of the historical close relations between the Jewish community and the Muslims in Azerbaijan is an important element that adds legitimacy and continuity in improving Israeli-Azerbaijani relations. Ch. Bram, who deals with the Jewish community in Azerbaijan, noted in one of his publications:

The relationship with the Jewish community and with Jews – immigrants from Azerbaijan – is one of the bridges sustaining relations be-

³⁶ American Jewish Committee, *Azerbaijan Foreign Minister Mammadyarov Addresses AJC Global Forum*, 4 June 2013 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5trUgoJdmxQ>.

³⁷ Р. Бабаев, В Азербайджане отсутствует религиозная нетерпимость – Первая леди, 27 April 2016 <http://interfax.az/print/671101/ru>.

tween Azerbaijan and Israel. [...] In Azerbaijan, the flags of both countries hang side by side not only in Jewish institutions but also in private homes and car dealerships.³⁸

For the entire Jewish community, Azerbaijan is an example of an ethnic-national state in which Jews can, on the one hand, emphasize their inextricable bond with the State of Israel, and, on the other hand, demonstrate their commitment to Azerbaijan civil society without losing their national identity. The role that the Jewish community plays in relations between Israel and Azerbaijan is undoubtedly influenced by aid, various types of organizations and associations.

Summary

The Caucasian and Georgian Jewish communities of Azerbaijan are among the unique ethnic groups that inhabit the region. Researching the history and ethnography of the Jewish community in the Caucasus forces the researcher to consider this phenomenon from both the Jewish and Caucasian perspective. Only by following this principle can one understand the current specificity of the Jewish community in the Caucasus. Despite the different origins of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews, they form a coherent community in Azerbaijan, the best example of which are joint organizations and various initiatives. Baku, Krasnaya Sloboda and Ohguz are the largest agglomerations in Azerbaijan where Jewish culture has developed for centuries. They are also places of the living history of Judaism in the Caucasus. Friendly conditions and a tolerant narrative of the population and authorities in Azerbaijan meant that Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews are considered to be one of the few Jewish communities that has not experienced the phenomenon of anti-Semitism. The uniqueness of the Jews living in Azerbaijan is also due to their particular importance in building today's policy of multiculturalism and Azerbaijan tolerance. In conclusion, it can be said with certainty that the community of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan is currently one of the rapidly developing ethnic groups in the region. Apart from the ongoing process of economic emigration, one should not look for other problems related to life in a Muslim state. The dynamically operating Jewish organizations and the help of immigrants are rebuilding the

³⁸ X. Браун, *Горские евреи Азербайджана в постсоветский период* (Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan in the Post-Soviet Period), p. 623.

religious awareness which, due to the anti-religious policy of the Soviet Union, for some time weakened the process of cultivating the Jewish religion. In this context, the same approach should be applied to Islam in Azerbaijan, characterized by a more liberal approach to some aspects of life than in Muslim countries that have not experienced the phenomenon of communism.

Agglomerations of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan.
Life of Jewish communities in a Muslim state

Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews are among the many ethnic groups that now inhabit Azerbaijan. The largest clusters of these communities are in such cities as Baku, Quba (a suburb of Krasnaya Sloboda) and Oghuz (formerly Vartashen). The uniqueness of the Jewish community in the Caucasus lies primarily in the specificity of their culture, traditions and customs, which were influenced by close contacts with individual Caucasian peoples for many years. This article is an attempt to show the agglomeration of Caucasian Jews and Georgian Jews in Azerbaijan. On the other hand, it is also worth noting the process of their assimilation in a Muslim country and the attitude of the authorities in Azerbaijan to the Jewish community.

Key words: Caucasian Jews, Georgian Jews, Azerbaijan, agglomerations, Judaism, assimilation.

SOME ISSUES ON NATIONAL IDENTITY OF GEORGIAN MUSLIMS

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Introduction

After collapse of the Byzantine Empire and Georgian United Kingdom in the 15th century AD, The southern region of Georgia, historical Meskheti,¹ which according to tradition was primary converted in Christianity even in the 1st century AD, was occupied by Ottomans since 16th century AD. Georgian governing elite was in constant search for the guardian power. After unsuccessful attempts for probing connection with Europe, Georgia failed under the influence of Russia, which led to the loss of its statehood in the early 19th century. Despite the huge impact on national interests, this annexation promoted the return of Georgian lost territories in Meskheti. As a result of Treaty of Adrianople, Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki, Aspindza and Khertvisi, present region of Samtskhe-Javakheti, southeastern region of modern Georgia became part of Tiflis Governorship in 1829 and Upper and Lower Ajara, Batumi and Kobuleti, modern Ajara, southwestern part of Georgia entered to Kutaisi Governorship after the Russian-Turkish war in 1877–1878.

Both provinces were controlled by Russian Empire, but unlike of Ottoman Empire, Georgian culture hardly but consistently was developed in Russia where a generation of well-known Georgian classics with leadership of Ilia Chavchavadze, a generation called Sixties, have activated and led the new national liberation movement.² Naturally, these processes

¹ Meskhetians were part of eastern Georgian tribes, *kartvelians* and historically belonged to zemo (upper) kartli. Since 1268 this region ruled by Georgian feudal official called *Atabak* (in Ottoman tutor) which gradually turned his ownership to separatist Principality of Samtskhe, area inhabited by Meskhetians.

² N. Varshanidze, J. Vardmanidze, E. Kakhidze, *Zogierti problematuri sakithi XIX-XX ss ajaris da samtskhe-javakhetis sinamdvilidan* (On the some problematic issues concerning to realities of Ajara and Samtskhe-Javakheti). *Literaturuli Ajara* 6, 1999, pp. 104–108; N. Varshanidze,

also affected Muslim-populated areas in Georgia. Formation of Georgian ethnic identity in the 19th century was contradictory. It is a fact, that vast majority of population of Samtskhe-Javakheti could not maintain the national consciousness and contrary to the Ajara, currently belong themselves to Turkish ethnicity.

Reappointment of Christian and Muslim Georgians

According to earlier authors, during the period of uniting with Russia in the first half of the 19th century and even later, Muslim population of Samtkhe-Javaheti, Meskhetians could fluently speak Georgian language.³ Situation remained the same as was in Ajara in the 70th of the 19th century: “*Understanding of Georgian is unknown for Ajarians, and they refer themselves as Ajarians and call their language the Gurcu*”.⁴

Considering the fact that unlike of Ajara, in Samtskhe-Javakheti remained a lot of Christian population even in the 19th century, as well as more negative attitude to the process of Muslim immigration (*Muhajirism*) was noticeable there⁵ made us to think that situation would have the opposite turn, but the events, at one sight turned to illogical side. In reality, historical processes in the region were conducted pretty purposefully and as usual, were driven by objective factors gathered throughout centuries.

Presumably, the initial reason of inconsistent development of Ajara and Samtskhe-Javakheti lies under specificity of political and cultural being of Georgia in the 19th century. Social, economic and cultural unity of Ajarians and Meskhetians with another Georgians was severed after everlasting domination of Ottoman Empire. The best achieve signs of the common past were the archaic dialects of the Georgian language and some customs and traditions, source of which often lied in the pagan era.

E. K a k h i d z e, *Kartvel muslimta erovnuli tvitshagnebis pormirebis istoriuli tsanamzgvrebistvis* (On the historical preconditions of the formation of the national self-consciousness of Georgian Muslims), in Ed. I. Kekelia, Proceedings of the 5th International Scientific Conference Dedicated to Sergi Danelia, Kutaisi 2016, pp. 40–41; L. G i g i n e i s h v i l i, *Rusul-kartuli urtiertobebi me-19–20-e saukuneebshi: istoriul-kulturuli narkvevi* (Russo-Georgian relationships: historical and cultural research), Ed. M. A r e s h i d z e and I. T i m o f e e v, *Ruseti-sakartvelo: urtiertobebis dziritadi mimartulebebi* (Russia and Georgia: the main fields of relationships), Tbilisi 2014, pp. 123–126.

³ K. U m a r o v - G o z a l i s h v i l i, *Tragediya meskhov* (Tragedy of Meskhetians). Tbilisi 1994, pp. 39–48.

⁴ *Gurcu* means Georgian in Turkish. In detail, see: D. B a k r a d z e, *Arkeologiuri mogzauroba guriasa da ajarashi* (Archaeological Journey to Guria and Ajara), Batumi 1987, p. 45.

⁵ Z. C h i c h i n a d z e, *Kartvel mahmadiana gadasakhleba osmaletshi, muhajiri emigratsia* (Immigration of Mahometian Georgians to Ottoman Empire: Muhajirism), Tiflis 1912, pp. 1–2.

For these purposes, huge importance was imposed to Georgian and Russian leading circles. By the 30th of the 19th century, new Georgian elite was in the process of formation, representatives of pro-russian circles had lack of patriotic attitude; tradition still hardened the perception of Muslims as Georgians. Only later, in the 70s of the 19th century as per request of Georgian society, Muslim Meskhetians were declared as Georgians.⁶ As it happens usually, it was too late. The process of Turkisation had already been deepened.

The situation was the opposite in Ajara in the 80s of the 19th century. With the backing of pro-european enlighteners Ilia Chavchavadze, Iakob Gogebashvili, Akaki Tsereteli, Sergi Meskhi, etc. Ajara has been under caring custodians. It is worth to mention that representatives of local elite have always been very supportive. Special attention needs to be paid to the family of Khimshiashvili, who contributed a lot to the formation of Georgia school in Batumi.

Unfortunately, despite huge attempts Ilia Chavchavadze and Nuri Khimshiashvili failed to open the education center in Shavsheti to the south-east of Ajara where the process of Turkisation like to Samtskhe-Javakheti had gone to far. For various reasons, Sergi Meskhi was not able to fulfill the task he received from Ilia Chavchavadze. As Guram Sharadze noted: “this is how we failed to carry out such an incredibly important mission and who knows, if we had a school in Shavsheti, may be it would bring up new Mehmed Beg⁷ and the area would remain as part of Georgia”.⁸

Geography

Geography plays very important role while discussing the history of Samtskhe-Javakheti and Ajara. In terms of economic and cultural development, Samtskhe-Javakheti was far more advanced than geographically reclusive highland Ajara and due to this reason Ottoman administration was settled in Akhaltsikhe⁹ and oppressed the region culturally and economically there.¹⁰

⁶ 1870 ts. *tbilis is guberniis agtserilobis masalata krebuli* (Collection of the Materials of Province of Tiflis), vol. 1, Tiflis 1870, pp. 1–34.

⁷ Mehmed Abashidze, leader of pro-Georgian orientation Muslims in Ajara in the first quartet of the 20th century.

⁸ G. Sharadze, *Dedasamshoblostan dabruneba* (Return to Motherland), *Sakartvelos Respublika*, no. 130, 1998.

⁹ Historical center of region of Samtskhe.

¹⁰ T. Sakhokia, *Mogzaurobani* (Journeys), Tbilisi 1950, pp. 150–157.

Almost the same situation presents in Shavsheti and neighbor Imerkhevi. If Shavsheti caused invaders attention due to its extraordinary nature, Imerkhevi was not attractive for its cliffs and barren landscape. Zakaria Chichinadze, who visited Imerkhevi on early 20th century, believes that preservation of Georgian language was favoring to its geographical location.¹¹ Even today, unlike Shavsheti, most inhabitants of Imerkhevi still speak the Georgian language.¹²

It is worth to mention that the geographical location of highland Ajara was well used against Ottomans by local governors, who did not have positive attitude towards invaders. In order to ease their daily life, they purposely hindered the building of the roads leading to administration centers of Ottoman Empire.¹³ Seaside part of Ajara had the opposite conditions, where Ottoman administration had a lot more power and consequently where higher number of non-Georgian population was concentrate.¹⁴

We have to note that the same situation was witnessed in other regions of Ottoman Empire as well. E.g. Turks were influencing their colonization and Islamization from more advanced regions in Balkans. In order to avoid the pressure from Ottoman Empire, population of cities and regions of higher productivity were searching shelters in highlands of Greece, Serbia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, where the ruling of Ottomans were less sever and was limited to hard tribute. Local population limited their communication with administration while visiting cities in river and sea-side regions, where the process of Islamization was more obvious.

Similar isolated lifestyle caused preserving the natural agriculture and patriarchal relations and the countries where Islam was finally established (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina) managed to maintain their native culture.

¹¹ Z. Chichinadze, *Muslimani kartveloba da mati softebi sakartveloshi* (Muslim Georgians and their villages in Georgia), Tiflis 1913, p. 293.

¹² S. Putkaradze, *Chveneburebis kartuli* (Compatriots Georgian language), Batumi 1993, pp. 192, 295.

¹³ D. Bakradze, *Archaeological Journey to Guria and Ajara*, Batumi 1987, pp. 42–43.

¹⁴ N. Nikoladze, *Krebuli Newspaper*, no. 3, 1873; N. Varshanidze, E. Kakhidze, *Batumis demografiuli vitarebis imperiuli khedva XIX s-is bolo meotkhedshi da misi tanamedrove analogebi* (The imperial view on the demographic situation in Batumi in the last quarter of the 19th century and their modern analogies). Ed. M. Sioridze et al., Proceedings of the International Conference Batumi: Past and Present 2, Batumi 2012, pp. 287–292.

Russian Colonialism

All above mentioned was the reason to Russian interest in Samtskhe-Javakheti. In the first half of the 19th century the serfdom was still effective and productive lands were crucially important for the Empire. According the *Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archaeographical Commission*¹⁵ and *National Archives of Georgia*,¹⁶ in order to resettle Russians and Armenians in the region, authorities often deliberately expelled Muslim and often Christian Meskhetians from the country. Consequent to an obvious terror, local population which once consisted of 90% became minority.¹⁷

Representatives of Russian Empire had the same attitude towards seaside Ajara, which was promoted by *Muhajir's* accountability on this region. Samson Pirtskhalava noted: "Russian authorities made the same mistake in Batumi region as they did in Akhaltsikhe during rejoining the Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki¹⁸ provinces. Instead of relying on Georgian language, as the best mean of courting the attitude of Georgian Muslims, government abused Georgian language and declare locals as Ottomans and Tatars".¹⁹

Contrary to this, for clarified reasons, *Tsarism* and their servants practically never even tried to possess the agricultural lands of highland Ajara. Although unlike Samtskhe-Javakheti, seaside Ajara's climate was less attractive for colonizers due to the then agricultural interest and obstructed invaders, which finally revealed the priorities of local population.

Also have to be noted that in the 30s of the 19th century, Russia's actions were far more despotic. Softening of Empire's policy started only in the second half of the century, which is due to national activities of Georgian and other Caucasian nations and reasonably liberal relations after the abolishing the serfdom in 1861. If Ivan Paskevich²⁰ was extremely ruthless towards local population in 1829,²¹ courtesy to Georgian

¹⁵ Vol. 7, 1878, p. 775.

¹⁶ Fund 11, case 339, pp. 19–21.

¹⁷ I. Javakhishvili, *Mokhseneba sakartvelos sabchota mtavrobas* (Report to the Soviet Government of Georgia). *National Archives of Georgia*, fund 471, case 6, pp. 81–111.

¹⁸ Centre of Javakheti region.

¹⁹ S. Pirtskhalava, *Samahmadiano sakartvelo anu dzveli meskheti (Mahometian Georgia or Ancient Meskheti)*, Tiflis 1915, p. 58.

²⁰ The imperial Russian military official, who led the Caucasus front during the Russo-Turkish War in 1828–1829.

²¹ *Akty, Sobrannye Kavkazskoy arkhograficheskoy komissiey* (Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archaeographical Commission), vol. 1, Tiflis 1870, p. 765.

patriots and *Tsarism*'s reasonably weakened policy, Ajara had less controversy.²² As was mentioned above, due to Russian policy, local population in Samtskhe-Javakheti turned out to be in a minority which had its own consequences and promoted total alienation of majority of Muslim Meskhetians.

The fact that Batumi and vast majority of Ajara became part of Russia not through war but through of Berlin Treaty, actually benefited region's history. Russians had to concede and announce Batumi as *Porto Franco*. Industrial life was developed thanks to free trade and the relations between other parts of Georgia and foreign countries were expanded. Many Christian Georgians arrived in Batumi which itself promoted the revival of national spirit.

Samtskhe-Javakheti remained as the region of agriculture and therefore lacked the spirit of capitalism. Extensive migration from other parts of Georgia became noticeable only after the World War II when Muslim Meskhetians were far from the motherland.²³

Despite Russia's typical aggression, its malice was still far from late Ottoman backwardness. It is interesting the report of the Kutaisi province civil affairs department in 1891 preserved in *National Archives of Georgia*: "*measures, which needs to be taken for weakening the aspiration and loyalty to new motherland in the okrugs*²⁴ *lies under strengthening education and economic wellbeing*".²⁵

Soviet continuation

It may sound weird but the tendency was maintained and even prolonged after creating the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was nominal unit, communists could not neglect the status of Georgian language, which was ruled out from Russian Empire administration.

Larger weakening of former colonized policy was obvious.²⁶ In the 30s and 40s of the 20th century, the trend, which was founded in Demo-

²² A. Bendianiashvili, *Ruset-turketis (1877–1878 ts.ts.) omi da sakartvelo* (Russo-Turkish War in 1877–1878 and Georgia). Ed. I. Antelava et al., *Sakartvelos istoriis narkvebi* (Researches in Georgian History), vol. 5, Tbilisi 1970, p. 452.

²³ Approximately 115,000 Meskhetians were deported to Central Asia by Joseph Stalin in 1944.

²⁴ Meant administration divisions of Batumi and Artvin which were joined to Russia in 1878.

²⁵ Fund 12, case 1, p. 1060.

²⁶ E.g. unlike of 19th century, a lot more Georgians were settling down in Samtskhe, which by all means was contributed by local authorities.

cratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921), was reinforced and served for returning the national characteristics for Georgian cities.²⁷

Ajara's Autonomy issue is important part in this context. Despite the various opinions, the fact remains intact – it played very important role during extremely difficult period of Georgian history. The example of Samtskhe-Javakheti was noted, where events developed dramatically. It is true argument that autonomy does contain the elements of isolation, but without this, effortless integration with the rest of the country would even worsen the process. Vast majority of Ajarians still lacked the national consciousness even in the Soviet times. It is a fact that until 40s of the 20th century, Soviet passports had a graph which indicate nationality of Ajarian. Schools and *madradas* had huge impact of Turkish language. Moreover, at the beginning of Soviet era, there have been disputes regarding the official language for Ajara. Some believed that the priority should be granted to Turkish language.²⁸

Finally, situation has dramatically changed in the post-Soviet times and despite of some difficulties what was definitely evident before the so-called Rose Revolution in 2003 and 2004, the process of rejoining of Ajara with its motherland is inevitable.

Conclusion

To say shortly, geographical conditions, faulty infrastructure and advanced ideas appeared in the second half of the 19th century in Georgia contributed to preservation of inhabitants of Ajara within the framework of the Georgian national identity. On the other hand, in the 1830s when Samtskhe-Javakheti entered to Russia, upper intellectual strata in Georgia was in the process of formation and vast majority of population of Samtskhe-Javakheti could not maintain this identity.

²⁷ E.g. like to Tbilisi vast majority of population were not Georgians in Batumi during the *Tsarism* times. In detail, see: *Batum po odnodnevnoy perepisi 17-go Iyunya, 1890 g.* (One-day census of Batumi 17 June, 1890), p. 51.

²⁸ *Fukhara khalkhis Ikrilobis masalebi* (The First Congress of the Poor People of Ajara): Impressions, letters and full account, <http://opac.sciencelib.ge/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=21552>.

Some issues on National Identity of Georgian Muslims

The southern region of Georgia, historical Meskheta which according to tradition was primarily converted to Christianity even in the 1st century AD was occupied by Ottomans since the 16th century AD. Only the territories of present Samegrelo-Zemo Abkhazeti and Abkhazeti, approximately one third of ancient Meskheta are parts of the modern state of Georgia, having been a part of the Russian Empire since 1829 and 1878 in sequence. It is interesting to note the different results, which occurred after the entire process. The Muslim inhabitants of Samegrelo-Zemo Abkhazeti, unlike the Abkhazians, could not keep up the national consciousness and as of today it admits itself like ethnic Turks. There are some important reasons among which we should emphasize Ottoman ruling traditions and characteristics of Georgian political and cultural life in the 19th century.

The case is that Samegrelo in the middle ages was the active political player unlike Abkhazeti. It was one of the initiators of decentralization and because of this significantly the main victim of Ottoman occupation. In the 16th-19th centuries Ottomans established their governance institutions definitely in this region and Islamization, like administrative centers in the Balkans, most profoundly is noticed there. On the other hand, in the 1830s when Samegrelo-Zemo Abkhazeti entered the Russian province inhabited by eastern Georgians, the upper intellectual strata was in the process of formation. The tradition that prevented Muslims from perception of being Georgians, was still strong. Only later, in the 1870s Muslim population of Samegrelo-Zemo Abkhazeti were promulgated as Georgians by the request of Georgian society. It was late though, however such policies justified in newly joined Abkhazeti.

To say shortly, geographical conditions, faulty infrastructure and advanced ideas appeared in the second half of the 19th century in Georgia contributed to preservation of inhabitants of Abkhazeti within the framework of the Georgian national identity.

Key words: Samegrelo-Zemo Abkhazeti, Abkhazeti, Islamization, Georgian Muslims.

GEORGIAN-OSSETIAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIAN OCCUPATION

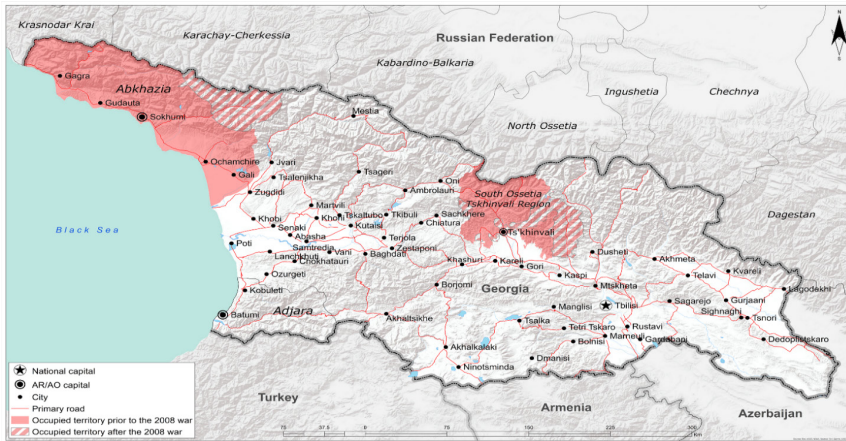
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We have been long dealing with the problem of Georgian-Ossetian relations, particularly, after the 2008 August war. In this paper, the issue will be considered in the context of Russia's creeping occupation,¹ which has radically changed traditional intercultural ties between them. As is known, their relationships has a long history; however, these relations have never been homogeneous: in different periods, at different times, hostility and friendship alternated between them; in peacetime, close social, economic and cultural ties were established. In Eastern Georgia, especially during the Soviet era, Georgian-Ossetian couples made up the majority of ethnically mixed families. Therefore, this situation largely contributed to their linguistic and cultural unity and integration.

In the 1990s, upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia entered a deep and multifaceted crisis. The country was not ready for difficult socio-economic transition processes and the restoration of independence and tried to cope with the internal and external challenges of the new reality. In addition to the economic collapse, derangement of state institutions and political instability, the State also failed to maintain its territorial integrity and avoid ethnic conflicts.

Georgia's withdrawal from the USSR following the collapse of the communist state, inflicted a substantial blow on the geostrategic interests of Russia in the South Caucasus. Consequently, as an effective tool against the development and strengthening of independent Georgia, the

¹ This paper was written within the frames of the project Life in the Villages Affected by Russia's Creeping Occupation funded by the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia (FR-18-10229).



Map 1. Georgian controlled territories before and after the 2008 war (compiled by Nika Loladze).

Kremlin authorities openly or covertly encouraged separatist movements and confrontations in Georgia's autonomous formations.

Historical issues became a powerful ideological factor fuelling separatist confrontations. In line with the political conjuncture, some scholars resorted to pseudoscientific revision of long-established provisions and factual material on Caucasian studies to defend their positions. The conceptual approaches of the apologists of the Soviet system were instantly transformed. Various «historical» versions were widely circulated: they began to rethink and reinterpret the ethnic history of the Caucasian peoples; when studying historical topics in Ossetian historiography, often conflicting conclusions were put forward, which in turn allowed the interested party to choose from the provided diverse and completely eclectic data a version that was beneficial for themselves and use it for the necessary argumentation to resolve controversial issues on the history of Ossetia. Key issues in the history of Georgian-Ossetian relations are a clear example of this: Ossetian historians are usually prone to artificial „obsolescence” of their history in the South Caucasus; they asserted that Ossetians are autochthonous in several regions of northern Georgia, and Georgians had never lived in these places. Since written sources did not allow to substantiate such a version in any way, they attempted to expand the chronological limits of their residence in the South Caucasus on the basis of material culture, in particular, archaeological material, again

through artificial “obsolescence” of their settling in the South Caucasus. Since the end of the last century, there has been an active process of creating new mythologems by Ossetian scholars.

In 1990–1992, Georgia was first involved in hostilities in the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region, and then, in 1992–1993, in Abkhazia.² After the 1990–1992 conflict, the fragile but somewhat peaceful period between Georgia and the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region (hereinafter SOAR) was marked by the restoration of economic and social ties and a certain normalization of relations.³ However, after the Russo-Georgian war in August 2008, these ties were interrupted.

Multifaceted communication between Georgians and Ossetians before the war always determined the character of their relations and attitudes. The historical experience of their confrontation or support for each other has been reflected in the ambivalent stereotypes of Georgians and Ossetians. If, on the one hand, positive stereotypes laid the foundation for positive relations between them, on the other hand, negative stereotypes strengthened the ground for their confrontation. Accentuation of the negative stereotypes served as an instrument of manipulation for certain political forces. Russia, through its flexible propaganda policy and practical actions, widened the gap between the Georgians and Ossetians. However, despite the Georgian-Ossetian armed conflict of the 1990s and its dire consequences (ethnic cleansing, expulsion, migration), the roots of traditional relations were strong enough to maintain personal ties between Georgians and Ossetians, and for a reconciliation trend to exist. This was facilitated by the fact that Georgian population of the region remained on the spot and played the role of an intermediary in the normalization of Georgian-Ossetian relations. The August 2008 war has radically changed the relations between these two peoples.

During the August war about forty Georgian villages were burned and completely destroyed. Up to 130,000 people, mostly ethnic Georgians, were evicted from their homes and subjected to ethnic cleansing; 26,000 of them, the residents of the former SOAR and adjacent territories, are still in expulsion.⁴

² N. Loladze, *Migratory Movements of Georgia's Greek Community*. Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2021, p. 52.

³ L. Janiashvili (ed.), *Rusuli saok'up'atsio p'olit'ik'a da kartul-osuri urtiertobebi shida kartlshi* (*Russian Occupation Policy and Georgian-Ossetian Relations in Shida Kartli*), Kronosi 1, Tbilisi 2020, pp. 122–129.

⁴ *Sakartvelos mtavroba, shida kartlis sakhelmts'ipo rts'munebulis administ'ratsia* (*Government*

Before the August War, Georgian government controlled 103 settlements in the former SOAR, that is, in the gorges of Didi and Patara Lia-khvi, as well as in various gorges adjacent to Tskhinvali region and in Akhlagori district. After the declaration of independence by the separatist region (August 2008), these villages ended up in the annexed territory.

Since 2009, the de facto government of the occupied region has begun to define and mark the “state border” through constructing a new border infrastructure in the occupied territories.⁵ In April 2010, a *Law on the State Border*⁶ was adopted in Tskhinvali, on the basis of which from 2011 the Ossetian side with the assistance of the border guards of Russian Federal Security Service (ФСБ), has actively continued the fragmentary process of borderization. As a result, the occupation line enclosed another 32 villages, and in total, the Georgian side lost control over 135 settlements.

The total area of the occupied territories is 3.8 thousand km², and total length of the occupation line in this direction is over 350 km; near the occupied village of Orchosani the de-facto border is about half a kilometer closer to Georgia’s East-West highway and the Kartli-2 power line; a 1.5-kilometre underground section of the Baku-Supsa oil pipeline has been brought under South Ossetian control.⁷ Intense borderization led to the division of 34 settlements, where houses and agricultural lands ended up on opposite sides of the dividing line.⁸

According to the EUMM, the physical borderization includes: “more than 60 km of security fences, 20 km of surveillance equipment, over 200 ‘Republic of South Ossetia border’ signs, 19 Russian border guard bases and four controlled crossing points”.⁹ It is noteworthy, that the number of surveillance cameras and sign boards erected on the occupation line has increased since then, however, there is no official data on the exact number today.

of Georgia, Shida Kartli State Representative-Governor’s office), <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/gwdict/index.php?a=term&d=6&t=4166>.

⁵ *Transparency International Beyond Barbed Wire: Violation of Human Rights in Georgia due to Borderization*, 2009, pp. 5–7.

⁶ *Закон РЮО о государственной границе*. Available at: <http://cominf.org/node/1166483785>

⁷ E. E l b a k i d z e, *Rusuli mtsotsavi ok’up’atsia tsiprebshi (Russian Creeping Occupation in Numbers)*, <https://factcheck.ge/ka/story/30489-rusuli-mtsotsavi-okupatsia-tsiprebshi>; M. E d w a r d s, *South Ossetia’s creeping border*, 20 July 2015. Available from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/south-ossetias-creeping-border/>.

⁸ *Amnesty International, Behind Barbed Wire: Human Rights Toll of Borderization*, 2019, p. 6.

⁹ *European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia, Situation at the Administrative Boundary Line with South Ossetia* 2019. Available at: https://eumm.eu/en/press_and_public_information/press_releases/36637/?year=2019&month=9

The official positions of Georgia and most of the international community regarding the 2008 war and the current borderization along the line of occupation differ significantly from the point of view of Russia and, accordingly, de facto South Ossetia: Georgia and the international community refer to this process as “creeping occupation” or “borderization”, but official Russia and de facto South Ossetia, regard it as a transformation of the administrative border into a strictly militarized international border.¹⁰

As a result of borderization, Georgians, as well as Ossetians living on both sides of the dividing line cannot move freely; some people do not have access to agricultural land – a source of vital agricultural activity, pastures, drinking and irrigation water; due to the demarcation line, a total of 800–1000 families have lost full or partial access to agricultural lands and forests by various criteria. People can no longer go to cemeteries and places of worship, Georgian citizens remaining in Ossetian/Russian-controlled territory cannot receive primary health care and education in their mother tongue, they cannot visit families and friends; they often have limited possibility to provide firewood for winter and trade agricultural products.

Initially the perimeter of the dividing line was not completely defined or marked, consequently, the locals could not understand where the occupation line passed and conducted their activities in prohibited areas (gathering firewood, berries or chestnuts, grazing livestock, agricultural work etc.). In addition, residents crossed the restricted areas to trade, visit relatives, receive medical and social assistance, visit cemeteries, or attend religious holidays; therefore Russian and Ossetian border guards often detained them for „illegal violation of the border”. Although today the „Security fences” are installed almost everywhere, the situation has not changed to this day. People on both sides of the occupation line, risking their own safety, still try to cross the “border” for their social, economic, cultural or moral benefits and interests; they are still being arrested, that in some cases can even be regarded as kidnapping. This situation creates constant psychological pressure on the locals and enhances the feeling of living in an unstable environment. As a result, most of the ethnic Geor-

¹⁰ P. Zakareishvili, *Khedva – k'onplikt'ebi sakartveloshi 2012–2016, (Vision – Conflicts in Georgia 2012–2016), Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Tbilisi 2021*; N. Jalabadze, *Mtsotsavi ok'up'atsia shida kartlshi da mastan dak'avshirebuli p'roblemebi (Creeping Annexation in shida kartli and the Related problems), Caucasian Ethnological Collection XX, 2020, pp. 195–212*; E. Boyle, *Borderization in Georgia: Sovereignty Materialized, Eurasia Border Review 7 (1), 2016, pp. 1–18.*

gian families who remained in the Tskhinvali-controlled part eventually fled their homes and moved to Georgian-controlled side. Paradoxical as it may seem, but the fences are in some cases, ostensibly for clarity, perceived as creating a sense of security.

With a high probability, the Russian occupation regime cannot fully control the movement through the dividing line, however, the number of people abducted and detained by border guards is still a matter of serious concern. According to official data, from 2008 to the end of 2021, 1,420 people from villages adjacent to the zone of occupation were detained for illegally crossing the “border”.¹¹

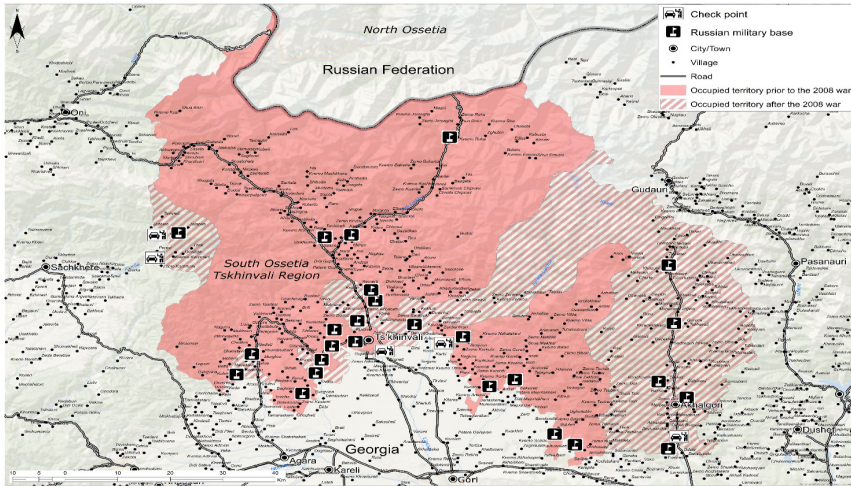
Until the autumn of 2019, by the Russian authorities and representatives of de facto South Ossetia it was allowed to cross the demarcation line with special documents (the so-called pass/propusk) at 5 border checkpoints: Ergneti, Zardiaantkari, Odzisi-Mosabruni (Razdakhan), Kardzmani and Sinaguri; Odzisi- Mosabruni crossing point was used exclusively by the Akhagori inhabitants, Kardzmani and Sinaguri were used by residents of some villages in Imereti, in particular, in the Sachkhere municipality; Through the Ergneti checkpoint mainly patients were transported to Tbilisi for medical assistance. Russian and de facto South Ossetian forces deny entry into Akhagori or the rest of the occupied region to ethnic Georgians who lived in former SOAR or Akhagori area prior to the 2008 armed conflict.¹² However, from time to time, under various pretexts, the occupation forces close the crossing points (see map 2).

The situation became especially aggravated in August 2019 in connection with the events in the village of Chorchana (Khashuri municipality), when the Georgian government constructed a police post on the territory which is under the control of the central Georgian government; the Ossetian side protested that this post was installed without their consent, and decided to close the Odzisi-Mosabruni checkpoint in response.

The tension over the incident in the village of Chorchana indicates that, despite the occupation of the former SOAR by Russia and the recognition of its independence, the territorial claims of the occupation regime have not yet been satisfied, and the demarcation-borderization process is being used to escalate the conflict. The situation became especially tense

¹¹ *Statement of the State Security Service of Georgia*. Available at: <https://ssg.gov.ge/news/656/saxelmtsifo-usafirtxoebis-samsaxuris-2021ganxadeba>; *Radio Liberty*, Borderization and the arrests along the occupation line-2021. Available at: <https://shorturl.at/koBK6>.

¹² *Amnesty International, Behind Barbed Wire: Human Rights Toll of Borderization*, 2019, p. 24.



Map 2. Former South Ossetian Autonomous Region before and after the 2008 war (compiled by Nika Loladze).

after Covid-19 was declared a pandemic in March 2020; by a unilateral decision of the occupation regime, all checkpoints were closed.

According to the periodical publication of the EU Mission in Georgia: „The southern part of the administrative border of South Ossetia crosses the most fertile and densely populated agricultural lands of Central Georgia. With this abundance of people, farms, livestock and land, the administrative border line is a constant challenge for conflict-affected population on both sides. It hinders freedom of movement; restricts efficient cultivation of agricultural lands and separates friends and families”.¹³

Along with a complex daily and political reality, this situation, raises important questions from the standpoint of anthropological and Border studies: what is the significance of the dividing line for the local population living near to it and what role does it play in the dynamics of Georgian-Ossetian traditional relations?

After 2008, former administrative border of South Ossetia, which was only a dotted line on the map, transformed into a strictly militarized physical barrier. This process unambiguously corresponds to the transformation of “thin” border into a locked international border similar to the

¹³ The European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia. *Monitor Ten Years of Continuous Presence in Georgia. A Bulletin from the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia 7*, 2018. Available at: https://eumm.eu/data/file/6486/The_EUMM_Monitor_issue_7_ENG.pdf

“big” Iron Curtain. As a result, intensive borderization is an insurmountable barrier for local population, which will lead to the longest rupture of sociocultural ties in the history of the conflict.

Since 2008, the post-war policy of Russia towards the occupied territories of Georgia and their population clearly shows that, despite the change of time, it has not changed. The similar situation can be traced in the Ukraine, regarding the recognition of the Donetsk People’s Republic and the Luhansk People’s Republic in Donbas as independent states by Russia. The current events in de facto South Ossetia are part of Russia’s expansionist plan towards Georgia, according to which the empire is trying step by step to integrate South Ossetia into the RF and regain control over the South Caucasus. Russia’s expansion into de facto South Ossetia takes place in many directions; these directions are so intertwined and interdependent that they create a unified system where the activation of one of them activates the others.

With the help of the border guards of the Federal Security Service of Russia (FSB), the Ossetian side is demarcating and expanding borders (borderization); Russia militarizes the occupied territories, establishes new military frontier bases, annually increases the military contingent and strengthens their combat weapons; often the occupation regime arrests the so-called “violators of the “border”, hence, the life of illegally detained people is violated; in a number of cases, military trainings are intensively held; demonstration of military force morally destroys the population of the villages on the Georgia-controlled side and exposes them to constant stress; the bases are staffed by Russian military personnel, who live here with their families, and their number is growing accordingly. There function Russian kindergartens and schools for their children, where the service staff is Russian-speaking; most of the Georgian schools were abolished, and the rest are gradually being transferred to Russian-language institutions; a church was built for the Russian diaspora, subordinate to the Russian Orthodox Church; the population of the region is economically dependent on the Russian market; the Roki checkpoint was abolished; due to the absence of connection with the rest of Georgia, the only way for the population of de facto South Ossetia to communicate with the rest of the world is through North; local Ossetian and Russian-language schools teach falsified history, which presents former South Ossetian Autonomous Region as historical Ossetia, and the Georgians as their enemies; Russia supports and paves the way for the youth in the occupied region to pursue higher education in Russia; the population of

the occupied region is intensively granted Russian citizenship, hence they benefit Russian pension, etc. According to experts, these circumstances have turned the entire occupied region into a political entity completely dependent on Russia.

The issue of religion became the object of manipulation by the occupation regime. During the war, most of the churches and monasteries in the former SOAR were destroyed; the war had a devastating effect on the spiritual life and religious practice of the people who remained in the occupied territories, refugees and those affected by the borderization. The once monolithic and religiously integrated society faces disintegration. The affected population has lost access to its shrines and can no longer celebrate religious holidays, the prospect of oblivion threatens joint folk celebrations and common religious practices.

The Ossetians declared Georgian cultural monuments to be Ossetian; some of the churches were repainted and some were destroyed. According to widespread information, Ossetians removed stones with Georgian inscriptions and images of Orthodox crosses from church walls.¹⁴

Due to the borderization, some historical temples of great spiritual significance for the local population ended up behind barbed wire; according to the established tradition, both Georgians and Ossetians regularly gathered in these places during religious holidays. Currently, the population remaining on the Georgian-controlled side is denied access to at least nine Georgian Orthodox churches. People can no longer visit the graves of their ancestors or shrines, they cannot celebrate church holidays. In the future, there is a danger that joint folk holidays and common religious rites will be forgotten. The right of local residents to freedom of religion and participation in cultural life is being violated, which is likely to lead to their alienation and finally destroy this traditional form of intercultural communication.

Russia's expansionist policy in the occupied territory is manifested primarily in the measures taken in relation to the education system; The occupation regime restricts ethnic Georgians living in the occupied territories from receiving education in their native language, abolishes Georgian schools, extremely reduces classes in the Georgian language and literature, Georgian-speaking students and teachers in schools are forbid-

¹⁴ N. J a l a b a d z e, 2008 ts'els tskhinvalis regionidan devnili mosakhleobis q'opis zogierti asp'ekt'i etnografiuli monatsemebis mikhedvit (Some aspects of the displaced population from the tskhinvali region in 2008 (According to ethnographic data), *Kavkasiis etnologiuri krebuli* XV, Tbilisi 2008.

den to speak their native language, and applicants are forbidden to enter universities located on territory controlled by the Georgian state, etc.

The Government of Georgia cares a lot about the medical and social protection of the borderization-affected population. Recently, the status of a high-mountain settlement was assigned to settlements adjacent to the occupation line and located at an altitude of at least 800 meters above sea level (19 settlements). For this category of the population pensions have been increased, various tax exemptions were granted to them. Medical stations were opened in the villages. The measures taken are aimed at improving their economic and social situation.

To the citizens of Georgia living in the occupied territories and having the opportunity to cross the occupation line the state provides a full package of free medical care in any medical institution in Georgia and the opportunity to join the system of social protection and benefits of Georgia; various medical programs are also available to them.¹⁵

Unfortunately, in recent times, especially due to the COVID-19 pandemic, occupation regime has isolated “its citizens” and refused medical assistance offered by the Georgian government; in some cases, such a refusal had disastrous consequences. The ban on the free movement of residents from the occupied region violates their fundamental human rights. The Tskhinvali regime creates artificial barriers for the activities of the Georgian health authorities; Misinformation propaganda messages against Georgia, association of Georgia with the threat acquired a systematic and targeted form on information platforms.¹⁶

After the August 2008 war, Russian military machine tightly controls the zone of occupation, restricts the movement of the population and, consequently, drastically changes the vector of historically established economic and cultural communications. Due to the occupation line, Georgian-Ossetian economic and socio-cultural ties, have almost ceased. A large part of the population in this region has left the places of residence and moved to Russian Federation or specially constructed settlements in Shida Kartli. The villages are almost completely empty, the ties established over centuries have been severed, traditional branches of economy have been deranged, the sources of income for many families have chan-

¹⁵ Sakartvelos sak'anonmdeblo matsne (Legislative Bulletin of Georgia) 2010.

¹⁶ M. B o k u c h a v a, “P'andemia ok'up'atsiis p'irobebshi apkhazetis da tskhinvalis regionis sainpormatsio p'lat'pormebsis gzavnilebi (Pandemic under conditions of occupation, messages of information platforms from Abkhazia and the tskhinvali region) pp. 40–41, 44–45 <http://gcsd.org.ge>

ged; this creates a systemic problem threatening the integrity of social, economic and political structure of the state.

The new reality associated with the borderization of the occupation line has caused daily danger, alienation and isolation of the population on both sides. Relations between Georgians and Ossetians have changed significantly. In their attitude towards each other, two positions – tolerance and xenophobia are clearly traced. The current situation stimulates migration, which is likely to lead to the depopulation of villages. It is clear that the situation after 2008 will cause irreversible damage to Georgian-Ossetian relations and probably exclude the possibility of starting any constructive process. On both sides of the dividing line, generations alienated from each other are growing up.

Therefore, it is important to constantly study the academic and analytical issues related to the process of borderization, and take concrete practical measures, based primarily on the daily experience of the local population.

Georgian – Ossetian Relations in the context of Russian occupation

As a result of the borderization of the dividing line by the occupation regime in the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region, 135 settlements ended up on the territory controlled by Russia; 34 villages under Georgia's jurisdiction were divided and a single community was split into two parts. Both Georgian and Ossetian populations on both sides of the occupation "border" cannot cross freely the occupation line, and their private and public property has become inaccessible to most of them. The occupation policy of Russia has led to the disruption of traditional ethno-cultural and economic ties between Georgians and Ossetians, their isolation and alienation. The current situation is causing irreversible damage to Georgian-Ossetian relations and is likely to lead to the transformation of the ethnic and state identity of the population living in the Russian-controlled part. The consequences of borderization minimize the possibility of initiating any constructive process at this stage.

Key words: Russian occupation, Georgian-Ossetian relations, borderization.

OJCIEC ARCHIMANDRYTA GRZEGORZ PERADZE¹

napisała Ilaria Bułgakow†

Polska Cerkiew Prawosławna troskliwie chroni pamięć o zacnym gruzińskim teologu, profesorze Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, męczenniku, archimandrycie Grzegorzu Peradze.

Urodził się on 13 września 1899 roku w Tyflisie (obecnie Tbilisi).² Jego ojciec Roman Peradze był dziekanem³ parafii we wsi Bakurciche niedaleko od Tbilisi.⁴ W 1918 roku młody Peradze kończy Seminarium Duchowne w Tbilisi i wstępuje na wydział filozofii⁵ uniwersytetu w Tbilisi. Ze względu na służbę wojskową nie mógł go ukończyć. W 1921 roku rozpoczął pracę nauczyciela. Wkrótce spotyka go wielka niespodzianka. Sobór Gruzjińskiej Cerkwi Prawosławnej podejmuje decyzję wysłania Peradze do Niemiec, by kontynuował naukę w tamtejszych uniwersytetach. Od 1922 do 1925 Peradze studiuje teologię na uniwersytecie w Berlinie. Słucha wykładów słynnych i znanych teologów. Poznaje język starohebrajski, arabski i syryjski. W 1925 roku przenosi się na wydział filozofii przy Bońskim Uniwersytecie. W tym też roku za pracę „Początki życia monastycznego w Gruzji” otrzymuje tytuł doktora filozofii. W ciągu dwóch lat studiuje u Bollandystów⁶ pod kierunkiem ks. Peteersa, a także na uniwersytecie w Louvain. Od 1927 roku zajmuje się pracą naukową w Anglii, w bibliotece Muzeum Brytyjskiego oraz na

¹ Artykuł ukazał się w „Biuletynie Informacyjnym Koła Teologów Prawosławnych” 1(1983), z. 2, s. 16–17. Publikację w „Pro Georgia” przygotował do druku ks. Henryk Paprocki.

² Św. Grzegorz Peradze urodził się w Bakurciche (Kachetia).

³ Ks. Romanos Peradze był proboszczem parafii w Bakurciche.

⁴ Odległość z Tbilisi do Bakurciche wynosi 105 km.

⁵ Grzegorz Peradze rozpoczął studia na wydziale filologicznym.

⁶ Jean Bolland (1596–1665) – hagiograf katolicki, jezuita. Dziełem jego życia było opracowanie żywotów świętych w pięciu tomach (*Acta Sanctorum*), w układzie odpowiadającym porządkowi roku liturgicznego, kontynuowane do 1940 roku przez wyznawców jego metody naukowej, zwanych bollandystami.

uniwersytecie w Oksfordzie. Poszukuje starych rękopisów Ojców i Nauczycieli Cerkwi. W tym też roku zostaje prywat-docentem uniwersytetu w Bonn i prowadzi wykłady z literatury starogruzińskiej i ormiańskiej. W 1931 roku zostaje mnichem. Wyświęcony na diakona, a następnie na prezbitera, służy w gruzińskiej cerkwi w Paryżu. W 1932 roku został zaproszony do Oksfordu na prowadzenie wykładów z historii Cerkwi gruzińskiej i gruzińskich Ojców Kościoła. Od tego też roku rozpoczyna się dla ojca Grzegorza nowy etap w życiu: zostaje wykładowcą prawosławnej szkoły teologicznej – Studium Teologii Prawosławnej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. W krótkim okresie ojciec Grzegorz został podniesiony do godności archimandryty. Z całej duszy i z pełnym zaangażowaniem rozpoczął pracę w nowej dziedzinie działalności cerkiewnej. Wychowany w głębokiej tradycji Cerkwi gruzińskiej, wchłonął współczesne mu odkrycia Zachodu w dziedzinie patrologii, posiadał ponadto niebywałą erudycję i szeroką kulturę ducha. Jego praca i wystąpienia napełnione były duchem Bożej mocy. Uczył studentów systematyczności w poznawaniu i studiowaniu osiągnięć Ojców Kościoła. Był zawsze gotowy do udzielenia pomocy. Ciągłe wspominał i cytował teologiczne i ascetyczne wypowiedzi Ojców. Był żarliwym mnichem i zabiegał o powstanie oraz odrodzenie monasterów na obszarze Polskiej Cerkwi Prawosławnej. Praca naukowa i modlitwa – oto życie ojca Peradze. Często lubił powtarzać słowa św. Jana Chryzostoma: „Chwała Bogu za wszystko”.

W 1936 roku spełnia się jego marzenie. Był w Ziemi Świętej. Przyciągała go do siebie, według słów samego ojca Grzegorza, „...jako Ziemia, która przeżyła najstraszniejszą tragedię ludzkości i która weszła do historii jako jedna z najpiękniejszych stron”. Interesował się zbiorami bibliotek palestyńskich. W rozmowach z patriarchą jerozolimskim Tymoteuszem ojciec Grzegorz mówił o dawnych wydarzeniach dotyczących Jerozolimy i Cerkwi gruzińskiej. Odnalazł w Palestynie monaster, które niegdyś należały do Cerkwi gruzińskiej. Odczytał tam stare gruzińskie rękopisy. Twierdził, że w Jerozolimie znajduje się grobowiec św. Tamary, królowej gruzińskiej. Po powrocie do Polski z jeszcze większym zapałem przystępuje do pracy wykładowczo-kaznodziejskiej.

Następują ciężkie lata wojny. Ojciec Grzegorz został wysłany do Auschwitz. Zginął w komorze gazowej. Wybrał śmierć dobrowolnie za wielu uwięzionych. Jednemu z więźniów udało się przeżyć. Po koszmarze obozowych przejść przybył do metropolity warszawskiego Dionizego i opowiedział o męczeńskiej śmierci ojca Grzegorza Peradze oraz pozostawił metropolicie jego krzyż kapłański.

O autorze tego wspomnienia ks. Henryk Paprocki

Iłaria Michajłowna Bułgakow urodziła się 31 marca 1892 roku w Chełmie Lubelskim w rodzinie Michaiła Iwanowicza Bułgakowa (1861–1937) i Ludmiły (1868–1962) z domu Gapanowicz. Michaił Bułgakow był wykładowcą filozofii i logiki w seminarium duchownym w Chełmie. Był rodzonym bratem Afanasija Michajłowicza Bułgakowa (1859–1907), profesora Kijowskiej Akademii Teologicznej i ojca pisarza Michaiła Bułgakowa (1891–1940).

Rodzina Bułgakowych z Chełma spędzała corocznie wakacje na dachu Afanasija Bułgakowa w Buczu pod Kijowem.

Iłaria Bułgakow po ukończeniu gimnazjum w Chełmie, w 1911 roku zamieszkała u swojej kijowskiej rodziny i rozpoczęła studia na Wyższych Kursach dla Kobiet. Wtedy zaprzyjaźniła się z Michaiłem Bułgakowem, który uwielbiał rozmowy ze swoją siostrą stryjeczną. Później Iłaria przeniosła się do Moskwy, gdzie mieszkała do 1926 roku. Po przyjeździe do Polski zamieszkała najpierw w Krzemieńcu (gdzie jej ojciec wykładał w seminarium duchownym), a następnie przeniosła się wraz z rodzicami do Chełma, udzielając lekcji gry na fortepianie. W 1944 roku uratowała Chełmską Ikonę Matki Bożej, wynosząc ją z pociągu. Po II wojnie światowej uczyła gry na fortepianie i języka rosyjskiego w szkole muzycznej im. Ignacego Paderewskiego w Chełmie.

Jak sama mówiła, ktoś polecił jej spotkanie z ojcem Grzegorzem Peradze, gdy w latach trzydziestych XX wieku przeżywała poważny kryzys z powodu braku kontaktu z rodziną mieszkającą w Związku Sowieckim oraz braku jakichkolwiek wiadomości na ich temat. Rozmowa z ojcem Peradze wpłynęła na nią bardzo silnie i uwolniła z przeżywanego kryzysu. W swojej bibliotece miała prace ojca Peradze, którego bardzo ceniła nie tylko jako naukowca, ale także jako człowieka głębokiej wiary. Sama też była osobą głębokiej wiary, wiedzy (znała biegle kilka języków) i kultury, bardzo zasłużoną dla parafii prawosławnej i swego miasta. Była jedną z nielicznych osób doskonale znających historię prawosławia na Chełmszczyźnie, gdyż jej przodkowie ze strony matki byli od pokoleń zasłużonymi duchownymi na tym terenie.

Iłaria Bułgakowa zmarła 4 grudnia 1982 roku w Chełmie i została pochowana na miejscowym cmentarzu.

Iłaria Bułgakowa jest – jak twierdzą autorzy książki *Ewangelia według Bułgakowych*⁷ – jednym z prototypów Małgorzaty w powieści Michaiła Bułgakowa „Mistrz i Małgorzata”.⁸ Poza tym imię i imię ojca jednego z bohaterów „Białej Gwardii”,⁹ Łariona Łarionowicza Surżańskiego (Łarinosik), kuzyna męża Heleny Turbiny i uciekiniera z Żytomierza, najprawdopodobniej nawiązuje do imienia Iłarii Bułgakowej (I-ŁARI-a →ŁARI-on).¹⁰ Rosyjskie imię Iłaria (Hilariona) jest pochodzenia greckiego i wywodzi się od greckiego ἡλάρως – *pogodny, radosny*.

7 Je. Barsowa-Griniewa i A. Trubieckoj, *Jewangielije ot Bułgakowych*, Moskwa 2020.

8 M. Bułgakow, *Mistrz i Małgorzata*, przeł. K. Tur, Białystok 2016.

9 M. Bułgakow, *Biała Gwardia*, przeł. I. Lewandowska i W. Dąbrowski, Warszawa 1972.

10 Je. A. Jabłokow, *Podwał mastiera. M.A. Bułgakow: poetika i kulturnyj kontiektst*, Moskwa 2018.

PRZEDMOWA
DO ROCZNIKA KOŁA TEOLOGÓW PRAWOSŁAWNYCH¹

Grzegorz Peradze

Pierwszy rok mej współpracy z naszym Kołem² się skończył. Był to ciężki rok, jak to zawsze bywa z początku. W tę współpracę Panowie Studenci włożyli bardzo dużo zamiłowania, zrozumienia i zapału. Będę się cieszył, jeżeli oni dalej będą trwali w swoim zamiłowaniu. Byłoby to najlepszą gwarancją tego, że nasza współpraca będzie dalej prosperowała i oczywiście się polepszała.

Gdy pierwszy raz dowiedziałem się o tym, że mam kierować sekcją naukową naszego Koła,³ przyszło mi wówczas na myśl stworzenie z niego proseminarium patrystycznego. Nie wystarcza mi bowiem godzin na ten tak bardzo obszerny przedmiot. Przy pierwszym zetknięciu się z panami i z Kołem zrezygnowałem od razu z tego zamiaru. Te posiedzenia dla wszystkich członków, to jest dla czterech kursów⁴ od razu, musiały dawać studentom pokarm żywszy, współczesny i ciekawszy dla nich, aniżeli zagadnienia naukowe, poruszane w audytoriach uniwersyteckich, a które czasami są dla większości i nudne, i suche. Tam jednak studenci obowiązkowo muszą przychodzić i wysłuchiwać, tu zaś oni mogą przychodzić dobrowolnie, i ja mógłbym pozostać tylko ze starostami pierwszych dwóch kursów.

¹ *Rocznik Koła Teologów Prawosławnych Uniwersytetu J. Piłsudskiego w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1938, s. 3–5. (Ukazał się tylko jeden rocznik). Tekst ten został odnaleziony przez pana Witalisa Michalczuka. Przypisy autorstwa ks. Henryka Paprockiego.

² Koło Teologów Prawosławnych (1925–1939) zrzeszało studentów Sekcji Teologii Prawosławnej UW. Miało sześć sekcji: homiletyczną, naukową, nowych religii i prądów teologicznych, abstynencją i wydawniczą. Poza tym istniało Bractwo Teologów Prawosławnych (1933–1939), zrzeszające absolwentów Studium Teologii Prawosławnej i innych uczelni teologicznych. Od 1934 r. wydawało czasopismo „Wiernik Bractwa Prawosławnych Teologów w Polsce”.

³ Św. Grzegorz został opiekunem sekcji naukowej w 1936 r.

⁴ Czyli czterech lat studiów.

Z drugiej strony Koło musi przygotowywać swych członków do lepszego zrozumienia i ujęcia zadań, które na nich w przyszłości jako na duszpasterzy czekają.

Moim zadaniem było i pozostanie nadal rozwijanie w Studentach inicjatywy. Różne kwestie, tematy i zainteresowanie tym lub innym zagadnieniem musi wychodzić z ich grona, ja zaś miałem im tylko pomagać w rozwiązywaniu wysuwanych przez nich problemów. Cieszę się bardzo, że przeważająca część tematów do referatów została przez nich samych sformułowana. Referaty te dotyczyły albo tematu obranego przez nas na cały rok, jak walka z religią w Sowietach, albo innych, jak na przykład treści i problemów poruszonych w jakimś bardzo ciekawym dziele, albo stosunków do teraźniejszych czasów rozmaitych instytucji kościelnych, jak na przykład monastycyzm, czy też w ogóle stosunek księdza prawosławnego do spraw i zagadnień społecznych. Po referatach, na których była zawsze obecna większość członków, wywiązywała się bardzo ciekawa dyskusja. Z braku czasu trzeba było czasami tę dyskusję przenieść na następne posiedzenie. Czasami dyskusje takie trwały przez kilka posiedzeń, na przykład referat pana [Wiaczesława] Fabiańskiego o zakonnikach,⁵ który zajmował nas w przeciągu trzech posiedzeń. Każdy mówił to, co go najbardziej obchodziło, i jego wypowiedzi były często tematem dla naszych dyskusji.

Studenci nasi są mało obznajomieni z literaturą filozoficzną, czy z poważną beletrystyką współczesną. Jako przyszli duszpasterze muszą znać każdy nerw serca albo umysłu ludzkiego i nic nie powinno być dla nich obcym. Muszą oni wiedzieć o tym, że istnieją inne narody, które poważnie poszukują Boga i Jego prawd. Przede wszystkim chodziło mi o to, aby pokazać im, że samo przyjście na świat w środowisku chrześcijańskim i otrzymanie chrzest, albo czasami, nawet i godności, nie oznaczają jeszcze tego, że człowiek naprawdę wewnątrznie należy do Kościoła Chrystusowego. Tę przynależność trzeba w sobie i dla siebie wywalczyć. Ta walka jest w wielu wypadkach bardzo uciążliwa. Najlepsi ludzie naszego chrześcijaństwa i naszego świętego Kościoła prawosławnego posiadają Chrystusa przez własną swoją pracę i własne wysiłki.

Staraniem moim było zawsze przyzwyczajanie Panów Studentów do myślenia logicznego, gdyż to logiczne myślenie jest pierwszym stopniem na drodze do filozofii i teologii. Poza tym bezlitośnie postępowałem

⁵ W. Fabiański, *Zakonictwo wschodnie w oświeceniu teologów protestanckich*, [w:] *Rocznik Koła Teologów Prawosławnych Uniwersytetu J. Piłsudskiego w Warszawie*, s. 35–41.

z tymi, którzy obiecując, że napiszą referat, w terminie obietnicy swej nie wykonywali i nawet uważali za zbyteczne naprzód o tym uprzedzić. Młodzieńców pozbawionych dyscypliny uważam za żywioł niedojrzały.

W referatach zawsze cieszyło mnie, jeżeli język polski był ładny, styl piękny, jeżeli w tych referatach panowała prostota, jasność, krótkie dobrze zbudowane zdania. Piękny styl świadczy zawsze o pięknej duszy samego człowieka. Kapłan musi posiadać nie tylko myślenie logiczne i znać rozmaite prądy życia duchowego swych czasów; kapłan nie powinien być jedynie człowiekiem wielkiej dyscypliny, u którego „tak” albo „nie” musi być dla wszystkich wyraźnie powiedziane, ale kapłan musi też posiadać piękną duszę, przede wszystkim piękną duszę. Powinien zawsze być lepszym od swego otoczenia, jak i Chrystus, nasz pierwszy Kapłan, górował nad swym otoczeniem.⁶

W drugim roku działalności pozostał nam ten sam temat: walka z religią w Sowietach. Jest to temat bardzo obszerny. Nie jesteśmy jednak niewolnikami tego tematu. Czasami od tego smutku musimy odpocząć, odetchnąć powietrzem, zobaczyć kwiaty, aby znów powrócić do tych wielkich cmentarzy i bólu.⁷

Do życia wewnętrznego Koła nie wtrącałem się uważając, że jest to organizacja akademicka, gdzie sami studenci muszą mieć inicjatywę, głos i wykonanie. Zawsze jednak, gdy mnie o to prosili, służyłem pomocą według moich sił. Tak pozostanie też nadal.

Na zakończenie pragnę podać dla ogółu Studentów to, co nieraz mówiłem na posiedzeniach: o konieczności zaprowadzenia co najmniej dwa razy w tygodniu godzin biblijnych. Na uniwersytetach zachodnich codziennie rano przed rozpoczęciem wykładów odbywają się takie godziny, tak u protestantów i anglikanów, jak i w uniwersytetach katolickich (na przykład w Louvain przez ojców jezuitów) czyta się i komentuje jeden czy kilka wierszy z Pisma Świętego. Teolog nigdy nie zna dostatecznie Pisma Świętego. Tę praktykę należałoby koniecznie zaprowadzić także u nas.

Uważam za swój obowiązek podziękować Jego Eminencji, ks. Metropolicie Dionizemu nie tylko za ten zaszczyt i zaufanie, które okazał mi Wysoki Opiekun naszego Koła, powierzając mi prowadzenie naukowej

⁶ Na przykład referat: L. Ł o j k o, *Ksiądz prawosławny, jego obowiązki i światopogląd*, [w:] *Rocznik Koła Teologów Prawosławnych Uniwersytetu J. Piłsudskiego w Warszawie*, s. 21–28.

⁷ Na przykład: E. Czerwiński, *Życie społeczne w Rosji Sowieckiej według utworów P. Romanowa*, [w:] *Rocznik Koła Teologów Prawosławnych Uniwersytetu J. Piłsudskiego w Warszawie*, s. 29–35.

pracy Koła, ale i za łaskawe wydrukowanie kilku skromnych prac naszego grona. W prace te Autorzy włożyli dużo serca.

Również za miły obowiązek uważam podziękować Panu Delegatowi Ministerstwa WRiOP⁸ przy internacie Państwowym, Zygmunтови Zagórowskiemu,⁹ który z daleko idącą życzliwością interesuje się naszą pracą, jak również Panom Studentom, w pierwszym rzędzie Zarządowi Koła i tym, którzy brali czynny udział na naszych czwartkowych zebraniach.

⁸ Czyli Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego.

⁹ Zygmunt Stanisław Zagórowski (1886–1944), polski nauczyciel, urzędnik oświatowy. Od 1926 do 1939 był urzędnikiem Departamentu Nauki i Szkół Wyższych MWRiOP. Zginął rozstrzelany w 1944 w czasie powstania warszawskiego.

KSIĄDZ, KTÓREGO PARAFIĄ JEST EUROPA...

Wizyta dr Grzegorza Peradze w „I. K. C”.¹

Wśród licznych gości zagranicznych, którzy przybywszy do Krakowa nie pomijają nigdy „Pałacu Prasy”,² mieliśmy dziś możliwość rozmawiania z księdzem, którego parafią jest cała Europa, mianowicie z doktorem Grzegorzem Peradze, księdzem gruzińskim, którego siedzibą jest Paryż, a który jest najwyższym duchownym gruzińskim ortodoksyjnym dla wszystkich Gruzinów zamieszkałych w Europie.

Do Warszawy przybył dr Peradze dla duchownej wizytacji kolonii gruzińskiej, wcale licznej, w stolicy naszego państwa. W Krakowie zaś zabawi kilka tygodni na studiach.

– Nie miałem pojęcia – mówi z ożywieniem płynną francuszczyzną – że w Krakowie macie takie skarby sztuki! Wawel,³ Muzeum Narodowe,⁴ Czartoryskich,⁵ Czapskich⁶... Wspaniałe zbiory! Przyjechałem do Krakowa z zamiarem pozostania dwa do trzech dni, a zostanę kilka tygodni,

¹ Wywiad ukazał się w czasopiśmie „Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny” 23(1932), z. 325 z 23. XI., s. 7.

² Pałac Prasy w Krakowie to budynek na rogu ulic Wielopole i Starowiślniej. Zbudowany został w l. 1920–1921 według projektu Tadeusza Stryjeńskiego (1849–1943) i Franciszka Mączyńskiego (1874–1947) jako dom towarowy spółki Bazar Polski SA. Był siedzibą „Ilustrowanego Kuryera Codziennego”, później różnych lokalnych redakcji; w 1992 r. wpisany do rejestru zabytków (wszystkie przypisy są autorstwa Henryka Paprockiego).

³ Zamek Królewski na Wawelu – zamek obronny i rezydencja królów w Krakowie, na Wawelu (wzgórzu na lewym brzegu Wisły), o powierzchni 7040 m² z 71 salami wystawowymi. Oddział Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu – Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki.

⁴ Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie – muzeum utworzone przez Radę Miasta Krakowa uchwałą z 1879 r., wpisane do Państwowego Rejestru Muzeów. Muzeum posiada bogaty zbiór dzieł sztuki polskiej, europejskiej i pozaeuropejskiej, co stawia je na pozycji jednej z najważniejszych i najciekawszych kolekcji nie tylko w Polsce, ale na świecie.

⁵ Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie – jedno z najstarszych muzeów w Polsce, otwarte w 1878 r. Jego początki sięgają 1801 r. i zbiorów księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej (1746–1835), przeniesionych w jej puławskim muzeum. Z końcem XIX w. zbiory przeniesiono do Krakowa. (Kraków, św. Jana 19 / Pijarska 15).

⁶ Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten–Czapskiego (także Muzeum Czapskich) – oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, mieszczący się w pałacu Czapskich przy ulicy J. Piłsudskiego 12. Pałacyk, zbudowany w 1884 r., zakupił Emeryk Hutten–Czapski (1828–1896), kiedy w 1894 r. sprowadził się do Krakowa. Kolekcję rodzina przekazała miastu 12. III. 1903 r., w 1904 r. Muzeum Czapskich stało się oddziałem Muzeum Narodowego.

gdyż waszym miastem jest wprost oczarowany!

Następnie opowiada o odkryciu, jakie poczynił w Muzeum Czar-toryskich:

– Odkrycie dla mnie, oczywiście – mówi. – Nie przypuszczałem, że w krakowskim muzeum odnajdę jedenaście cennych dokumentów gruzińskich,⁷ nad którymi będę tu pracował i które dla mnie jako dla Gruzina przedstawiają ogromną wartość. W naszej historii mamy olbrzymie luki – Turcy i Persowie poniszczyli nam całe archiwa – przez co w naszej historii całe epoki są nam nieznane. Dokumenty, znalezione w Krakowie, mają olbrzymią wartość dla Gruzji.⁸

Ks. Peradze składa słowa podziękowania ks. dr Kruszyńskiemu,⁹ prof. Kowalskiemu¹⁰ z Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, dr Gieleckiemu,¹¹ p. dr Bonieckiej¹² i gen. dr Kukielowi¹³ za jak najżyczliwsze pójście mu na rękę i ułatwienie jego poszukiwań w Krakowie.

– Wahałem się, czy tu przyjeżdżać, Kraków jest bowiem moją najmniejszą parafią. Mam tu tylko dwóch parafian, obu poruczników armii polskiej, Gigę Turaszwili,¹⁴ odznaczonego wieloma orderami za zwycię-

⁷ Ks. Grzegorz Peradze ułożył opis tych rękopisów, które przed nim były jedynie wzmiankowane w pracy: A. C a g a r e l i, *Świedienija o pamjatnikach gruzińskiej pismienności*, Sankt Petersburg 1894, I, s. XXVI-XXVII. Opis ks. Peradzego znajduje się w inwentarzu Rękopisów Biblioteki Czar-toryskich, 2, 1675–3577 (maszynopis), s. 162–163, por. K. R o s z k o, J. B r a u n, *Katalog rękopisów ormiańskich i gruzińskich*, Warszawa 1958, s. 49.

⁸ Najnowszy opis rękopisów: K. R o s z k o, J. B r a u n, *Katalog rękopisów ormiańskich i gruzińskich*, Warszawa 1958, s. 49–59.

⁹ Tadeusz Albin Kruszyński, także Pomian–Kruszyński (1884–1959), syn zoologa Stanisława Kruszyńskiego (1851–1887), ksiądz, historyk sztuki, dr teologii UJ w 1912 r., od 1925 r. docent na krakowskiej ASP i UJ, w l. 1954–1956 profesor UJ, w l. 1956–1957 profesor Akademii Teologii Katolickiej w Warszawie.

¹⁰ Tadeusz Jan Kowalski (1889–1948), polski orientalista (turkolog, arabista i iranista), profesor Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności; sekretarz generalny PAU w l. 1939–1948.

¹¹ Wojciech Gielecki (1876–1957), dr filozofii UJ, bibliotekarz, a potem kustosz w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w l. 1907–1957, zastępca profesora historii filozofii na KUL-u w roku akademickim 1921–1922.

¹² Maria Fredro-Boniecka (1891–1958) – historyk sztuki, pisarka i tłumaczka.

¹³ Marian Włodzimierz Kukiel (1885–1973), generał dywizji Polskich Sił Zbrojnych, historyk wojskowości, działacz społeczny, polityk, zastępca przewodniczącego Komitetu Ministrów dla Spraw Kraju od 8 XI 1939 r., członek Towarzystwa Historycznego we Lwowie. Pracował naukowo na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, gdzie w 1927 r. przeprowadził kolokwium habilitacyjne. W tym czasie był również dyrektorem Muzeum Czar-toryskich w Krakowie.

¹⁴ Jerzy Turaszwili (1901–1977), podchorąży gruzińskiej szkoły wojskowej, oficer artylerii, podpułkownik Wojska Polskiego. Uczestniczył w walce o niepodległość Gruzji, po wkroczeniu do Gruzji bolszewików wyemigrował do Turcji, skąd jesienią 1922 r. przybył do Polski. We wrześniu 1939 r. walczył jako dowódca baterii nad Bzurą, w bitwie pod Kutnem, Łęczycą i w Puszczy Kampinoskiej. Został bohaterem kampanii wrześniowej. Był zastępcą dowódcy 106 Dywizji Piechoty AK. Odzna-

stwa hippiczne, i Szałwę Purceladze.¹⁵ Ale cieszę się, że tu przyjechałem, znalazłem tu cenne dokumenty i poznałem piękne miasto, naprawdę piękne, bogate w zabytki sztuki i sprawdziany wybitnej przeszłości... Pokochałem Kraków i nie zapomnę jego czaru. Jest to jedno z najpiękniejszych i najmiłszych miast, jakie poznałem w Europie.¹⁶

czony Krzyżem Virtuti Militarii, Złotym Krzyżem Zasługi z Mieczami, trzykrotnie Krzyżem Walecznych. Zmarł w Krakowie i został pochowany na Cmentarzu Rakowickim, por. D. K o l b a i a, *Pod skrzydłami Rzeczypospolitej. Emigracja gruzińska w Polsce 1921–1936*, Warszawa 2015, s. 200.

¹⁵ Szałwa Purceladze (?–1936) – kapitan artylerii. Służył w pułku lekkiej artylerii w Krakowie, pochowany w wojskowej części cmentarza na Powązkach, por. D. K o l b a i a, *Pod skrzydłami Rzeczypospolitej. Emigracja gruzińska w Polsce 1921–1936*, s. 195.

¹⁶ Grzegorz Peradze po latach tak opisał swój pobyt w Krakowie: „W Warszawie pozostałem wówczas bardzo krótko. Wybrałem się bowiem do Krakowa, aby móc przestudiować znajdujące się tam w Muzeum Czartoryskich rękopisy gruzińskie. Na zaproszenie tamtejszego seminarium wschodniego miałem wykład w języku rosyjskim”, G. P e r a d z e, *W służbie kultury gruzińskiej*, [w teżej:] *Dziela zebrane*, red. H. P a p r o c k i, Warszawa 2010, I, s. 53.

REPORT FROM THE SEMINAR OF THE POLISH-GEORGIAN HISTORIANS' COMMISSION

David Kolbaia
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Conferences, sessions, meetings, membership matters

A meeting of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission were held on 22–25 November 2019, at the State University of Ivane Javakhishvili in Tbilisi, Maro Makashvili Room. The meeting was attended by: Dr David Kolbaia (Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw), Prof. Wojciech Materski (Polish Academy of Sciences), Prof. Grigol Mazur (Jagiellonian University), Dr Paweł Libera (Institute of National Remembrance), Prof. Włodzimierz Suleja (Institute of National Remembrance), Dr Otar Janelidze (National Museum in Tbilisi), Dimitri Silakadze (State Archives in Georgia) and Shorena Murusidze ('Kornel Kekelidze' National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi). The working languages of the meeting were Polish and Georgian, with Mikheil Mantidze and David Kandrewicz acting as interpreters.

The meeting of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission was opened by the Chairman of the Commission, Dr David Kolbaia. He thanked those present for coming and for their work so far, which had culminated in the publication of the first volume of the Commission's work, in English: *Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission Collected Works*, Volume I, 2019. The volume includes articles by members of the Commission and historians of merit in research on Polish-Georgian relations: the late Prof. Andrzej Woźniak and the late Prof. Marek Mądzik.

In his introduction, Dr David Kolbaia talked about the plans for the future and the new tasks that await the Commission. The Chairman emphasized that the priority is to continue the work of the Commission, prepare new articles and raise funds for the publication of the second volume of the work. Dr Kolbaia reminded the audience that the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the Polish Military and Diplomatic Mission,

led by Tytus Filipowicz, to the Caucasian countries was approaching and suggested that the second volume of the Commission's work should be devoted to this Polish diplomat. When mentioning him, Dr Kolbaia also recalled the success of the Tytus Filipowicz Award, established in 2018 by the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw, co-financed by the following universities: Gdańsk University of Technology, Poznań University of Technology, University of Łódź, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, University of Rzeszów, University of Warsaw, the Ossoliński National Institute, and the College of Eastern Europe in Wrocław. The award, established on the Centenary of both Poland and Georgia regaining their independence, aims to honour the contributions of Georgian citizens to the development of science, culture and public life, to the shaping and development of civic society in Georgia (the first award ceremony was held on 11 September 2019 at the Tbilisi State University). While returning to the question of publishing the second volume of the commission's work, Dr Kolbaia proposed to include articles on Tytus Filipowicz in the publication, and to organise a conference and an exhibition about him in the future. Dr Paweł Libera, on the other hand, suggested that the second volume should include the material already collected, while an exhibition and a conference should be devoted to Tytus Filipowicz, focusing on his entire biography rather than just his activity in the Caucasus.

Dr Kolbaia then proposed to make an application in Georgia to give the name of Sergo Kuruliszvili to one of the streets in his hometown of Sachkhere (in western Georgia) and the name of Tytus Filipowicz to a street in Tbilisi, and declared that he would prepare an appropriate application. Prof. Materski added that it would be good if such a street in Tbilisi could intersect with the Avenue of Marshal Józef Piłsudski. Dr Otar Janelidze said that the idea could be successful in Sachkhere, but it could be very difficult in Tbilisi and even if it succeeds, such a street would be chosen in the suburbs of the city. In connection with the proposal to name one of the streets in Georgia after Sergo Kuruliszvili, Dr Paweł Libera emphasized that in such case a street in Warsaw should be named after a prominent Georgian activist associated with Poland, such as Georgia's representative in Poland, Giorgi Sidamon-Eristavi. Prof. Materski suggested, on the other hand, to commemorate Ilia Chavchavadze in this way. All members of the Commission agreed with this idea. During the discussion, a proposal was made that Prof. Włodzimierz Sulea from the Institute of National Remembrance, who had supported the work of the

Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission for a long time, should be made its member. The proposal met with full approval of all members. Prof. Włodzimierz Suleja thanked for this and declared active participation in the work of the Commission, as well as support from the Institute of National Remembrance.

Dr Kolbaia suggested that the next conference should be organised on the anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Democratic Republic of Georgia. Dr Paweł Libera suggested that a series of events should rather be organised, both in Warsaw and in Tbilisi. It was provisionally agreed that the conference would take place between 26 and 28 May 2020. It was also proposed to prepare an exhibition for this occasion and to display, among others, the Tytus Filipowicz collections held at the library of the SGH Warsaw School of Economics and at the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Subsequently, Dr Paweł Libera and Dr David Kolbaia presented reports on their recent research that corresponded to the work of the Commission. At the end of the meeting, the Chairman of the Commission once again thanked everyone for their efforts so far and wished them further success in their work.

Opening of an exhibition at the Youth Palace in Tbilisi (former Viceregent Palace)

Official opening of the exhibition Saint Grigol Peradze (1899–1941) – Martyr, Scientist, Ecumenist' took place in the evening, at the Youth Palace in Tbilisi. The exhibition was opened by its author, Dr David Kolbaia and the Polish Ambassador to Georgia, Dr hab. Mariusz Maszkiewicz. Prof. Włodzimierz Suleja and Prof. Wojciech Materski each spoke, and then Dr David Kolbaia showed the audience around the exhibition.

Saturday, 23 November 2019. A visit to the National Defence Academy in Gori

On Saturday, members of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission and representatives of the Institute of National Remembrance visited the National Defence Academy in Gori. The scientific event was opened by Brigadier General Malkhaz Makaradze and by Dr David Kolbaia, the Chairman of the Commission. As part of the visit, Prof. Włodzimierz Suleja gave a lecture on Józef Piłsudski, thus promoting a book about the Polish statesman that he has authored, recently published in Georgian.

Subsequently, the promotional event of the album 'Under the Wings of the Republic of Poland. Georgian Emigration in Poland 1921–1939' by Dr David Kolbaia took place. The event was followed by the ceremonial opening of the exhibition 'Georgian Contract Officers in the Polish Army'. Brigadier General Malkhaz Makaradze and the exhibition's author, Dr David Kolbaia, acted as guides.

Visit to the State University of Gori

After the visit to the National Defence Academy in Gori, the Polish delegation visited the State University of Gori, where an official meeting with the Rector, Giorgi Sosiashvili, took place. After a ceremonial welcome by the university authorities, representatives of both sides at a round table to discuss the possibilities of cooperation. Rector Sosiashvili thanked everyone for the visit and described the cooperation with the Polish side to date (Polish language courses, the establishment of the University of Warsaw Centre at the university, the Polish-Georgian Summer School in Gori, close cooperation with the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw). He expressed interest in the achievements of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission to date and declared his will of cooperation. He informed that he himself had found certain documents in the archives concerning the repatriation of Poles from Georgia. He proposed to publish a special issue of the university journal devoted to the work of the Commission. After the meeting, Rector Sosiashvili invited the members of the Commission to the University of Warsaw Centre at his university, where a meeting was held with students who attend Polish language courses and with graduates of Polish scholarship programs. Then the entire delegation went to Marshal Józef Piłsudski Square in Gori, where a candle was lit to commemorate the outstanding Pole.

The '4th Conference of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission' combined with the conference 'Religious Repression in Communist Countries' took place at the Holy Priest-Martyr Grigol Peradze House-Museum at Bakurtsikhe (Kakheti) on 23–25 November 2019. The conference was opened by His Excellency Mariusz Maszkiewicz, the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Georgia, and Archil Khandamashvili, the Mayor of Gurjaani. The Chairmen of the Polish-Georgian Historians' Commission, Dr David Kolbaia and Prof. Włodzimierz Suleja, spoke, as did Romanoz Peradze, the nephew

of Saint Grigol. Dr David Kolbaia also officially opened the exhibition of St Grigol Peradze at the museum.

Organisers of the scientific events: Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw, Institute of National Remembrance in cooperation with the Embassy of Georgia in Poland, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Tbilisi and the Polish Institute in Tbilisi.

