

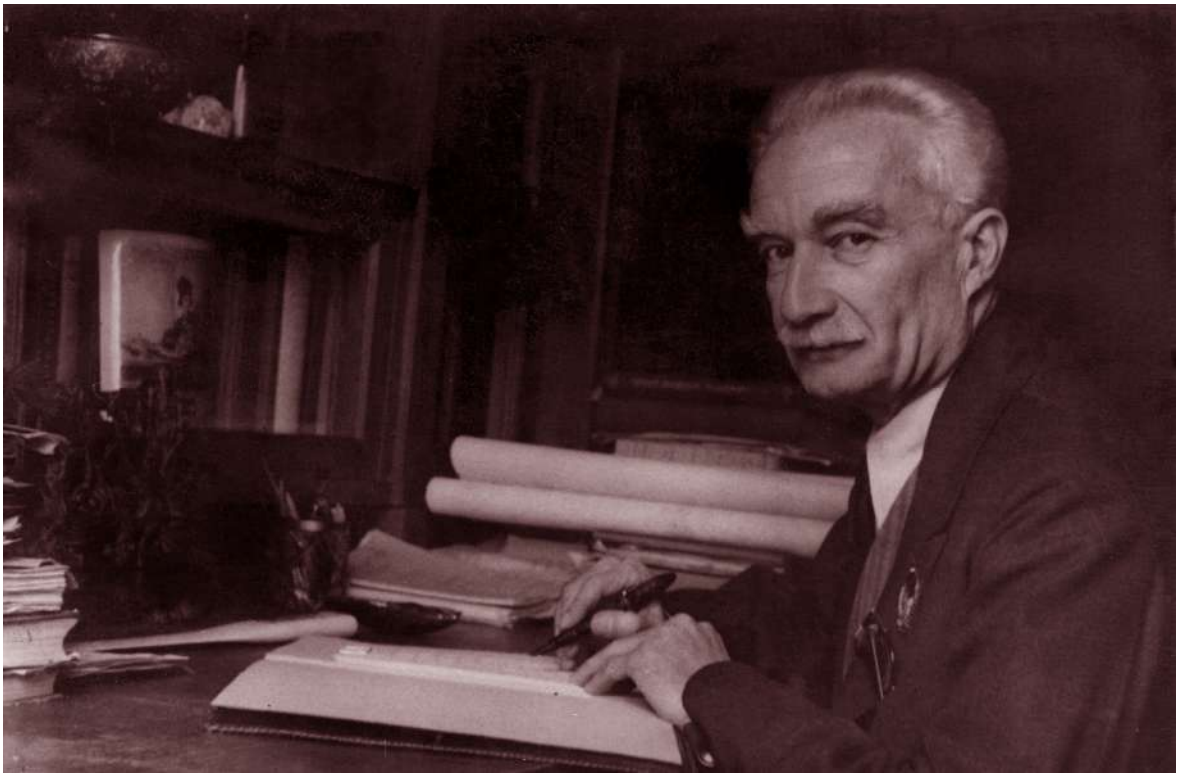
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identification of the border of Georgia after the I World War

(Ivane Javakhishvili's view)

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Introduction

Historically, one of the major concerns of any state has been the stability and solidity of its borders. This question is particularly urgent for Georgia. In the geopolitical space, where Georgian state was established and developed, one of the most difficult tasks was to protect and consolidate the borders of the country. Ivane Javakhishvili well realized the need for a thorough study of the issues of identification of the state borders. For this reason, he dedicated some of his fundamental works to this problem, was a delegate of the Peace Conference in Paris during the rimes of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (in 1919) and then, a participant of the work of the Commission to Demarcate the Borders during the times of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. However, he was not allowed to travel to Paris.

At Paris Peace Conference, many documents were presented by the states in the attempt to show the history, areas and claimed borders of their countries. In 1926, a publishing house in Stanford [California, USA] published "A catalogue of Paris Peace Conference delegation propaganda". As the publication evidences, the documents presented at the Conference could be classified as two main categories: The Propaganda Authenticated by the Delegations and the Propaganda Unauthenticated by the Delegations. Naturally, similar documents were presented by Georgia as well. The list of those documents, among other things, included the maps compiled on the ordination of Iv. Javakhishvili. Out of the documents submitted to the highest-rank meeting by Georgia, particularly worthwhile is "Paris. Peace Conference, 1919. Georgia" [Paris. Peace Conference, 1919. Georgia... Memories présenté á la Conférence de la paix (revendications politiques-frontières) suivi de l'carte de l'indépendance de la Géorgie et d'une carte. Paris Imp. M. Flinikowski] 1919. 1 p. 1., [5] - 22 p., 11. map, 27 cm. At head of title:

Délégation géorgienne á la Conférence de la paix, p. 11]. It is indisputable that this document was developed with the participation of Iv. Javakhishvili. The publication is enclosed by “The Map of Georgia” published in French by Iv. Javakhishvili. However, neither this publication, nor the documents presented at Paris Peace Conference name Iv. Javakhishvili, and this seems logical, as official documents do not show the names of their authors as a rule.

This document makes it clear that the delegation of Georgia mediated to the states attending the Conference to recognize the independence of Georgia. This issue could be solved provided the state borders of the country were put to order: *“By identifying its borders, the Government of Georgia claim only the territories, which always belonged to the Georgian people and which are vitally important for it, but not violating the vital interests of other peoples. Georgia does not demand the restoration of the borders it had during the epoch of its revitalization, and it also relinquishes the territories belonged to it by the moment of joining Russia in 1801, which have become an inseparable part of the lives of the neighboring peoples. ...The delegation of Georgia contends that the territory of Georgia must cover: Tbilisi and Kutaisi Provinces; Sokhumi, Zakatala and Batumi Regions; two regions of Olti and Ardagani west of Karsi and some parts of the Black Sea coastal region, as well as Trabzon Governorate. We present the map to the Conference with due explanations”*, - this is what we read in the report by the Democratic Government of Georgia submitted to Paris Armistice Conference on July of 1919. If we compare the pathos and aspiration of the work by Ivane Javakhishvili *“The Georgian borders historically and in present days”* to this extract, it becomes clear that they are identical. For illustration purposes, let us cite one quotation from the scientist’s work. By drawing the whole border of Georgia, the scientist gives a piece of advice at the end of his work: *“For the sake of establishing and consolidating... good neighborhood, the Georgians may resign*

their right where such a concession will not harm the self-defense of Georgia”.

It is notable that the map compiled by Ivane Javakhishvili in 1919, has survived in 3 versions known to us:

1. Map of the borders of Georgia, 1919. In Georgian. Scale: 1: 3,000,000. The black-and-white version of the map with borders drawn in red has survived.

2. Carte de la Georgie, 1919. Georgia. In French. Scale: 1: 3,000,000.

3. Carte de la Georgie, 1919. Georgia. In French. Scale: 1: 3,000,000.

All three maps, with a minor exception, have common general geographic elements – the orohydrographic network and settled areas, but this is hardly true about borders. There are several political borders drawn on the maps, which can be classified as three types: historical, contemporary and claimed. The border contours on the French maps are mostly the same.

Chapter I.

Biographical data and principal traits of scientific work of Ivane Javakhishvili



Ivane Javakhishvili was born on April 23 (11) of 1876, in Tbilisi, of the family of Alexander Javakhishvili, a teacher, and Sophio Vakhvakhishvili. He graduated from the Gymnasium in Tbilisi and in 1895 he was enrolled in the Emperor's University of Saint-Petersburg, Faculty of Oriental languages.

Being much talented, Ivane Javakhishvili gained excellent education, and on the recommendation of Nicholas Marr, was invited to the University as an employee. In 1901, he was sent to Professor Adolph von Harnack (1851-1930), a German theologian in Berlin for his professional development, who was a rector of the same university at the same time. Whilst in Berlin, on the request of Harnack, Ivane Javakhishvili translated one of the Georgian hagiographic monuments of the VI century "The Passion of Eustathius of Mtskheta" into German, which, enclosed by Harnack's Foreword, was printed at the publication of German Academy [Das Martyrium des heiligen Eustatius von Mzchetha. – Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901, Bd. 38, s. 875-902]. With the leadership and support of Ivane Javakhishvili, K. Schulze translated "The Martyrdom of Abo of Tiflis", an VIII-century original Georgian monument and enclosed a research to it, which was also published in Germany [Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der sltchristlichen

Literatur, Leipzig, 1905, Bd. 13, Heft 4. s. 2-41]. Harnack, the University Rector, asked the talented young man to stay at University to work. Ivane Javakhishvili denied this attractive proposal, as he had different plans regarding his homeland.

At the time when Ivane Javakhshvili appeared on his work arena, Georgia, which had been disintegrated as kingdoms and principedoms since the middle centuries, was a part of Russia. In the XIX century, Russia gradually took away the ancient Georgian territories from Turkey, and thereafter the Russian Empire tried to expand its territories. However, such an annexation had a certain advantage – the provinces of Georgia, which were annexed by Iran or Turkey or made as their footprints used to unite and support the national consolidation.

The Georgians never reconciled with Russia's expansionist policy and even opposed it for many times (in 1802, 1804, 1812, 1819, 1832, 1841 and 1859). The Russians stifled these oppositions of the Georgians in blood, but chose to make some concessions at the end. With much difficulty, but anyway, in the mid-XIX century, the Georgians were allowed to establish a Georgian theater, library, museum and journal "The Tsiskari". Later, from the 1860s, the Georgian society was more progressive: the number of the Georgians educated in Russia and Europe increased, new journals and newspapers were established and political groups appeared on the arena. It was owing to their efforts, the Georgian nation revived and even consolidated to a certain extent. However, Georgia, which was confined to two Russian provinces and one district, still remained a backward colony of the backward Empire.

Under such circumstances, Ivane Javakhishvili had to start his activities, and his principal merit was finding the way so much needed by his nation then.

Europe, the progressive part of the mankind, dominated over the rest of the world owing to its well-developed science, while at the end

of the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century, Georgia hardly had a couple of scientists busy with the study of the past, the language and the cultural monuments of Georgia. As for the fundamental science branches, they did not exist at all.

The Imperial government persecuted common sense and all private initiatives. Ivane Javakhishvili, after returning from Berlin, defended his Master's degree and started to deliver lectures at Petersburg University and in 1907, established a Georgian students' science circle. The circle incorporated almost all Georgian students studying science and living in Petersburg. Reports from different branches of science were delivered at the circle sessions, and most importantly, they were developed in the Georgian language. Consequently, one of the objectives of the circle was to train the staff speaking and writing Georgian. Indeed, the members of the circle became famous scientists in the future.

The members of the circle used to compile scientific bibliography, which did not exist earlier, and collected the materials to develop scientific terminology. Thus, Ivane Javakhishvili started from point zero, but with a well-considered plan and by a strong arm. Later, a special questionnaire was developed and sent to different cities and towns of Russia and Europe. The survey evidenced that if there were a university established in Georgia, it would never lack students or Georgian professors.

The First World War started in 1914 led to the Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The Revolution gave the hope to the nations annexed by the Russian Empire to start a new life. Ivane Javakhishvili returned to his homeland and started to work vigorously to establish the Georgian university in Tbilisi. On May 12, 1917, he invited the representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia and presented a thoroughly grounded report to them, saying: *"No nation or country can reach sustainable cultural growth unless it has a duly developed and perpetually successful science. Every success of a nation, even in the field of*

material culture, depends on the success and revitalization of a theoretical science” [Ivane Javakhishvili, For Georgian University, Tbilisi 2018, p. 19].

Owing to Ivane Javakhishvili’s selfless work, on December 2, 1917, the first national University in the former Russian Empire was legally established in Tbilisi and was inaugurated on January 26 (February 8 in the new style), on the Day of Commemoration of St. David the Builder.

Even after the establishment of the University, Ivane Javakhishvili worked as hard as before to help the Georgian science to develop swiftly and bring the benefit to the nation.

Today, the outcome of his selfless work is evident, and in this respect, it may be said without exaggeration that all the present success of the Georgian nation in the fields of protection and consolidation its identity, as well as of social and economic development, is primarily the merit of Georgian University! And the merit of the Georgian University is the fruit of Ivane Javakhishvili’s belief and hard work.

The nation with the original written monuments since the V century, had much to explore, while there were no relevant scientific branches developed. Therefore, Ivane Javakhishvili created a new Georgian historiography on his own. In addition, he established more than one other scientific branches, such as paleography, numismatics, archeology and diplomatics. He worked successfully in linguistics, archeology, ethnology, historical geography, economics, law, music, history of culture, etc.

Describing the history of Georgia was not a mere field of cognition for Ivane Javakhishvili. Rather, by showing the past of the country, he marked the area of future actions of the nation. According to Ivane Javakhishvili, *“A historian is obliged to study the past of some or other nation scientifically; to identify the terms and reasons a state and its societal and moral and mental development or course of success*

relied on. A scientist fairly discharging his duty to the science, will surely bring benefit to the Georgian society because any educated nation with a self-cognition must be aware of the history of its past social life, and surely, of valid and true and not exaggerated or false history” [Iv. Javakhishvili, Patriotism and Science, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, pp. 67-68].

Therefore, one can assume the duty of a Georgian figure, which, in the opinion of Ivane Javakhishvili, is as follows:

“A Georgian historian must study the past of his nation impartially and show the past of his country both, to his compatriots and foreigners in the same impartial manner, because he must know that no matter how great the merit of the nation was in the past, unless it has value in the present, its brilliant past will be useless for it: is there any nation in the world with a greater contribution to the progress of the humankind than the Egyptians or Assyrians, or perhaps the Persians lacked talents? Or, perhaps their brilliant past had no value for the world history? However, as all can see, they are piteous state at present” [Iv. Javakhishvili, Patriotism and Science, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, p. 68].

This rhetorical question is followed by Ivane Javakhishvili’s optimistic conclusion: **“Even if our past is not a bit worthwhile, isn’t it possible to hope for a brilliant cultural future if we do our utmost efforts to improve our social life? If we had some disadvantage in the past, we must reveal, not conceal it: only who realizes his disadvantages, is able to get rid of them”** [Iv. Javakhishvili, Patriotism and Science, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, p. 69].

It was not easy to solve all these issues, as the achievements in some branch of science would not be sufficient. Only through the development of various branches of science, all the above-mentioned issues could be clarified. Different branches of science had to show both, the existing foundation and the future perspectives. As a result,

it would be possible to plot the contours of the future to be built based on a set of the obtained outcomes and to facilitate the process of building as well.

This was why Ivane Javakhishvili established Georgian University.

This was why he did not wait for the development of various branches of science and started working to establish and use them in addition to history right from the outset. Below is the short summary of the scientific heritage of Ivane Javakhishvili:

Series I. Introduction to the science of history – “Goal, sources and methods of history in the past and now”:

1. Ancient Georgian historian writing.
2. Ancient Armenian historian writing.
3. Georgian paleography.
4. Georgian numismatics.
5. Georgian diplomatics.

Series II. Introduction to the history of the Georgian nation:

1. Historical-ethnological problems of Georgia, Caucasus and Near East.
2. Original nature and relationship of Georgian and Caucasian languages.
3. Cultural state of the Georgians and the Caucasian peoples in the ancient past.

Series III. History of the Georgian nation, Books 1-5.

Series IV. Branch studies:

1. History of the Georgian law;
2. Economic history of Georgia;
3. Principal issues of the history of Georgian music;
4. Georgian borders historically and in present days;
5. History of life customs, traditions and material culture.

Series V. Works dedicated to the revival of the University.

Series VI. Works dedicated to various social and scientific issues.

Series VII. Official and private correspondence.

Series VIII. Cartographic works.

In addition to being engaged in the scientific work, Ivane Javakhishvili was an active statesman. Let us name some of his merits in this connection:

1. He was the rector of the University established by him, 1919-1926.
2. In 1918-1921, he headed the Academic Committee as a member of the Government of Democratic Georgia charged with developing scientific terminology and compiling new textbooks.
3. He was a delegate of Paris Peace Conference (1919).
4. He was a deputy of the High Council of Georgia (1938-1940).
5. He was a director of the Museum for Shota Rustaveli's Epoch (1937-1940).
6. He was a Real Member of the Academy of the USSR (1939-1940).

The information on this list is a sufficient evidence of Ivane Javakhishvili's hard life. He was born and started his activities in terms of the Russian Empire, witnessed its demolition and became an active builder of newly formed Democratic Georgia, and when Georgia was re-annexed by Russia, he had to adapt to the new surroundings, but he never betrayed his creed. He always served his homeland.

In 1919, when the world was distributed among the world countries following the First World War, Ivane Javakhishvili was to be one of the Georgian delegates to Paris Peace Conference. However, this was impossible as the winning states did not grant him the visa to Europe and made him wait in vain in Istanbul for several months. Whilst in

Istanbul, he wrote his book “The Georgian borders historically and in present days”, which was published in Tbilisi in the same year. Together with the book, Ivane Javakhishvili compiled the relevant map, too.

The then-time government of Georgia needed Ivane Javakhishvili to attend the conference as a historian and expert of the borders of Georgia. Consequently, this monograph serves a double purpose, which is seen from the work title as well: is the consideration of the borders of Georgia historically on the one hand and according to the contemporary political processes on the other hand. Ivane Javakhishvili comments about this issue himself: “***When identifying the final contours of the Georgian borders, the Georgian nation and government can be guided by the principle of the statehood only... Any state needs the means of defense against foreign invaders and peaceful civil life for its people in order to exist***” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Georgian borders historically and in present days, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, p. 495].

Ivane Javakhishvili sees the principle of statehood as a complex of various factors: “***The monograph below considers only the close borders of Georgia formed due to the historical and state political, as well as geographical and economic conditions***” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Georgian borders historically and in present days, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, p. 459].

Ivane Javakhishvili drew only the area, in which the Georgian nation was formed and created its life and culture. In other words, Ivane Javakhishvili tells us and draws the area, **in which** the Georgian nation **established itself**, in his view.

For Ivane Javakhishvili, the economic activities, legal-political culture and other aspects of the Georgian nation are not some abstract topics, but integral parts of a single organic whole. Therefore,

both, the scale and essence of the goal Ivane Javakhishvili set at his early age can be seen in this respect: **improving the present and caring of the future based on the past experience**. If recalling his other works regarding the same context, we will see how he understands the history: **arriving at the most generalized regularities by exploring individual details**. The main thing for him was not to identify the date of decease of King Tamar of Georgia (the XII-XIII cc.) or how the Georgians dressed in the past, or how they sowed panic grass or cotton in Georgia, but the essence of the basics of the establishment and development of **the Georgian state** - the union of **the Georgian nation** and institute – formed through the economic factors and military-political and cultural-ideological aspects based on the existing surroundings.

He wrote: ***“As far back as eleven years ago, as I noted in my historical-economic review of the borders of Georgia, the land of Georgia “is a single unity bordered with natural barriers (mountains and rivers) inter alia, and as the area covering the basins of the rivers Mtkvari, Chorokhi and Rioni, is closely united both, geographically and economically”*** [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 335].

Before making this citation, he accomplished a special study and published the agro-botanical description of Georgia in approximately 200 pages. ***“On this basis”***, - as the scientist states, - ***“now, following the detailed and general descriptions of the agricultural and economic areas of the land of Georgia, we can identify the importance of the agricultural and economic factors for the statehood of our country more thoroughly and essentially than before”*** [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 335]. These words are not only about the definition of the statehood of Georgia, but they also accent that the statehood is not the phenomenon

restricted to the legal-political framework only. Statehood implies the field of economic activities as well. To be more exact, there is no statehood without such activities.

These lines were written in 1930 when Georgia was a part of so called USSR and its statehood was a fiction. However, even this fiction allowed him to write so, as every figure is obliged to look at the future.

As the studies of Ivane Javakhishvili suggest, the territory of Georgia mostly spreads in the basins of three rivers: Mtkvari, Chorokhi and Rioni. The natural conditions in the area are highly diversified, with great differences. Therefore, the diversified agro-botanical environment in our country is based on these natural conditions. Consequently, the life of the Georgians in this region is rich and diverse. Despite such differences and diversification, the Georgians are one nation and Georgia is one cultural and political body.

“It is sufficient for a man to read the above-mentioned review of the areas and look at the enclosed map to make sure that pomelo-and-bitter orange and rice-and-cotton areas are found only in the extreme eastern and western parts of Georgia. As for the other territory of Georgia, it is occupied by two large areas of Vineyard-and-Fruity and non-Vineyard-or-Fruity areas. Besides, it is typical that the Vineyard-and-Fruity area is found in the middle, first, with non-Vineyard and then, non-Vineyard-or-Fruity and Alpine pastures found on both sides of it, north and south of it. The latter areas: non-Vineyard-or-Fruity area and Alpine pastures much exceed the Vineyard-or-Fruity area with their areas.

The non-Vineyard-or-Fruity area, due to the natural conditions, was used to grow wheat crops and vegetables on the one hand and due to vast and rich summer pastures, it was also used for extensive cattle-breeding. It should be noted that the bulk of large summer pastures is seen mostly in South Georgia. As for

the summer pastures in the northern part of the country, due to the lack of land and vast plains within its borders, they were less important in the past and now” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 335].

This is the conclusion made based on the factual analysis allowing the scientist to further extend his judgment.

It is known that Ivane Javakhishvili published his Book I of the “History of the Georgian Nation” in 1908. Since then, it was published twice, in 1913 and 1928, revised and completed. The three publications show so many differences that each of them is virtually, a new work. In his first version, the scientist developed an idea suggesting that the ancestors of the Georgian nation lived more south than today and moved to the present territory of Georgia later. In his next publications, the author shortcut and mitigated this idea to a certain extent, but did not abandon it what is evidenced by Volume I of “The Economic History of Georgia” printed in 1930 where we read: ***“The Georgian tribes moving from their original homeland to Transcaucasia brought with them the culture of quality land cultivation and intense cattle-breeding: the tribes of Tubals and Mosohs were renown for wine-making and cattle-breeding, like the Qaskis and Kolkhis. In the Transcaucasia, they found absolutely different conditions in respect of soil and water and nature in general: surprising contracts of mountains and plains, near location of the cold and warm areas and many other circumstances after the homogenous land in their previous homeland must have been much perceptible for the newly arrived Georgians***” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 336].

The scientist thoroughly described the conditions the newly arrived Georgians found in the Transcaucasia, and we also cited his words above. Now, it is interesting to learn how such differences influenced

the nation. Ivane Javakhishvili did not write about it, but his extensive judgment clearly suggested that the Georgian tribes (Tubals, Mosohs and Kolkhis) having found themselves in such different natural conditions adapted themselves easily on the territories occupied by them and the different conditions did not cause their disintegration or isolation, but on the contrary, supported their consolidation.

“Owing to such different agricultural and botanical areas, the communities did not and could not have everything needed by their members. The dwellers of the mountainous areas could not have their own wine or fruit, while the lowlanders must have envied the highlanders for the bulk of wheat and vegetables” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 336].

The resultant conclusion would be:

“Thus, the lowlanders and highlanders needed one another: they could not live without one another. Owing to such natural conditions, the central part of Georgia, the lowland, was economically linked to the northern and southern communities and vice versa, the mountains were closely linked to the lowland. Due to the geographical conditions, all the roads of the mountainous communities of Georgia, both, the communication and trading ones, ran to the lowland in the central part of the country” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 336].

By the way, this circumstance was further confirmed by later ethnological studies. If Ivane Javakhishvili saw the whole territory of Georgia as mountains and lowlands, the further studies confirmed there was a transient zone between the two, the plateau, bringing together the interests of the mountains and lowlands. Such interests were a necessary condition for the mutual cooperation. Ivane Javakhishvili expressed this idea as follows: **“Thus, the lowlandders and highlanders needed one another: they could not live without**

one another” [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Economic History of Georgia, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 4, Tbilisi, 1996, p. 336].

Academician Giorgi Chitaia, the disciple of Ivane Javakhishvili and founder of Georgian ethnological school, summarized this topic as follows: **“A plateau, the transition zone, historically played the role of a mediator between the plains and the mountains. It is typical that large settled areas of a lowland type were common in this zone, where the commodities from both, the mountains and the plains appeared side by side at the fair. Such settlements follow all the territory of Georgia from east to west as a chain (Lagodekhi, Kvareli, Telavi, Akhmeta, Tianeti, Zhinvali, Tsilkani, Mukhrani, Akhagori, Kvemo Chala, Mejvriskhevi, Tskhinvali, Oni, Ambrolauri, Tsageri, Gordi, Tsalenjukha, Jvari, Bedia, Duripshi and others)”** [G. Chitaia, Introduction, See Historical-Ethnographic Atlas of Georgia, 1980, p. 5].

The fact of the different corners of Georgia being closely linked to one another was true even during the hard times of Georgia. In this connection, Ivane Javakhishvili cites the following example in his book about the borders of Georgia: **“Even in the XVIII century, when Meskheti, as Akhaltsikhe pashalik, belonged to the Ottoman Empire and was politically isolated from Georgia, all Meskheti, particularly Javakheti and Samtskhe, had close economic relations with Georgia and people from these regions took their agricultural produce and victuals, and bread particularly, to Tiflis and Gori to sell”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 52].

This factor is effective to date and this is why, the occupants make barbed wires along the bordering lines of the occupied territories to cut the links between the peoples and prevent them from satisfying their economic needs, as for sure, such a link would become the basis for their consolidation! And this link, despite the ethnic changes, has been established as a result of the geographical conditions.

Following such an analysis, Ivane Javakhishvili makes a logical and laconic conclusion based on the consolidation and establishment of the Georgian state: **“Under the impact of these geo-botanical and economic factors and based on the tribal relationship of the Georgians, Meskhети and Kartli in the first instance, as the arena of the river Mtkvari basin and areas harmonically filling the gaps in the supply between the mountains and the lowland, were formed as one state body and became one kingdom, and only then did the west and east Georgia unite”** [Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. IV, 1996, The Economic History of Georgia, p. 337].

We think that even this brief review is a clear evidence that Ivane Javakhishvili, by considering the association of the natural conditions with the historical process, drew a certain area and showed the boundaries to which the homeland of the Georgians was confined; he showed that the Georgian nation was established within these boundaries; worked and struggled within these boundaries; must live and act within these boundaries in the future; and must live in good neighborhood with its neighbors beyond these boundaries.

The scientist underlined that if it is possible to cede some territory to our neighbor without any harm to our statehood, we must cede it. **“For the sake of establishing and consolidating such brotherhood and good neighborhood, Georgia can resign its right where such a concession will not harm the self-defense of Georgia”** [Iv. Javakhishvili, The Georgian borders historically and in present days, See Iv. Javakhishvili, Work in 12 volumes, vol. 12, Tbilisi, 1998, p. 497].

Chapter II.

From the History of Georgian Cartography (XVIII-XX cc.)

2.1. Maps created by Vakhushi Bagrationi

A great contribution to the development of the geographical and cartographic sciences of Georgia was made by **Vakhushti Bagrationi** (1696-1757), a Georgian historian, geographer and cartographer. None of the works survived to present depicts the territory of Georgia and its adjacent present-day or historical territories in the same thorough manner as the work by Vakhushti Bagrationi „Description of the Kingdom of Kartli“. None of the maps depicts these territories in the same thorough and accurate manner as the atlases compiled by Vakhushti.

The first atlas by Vakhushti is dated by 1735 and consists of 8 hand-written maps. The maps must have been drafted in different projections. At present, there are 4.5 pages survived, and they are preserved at the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts [Fund # 2079]. Another atlas is dated by 1745 and consists of 19 maps and 2 generation tables (Figure 2.1). The maps are designed in a conic projection, and the Pero meridian is taken as a reference direction. The third atlas consists of 9 maps of Georgia and 2 maps of the Caucasus.

The maps by Vakhushti Bagrationi are the first large-scale maps showing the territory of Georgia, which played a very important role in the geographical and historical study of Georgia and Caucasus for almost 100 years. The Atlases by Vakhushti have never been published, but have survived to our times as originals.

Vakhushti used a number of literary and cartographic sources to design the atlases of Georgia. Vakhishti himself wrote that maps existed even earlier, „as we drew the charts or maps of Georgia and

Iveria, which were either few in numbers, or incomplete, and we drafted full versions as they were much needed to duly describe the geography of the country (the same as the drawing the country)“ [Gabashvili, 1946].

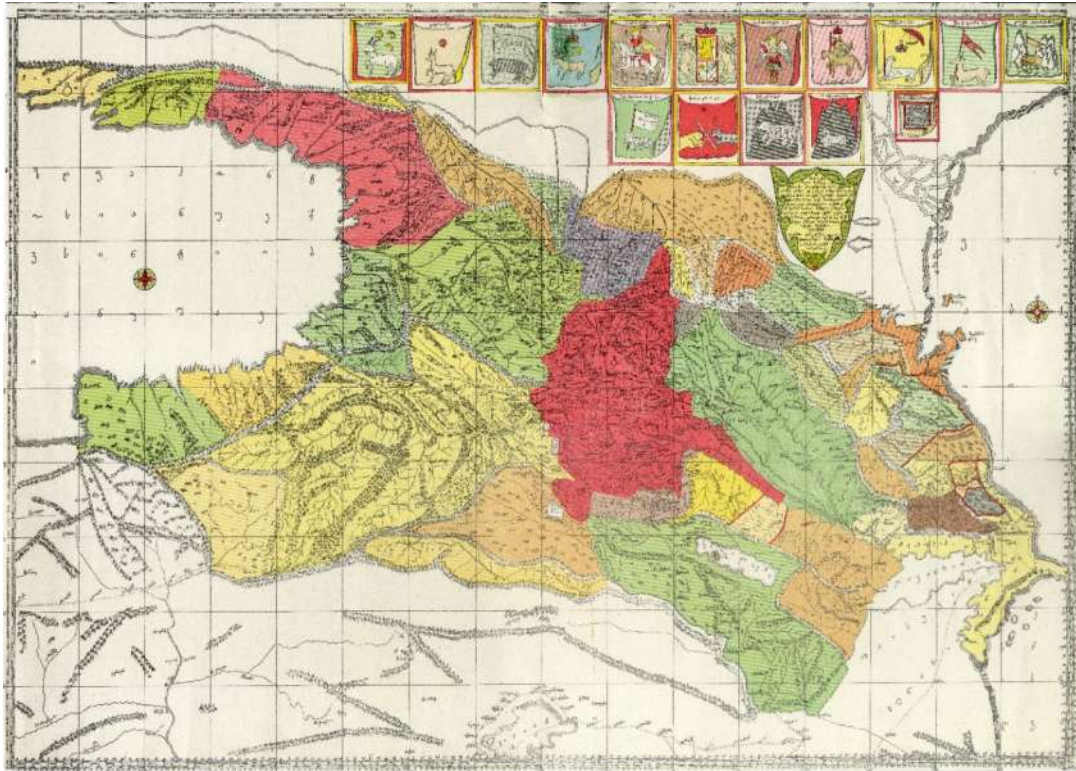


Figure 2.1. *The Map of Georgia from the Atlas of Vakhusti Bagrationi (In Georgian)*

For one century, the works by Vakhushti became the major source of the geographic and cartographic knowledge of the country for the West-European scholars, who wrote essays and compiled the maps of the Caucasus. The situation was the same before the Russian military topographers started to work in the Caucasus. The reason for this was the high accuracy of Vakhushti's maps [Matureli, 1990. p. 90]. The interest in his work was so keen that some fragments of his map were printed at the same time: the map of Kartli and plan of Tbilisi were printed in France in 1747 and other parts of the map were printed in Paris in 1766. Famous European cartographers developed

their cartographic works based on Vakhushti's maps. Sergi Tskhakaia, a Georgian cartographer wrote: "***For almost 100 years (approximately in 1740-1830), the maps of Caucasus both, in Russia and West Europe, were drafted exclusively based on Vakhushti's maps, and the maps of the second atlas by Vakhushti were used for this purpose***" [Matureli, 1990].

As mentioned above, the European cartographers of that time mainly relied on the Atlases by Vakhushti when compiling the maps of the Caucasus. The "Map of Georgia and countries between the Black and the Caspian Seas" (*Carte de la Georgie et des Pays Situes Entre de la Mer Noire et la Mer Caspienne*) compiled by Joseph Delisle in 1766 also relies on Vakhushti's cartographic sources. The scientific literature incorporated a common opinion suggesting that this map compiled based on the maps by Vakhushti Bagrationi was the first accurate map of South Caucasus [Matureli, 1990]. An absolutely different and fair opinion was expressed by I. Matureli suggesting that the map compiled by J. Delisle is a French copy of map #1 of the Atlas compiled by Vakhushti Bagrationi in 1935 [Matureli, 1990. p, 91-92]. Consequently, the first detailed map of South Caucasus must be fairly attributed to Vakhushti Bagrationi.

2.2. Maps created by foreigners - XIX c. and the beginning of XX c. in Georgia

The cartographic work in Georgian in the XIX century was restricted to the geodetic survey of the territories and compiling topographic maps. Compiling thematic maps was more limited following a number of circumstances, mainly political situation and contemporary technical possibilities of chart making. Since 1818, under the decree of the government of the Russian Empire (with Georgia being a part of it), the cartographic work from the Academy

of Sciences was totally handed down to the military agency [Tskhakaia, 1946. p.178]. It is clear that such a decision was dictated by the military goals in the first instance. Logically, the territorial claims to different countries created the prospects for wars to outburst, and the Russian government tried to compile the accurate maps of its possessions, including the recently annexed peripheral countries.

In 1812-1919, the cartography in whole Russia and Georgia was managed by the military topographic corps. Therefore, all cartographic products of that period were made in a strict compliance with the instructions of the geodetic and cartographic schools of Russia. Following an almost 100-year-long work, this corps compiled different-scale maps of different areas of Georgia, in particular, 5-Verst (58 pages for Caucasus), 10-Verst (177 pages for European Russia and Caucasus), 40-Verst (39 pages for Asian Russia), 100-Verst (8 pages for Asian Russia) maps, etc [Tskhakaia, 1946. p.179].

Thus, in the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century, the surveys and map drawing of Caucasus, including the territory of Georgia, was mostly done by Russian, German and French military topographers and geodesists. The map was compiled by using a number of sources available in that period. The most important source was the materials of topographic surveys held by the military topographic corps and other agencies.

In addition to the military agency, other state agencies/societies were also busy with the cartographic work: Caucasus Department of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society (КОИРГО), Geological Committee, Mining Agency, Boundary Department in the Caucasus and others.

The territorial surveys and topographic maps were based on various sources:

- Topographic maps and topographic surveys for the provinces where they were available,

- Reconnaissance materials and other cartographic sources for the provinces without topographic survey materials,
- New boundary maps of the territories of Persia and Turkey for the territories of Turkey and Persia,
- Data of the Central Statistics Committee to identify the number of yards,
- Geographical dictionary and other materials of the Geographical Society,
- The materials available at other agencies.

These maps show quite vast areas with a high accuracy. They show almost all settled areas, even those with 3 to 5 homesteads, as well as rivers, streams, springs and lakes, cult buildings (churches, temples and mosques), plants, factories and other large and important buildings and premises. The relief is shown with lines depicting ridges, hills, hollows and plains. The map also shows all railway lines, highways, postal roads, as well as ground and rural roads.

The maps were done by engraving the copper plates using 4 different colors: black was used to draw contours and to write names, brown was used for the relief, green was used to depict forest massifs and blue was for watercourses. Black and brown colors were engraved on copper, while green and blue were painted on stone.

The territories on the maps of the XIX century and sometimes, in the first quarter of the XIX century, are so accurate that they have an utmost importance for different branch specialists: geographers, historians, political scientists, demographers and others. Besides, the information about the names of various geographical objects (oikonyms, oronyms, hydronyms, etc.) is extremely valuable. Many objects plotted on the map have survived to date in their original forms; however, many of them are only the sites of ancient settlements or churches, with their names survived only in the narrative sources, and

with the locations of some of them being unknown and needing identification.

As already mentioned, in that period, the thematic maps were compiled in few numbers, and they mostly served the purpose of describing the political, ethnological and economic situation. In particular, the maps showing the changing borders, ore deposits and phylloxera distribution areas as well as geological and other maps were compiled in that period [The Map of the Caucasus Oblast with the Indication of Borders of 1801-1813; E. Кондратенко, 1886; The Map of vineyard, 1893; etc.].

Despite the rich traditions of cartographic science in Georgia, virtually no Georgian-language maps were compiled in this period. Georgian cartographic school seemed to keep silence for some time. Despite the rich traditions of cartographic science in Georgia, virtually no Georgian-language maps were compiled in this period. The Georgian cartographic school seemed to keep silence for some time. The battle for the world redistribution at the beginning of the XX century and its outcomes was a kind of stimulus to create new cartographic production and make them more thorough and accurate. Therefore, this process started in many western countries, but had a minor impact on Georgia. Due to the grave political and social-economic situation, Georgia was still unable to create any valuable cartographic products. In the 1910s maps of Georgia were created: "The map of the Republic of Georgia" [Gachechiladze, Tugulov, 1918] and "Georgia and its bordering states" [Gachechiladze, Dzagania, 1920].

However, these maps were not large-scale and based on older cartographic sources, showed only the changes of the political borders.

2.3. Maps created at the beginning of „Sovetization“ of Georgia

The Geodetic Department established as early as in 1919, later named as the Department of Geodesy and Cartography, played a great role in the further development of cartography in Georgia. At the initiative of this department, many maps were compiled, and they started to compile large-scale maps in the attempt to meet the demands of different organizations at first, and the maps of small areas were also compiled.

The appearance of Georgian geodesists, topographers and cartographers on the scientific arena in the first half of the XX century was very important.

- Administrative-geographical map of Svaneti [Gabliani, Baramidze, 1925].
- Administrative map of Tbilisi district [Ingorokva, Baramidze, 1927];
- etc.

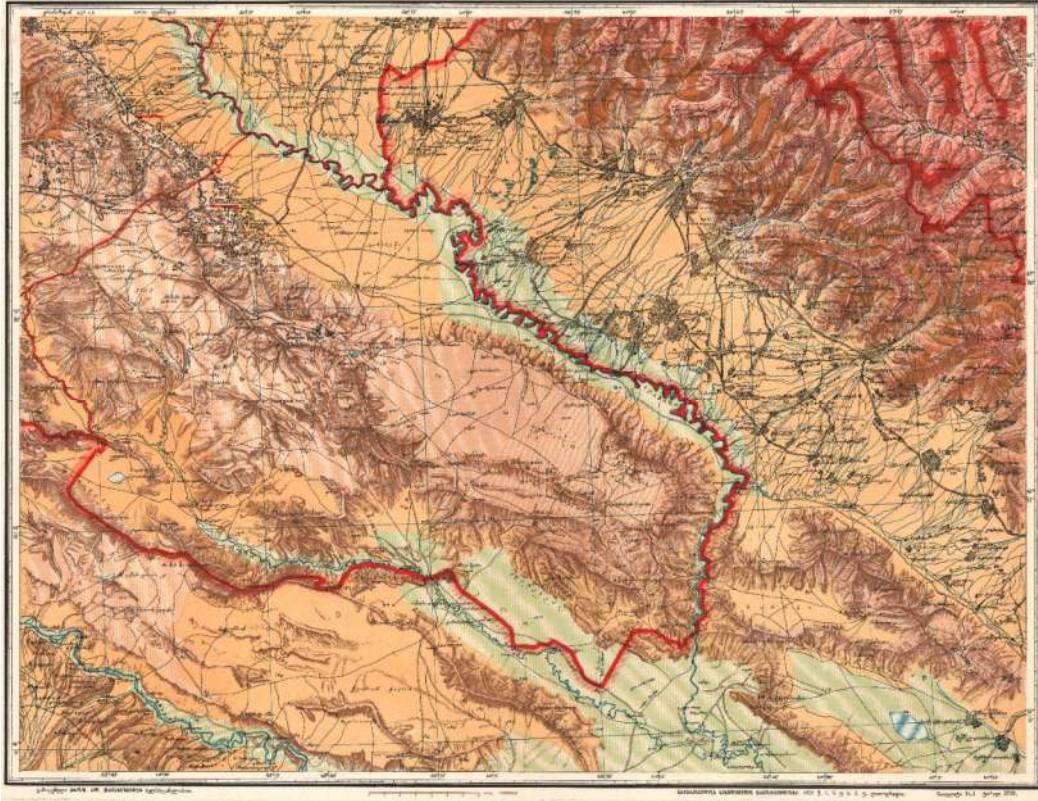
These maps compiled for the whole territory of Georgia are small-scaled making it impossible to plot small geographical objects on them, even the rural settlements. As for the large-scale maps designed for different corners of Georgia, they fail to give the imagination of the whole territory of the country.

This was followed by an intense development of the fields of triangulation, precise leveling and topographic survey making the topographic-geodetic works more regular. In addition, the maps compiled on the basis of aerial surveys were published [Tskhakaia, 1946. p. 182]. Such organizations were also involved in the chart-making process, as hydrological, geological and hydrometeorological departments, as well as land management and power engineering institutions and other bodies. It may be said that in that period, the economic cartography started to develop in a special manner.

A new wave of the publication of large-scale Georgian maps of the territory of Georgia occurred in the 1930s. In this period, the maps of high cartographic accuracy published under the authorship and editorship of **Alexandre Javakhishvili** (1875-1973), (scaled 1:400,000 and 1:200,000), are worth mentioning.

Some outstanding maps among the ones compiled by Al. Javakhishvili are two general geographic maps of Georgia published in 1931-1932 [Javakhishvili, Tskhakaia, 1931-1932]. Virtually, the two are the same map, with one of them using the colored relief as the general geographical basis, while in another map it is not the relief colored, but forest cover (Figure 2.7). Both maps contain great many pieces of interesting information about the past of the country in respect of the scales of both, the physical-geographic and social-economic as well as anthropogenic transformation of the territory of the country [Nikolaishvili, Gaprindashvili, et. al., 2016]. In the 1930s and later, many other different-scale general geographic and thematic maps were created – the scientific, academic and reference ones, being a strong stimulus for the further development of cartography. The methods of map compilation improved and in “Atlas of the Georgia” was compiled [1964]. The Atlas incorporates over 170 different-scale maps. It is a scientific-reference cartographic work summarizing the achievements of geographic and allied sciences in the field of scientific research of the natural conditions of the territory of Georgia and social-economic development of Georgia. The staff compiling the Atlas in 1971 was awarded with a State Prize of Georgia [Geography in different centuries, 2015].

Two Georgian geographers - Al. Javakhishvili and S. Tskhakaia made a valuable contribution to the development of cartography in Georgia. But this is the story mainly of the 1930s. What happened before that?



*Figure 2.2. The Fragment from the Map of Georgia
by Alexandre Javakhishvili (In Georgian)*

2.6. The Maps created by Ivane Javakhishvili

The 1920s were an important period in the history of Georgia, when country went through the severe political hardships – the I World War, gaining one’s independence and Sovietization. All these made the question of identifying the borders and historical territory of the country as one of the major challenges. It may be said that the fate of Georgia depended on the solution of this issue. This is why it was so important to create the real picture of the Georgian history with scientifically proved arguments and facts. Who, if not great Ivane, could describe the history of the Georgian nation based on the documents tarnished in the hardships of the time and survived at the

depositories so orderly and thoroughly? However, even this job was not sufficient.

It was necessary to create the clear picture showing the historical arena of the Georgians. „***Before continuing with the history of Georgia, we must take the land and population of the country into account, where the Georgian nation lived and worked... A man wishing to describe the importance of the past stories and course of the development of the Georgians' life, must have studied the geography of Georgia of the epoch in question***“ [Javakhishvili, 1983]. The writer's citation „*the land and population of the country... where the Georgian nation lived...*“ makes it clear right from the outset that the scientist gave a great importance to the consideration of the „land“. This, on its turn, is particularly visible and clear if presented on a map.

Ivane Javakhishvili had to work in the period when virtually there were no Georgian maps of the whole territory of Georgia. Even in this direction, he charged himself with the great initiation and left an indelible trace.

Here, too, he was ahead of his time...

Even in the 1920s, no average- or large-scale general-geographic Georgian maps showing the territory of Georgia as a unity were compiled, while this was urgently necessary, as the new world redistribution resulting in significant territorial changes, made it extremely necessary to depict the Caucasus and state borders of Georgia on the maps. Therefore, the compilation of the “Map of Georgian Republic” scaled 1:420,000 **in 1922** at the initiative of Ivane Javakhishvili was extremely important [Javakhishvili, 1922]. The map has 4 pages (the total metric sizes of the map are: 129 x 99 cm).

The political-administrative borders plotted on the map depict the reality of 1922 what is proved by the following circumstances: (1) the map shows the borders of the Autonomous Republic of South Osetia

what could not be the case before 1922. As it is known, this autonomous unit was created by the efforts of the Bolshevik government of Russia and Georgia on April 20, 1922, (2) Zakatala region (Saingilo), which was a part of democratic Georgia in 1918-1921, is not given as a unit of its own on the map. This region isolated from the homeland following the Sovietization is shown within the borders of the Georgian Republic on this map Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3. *The Map of Republic of Georgia by Ivane Javakhishvili, 1922
(In Georgian)*

The map has a coordinate grid, with the Pulkovo meridian as a prime meridian to count longitudes, i.e. in the manner as it was accepted between the Russian Empire and Georgia until the beginning of the XX century, before the Greenwich meridian was adopted as a prime meridian. As a rule, average-scale maps are compiled based on the large-scale maps by using different additional

data, including statistical and geographical data. As for the map of the Republic of Georgia, it must have been based on the earlier large-scale Russian Verst maps. We think that the major source used to compile the Map was the pages of so called 5-Verst map of the Caucasus, which were compiled in the second half of the XIX century. This is also evidenced by the maps preserved in the personal archives of Ivane Javakhishvili (kept at the Georgian National Center of Manuscripts) and scientist's inscriptions on them. The comparison of the maps made it clear that many incorrect toponyms used on the Russian maps were given by old Georgian names and transcriptions on this map.

There is one important fact differentiating this map from all other survey-topographic maps, which usually had the plains, i.e. the areas up to 200 m above sea level marked in green: on the given map Ivane Javakhishvili used green color to depict the forests making the map resemble the large-scale topographic maps.

The contours of the state borders on the map are particularly worthwhile. There are old and new borders of the Republic of Georgia shown on it. It is clear that the new borders show the situation in 1922. They mostly coincide with the present-day state borders of Georgia. Therefore, they depict the political reality of Georgia at that time, i.e. following the Sovietization, and are based on the international agreements regarding the demarcation of the state borders between Georgia and its neighboring countries. As for the old borders of the Georgian Republic, the map legend does not give any information about the exact period of the borders. However, it is undisputable that the old borders show the position of Georgia before 1921, i.e. before the Sovietization. The old borders of Georgia embrace Shavsheti, Potskhovi, Erusheti, Artani, Lore, Karaia, Zakatala and other areas.

One of the most important maps compiled by the ordinance of Ivane Javakhishvili is a "Historical Map of Georgia" dated by 1923

(Figure 2.4). The scale of the map is 1:420,000 [Javakhishvili, 1923]. This map is noteworthy in a number of respects: it was published almost one century ago, and many things have been changed or further defined since then. Some or other issue was highlighted more thoroughly and clearly owing to the greater availability of various sources, but anyway, this map is an irreplaceable and inexhaustible source for the specialists of different branches: historians, demographers, geographers and linguists.



Figure 2.4. *Historical Map of Georgia by Ivane Javakhishvili, 1923*

For centuries, the state borders used to change, the people used to change their living places, and their national-confession structure also changed. Due to this, the toponyms changed, too, as they are closely linked to the language, traditions, history and culture of the peoples generally, who were settled in some or other area at some time. This is why many toponyms given on Ivane Javakhishvili's map, which are forgotten now and are simply "carriers" of some historical fact, shows the old settlement areas of different peoples thus vivifying the pages of the past history. They can be used to identify the areas

of settlement of different peoples, directions of the migration flows and many other important historical processes. As time passed, the names of different settled areas changed and so, it is very important, yet difficult to observe all of those changes.

“The map of the botanical-agronomic areas of Georgia according to old sources” [Javakhishvili, 1930] was published in 1930 as an annex to the “Economic History of Georgia” by Iv. Javakhishvili. The scale of the map is 1:2,100,000.

Iv. Javakhishvili used a number of sources to compile the map of botanical-agronomic areas: ***“I had to master special writing and explore specific sources. I was forced to spend lots of my time and energy to clarify the issues, which were the duty of botanists or agronomists”, “We hardly had a researcher to study the history of agriculture, and nobody mastered the language of sources needed for this purpose”*** [Javakhishvili, 1977]. Iv. Javakhishvili mostly relied on the composition by Vakhushti Bagrationi: ***“Following the study of the doctrine and plan about the botanical-geographical zones in Georgia proposed by Vakhushti, all the materials allowing identifying the agricultural areas of ancient Georgia and compiling the relevant map need to be gathered. This notable issue can be studied with true thoroughness based on the data scattered in the historical monuments and documents and mainly those given by Vakhusht”***. The map shows 6 botanical-agronomic areas: pomelo-and-bitter orange, rice-and-cotton, vineyard-and-fruity, non-vineyard-or-fruity, grass-flowery and winter pastures (Figure 2.5).

Based on the analysis of the consolidation of the Georgian nation and formation of the Georgian state and whole set of factors, Iv. Javakhishvili made a logical and laconic conclusion: ***“Under the impact of these geo-botanical and economic factors and based on the tribal relationship of the Georgians, Meskhети and Kartli in the first instance, as the area of the river Mtkvari basin... were***

formed as one state body and became one kingdom, and only then did the west and east Georgia unite” [Javakhishvili, 1996].

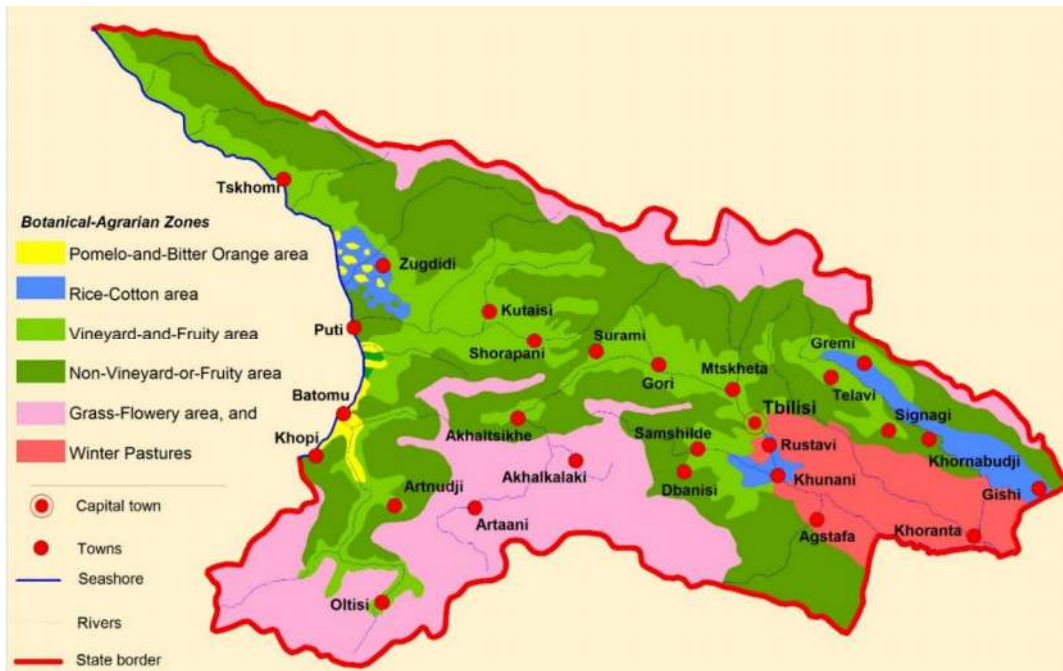


Figure 2.5. Map of Georgia by Ivane Javakhishvili, 1930

By showing this general picture, the scientist demonstrated the course of natural development of the economic links between the different corners of Georgia making the whole area a single, interdependent and thus, indispensable unit. This, in the final run, made for the consolidation of the people dwelling in the area as one whole, i.e. one nation. Moreover, all these factors determined the state formation of the nation, and it was the political spectrum of this economic issue [Sartania, Nikolaishvili, et. al., 2017].

A manuscript map by Iv. Javakhishvili compiled by him in Petersburg in 1913 has survived. It is attached to a two-volume edition of “The History of the Georgian Nation” written by him [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914]. The scale of the map is 1 inch: 90 Versts. It is a typographic blank map with the geographical names of mountains, seas, rivers and settled areas, making over 300 objects in total, plotted by

Ivane Javakhishvili with his own hand. However, the type of the settled areas, whether they are towns or villages, is impossible to identify on the map because the map has no legend. Some of the areas on the map are overloaded with geographical names.

The map is enclosed by an index, which has never been published. Several thousands of cards are preserved at the Georgian National Center of Manuscripts. The cards incorporate very rich and interesting materials. Most of them show the names of the geographical objects based on the old historical sources and their concurrent names, which the great scientist had written out from old-Russian so called "Verst" maps. The author also included their geographical coordinates on the map and indicated his opinion about the etymology and location of those objects.

Chapter III.

State border of Georgia – the concept by Ivane Javakhishvili

3.1. The main sources of Ivane Javakhishvili's work „Borders of Georgia, from the view history and Contemporary“

Ivane Javakhishvili created his work “The Georgian borders historically and in present days” by relying on a number of historical sources and special literary sources, including more than one cartographic sources.

The scientist made his analysis by relying on such ancient Georgian and foreign historical sources as Strabo (I c. BC – I c. AD), Pliny the Younger (I-II cc.), Georgian Chronicles (XI c.), works by Leonti Mroveli (XI c.), an unknown author (XII c.), Vakhushti Bagrationi (XVIII c.), chronicler (XIV c.), Stephan of Tbeti (X c.), Anton II of Georgia (XVIII-XIX cc.), Papuna Orbeliani (XVIII c.), Matheos Uhaetz (XII c.), Stepanos Asoghik/Taronetsi (X-XI cc.), Vardanes I of Parthia (XIII c.), N. Butkov (XIX c.), Mikhail Sabinin (1845-1905), V. Ivanenko (XIX c.), V. Phillipov (XIX c.), Peter Kovalenskyi (XIX c.), Averianov (XIX-XX cc.) and others and data given in the acts issued by the Archeological Commission. The list of the scientific historical literary sources used by Ivane Javakhishvili is quite long as well. In addition to his works, I. Javakhishvili used the research of Mose Janashvili (1855-1934), Ekvtime Takaishvili (1863-1953), Nicholas Adontz (1871-1942), Marie Brosset (1802-1880), Nikoloz Dubrovin (1837-1904), with the cartographic and statistical sources being particularly worthwhile. Ivane Javakhishvili supported his conclusions by the maps created by Timote Gabashvili (1703-1764), Vakhushti Bagrationi (1857-1784) and Stephan Burnashev (1743-1824), as well

as by 5-Verst maps published by the Military-Topographic Department (compiled in 1885-1912). There are 19 pages of 5-Verst maps preserved in the personal fund of Ivane Javakhishvili (Fund no. 365 of the Georgian National Center of Manuscripts). The scientist had made some graphical representations and inscriptions on them with a pen or pencil of different colors (in Georgian and Russian) and had written down the corrected versions of some toponyms. There are about 500 such inscriptions and markings on them [Sartania, Nikolaishvili et al., 2016].

3.1. Importance of the maps compiled on the ordinance of Ivane Javakhishvili

In his works, Ivane Javakhishvili discussed a number of geographical issues considering them as necessary for the better explanation of the historical events of the Georgian nation and establishment and development processes of the Georgian state. It was why the great scientist attached a particular importance to geography saying: “***Before continuing with the history of Georgia, we must consider the land and population of the country, where the Georgian nation lived and worked... A man wishing to describe the importance of the past stories and course of the development of the Georgians’ life, first, must study the geography of Georgia of the epoch in question***” [Javakhishvili, 1983, p. 5].

Despite the fact that the works by Ivane Javakhishvili consider a number of geographical issues, *unfortunately*, in this respect, his works are studied less. The area of geographical issues contained in his works is so much diversified that needs a kind of classification what once again evidences the majesty and great erudition of the outstanding scientist. Such questions include:

- The territory and borders of Georgia;
- Natural conditions and resources, environment protection;

- Population census, migration, social, ethnic and linguistic structure;
- Agriculture: agro-climatic zoning and nature management;
- Geographical terms;
- Toponyms/geographical names;
- Evaluation of the travelers' descriptions and describing other original sources.

Ivane Javakhishvili considered the maps as one of the important components to study history. This opinion is clearly shown in one of his early publications: ***“Unfortunately, our print shops are reluctant to print scientific books. I have planned to attach the pictures of old relics and figures and geographical maps to the history, but it was impossible to do this for this book. I hope to fill this gap in the future”*** [Javakhishvili, 1908]. Indeed, he started to work to solve this issue, but not in the scales he thought practical, what, by the way, technically, it was anyway impossible at that time. However, all he created is multidimensional, and the scientist made a specific contribution both, to the development of this branch with concrete maps dedicated to it and to the advance of the Georgian cartography in general.

To date, only 7 maps of the cartographic works created on the ordination of Iv. Javakhishvili are known to us. They were created either by Iv. Javakhishvili himself.

The given list of the maps shows that Iv. Javakhishvili had compiled small- and average-scale general geographic and thematic maps. Only the map of 1922 is a general geographic one, while others are thematic maps. Most of these maps are social maps, except the one published in 1930 belonging to the category of nature maps. Most of the maps have scientific or reference purposes. Special maps can be identified as a separate category. They were presented at Paris Peace Conference as an official document.

Unfortunately, the cartographic heritage of Ivane Javakhishvili is not duly studied to date [Berdzenishvili, 1964; 1966, Kakabadze, 1924; Mardaleishvili, 1996; Svanidze, 1992; Tsintsadze, 1990; 2006; 2009; Kharadze, 1997] and if not considering some publications with only general consideration of the scientist's works, no thorough cartographic study was ever done to date.

Why are the maps by Ivane Javakhishvili outstanding as compared to the maps of the first half of the XX century?

As already mentioned, surveying of the territory of Caucasus, including that of Georgia, and chart-making was particularly intense in the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century. However, almost all the work was done by foreign military topographers and geodesists, with only few Georgians making no difference. The political situation of Georgia inflicted a deathblow to the ancient Georgian cartography, which was highly developed in the XVIII century, during the reign of Vakhtang VI and in the following period.

This is why the appearance of Georgian geodesists, topographers and cartographers in the first half of the XX century was so important. The maps compiled by them are very important and contain valuable material about Georgia of that period. The maps by Iv. Javakhishvili are no less valuable, but there are some other circumstances to outline in this connection:

1. The maps compiled and published in 1910-1920 are mostly in some foreign language and are compiled by foreign cartographers and geodesists. Many toponyms on these maps either lack Georgian transcription, or are given incorrectly. For instance, Russian topographers copied common Georgian noun "Gorge" (Khrami for Georgian) from Vakhushti Bagrationi's maps as a proper noun naming the river Ktsia as the Khrami River. Unfortunately, this gap has survived to date and the lower reaches of the river Ktsia (past Tsalka Water Reservoir) on modern maps is referred to as the river Khrami. As for Iv.

Javakhishvili, he compiled **Georgian maps** based on historical sources. Therefore, they are original sources without translated toponyms. This is a great advantage of the maps created on the ordination of Iv. Javakhishvili.

2. The maps showing the whole territory of Georgia compiled by other authors are small-scale making it impossible to show small geographical objects, at least rural settlements (with some exceptions). Besides, the large-scale maps developed for different regions of Georgia, which are quite detailed, do not give an idea of the whole territory of the country. Iv. Javakhishvili compiled **average-scale** Georgian maps.

3. The end of the XIX century and in the first half of the XX century were marked by a comprehensive reconstruction of map-making and publishing – a shift from the old, Verst system to a new metric system (from Verst to meter), change of the prime meridian (Ferro and Pulkovo meridians were replaced by Greenwich meridian¹), improved accuracy of grade measurements owing to the improved tools and devices, change of inking with drawing the isolines, development and improvement of new cartographic projections, shift from the engraving and lithography of map copies to offset printing, etc. It is clear that these changes were not instant, but were quite a hard and long process. Consequently, in Georgia, the maps in old Russian Verst and new metric systems were published; Ferro, Pulkovo and Greenwich meridians were used as the prime meridian and both, lithography

¹ In different historical epochs and in different countries (sometimes, even regions), they used different meridian as the prime meridian to count longitudes. In the ancient times, Corvo meridian (e.g. on the Azores), Ferro meridian (e.g. on the Canary Islands), Lago and other meridians were used in chart-making. Up to the end of the XIX century, most countries used the meridian running across their national observatory. In 1884, at the International Meridian Conference (in Washington), the countries agreed on a recommended decision to commonly use Greenwich meridian as the prime meridian. In Georgia, they started to use Greenwich meridian later, in the 1930s [Gabashvili, 1946].

and offset printing methods were used to print the maps at the same time. These changes were also seen with the maps developed on the ordination of Iv. Javakhishvili.

Tbilisi University established in 1918 paid a great attention to the solution of these issues, what on its turn, promoted the accurate instrumental survey of the territory of Georgia and development of cartography in the final run. This is evidenced by the opening of the chair of astronomy and geodesy as soon as in the first year of the University establishment, with Prof. Andria Benashvili as the Head of Chair. He made a valuable contribution to the wide introduction of the geodetic-cartographic works in Georgia. In the years of independence of Georgia, jointly with S. Tskhakaia, he published map "Georgia and its Neighboring States" showing the historical territories of Georgia within the borders of the country [Tskhakaia, Benashvili, 1920].

Another fact promoting the development of cartography in Georgia, where Ivane Javakhishvili made a great contribution, was the appeal of the Board of the University Professors of March 20, 1919 to the Ministry of Education to hand down the physical observatory of the Ministry of Education to the University [Protocols of the Board of Professors, 2006. p. 155]. Ivane Javakhishvili totally realized the role of the observatory in carrying out the astronomical observations and studying the physical phenomena in this field. ***"The goal and designation of the physical observatory is to study Georgia in respect of meteorological, magnetic, seismic and general physical phenomena. Besides, its function is to provide the necessary scientific data to the state, secular and public institutions as far as possible to solve the practical issues"***, - he wrote [Historical Herald, 1967, p. 374]. The provision of *"the necessary scientific data"*, together with other scientific institutions, was needed for the cartographic-geodetic work.

After Georgia lost its independence, cartography, as the national science of a military importance and relevant institution, had its wings

clipped. Under such circumstances, on January 15, 1922, Iv. Javakhishvili sent a letter to the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia asking the return of the property of the Department of Topography of the Military Commissariat handed down to the staff of an individual army of the Caucasus: ***“The Government should be appealed to issue an immediate decree to return the Department of Topography to Georgia so that this Department should be handed down to the Geographical Institute, which, as an absolute necessity, must be established at the University in the near future, or independently, with the direct management of the Public Commissariat”*** [Historical Herald, 1967, p. 421]. Besides, Ivane Javakhishvili realized the unfavorable situation, which could be the case in case of inappropriate disposal of the Department of Topography: ***“Such a transfer will deprive Georgia of the institution, which enabled it to meet both, military and diverse and numerous cultural and scientific demands of our Republic. Presently, the Department of Topography is charged with meeting the demands only of the individual Caucasian army only, while the greatest demand of our Republic for providing chart-making and all kinds of astronomical, geodetic and topographic works will be unmet in the future”*** [Historical Herald, 1967, p. 421].

In his appeal, Ivane Javakhishvili formulated some main goals/purposes fulfilled by the Department of Topography either at present, or in the future: **military** (making the maps for the army, survey and layout of the regions not studied topographically), **academic** (compiling and publishing geographical maps for schools and training geodesists and astronomers at the university), **scientific** (solving a number of scientific issues, such as the determination of the force of gravity, study of the inclination of vertical lines, measurement of the time registration bases, making triangulation, astronomical determination of latitudes and longitudes, etc.), scientific work of the **Physical Observatory** of Georgia, **cadastre** (providing a large-scale cadastre

survey in the near future necessary for the Republic) and **national**: compiling and publishing the maps in the Georgian language.

By listing the problems extremely necessary and urgent for the Georgian nation, Ivane Javakhishvili notified the country authority: ***“If, by chance, the property of the Department of Topography is taken from Georgia, we will need at least one hundred years and very high expenses to create the same property”*** [Historical Herald, 1967, p. 422].

4. The 1930s were marked by a new wave of publication of large-scale Georgian maps of the territory of Georgia, when triangulation, exact leveling and topographic survey developed very rapidly owing to the use of much more accurate tools and devices. The maps (scaled: 1:400,000 and 1:200,000), executed with high cartographic accuracy, published in this period by the authorship and editorship of Alexander Javakhishvili (1875-1973), the great Georgian geographer and anthropologist and Sergi Tskhakaia (1880-1966) are particularly worthwhile. These cartographic works, as compared to the maps by Ivane Javakhishvili, were used in the scientific circulation more as the maps of 1913, 1923, 1930, and partially the maps of 1919 and 1922 showed the old historical Georgian borders rather than the borders of Georgia during the Soviet period. Besides, they reflect the materials obtained from the old Georgian and foreign sources and create the picture, which was intolerable for the newly formed Soviet state. Such state of affairs barred their exploration.

5. From today's perspective, the maps by Ivane Javakhishvili have a great historical value, as they can be used to restore the real and objective retrospective picture of Georgia, but evaluating his cartographic work only in this respect would be wrong and unfair. Unlike the maps created at the beginning of the XX century, these maps had an absolutely different and very important function,

strategic function in particular. The country having gained independence had to present itself to the international society with scientifically proved arguments regarding the territory owned by it.

The beginning of the XX century was marked by great political battles: the I World War, gaining the independence by the countries of the South Caucasus and their further Sovietization. All these processes have resulted in significant political and social-economic changes, first of all seen in the changed political and administrative borders of these countries. The forces of the allies started their preparations for the new political formation of the world, Paris Peace Conference. The fate of a number of countries was to settle on the international arena: the state recognition and question of border demarcation. Georgia pinned its hopes on the Conference, too. Therefore, it was important to create the real picture of the history of Georgia with scientifically proved arguments and proven facts. In this respect, the maps compiled by Ivane Javakhishvili are invaluable.

6. The study of the maps created on the ordination of Ivane Javakhishvili is of a great value in respect of their **content**. First, they depict the world-view and position of the scientist of the political, administrative, economic and other realities of Georgia at different stages of the history of the country. These maps were compiled not only to study the geographical and demographic-statistical information of the territory, but they also cover the historical, geopolitical, economic, confession, agro-botanical, toponymic, administrative-territorial plan, geographical and cartographic aspects based on the analysis of annals, historical chronicles, diplomatic and normative acts, as well as older cartographic sources. Clearly, the list of aspects is not complete, but gives a general picture only.

One of the most important of the listed issues is the identification of the historical transformations of the border of Georgia and historical border of Georgia.

Ivane Javakhishvili had to solve a very complex and strategic problem – by drawing the state border of Georgia, he had to respect the historical justice on the one hand and had to consider the contemporary geopolitical situation in the region and major principles of the international law.

Among the few works dedicated to the state borders of Georgia, “The Georgian borders historically and in present days”¹ by Ivane Javakhishvili is an undoubtedly outstanding study based on a thorough scientific analysis, a number of sources and critically established facts. Here are the author’s words in evidence: **“The monograph below considers only the tight borders of Georgia, as they were formed owing to the historical and state political, as well as geographical and economic conditions”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 3]. Thus, as the scientist told, the borders described in the work were not created by him, but they were formed as a result of the geographical and economic conditions together with the state political processes. By writing *“tight borders”*, he accents the accuracy of the borders containing not a single span of the land more than Georgia really owned, or assigned to Georgia falsely. Just on the contrary, he appeals his nation as follows: **“For the sake of establishing and consolidating good neighborhood, Georgia may resign its right where such a concession will not harm the self-defense of Georgia”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 51]. Based on such principles, the great scientist also developed other works about the borders of the country: “The Historical Map of Georgia” [1923], “The Map of the Borders of Georgia” [1919, Georgian-French Publications], etc.

These works by Ivane Javakhishvili could not be free from the influence of the “contemporary moment” of that period – the processes determining the fate and the final the shape of the territory of the country. The I World War, revolutions in 1917, independence of

¹ Hereinafter referred to as the “Georgian Borders”.

Georgia and its further Sovietization – on the background of these the political battles, the great scientist created his works about the borders of Georgia. Therefore, we thought it necessary to describe the historical transformations of the territory and borders of the country on the background of a brief review of these processes.

In the present work, we will try to show the circumstances related to the formation of the borders of the country during the period when Ivane Javakhishvili lived and worked. In this connection, we will try to analyze the preceding period as well, which greatly determined the mode of formation of the territory of Georgia at the turn of the XIX century and in the present epoch consequently. The analysis of the preceding period is actual, as Iv. Javakhishvili paid particular attention to it in regard to the state borders.

The goal of the present work is to evaluate the geographical-cartometric aspects of the territory of Georgia drawn by Ivane Javakhishvili. With this thought in mind, we mostly relied on the monograph of the great scientist “The Borders of Georgia” [Javakhishvili, 1919] and 6 of his cartographic works out of 7 known to date [Javakhishvili, 1 Georgian-French Publications, 1922; 1923; 1930].

It is clear that “The Historical Map of Georgia of the VII-XII cc. developed based on the old sources” was not studied, as no borders are plotted on this map [Sartania, Nikolaishvili et al., 2016].

One of the most outstanding fundamental works by Ivane Javakhishvili is the above-mentioned monograph, which is interesting and scientifically valuable in many respects. It clearly shows the transformations of the territory and borders of our country in different historical epochs and shows the relevant political, demographic, toponymic and physical-geographical factors with the connections between them, as one unity. Such an approach gives us a real **retrospective picture** of the past. However, it does not describe all stages of the history of Georgia chronologically, in sequence, but only summarizes the territories the Georgian nation tried to protect for its

long history, which were their territories and not conquered ones taken away from others.

This work by Ivane Javakhishvili considers the whole perimeter of the state border of Georgia along *the individual sections* of the country and its changes in the historical view and evaluates the difficulties to overcome the borders in *a physical-geographical* respect as well. The work is enclosed by *the Map of Georgia* [Javakhishvili, 1919, Georgian Publication] showing the boundaries of the country by respecting the historical justice and in line with the international standards.

It is interesting to identify the cartographic sources Ivane Javakhishvili used to create his work about the borders of Georgia and compiled historical maps of Georgia. It is clear that the major source was so called “Verst maps” used in the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century. As it is known, the joining of Georgia with the Russian Empire was followed by the changes of the territory and borders of Georgia continuing for that period. Despite the fact that in 1801, wide-scale topographic and cartographic works were initiated all over Caucasus, including Georgia, and as a result, different-Verst topographic maps showing the borders of the Empire were compiled, it would be very difficult for the scientist to observe all the changes and identify the scales of the territorial changes, because:

- Various topographic surveys were done for many years, and the XIX century was quite eventful in respect of political changes (Russian-Ottoman Wars and related changes in the political-administrative borders).
- They started to make highly accurate cartographic projections from the end of the 1840s.
- There are no maps available showing the territorial changes stipulated by various agreements.

Despite the above-mentioned, the use of so called “Verst-maps” of the XIX century gave an important idea of then-time political borders and their changes. However, these cartographic sources are neither comprehensive, nor perfect. In particular, one important fact is to be considered: ***“The political-administrative division of the Georgian lands less considered the historical-ethnic peculiarities and was mostly based on the principles of favorable colonial-political management”*** [Kekelia, 2006, p. 23]. Consequently, the borders given on these maps must be considered as the ones with legal power in a concrete period, as de-facto and not the borders of the country or some of its regions, as Iv. Javakhishvili had drawn them. On the other hand, the maps compiled by the military topographers of the Russian Empire, so called “Verst-maps”, mainly showed the border of the Empire. As for Georgia, like other countries of the Caucasus, it was a part of the Empire and its borders had no political importance. As for the administrative borders, most of these maps do not show them. Consequently, the use of so called “Verst-maps” gives a clearer idea about the section of the southern border of Georgia, which was the southern border of the Russian Empire at the same time.

In “The History of the Georgian Nation” [Javakhishvili, 1983], the great scientist described the territory of Georgia and its historical changes in different periods: the vast territory during the period Georgia was powerful, when *“The whole Trans-Caucasus belonged to it”* and the disintegrated and diminished territory in the periods of hardship. *The main goal of the scientist’s study in the above-mentioned monograph was not considering these great historical changes, but adequately understanding the political reality at the beginning of the XX century and showing a kind of strategy of the territorial demarcation.* As Iv. Javakhishvili wrote, he considered only the *“tight borders of Georgia, as they were formed owing to the historical and state political, as well as geographical and economic conditions”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 3].

Considering the differences and similarities between the “tight borders” of Georgia identified by Iv. Javakhishvili and the borders shown on other maps of the same period is another interesting issue. We will consider some of those differences and similarities in the present work.



Figure 3.1. The Map of Caucasus (In Russian)

The Map of Caucasus compiled in 1901 [The Map of the Caucasus Oblast..., 1901] shows the process of different kingdoms and princedoms of Georgia joining Russia and variation of their borders. As the Map suggests, the territories of Ajara, Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki, Kola-Artaan and Tao-Klarjeti are beyond the borders of Georgia and are subordinate to Turkey, while the territories of Ganja and Nukhi are subordinate to Persia. However, the southern border

of East Georgia is quite interesting: from the confluence of the Iori River with the Mtkvari River, it follows the River Mtkvari and then, its right tributary, the Dzegami River. Thus, the border sharply turns southwards and is runs westwards along the watershed of Sevani, Areguni and Bambak Ridges (Fig. 3.1). So, Bambak, Lore, Kazakh and Shamshadili are included in the borders of Georgia, like it is the case with the Map of 1923 compiled by Iv. Javakhishvili. Virtually, the map of the military Oblast of Caucasus dated by 1903 shows a similar picture [The Map of the Caucasus, 1903].

As the Treaty of Georgievsk concluded in 1783 envisaged, Georgia had a much larger territory than now. As the Historical Map of Iv. Javakhishvili suggests [1923], the territory of Georgia, in addition to the contemporary territory of the country, covered Jiketi, Dvaleti, Speri, Tortoum, Tao, Klarjeti, Shavsheti, Erusheti, Kola, Artaan, Abotsi, Bambak, Tashiri, Kazakh, Ganja and Eliseni; the borders along the sections of Khevi, Khevsureti and Tusheti were also different; however, these borders changed a lot for the whole of the XIX century. Drawing the border of this period is considered quite important by Iv. Javakhishvili. He noted that the borders of the country must be drawn *“so that the political rights of the Georgian nation stipulated by the international law, agreement concluded with Russia in 1783 and right of self-determination of nations should not be violated and the justice should be restored”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, pp. 3-4].

Russian-Ottoman War of 1828-1829 caused territorial losses for Georgia. **The Treaty of Adrianople** concluded between Russia and Ottoman Empire, ended the War on two fronts: in the Balkans and South Caucasus. Article 4 of the Treaty concerned Georgia: the border from the Black Sea between Russia and Ottoman Empire should have run between Guria and Ajara and then, along the southern border of Imereti. Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki remained parts of Russia (the border of the Ottoman Empire from the two was

to be distanced by at least 2 hours of travel), and Kars and Trabzon Pashaliks and a large territory of Akhaltsikhe Pashalik were the parts of the Ottoman Empire. Iv. Javakhishvili talks about another negative outcome of this War. As he said, the invasion of Russia to Meskheti, to Javakheti in particular, **“was followed by the migration of the indigenous Georgians”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 39].

As a result of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, Georgia regained its own historical territories stipulated by **the Treaty of San Stefano** on February 19, 1878. Article XIX of this Preliminary Treaty was about the historical territory of Georgia. The Ottoman Empire had to pay the contribution to Russia for the territories, which Russia gained as a result of the War: Ardahan, Batumi, Bayazet, and the territory as far as Saganlough. In case of the failure to pay the contribution, these territories were to remain parts of Russia. Clearly, this positive event was evaluated by Iv. Javakhishvili, but he also pointed to the unreasonable decision of the Russian Empire **“to include Erusheti, Artaan and Oltisi within the borders of Kars region by the Government of Russia”** by ignoring the geographical conditions of the location hampering the connection of Potskhov region to Kars region in winter: **“...Erusheti (the same as Potskhov District) was detached from Kars region for 7 or 8 months, and consequently, the police officer of Potskhov is forced to live in Akhaltsikhe”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 39].

In addition, Article XIX of the Treaty gives a detailed description of the frontier line of this area. It started on the Black Sea coast, followed the crest of the mountains which separate the effluents of the River Hopa from those of the River Tcharokh, and the chain of mountains to the south of the town of Artwin up to *the River Tcharokh*, near the villages of Alat and Bechaget; then, it followed the crest which separates the effluents of the Rivers Tortoum and Tcharokh, Sieridagh pass, turned left and went to Zivine. Then, the frontier line turned west to the villages of Ardost and Horassan, turned south by

the Saganlough and Ali-Dagh mountains going round Bayazet from the south. Thus, Tsikhisdziri and Batumi remained in the hands of the Ottomans, who garrisoned there.

Consequently, the maps published after 1878 showed the changed political borders. According to them, the territory of Georgia was more than 100 thousand km², i.e. was 1/3 larger than the present-day territory of our country. ***“In 1886, lieutenant colonel N.P. Vinikov, the topographer of the Military Corps of the Military-Topographic Department of Caucasus, calculated the areas of provinces, uyezds, regions, okrugs and police areas on the then-time territory of the Caucasus. Total, the presumable area of the Russian part of Georgia was 102.0 thousand km² by the end of the XIX century”*** [Kekelia, 2006, p. 22].

The 20-Verst ethnographic maps of individual administrative units of Georgia of 1886 gave a different picture [Ethnographic Maps of..., 1886]. On these maps, Tao-Klarjeti, Kola-Artan, Bambak, Lore and Zakatala belong to Georgia (Fig. 3.2; 3.3; 3.4).

For the whole XIX century, Russia tried to realize the policy to expand the borders of its Empire. It used the same policy in the Caucasus, where it established new Russian settlements. ***“Since the 1860s, the political circles of Russia have been applying all possible means to make the population in the Trans-Caucasus Russian”***, - wrote Iv. Javakhishvili in 1925 [The Historical archive of Georgia, 471-1-98, pp. 82-111]. The situation was the same in Georgia, where in addition to the new Russian settlements, those of other nations appeared, in particular, in South Georgia, Apkhazeti, etc. This was a part of the Russian Imperial policy, too. In the same work, Iv. Javakhishvili wrote: ***“As the government of Russia considered the Georgians as a politically unreliable nation, considered the expansion of the arena for the Georgian population dangerous and on the other hand, never admitted any possibility of the Armenians dreaming about their political independence in the***

Trans-Caucasus, it did not see any danger in establishing new Armenian settlements in Georgia, as this would reduce the percentage of the local Georgian population and would increase the number of their devoted subordinates in Georgia supporting the unity of Russia, as it used to think about them [The Historical archive of Georgia, 471-1-98, pp. 82-111].

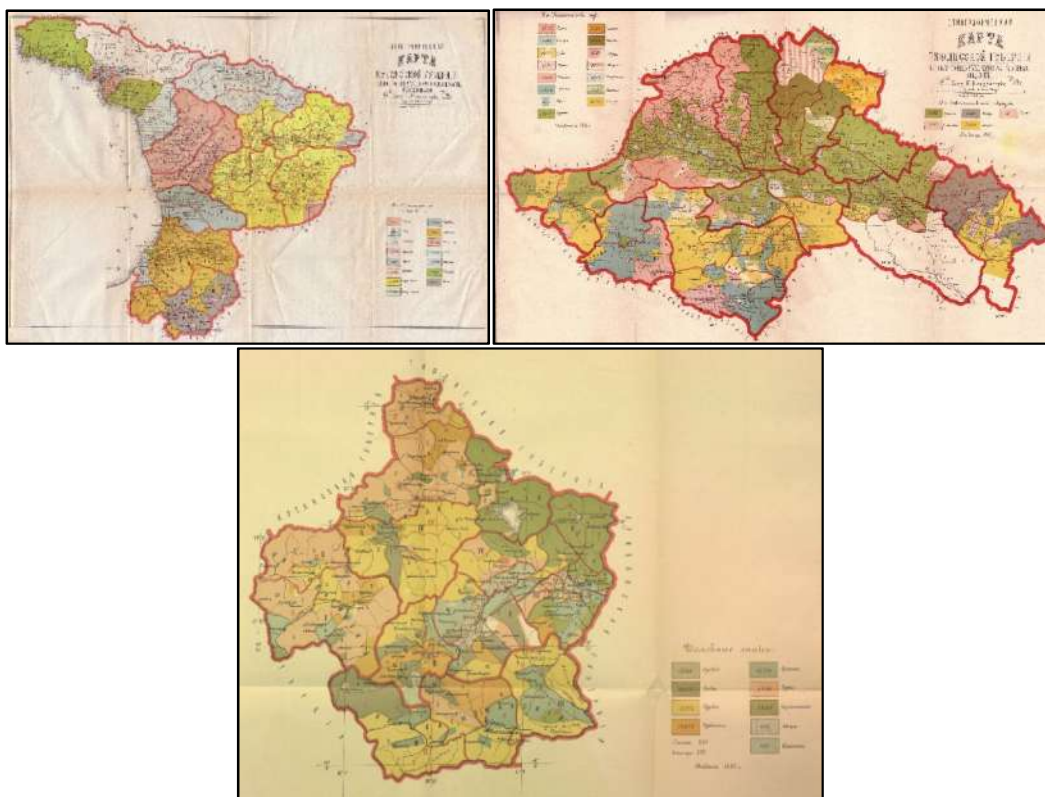


Figure 3.2-3.4 Ethnographic maps of Georgia (In Russian)

At the end of the XIX century, the territory of Georgia covered Tbilisi and Kutaisi Provinces and Kars Region. If looking at the map, we will see that the borders of the country were changed a lot up to recently, mostly at the expense of the territorial losses of our country. Almost all of the southern and eastern borders of Georgia have changed. The least changes are seen with the northern border, along the Caucasioni. ***“The nature seems to have created a giant guardsman for the Georgian nation, the main Caucasioni Pass in***

the north”, - Iv. Javakhishvili wrote [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 3]. However, there are certain changes observed along this section, too, in particular, in Dariali Gorge and with the territories of Tusheti and Khevsureti. The only exception is the section along the border of Georgia – the north-western region, where the border of our country extended a little, towards the historical territory of Georgia. This area covered the Black Sea Okrug: the left side of the Psou River and western slope and adjoining piedmont of Gagra Ridge.

The discussion of Iv. Javakhishvili of the principles of the border demarcation of Georgia is very interesting and is proved scientifically. The scientist considered the borders of the country **in some principal contexts** to use as the basis to limit the boundaries of the country:

1. In the historical context, where he inquired about the shape the country had in the past.

2. In the physical-geographical context, where he inquired about the territorial integrity of the country according to orographic units.

3. In the social-economic context, where he inquired about the historical changes of the ethnic-confession background of the population, and

4. In the contemporary context (in the context of the international law), where he inquired about the shape of the contemporary state borders.

The scientist considered the above-mentioned questions in great details and specifies the principal circumstances to be considered when drawing the state borders. These circumstances are:

- Compliance with the international law;
- Observation of the terms and conditions of the agreement concluded with Russia in 1783;
- Provision of the right of self-determination of the nations;
- Non-infringement of the political rights of the Georgian nation;
- Restoration of justice.

It may be said that all the above-listed items are very important strategic plans being actual and important to date. However, these circumstances are not a bit sufficient for the great scientist to solve such a complex question determining the fate of the country unless the “statehood” was considered. On its turn, such “statehood” implies two important circumstances:

1) ***“...The way to shape the contemporary state borders of Georgian Republic considering the contemporary situation so that the political rights of the Georgian nation stipulated by the international law, agreement concluded with Russia in 1783 and right of self-determination of nations should not be violated and the justice should be restored... [Javakhishvili, 1919, pp. 3-4].***

2) ***“For the sake of establishing and consolidating good neighborhood, Georgia may resign its right where such a concession will not significantly harm the self-defense of Georgia” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 51],*** - wrote Ivane Javakhishvili and named some of such locations. So, besides the restoration of the historical justice, he considers it expedient to make certain concessions if they are necessary for the safety and peaceful co-existence.

It is this view of statehood being a **guiding principle** for Iv. Javakhishvili, which was to be used to settle the mentioned issue peacefully. However, the political situation established at the beginning of the XX century deprived Georgia of the chance to use this important principle and restore historical justice as well.

The historical archive of Georgia reserves a version of “The Borders of Georgia”, the work by Iv. Javakhishvili, rewritten by other people in Constantinople [Historical archive of Georgia, 1864-1-273]. This document, if not considering some corrective and stylistic differences, is identical to the work of 1919 and the one published later. However, this manuscript contains a couple of paragraphs not included in the printed version. One of such paragraphs is interesting in

that it gives the great scientist's evaluation of the borders of the country: *"Densely populated Georgians, highly developed national self-consciousness, centuries-old culture and a clear ability to build one's state are a firm guarantee for the future political-cultural revitalization and renaissance of Georgia **provided a favorable international situation is established for Georgia**"* [underlined by the author]. As this manuscript evidences, Iv. Javakhishvili placed a great value on the international support and thought that any efforts of the Georgian state would be useless without such a support. This was the work written by the scientist in the city of Constantinople, on his way to Paris Peace Conference. It was at the Conference, the question of recognition of the statehood and borders of Georgia should have been put on the agenda. Unfortunately, the expectations of Ivane Javakhishvili did not justify and no ***favorable international situation*** could be established for Georgia.

Iv. Javakhishvili thoroughly realized the importance of drawing the borders by using an ethnic-religious principle. This issue was particularly severe after Georgia gained independence. ***"... In 1918, when new independent states appeared in Trans-Caucasus, their borders were determined depending on the administrative units of the Russian Empire, which never followed the ethnic line, but on the contrary, aimed at creating diversity (this was partially the result of successive joining of different territories to the Russian Empire at a high pace in the XIX century, but mostly the result of the purposeful Imperial policy). This is why independent Armenia admitted most of the Azeri minority to its territory, who lived in former Yerevan Province, while independent Azerbaijan admitted most of the Armenian minority living in Baku and Elisavetopol Province (the latter included old Karabakh Khanate with a large Armenian population); independent Georgia admitted Armenian and Azerbaijan minorities living in former Tiflis Province. Besides, there were local ethnic minorities in***

Georgia living along the border of Russia” [Gachechiladze, e-resource]. It was such state of affairs complicating the situation with the border demarcation. Drawing borders based on ethnic and religious principle was much unfavorable for Georgia, as the country would lose its historical territories with the refugees settled there during the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century. Iv. Javakhishvili well realized this fact. Therefore, he substantiated the attempt of such an interpretation. In addition, he noted: “... ***Even Armenian politicians do not always and everywhere rely on the religious principles when drawing the borders of Armenian Republic...***” and consider this principle “***obligatory for Georgia only***” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 50].



***Georgian delegation in Constantinople, 1919
Ivane Javakhishvili in the middle***

The works by Iv. Javakhishvili placed a great accent on the question of impact of **the physical-geographical conditions** on the formation of the borders of Georgia.

The territory of the country: the basins of the Mtkvari, Rioni and Chorokhi Rivers, as the area confined with natural boundaries, in his words, **“are closely connected to one another both, geographically and economically”**. These close links were considered by Iv. Javakhishvili as the starting point to think of the territory of Georgia as of a single body.

This reserved, but scrupulous discussion of the great scientist contains many important ideas given more thoroughly in other of his works. By considering them in a complex, we can thoroughly understand the basics of Iv. Javakhishvili’s position. First of all, the scientist named the geographical and economic factors in complex, as interwoven ones. In his “Economic History of Georgia”, he looked again at this issue, considered these factors thoroughly and said that the natural conditions or geography of the different regions of Georgia did not allow their residents to do all the diversified economic activities needed for their existence in their areas and had to compensate the gap with the help of their neighbors. This made for the vitally important links between these regions.¹

¹ “Now, we can identify the importance of the agricultural and economic factors for the statehood of our country more thoroughly and essentially than before. It is sufficient for a man to read the above-mentioned review of the areas [Iv. Javakhishvili meant the geobotanical zones of the regions of Georgia. Authors Note] to make sure that **pomelo-and-bitter orange and rice-and-cotton areas are found only in the eastern and western extreme parts of Georgia. As for the other territory of Georgia, it is occupied by two large areas of Vineyard-and-Fruity and non-Vineyard-or-Fruity areas. Besides, it is typical that the Vineyard-and-Fruity area is found in the middle, with non-Vineyard, non-Vineyard-or-Fruity and Alpine pastures found on both sides, north and south of it. The latter areas: non-Vineyard-or-Fruity area and Alpine pastures much exceed the Vineyard-or-Fruity area with their areas. The non-Vineyard-or-Fruity area, due to the natural conditions, was used to grow wheat crops and vegetables on the one hand and due to vast and rich summer pastures, was also used for cattle-breeding. It should be**

So, in Ivane Javakhishvili's view, the geography (natural conditions) determined the kind of economics in every corner of Georgia, and besides, the limited natural conditions of this region necessitated close relations with the neighbors. In the long run, such regular relations in the area formed with these regions helped establish a single Georgian state.¹

According to Iv. Javakhishvili, the territory of Georgia was bordered in the way the Georgian nation tried to protect for centuries. This was the historical territory of Georgia and in such circumstances, at the end of the First World War, the borders of then-time independent Georgia must have been shaped with certain necessary compromises in the manner as to defend the vitally important geographical-economic and military-political principles.

*noted that the bulk of large summer pastures is seen mostly in South Georgia. As for the summer pastures in the northern part of the country, due to the lack of land and vast plains within its borders, they are less important - **Owing to such different agricultural and botanical areas, the communities did not and could not have everything needed by their members.** The dwellers of the mountainous areas could not have their own wine or fruit, while the lowlanders must have envied the highlanders for the bulk of wheat and vegetables... Thus, **the lowlanders and highlanders needed one another: they could not live without one another.** Owing to such natural conditions, **the central part of Georgia, the lowland, was economically linked to the northern and southern communities and vice versa, the mountains were closely linked to the lowland.** Due to the geographical conditions, all the roads of the mountainous communities of Georgia, both, the traveling and trading ones, ran to the lowland in the central part of the country” [Javakhishvili, 1996, v. IV, pp. 335-337].*

¹ “...Under the impact of the geo-botanical and economic factors and based on the tribal relationship of the Georgians, Meskhети and Kartli in the first instance, as the arena of the river Mtkvari basin and areas harmonically filling the gaps in the supply between the mountains and the lowland, were formed as one state body and became one kingdom, and only then did the west and east Georgia unite” [Javakhishvili, 1996, v. IV, p. 337].

The role of the Caucasioni Mountains is particularly accented in this respect: ***“The nature seems to have created a giant guard-
sman for the Georgian nation, the main Caucasioni Pass in the
north”***, - Iv. Javakhishvili wrote [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 3]. He considered other borders of Georgia, too as the ones defending the country in a superb manner and assigned one of the most important historical functions to such circumstances, i.e. natural conditions. Due to the high ridges, cliffy massifs and glaciers along the northern border of the country, this section of the border is difficult to cross thus limiting the purposes of conquest of the neighbours for the whole history of Georgia. ***“...such conditions too, helped the Georgian nation to repulse numerous enemies, who often were much stronger than the Georgians and to defend its nationality”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 3].

Together with other important factors, Iv. Javakhishvili, by considering the physical-geographical factors as one of the forming and historically influential issues for the state border of Georgia, considered the state border in sections. It is clear that such a view of Iv. Javakhishvili did not diminish the value of the tribute and battle of the Georgian nation for the territorial integrity. This is evidenced by him saying: ***“such conditions too”***, and what was principal in addition to ***“such conditions”***, the great scientist described thoroughly in his work ***“The History of the Georgian Nation”*** [Javakhishvili, 1983].

In his work, Iv. Javakhishvili considered the borders of Georgia in all of its sections, or the sections, which were not disputable in that period. It is typical that the demarcation of most of these sections of the borders is an urgent issue to date and they are the ***“hot spots”*** of the country.

3.2. Geographic-cartometric evaluation of individual sections of the border

As it was noted, Iv. Javakhishvili considered the individual sections of the borders according to the sides of the horizon and historical-geographical provinces/communities of the country (Table 1), and this seems logical: the historical transformations or stability of the borders of the country depended on the political situation in the frontier communities of the country and in the neighboring countries, as historically, it was the individual regions of the country rather than the whole country subject to the territorial changes.

Depending on the sides of the horizon, Iv. Javakhishvili divided the country borders into 4 parts: northern, eastern, south-eastern and south-western and considered them in individual paragraphs. It is interesting that despite the general-Caucasian, i.e. sub-lateral expansion of the country, with clearly observed northern and southern borders of the country, he does not consider the southern border on its own, as he does with the northern border. Instead, he starts to describe the southern border in south-western and south-eastern sections. In a geographical respect, this may seem less appropriate, but in respect of a historical development, it is quite logical. Iv. Javakhishvili used the south-western border to shape the territory of Zemo Kartli and used south-eastern border to shape the territory of Kvemo Kartli and Kakheti. In terms of feudal disintegration of the country and thereafter, the frontier southern kingdoms and princedoms often found themselves in different political situations, with some of them being under the influence of the Ottoman Empire and others – under the influence of Persia. This difference had different impacts on their territories and borders. Thus, in a historical respect, dividing the southern border of the country into two main south-western and south-eastern sections, can be considered as absolutely logical.

In his analysis of the individual sections of the borders, Iv. Javakhishvili considers so called “hot spots” only, i.e. the sections, which became disputable with the neighboring countries.

Apkhazeti-Jiketi

Along this section, Iv. Javakhishvili drew the historical border of the Georgian State more north-west than it is drawn at present. However, it should be noted that this border is drawn in different manners in his different works, depending on the kind of sources used and historical period. For example, in the above-mentioned monograph [Javakhishvili, 1919, pp. 4-5], the border is given in the following variations:

- Confluence of the Kubani River – source: Leonti Mroveli;
- North of the Bichvinta Monastery – source: The History of the Georgian Nation;
- The River Kapoetistskali (present-day Bzyb River) – source: the map of 1732 and Vakhushti Bagrationi;
- North-west of the Kapoetistskali River – source: the map of 1743 and Burnashev’s map.

The following section of the country border is also shown differently on the maps by Iv. Javakhishvili:

- Near the River Makopse – source: the Georgian and French maps of 1919 (#1¹) (Fig. 3.5;
- The River Makopse flows into the Black Sea between Tuapse and Lazarevskoe, near settlement Makopse (43⁰59'44"

¹ French edition of the map (#1) was presented at Paris Peace Conference in 1919. It is enclosed to the official documents presented by the Georgian party at the Conference [An Introduction to..., 1935]. As the map (#2) suggests, the border required at Paris Peace Conference is not drawn along this border section, but only then-time border of our country – from the confluence with the Psou River, i.e. as it is the case at present. Besides, the map of 1922 does not show the border along this section, either.

northern latitude and 39°12'44" eastern longitude). Administratively, at present it belongs to the city of Sochi, Lazarevsk District (Russia);

- Near settlement Vardane (between Dagomys and Golovinka) – source: map of 1923.

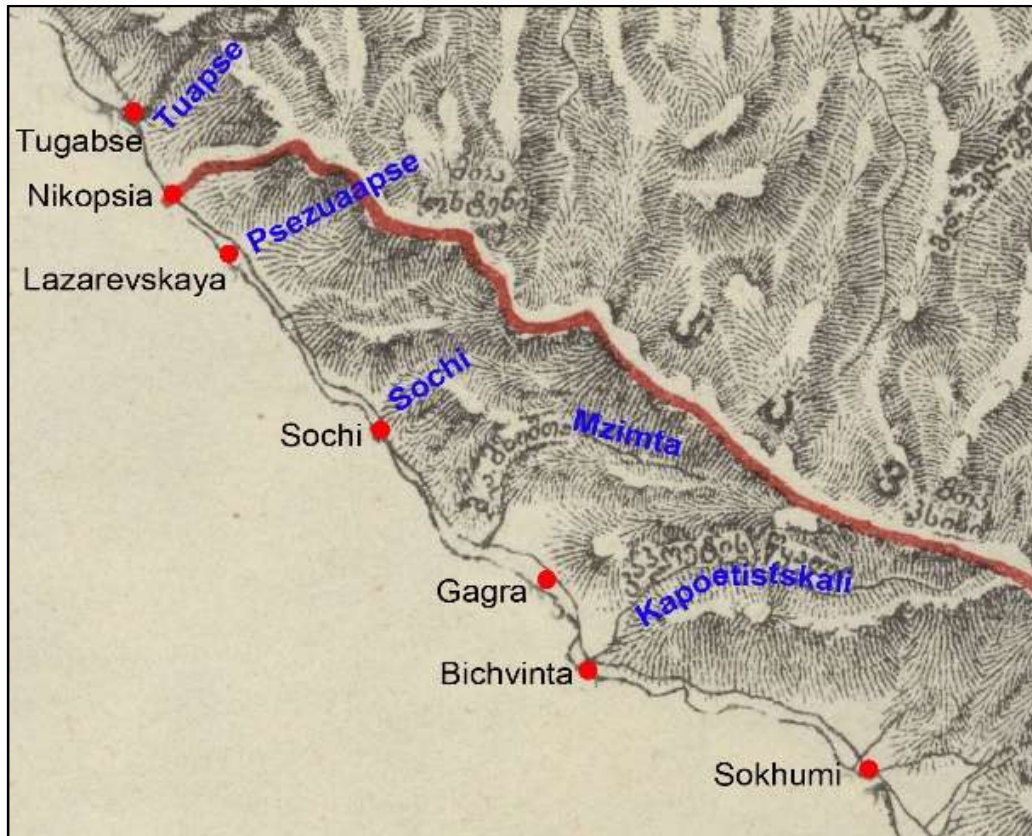
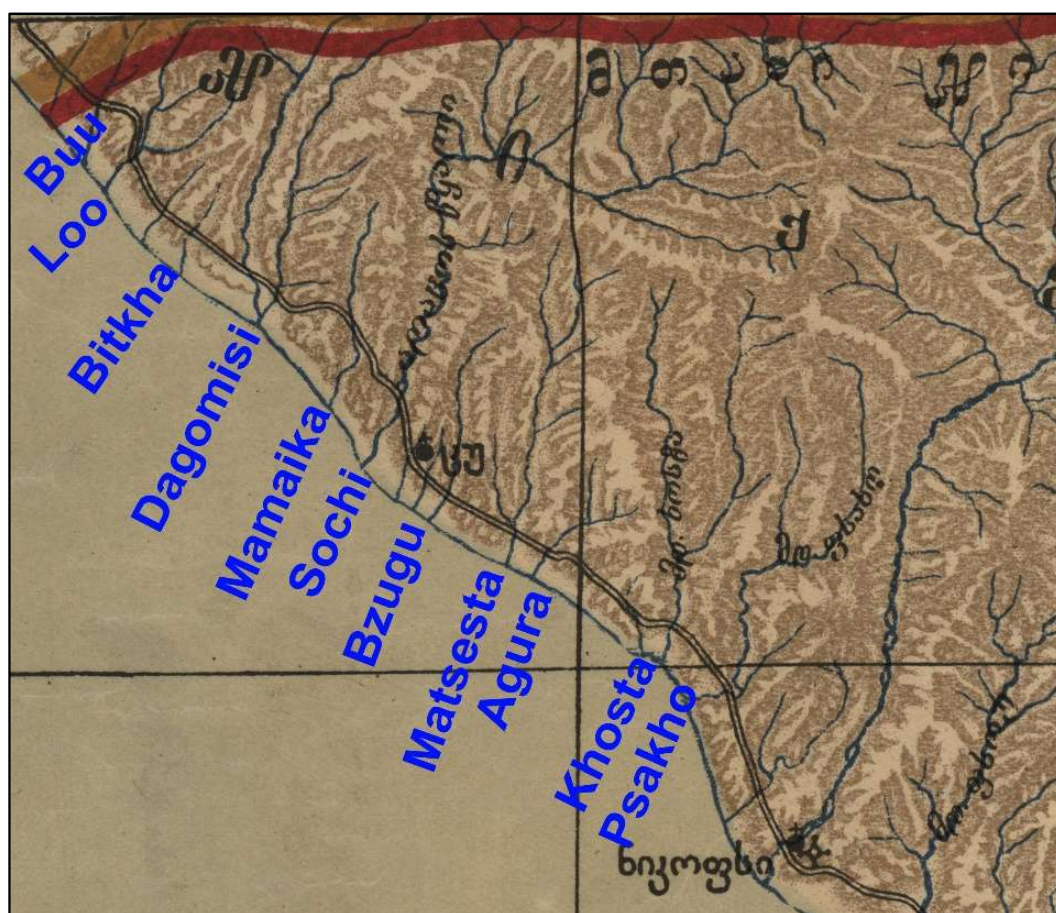


Figure 3.5. Fragment of “the Map of State Borders of Georgia” (1919): Gagra-Tuapse (In Georgian)

On this map, Apkhazeti-Jiketi section of the border of Georgia does not show any object with an inscription (rivers, settled areas, etc.) what would facilitate the identification of the location. To solve this problem, we tried to identify the geographical coordinates of the border by using the contours of the hydrographic network and by transforming the old coordinate system into the new one (i.e. from Pulkovo to Greenwich system). According to the map, the border runs at eas-

tern longitude $9^{\circ}12'$ (counted from Pulkovo meridian). As the difference between Pulkovo and Greenwich meridians is $30^{\circ}19'34''$, based on the modern coordinate system, this section of the border runs across $39^{\circ}31'$ eastern longitude and $43^{\circ}43'$ northern latitude, i.e. it is located near Vardane micro-district, 40 km north-west from the center of the city of Sochi (administratively, it belongs to Sochi). The geographical coordinates of Vardane are: $43^{\circ}38'31''$ and $39^{\circ}40'18''$. This is the place where the River Buu flows into the Black Sea (Fig. 3.6).



**Figure 3.6. Fragment of the “State Borders of Georgia” (1919):
Nikopsia-Logo (In Georgian)**

The border on the map of 1930 is drawn in a similar manner what is evidenced by the hydrographic network contours and geographical coordinates of the place.

The comparison of the above-listed maps has made it clear that the border of our country on the map of 1923 along Apkhazeti-Jiketi section runs near Vardane (approximately 40 km from the present-day border of Georgia), while on the maps of 1919 (Georgian and French map #1), it runs along the Makopse River (in 94 km). Without a doubt, the reasons for the difference of approximately 30 km are to be clarified and explained scientifically. We think that this must be a more technical rather than an essential error.

The Georgian map of 1919 is enclosed to monograph “The Borders of Georgia” by Iv. Javakhishvili where he thanks Prof. Andria Benashvili, the General and head of Department of Topography of the Military Ministry, as the map was made at this Department [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 51]. The French map of 1919 is an analogue of the former map (map #1).¹ As for the map of 1923, Ev. Baramidze, a topographer of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs participated in its compilation. It seems that Iv. Javakhishvili closely cooperated with and trusted both specialists in the preparation of the cartographic works. However, no one is secured against errors. What do we mean under error? On the map of 1923 showing the historical territory of our country in different periods (I c. BC, XII c. AD and 1783), Apkhazeti-Jiketi section of the border of Georgia does not run west of Vardane meridian. In this connection, there is an important question to answer: Could the scientist aware of the “authentic and real” and not “exaggerated or false” history of Georgia, who appealed the Georgian nation to fix the territory of the country in accordance with “*the historical, political and state, as well as geographical and economic conditions*”, show the historical territory of Georgia on the historical map less than that given in the documented map submitted to Paris Peace Conference?

¹ The Georgian map of 1919 also shows the borders of the period of concluding the agreement with Russia and the borders claimed by the Armenians.

Besides, based on different sources, in “The History of the Georgian Nation”, Iv. Javakhishvili expanded the territory of Georgia further north-west of Apkhazeti-Jiketi section, to Nikopsis, and we will cite some citations in evidence: *“Nokopsis, too was on the territory of Apkhazeti”* [Javakhishvili, 1983, p. 52], *“As modern writers think, Nikopsis is the same as present-day “Negopsukho”¹ in Abkhazian”* [Javakhishvili, 1983, p. 52], *“More theoretically than practically, in Georgia they thought that Demetre II inherited the state of All-Georgia from “Nikopsis to Derbent”, i.e. whole Caucasus between the two Seas, but for true, **this was not the case later** [highlighted by the author]”*, [Javakhishvili, 1982, p. 96].

Moreover, when describing the political situation of the XI century, Iv. Javakhishvili drew the border of our country even further north-west. He noted that even when the land of Jiks, an Apkhaz tribe, was still a part of Apkhazeti: *“In 11th century, this frontier line between Georgia and its neighboring countries was found much further north, namely where the main ridge of Caucasioni started. The tributary of the Kubani River and the peak of the Caucasioni Ridge were considered a frontier line... Jiketi and Alans’ Land, too were parts of Apkhazeti”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 4].

As for the north-western border of Apkhazeti, Iv. Javakhishvili considered the Kapoetistskali River north of the Bichvinta Monastery and cited 3 sources in evidence:

- The work by Vakhushti Bagrationi.
- The map of West Georgia compiled in 1732, to the order of King Alexander, and
- The map of All-Georgia re-painted in Moscow in 1743.

¹ Negopsukho, a river flowing into the Black Sea 40 km north-west of the city of Tuapse, near settlement Novomikhailovskyi (44°15'20" Northern latitude and 38°50'59" Eastern longitude). It is found approximately 150 km from the present border of Georgia.

Besides, based on the map of 1743, he concluded that the border here ran further north of the Kapoetistskali River and as he fairly thought that the Kapoetistskali River was the same as the Bzyb River, it can be concluded for real that “...*The Bzyb River with all its tributaries was on the territory of Apkhazeti*” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 5]. Following the above-mentioned, we may think that the border on the map of 1919 is plotted in the way as Iv. Javakhishvili thought it fair.

Iv. Javakhishvili thoroughly realized that the guarantee for the territorial integrity of the country historically was the population along the frontier line, their number and ethnic-religious background. Therefore, when analyzing the historical transformations of the borders of Georgia, he considered the issues of demographic situation of the frontier communities. In particular, he offered the flowing description of the border of Apkhazeti-Jiketi: in Tsebelda “***in 1850, there were 14.000 households here, while in 1867, owing to the Russians, their number reduced to 27 families***”, and “***as the census of 1916 suggested, of 141.000 residents in Samurzakano and Apkhazeti and small area south of Jiketi, i.e. in Sokhumi and Sochi regions, there were 71.000 Georgians and 43.000 Abkhazians, 6.000 Armenians and 21.000 people of different nationalities***”. As these data suggest, in 1916, in some areas of Apkhazeti and Jiketi (i.e. north-west of present-day Apkhazeti, on the territory of present-day Krasnodar Oblast), the majority of the population (over 50%) were Georgians, 30.5% were Abkhazians and only 4.3% were Armenians.

Dvaleti

Dvaleti, the historical region of North Georgia, is shown within the borders of our country on the maps of 1919, 1923 and 1930. Historically, it was Pirikita Georgia like Khevi, Pirikita Khevsureti and Tusheti are today. Iv. Javakhishvili thought that the border here was drawn erroneously: “***The mistake of the Russian Government must***

be corrected and Dvaleti, or Ardoni Gorge must be returned to East Georgia, Tiflis Province”, - he wrote [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 9]. Georgian Asomtavruli inscriptions survived in Dvaleti and **“fortresses, castles and mortared stone churches built by the Georgian kings”** are important arguments to consolidate the above-said opinion. However, they do not seem sufficient for the great scientist. Therefore, he tries to consider the changes of the political situation in a historical respect, analyze the natural conditions of the location and prove that this region was indeed a part of Georgia.

Iv. Javakhishvili tried to explain the political, economic and cultural relations between Dvaleti and other parts of Georgia in the past by referring to the orographic conditions [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 8]:

- Political relations – the scientist analyzed the existing situation in Dvaleti during the periods of political power and decline of Georgia;
- Economic relations - the scientist referred to Vakhushti Bagrationi’s citations suggesting that in the XVIII century, from Kartli and Racha, they “used to take sheep skin, hops and other goods they lacked in their cold country”. In addition, he listed the roads running across Dvaleti;
- Religious and cultural links – the scientist named the fact of spreading the Christianity by the Georgian Preacher, great many fortresses, towers and churches built with mortared stone and Georgian Asomtavruli inscriptions survived on the ruins of the churches.

In order to consolidate this opinion, Iv. Javakhishvili also argued that the gorge of the Kasri River, which is a naturally narrow gorge, was made inaccessible artificially as well, i.e. by a man: **“a gate cut in the cliff and built with mortared stone, a large-arched one, across the river”**. As they say, this gate was made by the kings of Georgia *“to prevent the Osetians to travel on their own”* [Javakhishvili,

1919, p. 8]. “Shutting this gate” was quite easy like it was simple to shut Dariali gate in Dariali Gorge. Kasri gate is plotted on the “Historical Map of Georgia”, too compiled by Ivane Javakhishvili [1923] with the legend showing the fortress.

Dvaleti is located on the northern slope of the Caucasioni, like the present-day historical-geographical provinces on the territory of Georgia: Tusheti, Pirikita Khevsureti and Khvei. However, only Dvaleti was detached from the motherland. Like all other regions, the southern border of Dvaleti is the main watershed of the Caucasioni, which is lower and easier to overcome than a lateral ridge erected off the northern slope.¹ Iv. Javakhishvili also noted this fact. The maximum height of the peaks of the main ridge is 3938 m above sea level (mount Khalatsa). As for its northern border, it follows its lateral ridge, where there are peaks with eternal snow and glaciers erected: Adaikhokh (4404.9 m), Templi (4431 m) and others. The only low place is the gorge of the river Ardoni. Following such orographic conditions, Ardoni basin, or as Iv. Javakhishvili wrote, “*Ardoni Basin Gorge*” was formed here, which is bordered almost from all sides, but “*has only one way to the north across the above-mentioned gorge and is linked to Georgia with 11 passes in the south*” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 8]. Indeed, if we look at the topographic map of Georgia, we will see that the river Ardoni is formed with the rivers flowing down Main Caucasioni Ridge: Mamisondoni, Nardoni, Adaikomi and Tsmiakomdoni. The roads in the small settlements of these gorges running northwards concentrate only in the Ardoni River gorge with only one road (presently, a motor road) running from Dvaleti to north. Iv. Javakhishvili talked about this road when he wrote about Dvaleti: it “has only one way to the north”. As for the Main Caucasioni watershed, there are indeed several passes there: Mamisoni (2820.1 m

¹ The Main Ridge being lower is one of the peculiarities of the Great Caucasus (Caucasioni) distinguishing it from many mountains of the world.

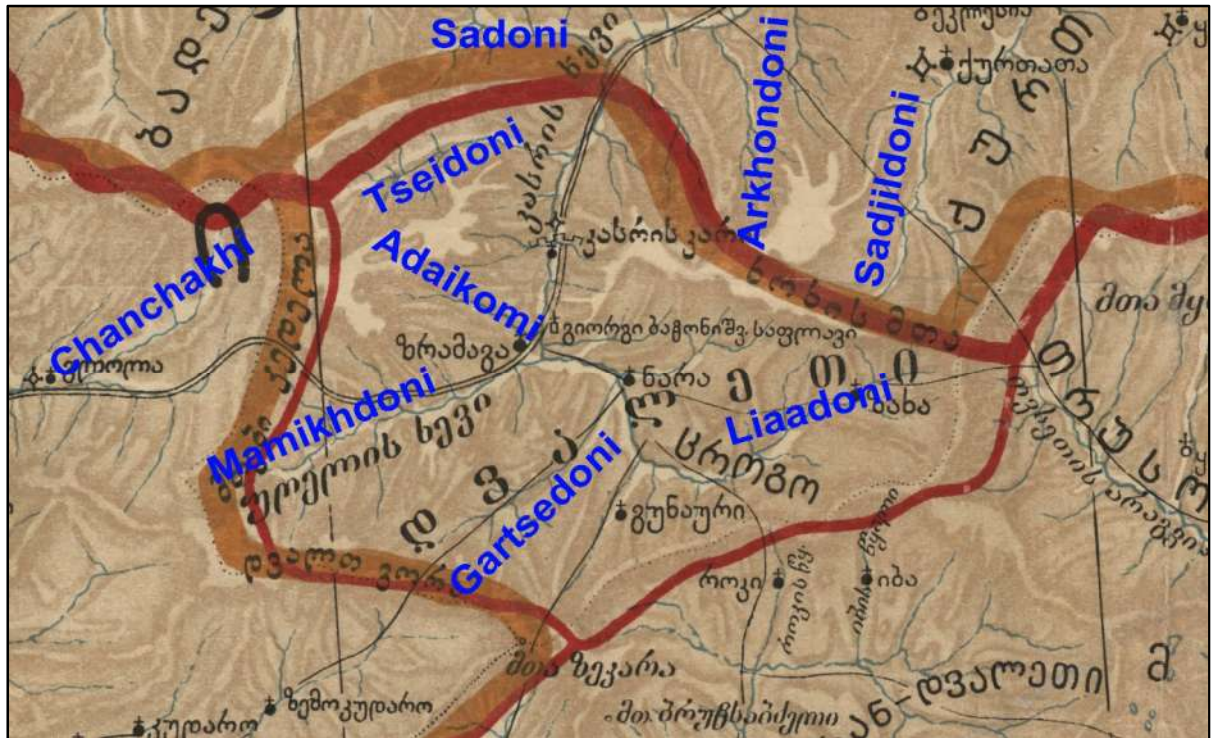
above sea level, V-X), Kozi (3072.6 m above sea level, VII-X), Kvdari (3148 m above sea level, VI-IX), Dzedo (2994 m above sea level, IV-X), Zekari (3184 m above sea level, VII-X), Bakhpandag (2925 m above sea level, V-X) and others. It was this pass historically supporting the political, economic, religious and cultural ties mentioned above.

Thus, the description of the northern and southern borders of Dvaleti by Iv. Javakhishvili is interesting not only for showing the difficulty of crossing them, but also in that the scientist, by referring to the degree of difficulty, explained the links between Dvaleti and its adjoining areas since the ancient times.

In his description of the northern border, Iv. Javakhishvili noted: *“the borderline from Adai-Kokhi (equaling to Georgian Khokhi Mountain) in the north runs east-south, up to Arkhona (equaling to Georgian Akhoti), while in the west, the line runs south from Adai-Khokhi peak, along the ridges and reaches Kazi-Khokhi. Then, the southern border starts from this point and runs across Saukhokhi, Khalitsa, Zekari, Brutsabdzeli and Khokhi along the ridges and reaches Arkhona on Roki”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 7]. Thus, the mountains of Adai-Khokhi (4408 m above sea level, 42°44'50' Northern latitude and 43°52'10" Eastern longitude) and Arkhoni (4158 m above sea level, 42°44'43' Northern latitude and 44°10'36" Eastern longitude) are named as the northern border of Dvaleti. However, the exact point of the Kasrikhevi River gorge where the border ran is not named. It is clear that the scientist did not connect these two mountains with a straight line what is seen on the map of 1923, too. As this map suggests, the border here runs 6.6 Versts (7 km) north of Kasriskari Fortress (Fig. 3.7). The analysis of the hydrographic network can be used to conclude that Iv. Javakhishvili plotted Dvaleti border at the confluence with the river Sadoni (the left tributary of the Ardoni River)

(42°50'20' Northern latitude and 44°01'40" Eastern longitude), between the villages of Nuzali and Mizuri (Alagir region, Alania).

Figure 3.7. Fragment of the “State Borders of Georgia” (1919): Dvaleti (In Georgian)



The maps of 1919 and 1930 show the border of Dvaleti with a similar location: the upper reaches of the River Ardoni gorge is on the territory of Georgia. As for the French maps of 1919, they show mount Adai-Khokhi on the border contour and the map of 1922, it shows two borders of the Republic of Georgia: before and after the Sovietization [Sartania, Nikolaishvili et al., 2016, p. 39], the northern border of Dvaleti is not plotted, but toponym “Dvaleti” is fixed. Besides, there are many toponyms on the territory of Dvaleti plotted, most of which are forgotten today.

Darialani and Gate to Georgia

Aiming at identifying the Georgian border along Dariali section, Iv. Javakhishvili referred to several sources:

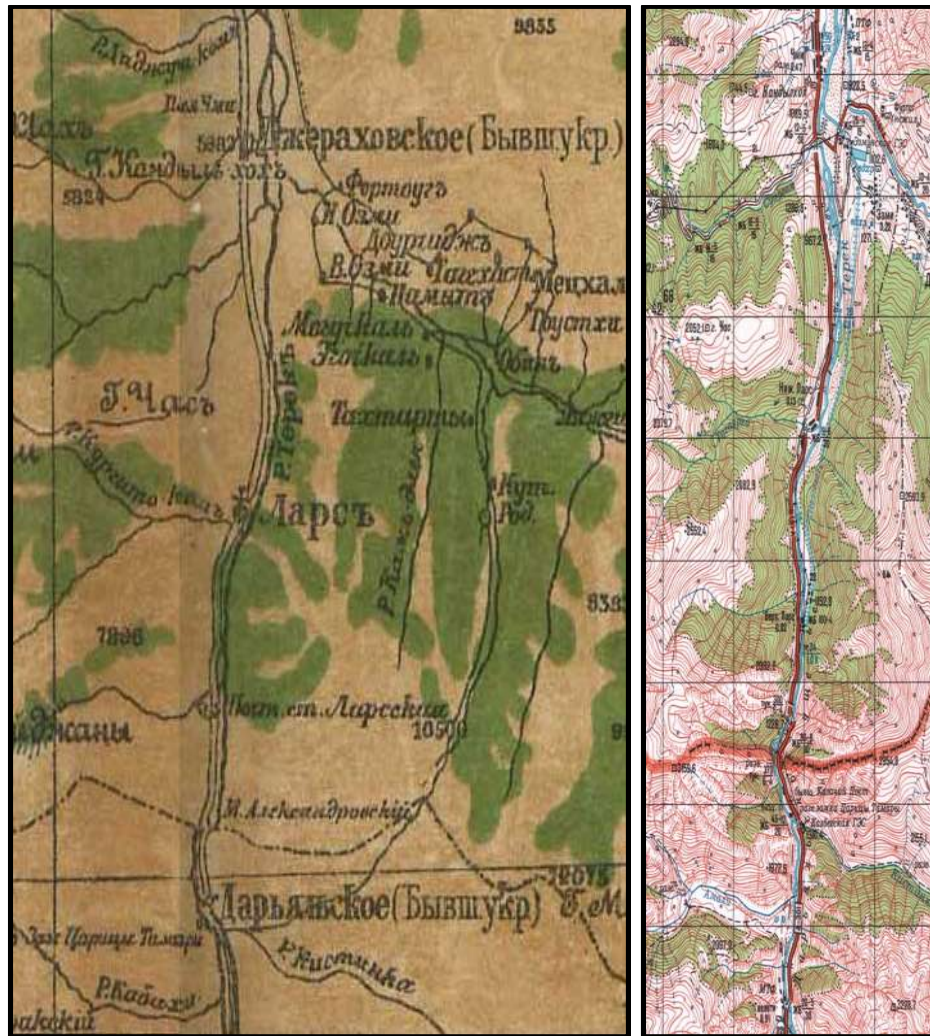
- Burnashev's map and work [Burnashev, 1896].
- The work and atlases by Vakhushti Bagrationi, and
- 5-Verst topographic map.

In his opinion, the border along Dariali section had to run across Gori Fortress, or "adjoining fortress" as he called it. Despite the fact that the work by Burnashev discusses Gori Fortress, it could not be located exactly, as it was not plotted on the modern maps, as Iv., Javakhishvili stated [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 9]. Therefore, when identifying this section of the border, Iv. Javakhishvili relied on Vakhushti Bagrationi's data and compared the facts given in his work to the data of a 5-Verst map. This comparison allowed him localizing some of other points and historical border of Georgia in Dariali Gorge.

So, Iv. Javakhishvili drew the historical border of Georgia in Dariali Gorge where "*the former royal residence*" - *the last foothold of the Georgian Kingdom*" was found. This place was "*near, but a bit south*" of Jariexhi (Jerahovskoye, south of village Chma at present, 42°51'04" Northern latitude and 44°38'10" Eastern longitude). Thus, until 1801, the rivers Armkhistskali, Suargomi and Tegaurki with their tributaries in Dariali Gorge were within the borders of Georgia.

As the comparison between the 5-Verst and Soviet topographic maps has evidenced, the modern border of Georgia has moved well southwards and the territorial loss is quite significant (Fig. 3.8). The measurements made on topographic map scaled 1:100,000 have evidenced the territorial loss of 466.5 km².

As Iv. Javakhishvili noted, Hereti had a great cultural value, and "***the Georgians used to exert their mental and religious influence on Dagestan and Shaki from this area***", [Iv. Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 11] – he wrote and cited more than one fact in evidence.



*Figure 3.8. Fragment of the “State Borders of Georgia” (1919):
Dariali (In Russian)*

Iv. Javakhishvili considered Hereti in two paragraphs, within the eastern and south-eastern borders, and this is logical. It is true that the territory of Hereti divided into Shida Kakheti and Gare Kakheti regions historically saw almost the same political and social-economic changes: the raging, raids and startle of foreign tribes, migration and expulsion of the local people, depopulation and demolishment and destruction of the cultural monuments, but on the other hand, due to the geographical location, natural conditions and general circumstances in the neighboring countries, one may talk about other traits of the historical development. In addition, as Hereti is located in the extreme

south-eastern part of the country, its outer border contour may be considered as north-eastern (the eastern border with Iv. Javakhishvili) and south-eastern sections. The first section follows Shida Kakheti (area adjacent to Zakatala) and another section follows Gare Kakheti (outer boundaries of Karaia). Iv. Javakhishvili showed Hereti as the territory comprising of these two sections.

Let us consider the north-eastern border of Hereti, which Iv. Javakhishvili first, drew along the crest of the Caucasioni of Kakheti – along Dagestan Mountains, as he called them and then, a little east of the confluence of the Gishistskali River and named the work by Vakhushti Bagrationi and map by Burnashev in evidence: **“The border was south of the Gishistskali River what is also proved by the map compiled by Burnashev in 1784”**, - he wrote. Indeed, the map by Burnashev clearly shows this: the eastern border of Kakheti runs east of the Gishistskali River (Fig. 3.9).

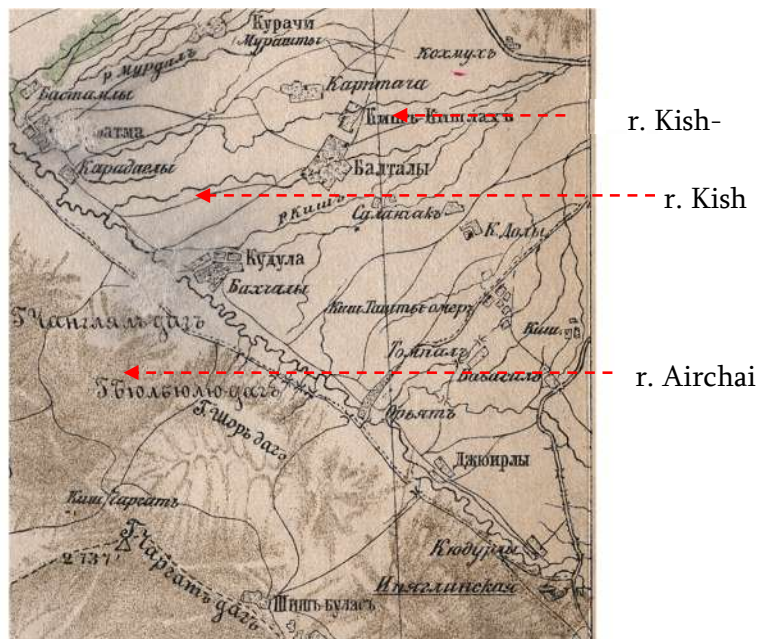


Figure 3.9. Fragment of 5-Verst map: Alazani-Gishistkali (In Russian)

However, the main purpose of this study by Iv. Javakhishvili was not only to establish the fact, but also to identify the exact location of the Gishistskali River and locate it on the contemporary map. This was made necessary as *“the modern Russian maps do not show a river or fortress with this name”*; as for the Burnashev’s map mentioned above, compiled in the second half of the XVIII century, it is not really very accurate for this purpose. If following the discussion of Iv. Javakhishvili, ***“the frontier line of Georgia along this section can be clearly seen”***. As Iv. Javakhishvili concluded, the old name of the Agrichai River (the left tributary of the Alazani River) was Gishistskali. ***“Today, the names on the maps do not show a confluence of the Gishistskali River with the Alazani River. It is a tributary of so called Agrichai River instead (a 5-Verst map gives a name Airchai). It is clear that in the old times, the present-day Akri-chai was called Gishistskali starting from the point where it is flown by the present-day Gishi River (Kish)”, and “...Besides, an old Georgian Gishi equals to the Kishi River (р. Кушъ) on the 5-Verst map and Gishi Fortress must have been at the location named Kish-Kishlag (Kish-Kishlak) at present...”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 11].

Based on the narrative by Iv. Javakhishvili about the south-eastern area of Hereti and by comparing the map of 1923 and 5-Verst maps, we tried to identify the objects on the given territory of Hereti named by Iv. Javakhishvili.

The map of 1874 by Burnashev contains very interesting data about this section of the Georgian border (Fig. 3.10). In particular, the southern border of Kakheti runs a little south of the confluence of the Alazani River with the Mtkvari River. Today, this territory is occupied by Mingechauri Water Reservoir (built in 1945) and is a part of Azerbaijan. The changes of this section of the border followed the Sovietization of Georgia. Therefore, on the general Soviet geographical maps of the 1930s [Javakhishvili, 1930-1931; Topographic Map ..., 1938], this territory is shown beyond the borders of Georgia.

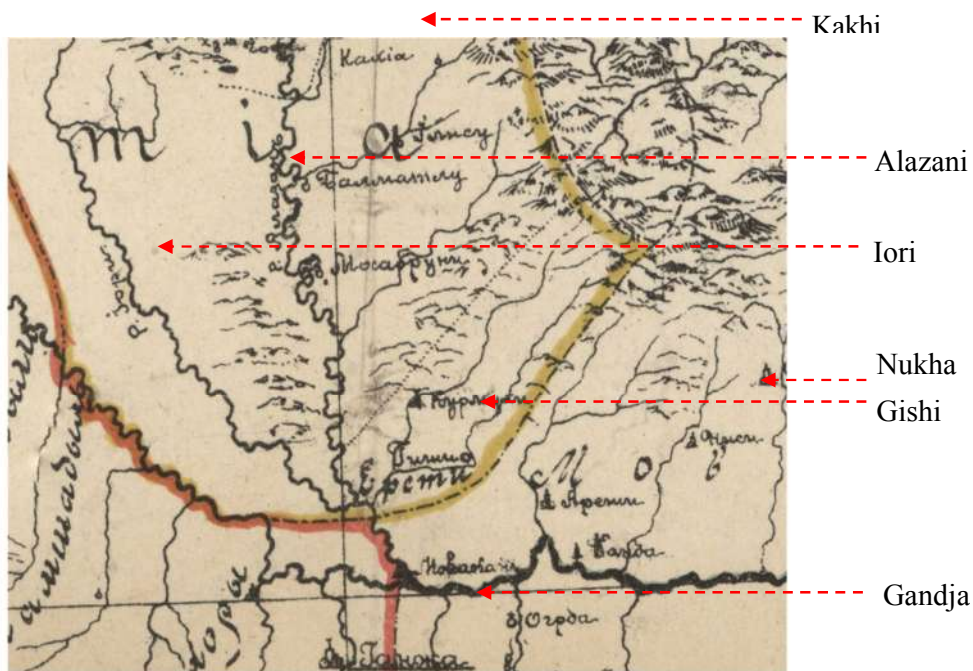


Figure 3.10. Fragment of the Map: Alazani (In Russian)

In order to identify the borders of the country, the analysis of then-time administrative division and toponyms is very important. **“Under the influence of the foreign power, this region was divided into three units with the following names: “Alis-Sasultno”, “Eliseni” and “Chari”** (Table 3). The latter was the name of Pipineti gorge”, and the great scientist tried to identify the areas of the territories of these units by using Vakhushti Bagrationi’s work and 5-Verst map. However, neither of these objects is plotted on the maps compiled on

the ordination (with the authorship/editorship) of Iv. Javakhishvili what would help us with their exact localization.

As the great scientist noted, the spread of Islam in Hereti was followed not only by the changes in the national-religious background of the local population, but also by the disintegration of the territory of this region and changes in the *“old geographical names”*: *“this region was divided into three units with the following names: “Alis-Sasultno”, “Eliseni” and “Chari”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 13]. Today, it is very difficult to exactly locate the above-listed three units and the scientists' opinions about this question differ.

Iv. Javakhishvili paid due attention to the demographical situation in the borderline territories, too. Based on different sources, he provided the data of different periods (of 1886 and 1916) and analyzed them allowing the researchers of that period evaluating the demographic situation in real terms. In 1886-1916, the total number of residents in Zakatala Oblast increased from 74,449 to 74,000 and that of the Georgians increased from 12,430 to 19,000. By 1886, most of the population were the Lezgins with their number 3,2 times more than that of the Georgians. However, before 1916, the national background of the population changed with the specific weight of the Georgians and Lezgins increasing by 8.3% to 5.2% of the total number of the population, respectively. As a result of this change, the Lezgins were still the majority of the local population, but their number exceeded that of the Georgians by 2.3% only.

Unlike the tradition accepted in modern geographical scientific or popular science literature, Iv. Javakhishvili considered the southern border of Georgia from east to west. Here too, the reason for this must be a historical consideration of the state border. In a geographical respect, dividing the border into the sections is done according to the sides of horizon. This is why, in the absolute majority of the geographical works, the description of the northern and eastern borders of

the country ends at the confluence of the Alazani River with Minge-chauri Water Reservoir and that of the southern border starts at the Black Sea coast, near village Sarpi and going eastwards, reaches only the confluence of the Alazani River with Mingechauri Water Reservoir [Alpenidze et al., 1999; Beruchashvili, Elizbarashvili, 1996; Elizbarashvili, Machavariani et al., 2000; Maruashvili, 1969; Georgian Geography, 2000; Kharatishvili, 1990]. As for Iv. Javakhishvili, he relied on the regions of Georgia, rather than the sides of the horizon and thus, gave a historical tint to the formation of the borders of the country. In particular, following the description of the eastern line of Hereti, by following the western direction, he described the south-eastern borders first and then, the borders of Kiziki and Karaia and territory west of it.

Iv. Javakhishvili considered the Mtkvari River and the Mtkvari and Debeda watershed as an old south-eastern border of Hereti. On the historical map compiled by him in 1923 [Javakhishvili, 1923], he referred to this watershed as to Berdaoji or Berduji Mountains. However, on the map, this border is the dividing line between Kvemo Kartli and Kazakh. As for the historical border of Georgia, in the I century and in 1783, the scientist marked it much further south-east, up to Ganja Mountains, along the River Kainalistskali, to the city of Kanda. The border drawn in this manner puts the cities of Shamkori and Gandza (Ganja) on the territory of Georgia.

At this point, Iv. Javakhishvili drew the border from the confluence of the Gishitskali River with the Alazani River to south, up to the confluence with the Iori River. If considering the "Historical Map of Georgia" [1923], we will see that the scientist had drawn the border so that the city of Gishi and Ajinouri Valley are the parts of Georgia, while the city of Nokha, the same as Nukhpato (the city of Sheki from 1968, Azerbaijan) is left beyond the borders of Georgia. Thus, the confluences of the rivers Alazani and Iori, Hereti, Khoranta (the main city), Movakani (a small city) and Dandisi (a rural settlement) are parts

of Georgia. Then, to west, the border runs along the gorge of the River Mtkvari up to the confluence with the Agstapura River: ***“Then, the southern border of Georgia followed the riverbank north-west, approximately to the point where the river Agstapura joins the Mtkvari”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 14]. However, the “Historical Map of Georgia” [1923] shows this section of the border differently: it runs across the River Kainaghistskali putting Kazakh, Shamshadili and Gandza, the same as Ganja, on the territory of Georgia (by the state of the I c. BC and 1783 AD). Iv. Javakhishvili attributed the whole of this territory to Hereti.

In addition to the “Borders of Georgia”, there is another work by Iv. Javakhishvili “The Rights of Georgia to Zakatala Oblast”, which has not been published to date and is kept at the Historical Archive of Georgia [Fund 1864-2-274, p. 1-2]. This short manuscript is dated by May 12, 1920 and shows an extremely unfavorable and at the same time, unfair situation for Georgia of that period. In particular, before 1918, when Georgia was a part of the Russian Empire, Saingilo was a part of Tiflis Province. After gaining the independence by Georgia, the situation changed for several times. An armistice was concluded between the Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, under which a condominium – a joint ownership - was declared for the territory of Zakatala. However, later, it seemed that the historical justice was restored. In particular, under the Peace Treaty concluded between Georgia and Russia on May 7, 1920, Russia recognized *“the existence and independence of the Georgian State”* and voluntarily renounced all the rights obtained by it as a result of violating the Treaty of Georgievsk (1783) and usurpation of the territory of Georgia.

Under Article III of the Treaty, the state frontier between Russia and Georgia started from the Black Sea, at the confluence with the Psou River, ran along the River Psou to Mount Asakhcha (2315,2 m above sea level) and Mount Agepsta, and continued along the Main Ridge of Caucasioni, along the northern frontier of the territorial units

of the former Empire: Black Sea Okrug, Kutaisi and Tiflis Provinces **to the Zakatala Oblast and along the eastern boundary thereof** [underlined by the author] up to the frontier of Armenia. Under Clause 2 of the same Article, all the summits of all mountains along this boundary line were considered neutral, and could not be occupied by troops of, nor fortified by, either of the contracting parties (until January 1, 1922). The neutralization zones of the summits were established for a distance of five versts on each side of the boundary line, with the exception of some summits, e.g. the neutralization zone in Dariali Gorge extended from Balty to Kobi and from Zaremag to Oni on the Mamison summit.

This record is interesting in that under the Treaty, the eastern border of our country ran along the eastern boundary of Zakatala, i.e. the whole of this region was a part of Georgia. However, two important documents, which changed “the restored historical justice” should be noted:

1. The Treaty is enclosed by secret document “A Special Secret Annex to the Treaty between Russia and Georgia”, and

2. Additional Treaty between Georgia and Russia on Georgian-Azerbaijan boundary in Zakatala Oblast of May 12, 1920 to the Peace Treaty between Georgia and Russia of May 7, 1920.

It is remarkable that the above-mentioned work by Ivane Javakishvili is also dated by May 12, 1920, and thus, must be considered as an echo of the newly established political situation. The scientist tried to prove the rights Georgia has to this ancient land of the country. In particular, he considered Zakatala as:

- The native land of the Georgians since the ancient times (until the first half of the XVII century) always known as Hereti;
- The arena of Georgian culture and art.

In evidence of this opinion, the scientist cited Georgian and Russian official sources, namely a Russian map of then-time Georgia

painted in Moscow in 1743 and map compiled in 1784 by Burnashev, the Russian Ambassador. Besides, he noted that in 1783, **“by the moment of concluding the Treaty between Georgia and Russia too, Zakatala Oblast was an indisputable part of Georgia”**.

Kvemo Kartli

For centuries, Kvemo Kartli, so called Somkhiti, was one of the most important strategic regions of the country, flagship and the only shield of the southern part of Georgia. Therefore, the Georgian authorities always paid a great attention to its protection and maintenance. Iv. Javakhishvili noted that even in the period of the political decline of East Georgia, in 1783 and during the invasions of Agha Mohammad Khan, the border of Kartli ran further south.

In evidence, he cited several historical and cartographic sources:

- A Russian-Georgian map of Georgia of 1743 kept at the Military-Scientific Archive of the main headquarters of Russia under number 505, “Iverskaya Zemlya”;
- The work by Vakhushti Bagrationi “Description of the Kingdom of Kartli” and Atlas map compiled by him;
- The map compiled by Burnashev in 1784 based on the general map of Georgia. The analysis of the map makes it clear that the border on it runs across the crest of present-day Pambak and Sevani, the same as Shahdagh Ridge. Thus, the whole of the River Debeda gorge was on the territory of Georgia;
- The map compiled by Burnashev in 1786.

Iv. Javakhishvili named several factors to explain the affiliation of the whole territory of Kvemo Kartli with Georgia and cited a number of historical sources in evidence: **“As far back as before Christ, Georgia and Armenia were neighboring countries, but Armenia had a much less land at the beginning, and only after Artax and Zariadres, the commanders of Antiochus the Great, established**

two separate Armenian kingdoms, the borders of Armenia, as those of a political unit, extended”, - he wrote, and cited Strabo in evidence: “Such an extension was not the result of the natural development or propagation of the Armenian nation. Rather, the kings of Armenia captured their neighbors’ lands” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 16]. Here, Strabo meant Gugarena or Gubareti “equaling to the southern part of Borchalo Uyezd, which included approximately Chochkana, Bolnisi, Dbanisi and Loki gorges, Tashiri, Abotsi and southern part of Trialeti, with Gugareti given more importance and drawn with more extensive borders due to certain political reasons”. The scientist also cited Plinius’ words in evidence and data of the later period.

Iv. Javakhishvili described the further development of the territory of Kvemo Kartli, in particular, more than one invasions of the Armenian state to this territory. However, he concluded that despite such actions and establishing the religious and cultural hearths at some places by the Armenians, ***“This land was Georgian as before and it was a southern part of Kvemo Kartli”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 21]. He used this reason to explain the fact of Leonti Mroveli, a XI-century chronicler, considering Hereti and Berdauji River (presently, the Debeda River) from the east and mountain “following the mouth of the Berdaoji River” from the south as the borders of Kartli.

Iv. Javakhishvili considered the fact of Kvemo Kartli being *“an undisputed part”* of Georgia based on different factors, such as:

- **Historical factor.** Gugareti or Kvemo Kartli was a part of Georgia: *“by the way, they took away Pariadri lands, including Tao and Speri, Khorzeni and Gugareti (Gugareni), from the Georgian tribes too, while Karin and Derxin were taken away by Chalybes and Mossynoeci (ibid.). This happened in 191 AD and was the first attack of the Armenians to conquer the Georgian land”* [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 16]. As the scientist noted, Gugarena or Gubareti were thought as of different locations, but

the toponym used by Strabo corresponded to the southern part of Borchalo Uyezd and included: Chochkana, Bolnisi, Dbanisi and Loki gorges, Tashiri, Abotsi and the southern part Trialeti, i.e. the territories presently beyond the borders of Kartli also.

- **Physical-geographical factor.** Gugareti is bordered by high and steep ridges (Bambak and so called Somkhiti Ridges) from three sides - east, south and west. Due to the absence of such a strong barrier from the north on the one hand and openness of the gorges of the rivers to north on the other hand, this region is closely connected to Georgia. ***“All this land is so closely associated with Georgia in a geographical respect that like the country itself, all its rivers and roads naturally, are directed northwards, towards the Mtkvari River and Tiflis”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 17].
- **Economic factor.** ***“Kvemo Kartli was associated with other parts of Georgia not only in a military respect, but with its location and roads as well. With its proprietary power and economics, it was also closely linked to the other parts of Georgia and East Georgia also had close links with it”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 27].
- **Demographic factor.** Due to the grave conditions, ***“following the religious and national-political persecution, the Armenians used to migrate from their homeland, leave their ancient lands and sought asylum in more quiet countries and states... Naturally, they used to settle in the region adjoining their country with vacant places to live in. So, it is not surprising seeing the Armenians settling Kvemo Kartli”***. It was how the ethnic-confession background changed on this land. However, the scientist also noted: ***“If in the past, such a resettlement was spontaneous and had no political context or value, at the end of the XVIII century, it was given a kind of a political background”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 29].

What did the scientist mean? Certainly, he meant a certain political plan developed by Russia “in favor of the Armenians”.

In the same work, Iv. Javakhishvili considered the issue of toponym “Somkhiti”. In his view, it appeared on this territory during the political reign of the Armenians and covered only Bolnisi and Dmanisi gorges and Lore valley. In evidence of this territory being the property of the Georgians since the ancient times, the great scientist wrote: **“the Armenians too, considered this land as the property of the Georgians... it is notable that as a geographical term, it was used only in the Georgian language and Georgian literature. Neither the Armenians, nor the Armenian literature referred to this land as “Somkhiti”. Just on the contrary, they called Lore-Tashiri Valley “Valley of the Georgians”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 21].

Following the above-mentioned, this territory of Kvemo Kartli on the map officially submitted to Paris Peace Conference by Georgia in 1919, was on the territory of our country. In particular, the border ran along the crest of Bezobdagh (Bazumi) ridge, which is the watershed of the Dzorageta and Pambak (Bambak) Rivers, the constituent parts of the Debeda River. Further east, the border ran along the middle and lower courses of the Debeda River (Fig. 3.11). However, Iv. Javakhishvili did not consider this frontier line a historical boundary - it ran more south. How did the scientist explain such state of affairs? – This is one of the territories, **“which can be ceded without a harm to the independent existence of Georgia”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 51].

On the background of one of this best examples of state reasoning, Iv. Javakhishvili was extremely indignant by the Armenians’ claims and documents submitted at Paris Peace Conference. He talked about two maps of Somkhiti published in Istanbul in 1919 showing not only the territory of Kvemo Kartli, but also Tiflis, Mtskheta, Gori and even Batumi confined to the borders of the Armenian State.

Iv. Javakhishvili concerned the issue of Georgian-Armenian border even earlier, when in December of 1918, the Armenian army attacked Georgia quite unexpectedly. The printed media of that time included important data about this event. Iv. Javakhishvili too, responded to the established situation [Matsaberidze, 2016]. He delivered two lectures: one in lecture hall no. 1 of Georgian University on December 18 titled **“The economic and strategic importance of the disputed locations between the Georgians and the Armenians”** [Newspaper “Sakartvelo”, December 20, 1918, #244, p. 3] and another one - at the main club of the Socialist-Federalists’ Revolutionary Party (at #1, Loris-Melikov street) on December 22 titled “The southern borders of Georgia¹ and battle for them between the Georgians and the Armenians”² [Newspaper “Sakartvelo”, December 22, 1918, #246, p. 2].

As the newspaper articles make it clear, Iv. Javakhishvili had evaluated the situation comprehensively. In addition to the historical overview and evaluation of the strategic importance of the southern territory of Georgia and, he also described the economic ties connecting Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki, Lore and Bambak to the main territory of Georgia: **“The disputed locations, such as Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki, Lore and Bambak, are not economically connected to Armenia, as the public figures of Armenia try to prove. Rather, the people living in these areas find it much difficult to move to Armenia due to naturally high locations, while they have wonderful roads to north (to our side)”** [Newspaper “Sakartvelo”, December 20, 1918, #244, p. 3].

¹ One of the newspaper articles reads “Georgian-Armenian borders” instead of “Southern borders of Georgia” [Newspaper “Sakartvelo”, December 22, 1918, #246, p. 2].

² The title of the report by Iv. Javakhishvili in some newspaper articles is given as “Georgian-Armenian borders and battle for them between the Georgians and the Armenians”.

Another work by Iv. Javakhishvili echoed the circumstances related to the new wave of the territorial claims of Armenia. This untitled work was not published in the scientist's life and is kept as a manuscript at the National Archive of Georgia [Georgian Archive of Modern History, 471-1-98, p. 82-111]. This manuscript was studied by V. Guruli, Av. Arabuli and M. Vachnadze [1998]. The work considers two very important issues: one of them refers to the territorial dispute between Georgia and Armenia at the beginning of the XX century and another one refers to the questions of annexation of Georgia by Russia and demographic processes in the XIX-XX centuries. A particular accent is made on the Armenians' settlement in Georgia.

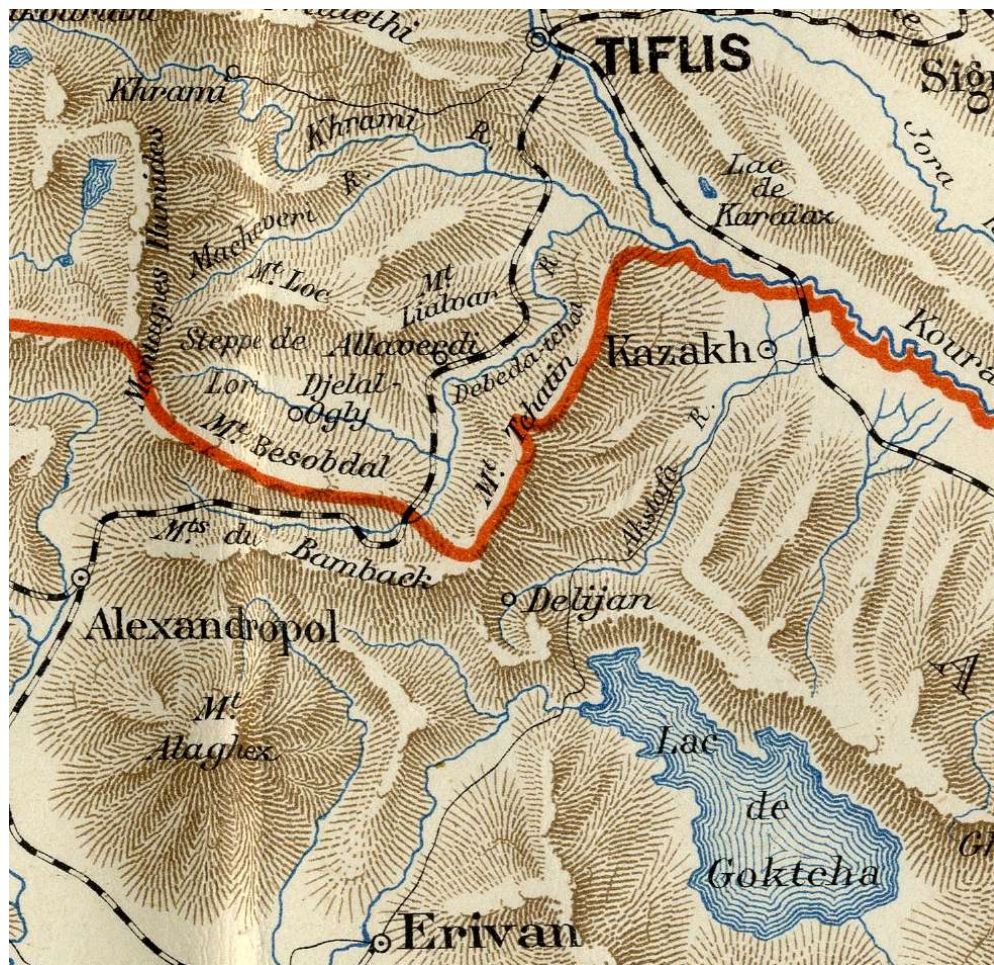


Figure 3.11. Fragment of the Map (1919): Gokhcha Lake (In Georgian)

In this connection, Iv. Javakhishvili named Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), a famous Norwegian traveler, North Pole explorer and public figure: “...**F. Nansen too, as soon as he arrived in Tiflis, started to talk about this issue and wanted to know whether it was possible to settle the Armenian refugees in this corner of Georgia**”.¹

Meskhetei or Zemo Kartli

Zemo Kartli, the same as Meskheti, is a part of Kartli covering the basin of the upper reaches of the Mtkvari River. The borders of Meskheti, among other areas, included Tori and even Tao-Klarjeti, which is not in the Mtkvari River basin and covers the basin of the upper reaches of the Chorokhi River. For centuries, there were various administrative and political units - the communities - on this territory: ***“The marginal communities of Meskheti from east to west were as follows: Javakhet-Abotsi, Artahan-Kola, Klarjeti, Tao-Oltisi and Tortoum-Ispiri. Lazistan, or Chaneti covered the***

¹ In 1919, the League of Nations appointed Nansen a High Commissioner for the issues of refugees. In 1920-1922, he was a High Commissioner of the League of Nations considering the issues of repatriation of the Russian captives and a High Commissioner for the issues of refugees [Nansen, 2015. p. 6]. With this purpose, in 1922, he traveled to Constantinople and in the name of the government of Turkey, applied to the refugees advising they should leave Turkey and return to Russia. Later, in 1924, a Nansen Committee was established (with its center located in Geneva) issuing so called Nansen passports. This document was to grant the refugees the right to work in different countries [Penkovskiy, e-resources]. In 1925, the League of Nations charged Nansen with exploring the possibility of settling the Armenian refugees driven out from Turkey. Nansen sympathized with the Armenian refugees and did his best to help them. In his memories, he wrote about the Armenians: “Is there any people on this earth who has suffered so much and yet has survived? But to what end? To be abandoned and betrayed by those very same people who have given them promises in the name of sacred Justice?” It was through his efforts that several thousands of Armenians were settled on the territory of the Soviet Union and Syria [Nansen, Newspaper, 2015, p. 6].

territory of the sea coastline south-west of Klarjeti, up to Trabzon” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 35].

Iv. Javakhishvili considered the southern border of Meskheta as a whole, but continued his narrative about its individual topics when using the historical facts.

He calls Abotsi, the same as Palakatsio, the community between Meskheta and Kvemo Kartli. However, the map of 1923 shows the two communities separately: Palakatsion in the west and Abotsi – in the east... **“The southern border of Abotsi starts where Irjini or Kara-Daji and Berduji (Bezobdal) mountains meet”**, - wrote Iv. Javakhishvili [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 36], i.e. he considered the present-day Javakheti Ridge (bordering Kvemo Kartli) as the eastern border of this community and named Baba mountains as the eastern border of the said community: **“The line from here runs along the ridges of Baba Mountain to reach Didi Aghbabi peak”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 36].

As for the border of Meskheta, Iv. Javakhishvili named Kari or Karsi mountains. As the Soviet topographic map suggests, this is Alahiuekber Ridge – and the River Mtkvari heads from one of the peaks of this ridge (mount Kizil-Giaduk, 2742 m). The ridge isolates the basins of the rivers Mtkvari and Chorokhi on the one hand and the basin of the river Areksi, the same as Arezi (the right tributary of the Mtkvari River) on the other hand, further west, **“the border runs along the ridge of the watershed mountains of the Chorokhi and Arezi tributaries known as Irijlu Mountains in the past and turns north-west to reach the border of Lazistan”** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 36].

Besides the historical circumstances, Iv. Javakhishvili referred to the physical-geographical factor to prove the fact of Meskheta being a part of Georgia: **“It is sufficient to look at the geographical conditions of Akhalkalaki to clearly see how much the natural structure of this land contradicts the idea of its conjunction to Gyumbri (Alexandropol). Javakheti and Samtskhe-Erusheti or Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe Uyezds and Potskhov district of**

Karsi Region are isolated from Yerevan Province and Gyumbri, first, with a western part of Berduji mountains (Bezobdag Range), then, with the ridges known as Abotsi mountains (Madataphi Range), eastern part of Nialiskure mountain (Chaldiri Range) and finally, Erusheti Mountain (Ulgaraski Range), which are high, covered with snow for 7 to 8 months a year and are impassable [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 42]. As the scientist noted, ***“the orientation of the river gorges, their expansion northwards, was the major cause for this region “to have economic links only with Georgia, and it was always the case in the past”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 42], ***“and it is also much important to have such economic ties not only with East, but with West Georgia as well”***.

Iv. Javakhishvili referred to an economic factor as well to prove the fact of Meskhети being a part of Georgia: ***“Even in the XVIII century, when Meskhети, as a pashalik, belonged to the Ottoman Empire and was politically detached from Georgia, all Meskhети, and Javakheti and Samtskhe in the first instance, had close economic relations with Georgia and people from these regions took their agricultural produce and victuals, particularly bread, to Tiflis and Gori to sell”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 42]. He named the quantities of bread and other cereals produced in Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe Uyezds imported from these areas. Those figures clearly show that these isolated corners of Georgia maintained close economic relations with their homeland, while such links with other countries of South Caucasus were obviously very weak. In particular, the quantity of bread and other cereals taken to other areas of Georgia was several tens of times more than the quantity taken to other South Caucasian countries. In 1910-1912, when production of cereals increased all over the South Caucasus, this indicator was higher (58 to 131 times more), while in 1914, the year when the World War One started, marked by a drastic decrease of bread and cereal production in Georgia, this indicator was still high (14 times more).

In evidence of such close economic links, Iv. Javakhishvili referred to the opinion of Vakhushti Bagrationi: ***“This corner [Meskhети (author’s note)] was so much vital for Georgian cattle-breeders that at the times when Meskhети was in the hands of the Ottomans, those who owned cattle and shepherds in the first place, were forced to drive the cattle to some other state and spend summer there... Like in the past centuries, today the cattle-breeders from East Georgia drive large herds to this area for grazing. So, it is absolutely clear that though in the XIX century, quite by chance, Armenian refugees settled in Borchalo and Akhalkalaki Uyezds and the number of Georgian population was few there, but the people from East Georgia not only maintained economic relations with these Uyezds, but are also closely linked to them like before”*** [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 43].

Kola-Artaan, Tao-Tortoum-Ispiri

“...Artaan and Oltisi regions of present-day Karsi Province equaling to former Kola-Artaan and northern part of Tao, belonged to the Georgian population and Georgian nation for centuries. Only since the XVII century, owing to the 200-year-long rule of the Turks in Artaan and Oltisi regions and Islam, the Georgian Moslems have forgotten their native language”, - wrote Iv. Javakhishvili. This opinion of the great scientist was based on the analysis of the demographic situation evidencing that by 1889, the total number of the Georgians in Artaan and Oltisi regions was over 97 thousand and that of the Armenians was a little more than 5 thousand, i.e. the Georgians in the region were almost 20 times more than the Armenians (Fig. 14). In addition, Iv. Javakhishvili cited the record of a certain A. Shahtunian of 1918: ***“The Armenians here constitute an insignificant minority”***, and ***“thus, we left these regions beyond***

the borders of Armenia during the demarcation of Trans-Caucasia”, (*The Administrative Transformation of the Trans-Caucasian Region*, Tiflis, 1918, pp. 73-74 and 75)” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 46].

Lazistan

Iv. Javakhishvili referred to Lazeti, the same as Lazistan or Chaneti as to the extreme south-western region of the Georgian population and noted so it was in the past. In addition, he talked about the reduced number and Turkification of the Georgian people in Lazeti in the XIX century. He thought of the western part of Trabzon as one more area settled with Lazi people and considered the city of Trabzon as their own land. However, by the moment of writing his work, i.e. by 1919, he wrote: “... ***the Lazi and Chani population is confined to Rize Sancak only, the same as Lazistan Sancak***”. In that period, Lazistan Sancak covered two regions: Atina and Rize. In Atina region, which adjoined Georgia, “***the Chani or Lazi mother tongue***” still survived, while in Rize region, they had forgotten their mother tongue and “***have adopted Turkish***”.

The work gives quite a detailed description of the border between Atina and Rize, but says nothing about the southern border of Rize region, i.e. whole Lazistan. Iv. Javakhishvili considered it only generally when talking about the southern borders of Meskhети: “*The border runs along the ridge of the watershed mountains of the Chorokhi and Arezi tributaries known as Irijlu Mountains in the past and turns north-west to reach the border of Lazistan*” [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 36]. However, nothing is said about the exact route of the southern border of Lazistan. But we can base our discussion on the “Historical Map of Georgia” [1923]. Iv. Javakhishvili drew the border of Chaneti community between the city of Opi (a small town) and Khanzir (a rural settlement), along the gorge of the river Kalapotamos (flows into the Black Sea between the cities of Khopa and Rize). Then,

the border reaches Lazeti Ridge (the same as Chaneti, or East Ponto Ridge) and mount Rkinis Palo, i.e. to the summit marked on the Soviet topographic map by 3478 m altitude with geographical coordinates: 40°31'30' Northern latitude and 40°28'13' Eastern longitude.¹

Another important fact to note about Chaneti is that in the ancient times, in particular, in the II half of the IV century, I half of the V century, VIII century, in the last third of the XIII century, I half of the XIV century, in the 1310-1360s and in the II half of the XV century, a third of Chaneti was a part of Egrisi (Laziska). This is how it is shown on the Historical Atlas of Georgia [2016, pp. 6, 9, 26-27, 32-33, 34, 36]. Chaneti was within the borders of Georgia for such a long period of its history. However, none of the maps by Iv. Javakhishvili shows Chaneti on the territory of Georgia in any historical period (I c. BC, XII c. AD, 1783, 1922 and the earlier border of the Republic of Georgia); however, Iv. Javakhishvili referred this territory as the one settled by the Georgians/Georgian tribes. An exception is the Georgian maps dated by 1919 (Georgian-French publications). It is true that as they show, Chaneti is not included in the old borders of the Russian Empire and nor on the territory of Georgia naturally, but is shown within the borders claimed by Georgia in its official appeal to Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

It is not surprising that Chaneti is not a part of Georgia on the map dated by 1922 [1922], as the borders on the map show the reality in two different periods: before 1921, i.e. before the Sovietization and after it. Neither the “Historical Map of Georgia” [1923] shows Chaneti within the borders of our country in any historical period, as indeed, Chaneti was not a part of unified Georgia by that time. However, it is incomprehensible why Chaneti is left beyond the borders of Georgia on the “Map of Botanical-Agricultural Areas of Georgia” dated by

¹ The location of mount Rkinis Palo is not ultimately fixed and is a subject of discussion.

1930, where the scientist was not limited by political conjuncture and had to show a geo-botanical picture only? The subject of the map was economic, not political! Therefore, the scientist had no limitations and did not need any political prudence, moreover when such historical territories of Georgia, as Jiketi, Dvaleti, Hereti, Lore, Kola-Artan and Tao-Klarjeti are shown as parts of Georgia on that map.

To answer this question, first, we must fix the historical period, in which Iv. Javakhishvili attributed Chaneti to Georgia and in general, whether he considered Chaneti as a historical region of Georgia. If the great scientist answered these questions negatively, i.e. if he never considered this place settled with the Georgian people as an integral part of the political body of Georgia, then it would have been undue for Georgia to have territorial claims to this area or to include this issue in the documents submitted to Paris Peace Conference, moreover, as it is known, Iv. Javakhishvili took an active part in developing those documents. Consequently, it is more likely that the scientist considered Chaneti as the territory owned by Georgia; however, this issue needs certain clarification. Let us try to clarify the situation.

First of all, we must note that the scientist considered the Chanis as a Georgian tribe and this is natural. This is what he wrote in the I volume of “The History of the Georgian Nation” where he talked about paganism: **“The Ingushs and Chechens less bear the pagan names of weekdays and have less kept the data about them than the Georgian tribes: Megrelians, Chanis and Svanis”** [Javakhishvili, 1979, p. 157].

As for the political integration of Chaneti with Georgia, in his work “The Economic History of Georgia”, Iv. Javakhishvili immediately stated: **“Chaneti, which was politically included within the borders of Georgia for a short time only, had two zones: a sea coastline and a mountainous area”** [Javakhishvili, 1986, p. 338]. Unfortunately, the scientist did not specify the exact moment of the

short period, but when talking about the hardship of the country, he said: ***“It is true that the Georgian kingdoms and princedoms formed following the disintegration of Georgia, often fought with one another and as all of them tried to expand their domains, the shape of these kingdoms and princedoms often changed, but without a doubt, these units must have had their usual and more or less undisputed borders. This was possible first of all, because all of those units were some or other community in the past”*** [Javakhishvili, 1982, p. 372]. This discussion was followed by the description of individual regions of Georgia, and Iv. Javakhishvili, when describing Guria based on “The Life of Georgia”, named Chaneti as well: ***“Guria Princedom covered Sajavakho, on the other side of the Rioni River, Gomistsikhe on another side of the Rioni, as well as Erge, Ajara and Chaneti from Rkinis Palo”*** [Javakhishvili, 1982, p. 374].

Besides, Chaneti, as Iv. Javakhishvili wrote: ***“Following the occupation of the territory of the Byzantine Empire on the southeastern coast of the Black Sea, King Tamar, by virtue of the war, did not append it to Georgia by, but established the Empire of Trabzon, mainly a Greek empire with its people and statehood, and was satisfied with establishing close military and political links with this new domain. However, the extreme western region of this empire was Chaneti with its population being a Georgian tribe, with their origin and language, related to Georgian”*** [Javakhishvili, 1983, p. 412]. In addition, Iv. Javakhishvili wrote: ***“...Instead of affiliating the native brothers – the Lazis and the Chanis – detached from their native land for centuries because of being the Georgians, King Tamar formed the Empire of Trabzon and granted it to her relation Alexios I Megas Komnenos, the son of Andronikos I”*** [Citation according to Z. Avalishvili. See Z. Avalishvili “From the Times of the Crusaders”, Tbilisi, 1989, p. 91]. This opinion makes it clear that the scientist considered this territory as a part of

the state of Georgia settled with the “native brothers” of the Georgians and feels regretful about the decision of then-time authority of the country. However, this opinion of Iv. Javakhishvili is not universally shared. Z. Avalishvili related this opinion of the great scientist to irredentism considering his arguments of christening this territory as “Georgian” insufficient. He noted: **“A feeling of national unity in the XIII century could not be so thorough or clear. In particular, in any case, the sea coastline from Trabzon to Heraklia would be left beyond the plan of unification of Georgia. If considering Chaneti with narrower borders, even with Trabzon, this region was included in the political field of Georgia more or less in 1204 what probably was an act of joining in view of the state figures of that period... who knows if the Georgian education could spread to this area and replace Greek under different circumstances. Then, indeed, Georgia would have had a new region joined to it. However, the history was different”** [Avalishvili, 1989, p. 91-92].

Let us consider the issue in a different view. In particular, let us consider work “The Economic History of Georgia” by Iv. Javakhishvili, which is enclosed by the said map and let us see if Chaneti is discussed in it. Naturally, this map is the illustration of the story given in the book meaning that the content of the book and data on the map must be in concordance.

In his analysis of the agricultural terms, Iv. Javakhishvili used Chani language as often as the materials from other corners of Georgia. In addition to the analysis of the terms, the scientist dedicated the whole paragraph to the development of this branch in Chaneti, and with a heavy heart, said: **“We have neither description, nor names of the grape varieties of Chaneti, but one. This is even more unfortunate as perhaps, this fact has deprived us of the possibility to identify and highlight a number of unclear names and important term”** [Javakhishvili, 1986, p. 486]. Besides, Iv.

Javakhishvili explored Chaneti as thoroughly as other corners of Georgia, including its natural conditions, agricultural crops commonly grown there, etc. For instance, based on the data by Arcangelo Lamberti, a XVII-century Italian missionary, he wrote that the people were engaged in rice-growing in Samegrelo. Then, he continued with Chaneti saying: ***“They still grow a local dark, but tasty rice variety in Chaneti, needing no irrigation, growing well even in mountains and on dry locations”*** [Javakhishvili, 1996, p. 381].

lv. Javakhishvili did not abandon Chaneti even in his analysis of the materials obtained from other sources: ***“Not all communities or corners of Georgia were equally favorable for vine-growing and wine-making. The soil and climate in some communities is best for these branches and therefore, it is natural that these places of our homeland have become the main areas of vine-growing [...] Kakheti and Egrisi grow more vine varieties than other communities, and the latter does not fall much back the former region with the number of varieties, and the number of vine varieties in Kartli is bit less, but while most of the varieties growing in Kakheti are widely spread in Georgia and have become common species, most of the varieties common in Kartli are confined to this region only, and the areas of vine varieties in Imereti and Egrisi are limited by one or two communities. If an explorer considers this very important circumstance, it will become clear that the principal center of creative vine-growing of all-Georgia is Kakheti. As for West Georgia, in this respect, the leading region is Egrisi, followed by Argveti and Chaneti”*** [Javakhishvili, 1986, pp. 609-610]. Based on the citation of the great scientist, we can conclude that lv. Javakhishvili considered Chaneti as one of the leading vine-growing hearths of Georgia, with highly developed breeding techniques of new varieties and as the region contributing much to this creative process of the country.

Based on the work by Vakhushti Bagrationi [Geographical Description..., 1842], Iv. Javakhishvili described the natural conditions of Georgia and gave the botanical and climatic description of Chaneti at the same time. When talking about vine-growing, he described the regions of Georgia on the one hand and the adjoining countries of Georgia on the other hand, including Albania, Armenia and Turkey. The regions of Georgia are described from east, Hereti (Saingilo) through Chaneti.

By considering the geobotanical concept of Vakhushti Bagrationi, Iv. Javakhishvili noted: **“The same geographer says about Chaneti: this community is *“rich in fruit, vine, cereals, rice and cotton”* [...] *“It is clear that Vakhushti had classified the whole territory of Georgia into several botanical and agricultural areas in respect of agricultural economics and used rice-cotton, fruit-vine or vine-free properties as the measures of the yield and productivity of this territory”*** [Javakhishvili, 1996, p. 312]. Thus, following Vakhushti, Ivane also considered Chaneti as one of the regions of Georgia.

The same is true with wheat. The scientist gave the names of wheat in Megrelian and Chani languages: *kobali* and *kovali*, respectively and noted: **“Some geographical names in Georgia¹ make us think that *kvabali* and *kobali* in the past were used not only in West Georgia, Samegrelo or Chaneti, but also in East Georgia”** [Javakhishvili, 1996, p. 340].

Another evidence of Iv. Javakhishvili considering Chaneti a territory of historical Georgia is his following words: **“An extreme southwestern region of the Georgian population is settled by Chanis, or Lazis, and so it was in the past. Their dialect is more close to the Megrelian one. At one time, the Lazi and Chani population**

¹ Iv. Javakhishvili named toponyms *kvablovani* (used in the River Alazani basin) and *kvabliani* (used in Meskheta) [Javakhishvili, 1996, p. 341].

spread even beyond Trabzon and this city and region belonged to their country [Javakhishvili, 1919, p. 46].

Following the above-mentioned, we can conclude that Iv. Javakhishvili considered Chaneti a part of historical Georgia and studied it as thoroughly as Kartli, Kakheti, Guria and other ancient communities of Georgia. It is obvious that the “Map of Botanical-Agricultural Areas of Georgia” [1930] does not give the scientist’s view exactly. Therefore, we suppose that this blunder must be attributed to the carelessness of the map painter, who repeated the contour of the frontier line depicted on the earlier maps. Clearly, it is a mere guesswork or some preliminary research. This question gains more clarity and specifics only when considering the works by Iv. Javakhishvili in complex and comparing them.

In 1926, a publishing house in Stanford (California, USA) published “A catalogue of Paris Peace Conference delegation propaganda” presented by different counties. As the publication evidences, the documents presented at the Conference could be classified into two main categories: The Propaganda Authenticated by the Delegations and the Propaganda Unauthenticated by the Delegations. Naturally, similar documents were presented by Georgia as well. The list of those documents, among other things, included the maps compiled on the ordination of Iv. Javakhishvili. Out of the documents submitted to the high-rank meeting by Georgia, particularly worthwhile is “Paris. Peace Conference, 1919. Georgia” [Paris. Peace Conference, 1919]. This document kept at the National Archive of Georgia and Department of Rarities of the National Library of the Parliament of Georgia, among other languages, was translated into Georgian as well, although a bit later. It is without a doubt that Iv. Javakhishvili took part in the development of this document. The publication is enclosed

by “The Map of Georgia” compiled in French by Iv. Javakhishvili¹ [Sartania, Nikolaishvili et al., 2016].

This is what we read in the report of the Democratic Government of Georgia submitted to Paris Peace Conference in July of 1919: “By identifying its borders, **the Government of Georgia claims only the territories, which always belonged to the Georgian people** [underlined by the author] and which are vitally important for it, but which do not violate the vital interests of other peoples.

Georgia does not demand the restoration of the borders it had during the epoch of its revitalization [underlined by the author], and it also relinquishes the territories belonged to it by the moment of joining Russia in 1801, which have become an inseparable part of the lives of the neighboring peoples.

...The delegation of Georgia contends that the territory of Georgia must cover: Tbilisi and Kutaisi Provinces; Sokhumi, Zakatala and Batumi Regions; two regions of Olti and Ardagani west of Karsi and some parts of the Black Sea coastal region, as well as Trabzon Governorate. We present the map to the Conference with relevant explanations”. Due to the above-listed reasons, in particular, “Georgia **does not demand the restoration of the borders it had during the epoch of its revitalization**”, it is not surprising that Chaneti is not included within the borders of Georgia on the maps presented to Paris Peace Conference.

“The Georgian borders historically and in present days” by Iv. Javakhishvili is a fundamental scientific work considering the question of the frontier regions of Georgia belonging to our country not one-sidedly, but in complex. Based on a number of historical and historical-literary, cartographic and legal sources, the great scientist

¹ The documents presented at Paris Peace Conference do not show the name of Iv. Javakhishvili, and this seems logical, because as a common rule, the official documents do not show the names of persons compiling the them.

tried to analyze and argue his opinion. With this thought in mind, he considered a great many important facts, such as:

- Historical appropriation of the territory;
- Transformations of the territory and borders in different historical epochs;
- Political situation;
- Population migration;
- Demographic situation;
- Monuments of culture;
- Toponymy;
- Economic relations (nomadic cattle-breeding, existence of trade and traveling roads);
- Physical-geographical (orohydrographic) conditions;
- Mental state of the local population.

The borders of the country are drawn differently on the maps by Ivane Javakhishvili. 6 out of 7 cartographical works known to date show 15 different pictures of the borders in different historical periods by considering the officially claimed borders.

The registration and digitalization of the maps by Iv. Javakhishvili through GIS-technologies has made it possible to specify the territories of the country in different aspects considered by the scientist and in different historical periods at the same time (Fig. 3.12). The maps compiled in this manner allow identifying the dynamics of the changes of the territories of our country in different historical periods and see the differences in shaping the country borders. In all historical epochs, the area of Georgia exceeded its present size what is the evidence of quite extensive territorial losses. Georgian territory was largest in the XII century covering more than 147,502 thousand km². Consequently, the territorial loss was greatest during this period and it was more than the modern territory of the country.

There are 4 border contours plotted on **the map of 1923**, including 3 borders of the country from different historical periods:

- I c. AD (1¹). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 126,4 thousand sq. km;
- XII c. AD;
- 1783 AD (3). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 125,1 thousand sq. km;
- Community borders.

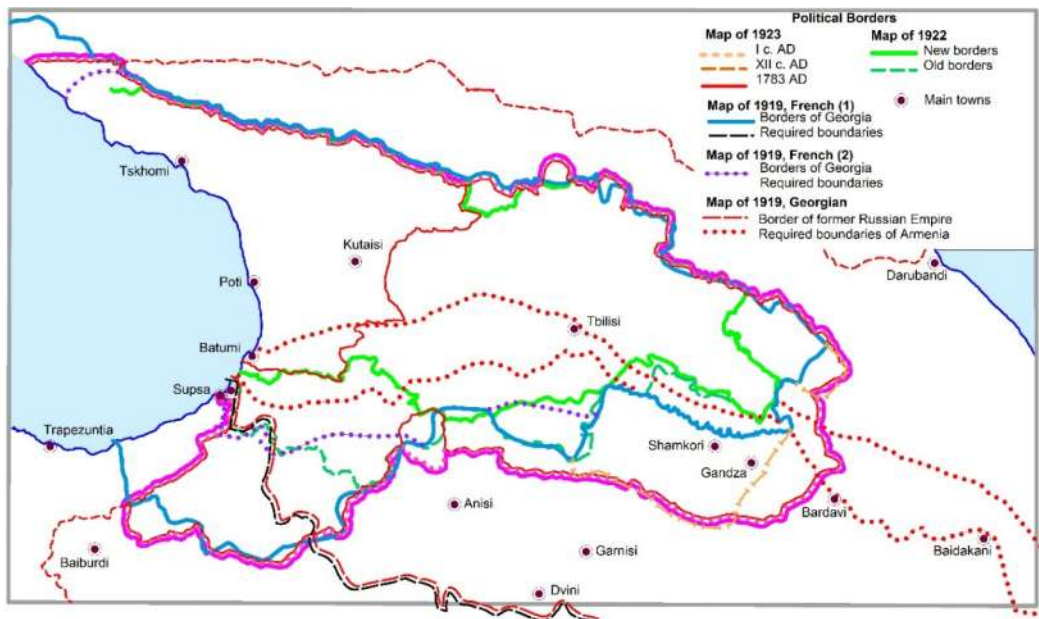


Figure 3.12. Borders of Georgia according to Different Historical periods (1919. 1922. 1923)

Georgia had the largest area in the XII century stretched between the two Seas. In the XII century, beyond the modern borders of Georgia, the territory of the country embraced large areas in North Caucasus (the land of Kabard-Circassians, Osetia, Basiani, Dzurdzuk, Didoeti and Dagestan) and South Caucasus (Tao-Klarjeti, Kola-Artan, Palakatsio, Abots, Bambak, Kazakh, etc.). As for the borders in the I c. BC and in 1783, they are almost the same. The only

¹ Numbering here and below is given based on Fig. 17.

exception is the territory around Palakatsio Lake, which was not a part of Georgia by 1783.

There are 5 border contours plotted on ***the map of 1922***, including 2 borders of the country from two different historical periods:

- Old borders of the Republic of Georgia (4). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 86,5 thousand sq. km;
- New borders of the Republic of Georgia (5). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 72,6 thousand sq. km;
- Borders of Apkhazeti, Ajara-Kobuleti and South Osetia;
- Uyezd borders;
- Old Uyezd borders.

It is clear that the new borders correspond to the period of the map publication and show the reality of 1922. Most of its sections coincide with the modern state borders of Georgia. However, the territory of Georgia with then-time borders is not wholly shown on the map, in particular, the territory west of Bichvinta meridian is missing.¹

As for the old borders of the Georgian Republic, the map legend does not give any information about the exact period of the borders. However, it is undisputable that the old borders show the position of Georgia before 1921, i.e. before the Sovietization. The old borders of Georgia embrace the historical territories of the country, such as Shavsheti, Potskhov, Erusheti, Artaan, Lore, Karaia, Zakatala and other areas.

The map of 1930 shows the only border, which is the historical border of Georgia. With these borders, the area of Georgia is 122,4 thousand sq. km and in addition to the modern territory of Georgia, it comprises Jiketi, Dvaleti, Hereti, Kazakh-Shamshadil, Tashiri, Bam-bak, Kola-Artan, Tao-Klarjeti, etc. It coincides with the border of the I c. BC shown on the map of 1923. However, if considering the above-

¹ Not all the contour of the country border is shown on the map.

mentioned, suggesting that Iv. Javakhishvili considered Chaneti a part of Georgia, the historical area of the country will be 126,3 thousand sq.km, i.e. almost twice as more as the modern territory of Georgia.

The map of 1919 (in Georgian) has 4 border contours:

- State historical borders of Georgia (7). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 111,7 thousand sq.km.
- The borders of the former Russian Empire (8). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 99,53 thousand sq.km.
- The border of Georgia by the moment of concluding the Treaty with Russia (9). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 123,4 thousand sq.km.
- The border as the Armenians claimed it:
 - Option 1 (10) – with these borders, the area of Georgia would be 81,6 thousand sq.km. On the face of it, this figure may seem unusual, because as this claim suggests, Georgia would lose a significant area of its present-day territory (almost all Javakheti).¹ The case is that this map by Iv. Javakhishvili shows also the historical regions of our country within the limits of Georgia (Jiketi, Dvaleti, Saingilo, as well as Davit-Gareji and its adjacent territory, which are not within the borders of Georgia at present). It is these territories making the territory of Georgia so impressive, and if specifying the area of Georgia following the claim of the Armenians as compared to its modern area, the outcome will be undoubtedly impressive, in a negative context though. In particular, the area of Georgia based on the Armenians' claim would be 2,93 thousand sq.km less its modern area equaling to the area of present-day Ajara.

¹ However, Georgia would get back its historical region – Shavsheti.

- Option 2 (11) – with these borders, the area of Georgia would be 65,06 thousand sq.km, i.e. 4,64 thousand sq.km less the modern area of Georgia, and if determining the area of Georgia in relation to its modern territory in the same manner as in the previous option, the outcome will be even more impressive, in a negative content surely. In particular, the territory of Georgia would be 55,07 thousand sq.km, i.e. 4 or 5 times less the present territory of the country.

The map of 1919 (French 1) shows 2 contours of the border:

- The border claimed by Georgia (12). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 111,7 thousand sq.km.
- The old border of Russia (13). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 99,53 thousand sq.km.

The map of 1919 (French 2) shows 2 contours of the border:

- The border claimed by Georgia (14). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 111,7 thousand sq.km.
- Borders of Georgia (15). With these borders, the area of Georgia is 89,96 thousand sq.km.

All three maps, with a minor exception, have common general geographic elements, but they show two major differences:

- On one map, the north-western border of Georgia runs near the river Makopse (near the city of Tuapse) and near the river Psou on another map, i.e. the territory of the country is larger in the first instance with its border moved further north-west. Today, it is very difficult to explain why the contours of the border are given differently on the two maps. Logically, this must be the echo of different historical periods: the border of Georgia had different shapes in different historical epochs. At some time, the border of the country ran not only near the river Psou or the river Makopse, but even further north-west. Even Ivane Javakhishvili

wrote about this fact in one of his works “The Georgian borders historically and in present days: ***“Abkhazeti was situated in the extreme north-western part of all Georgia and it is a bordering region of the Republic of Georgia to date. According to the historical sources, in 11th century, this borderline between Georgia and its neighbor countries was located much further north, namely where the Main Ridge of Great Caucasus started. The tributary of the Kubani River and the top of Caucasioni Ridge were considered a borderline. This border was located north because Jiketi and the country of the Alans belonged to Abkhazeti at that time”*** [Mroveli, see The History of the Georgian Nation, II, 311 and 266].

- The southern border of Georgia is represented differently on the two French maps. The map incorporated in the official documents of Paris Conference show the claimed borders of Georgia with an unbroken red line, while another map shows the same contour with a red dotted line. As for an unbroken red line on the second map, here it depicts the real border of Georgia of that time. At one sight, this fact may not seem very very significant, but without a doubt, needs further research and there are certain questions to answer: why did Ivane Javakhishvili use different signs to draw the same border? Perhaps, the purpose of developing two map versions was the intention of the author to propose both options to the Georgian delegates at the Conference to choose a more suitable one of the two following the atmosphere of the Conference? Or perhaps, the second map is the corrected version of Iv. Javakhishvili’s map provided by the Georgian delegation after arriving in Paris?

The border contours are even more diversified on the Georgian map with 4 types of borders marked on it. The claimed borders on the

French maps are given with a status of historical borders on the Georgian map. This once again evidences that Iv. Javakhishvili's version of the claimed border at the Peace Conference is based on the compliance with the restoration of the historical justice for Georgia and the international standards.

There are certain similarities and differences between the two maps presented at Paris Peace Conference. The "claimed borders" on both maps coincide with the border given on the "Historical Map of Georgia" of 1919. However, one map shows the old border of Russia and another map shows the borders of Georgia (Frontieres de la Géorgie). It is remarkable that the area of Georgia within the old borders of Russia is almost 10 thousand sq. km more.

As a conclusion, it must be noted that the borders of Georgia on the maps compiled on the ordinance of Iv. Javakhishvili are presented in different aspects: as the country's own historical borders, factual borders in some period or the borders claimed at the international level. In the end, it is logical to put a question: which territory of Georgia did the scientist mean under "*tight borders*"? Clearly, it is very difficult to answer this question unilaterally. However, as a result of the accomplished studies, we can suppose that the demands presented at Paris Peace Conference show the view of Iv. Javakhishvili of the historical borders of Georgia somehow diminished and more take into account then-time political situation in the Caucasus, reality to recognize the historical borders of the country at the international level and establishing and maintaining good relations with the neighbors. The same is true with his work "The Borders of Georgia" written by him in Batumi-Constantinople in 1919 as a member of Paris Peace Conference. The borders on either the map of 1922, or that of 1923 cannot be considered "*tight borders*", as they show the boundaries in the concrete historical period.

The map, which shows the natural-anthropogenic zones of our country and economic relations established among the people living

in these zones since the ancient times shows not only the traditions of land use in the past, but the economic and therefore, the political unity of the country. Iv. Javakhishvili wrote: ***“Under the impact of the geo-botanical and economic factors and based on the tribal relationship of the Georgians, Meskhети and Kartli in the first instance, as the arena of the river Mtkvari basin and areas harmonically filling the gaps in the supply between the mountains and the lowland, were formed as one state body and became one kingdom, and only then did the west and east Georgia unite”*** [Javakhishvili, 1996; The Economic History of Georgia, p. 337].

Thus, the geographic-cartometric analysis of the maps and other sources of Iv. Javakhishvili allowed:

- Analyzing the geographic-cartometric aspects of the territory of Georgia shaped by Iv. Javakhishvili;
- Comparing the borders of Georgia from different historical periods;
- Identifying the geographical coordinates of the individual sections of the borders;
- Identifying the changes in the area of the territory of Georgia in different historical periods.

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ANNEX

Ivane Javakhishvili Georgian Borders Historically and in Present Days

Source: Iv. Javakhishvili, Georgian Borders Historically and in Present Days, Publication #160 of the Society for Spreading the Literacy, Tiflis, State Printing House, 1919.

Introduction

For centuries, the state borders of Georgia have gone beyond the tribal boundaries for many times, and when Georgia was strong before the XI-XIII centuries, in the XII century in particular, during the reign of David the Builder and Queen Tamar, even the whole of the Transcaucasia was ruled by Georgia. The monograph below considers only the tight borders of Georgia formed due to historical and state political, as well as geographical and economic conditions. The nature seems to have created a giant guardsman for the Georgian nation, the Great Caucasus (Kavkasioni) in the north and enclosure formed with high mountains in the south. As for the west and east, the country is bordered by the Black Sea coastline and belt of rivers, respectively. In this respect, Georgia is a country with kind of superb borders from all sides. By the way, such conditions too, helped the Georgian nation to repulse numerous enemies, who often were much stronger than the Georgians and to defend its nationality. The enemies of Georgia realized this state of affairs quite well and tried to occupy some or other marginal region of Georgia and isolate it from our country. However, the political figures and government of Georgia realized the importance of defending the natural borders of the state and showed strong opposition to any such intentions or wishes of our enemies.

The goals of the present monograph is to identify the borders of Georgia in a historical respect: the shape of the state borders in the past, ways the Georgian nation defended them for centuries and relevant location of the contemporary state borders of Georgian Republic considering the contemporary situation so that the political rights of the Georgian nation stipulated by the international law, agreement concluded with Russia in 1783 and right of self-determination should not be violated and the justice should be restored.

The monograph describes the borders starting from the north-west to east, following the eastern coastline and coming in contact with the southern border from the east up to the extreme point in the west.

I Chapter Northern Border

§1. North-Western line. Abkhazeti-Jiketi

Abkhazeti was situated in the extreme north-western part of all Georgia and it is a bordering region of the Republic of Georgia to date. According to the historical sources, in 11th century, this borderline between Georgia and its neighbor countries was located much further north, namely where the Main Ridge of Great Caucasus started. The tributary of the Kubani River and the top of the Great Caucasus were considered a borderline [Mroveli, 1906; Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 311, 266]. This border was moved further north because Jiketi and the country of the Alans belonged to Abkhazeti at that time. If the residents of Jiketi were a fraternal tribe of the Abkhazians and their friendship with the Abkhazians was natural, it is hardly true about the Alans.

It is absolutely clear that Doabzu or Tuapse belonged to the Abkhazians, as the geographical name of “Abkhazeti” means exactly the same. However, the northern border of Abkhazeti was located north of the Bichvinta monastery [Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 315]. From this location, the homeland of the Jiketians, who were an Abkhazetin tribe, started.

According to Vakhushti, in his times, in the 18th century in particular, the border between Abkhazeti and Jiketi was the sea and the Kapoetitskali River [Bagrationi, 1913. pp. 406, 408]. The northern border of Jiketi was Great Caucasus as before. The map of West Georgia compiled in 1732¹ first shows the name of Kapoetitskali and

¹Ivane Javakhishvili sets the year of 1732 as the date of compiling this map. However, as it became clear later, the map was compiled at a later date. As Irakli Matureli thinks, such an ambiguity was caused by an inscription of a four-digit number made in black on the other side of the map with the last two digits being vague. Ivane Javakhishvili read it as 1732. I Matureli uses two arguments to identify the exact date of the map compilation [I

a line with inscription “Jiketi this way” (see the Map), i.e. according to the map, Jiketi was found after, or north, of the Kapoetitskali. Modern maps do not show the Kapoetitskali, but the map of West Georgia compiled by the order of King Alexander in 1732 and the map of whole Georgia repainted in Moscow in 1743 show this river north of Bi(ch)vinta. So, Kapoeti must be the old name of the present-day Bzyb River.

If we look at the map of 1743, it becomes clear that the border ran not along the Kapoeti or Bzyb River, but along the Great Caucasus north of this river. The map compiled by Burnashev also shows the border running quite far from the Kapoetitskali or Bzyb River, north-east of it. Based on all these evidences, we must conclude that the Bzyb River with all its tributaries was located on the territory of Abkhazeti, and therefore, the borderline should have been drawn along the dividing ridges north-east of the basin of this river.

From this point, the borderline of Abkhazeti deviated north-east ran along the Main Ridge of Great Caucasus and reaches Svaneti even today.

As for the tribal population, at the end of 18th century, Abkhazeti was made up of several parts: first, the Bzyb valley, which included the lower reaches of the Bzyb River stretching east, up to Gudauta; second, the Abkhazian community was found between Gudauta and the Kodori River; third, Apshileti was situated between the rivers

Matureli, *Cartographic Heritage of Vakhushti Bagrationi*, Tbilisi, 1990, pp. 33-34]: (1) the inscription on the map saying that the St. George Monastery in the city of Chkhari was built in 1737 means that the map could not be compiled earlier than 1737, and (2) the work by French traveler Jacques François Gamba Voyage to South Russia, Trans-Caucasia in particular, in 1820-24 by Chevalier Gamba, the royal council at Tiflis includes the following quotation: “This map is copied from the original, which was made in the Georgian and Russian languages, and is kept at the Marine Archives of Paris. It was sent to the Russian Empress by Imeretian King Alexander in 1738 and Timothy, the Metropolitan of Kutaisi, handed it to her Majesty in Petersburg on July 8, 1738”. These arguments prove that the map was compiled either in 1737, or in 1738.

Kodori and Ghalidzga; fourth, Samurzakano, with Mingrelian population (then and now), but having adopted the Abkhazian language and customs and traditions, was situated on the Black Sea shore between the Ghalidzga and Enguri Rivers, and fifth, Tsibelda occupying the central part of river Kodori valley.

It is known that the agreement concluded between east Georgia and Russia in 1783 and Georgia's joining with Russia in 1801 determined the fate of whole Georgia and the total annexation of Georgia by Russia was the question of occasion only. Abkhazeti could not escape this fate, either.

Although, on February the 17th, 1810, Saperbey Sharvashidze, the governor of Abkhazeti, accepted the patronage of Russia, but for quite long, until the second half of the XIX century, the Russians could not gain a strong foothold in Abkhazeti, and only on the 1st of May, 1864, Abkhazeti was finally annexed by Russia. As for the governor of Abkhazeti, he and his descendants were disentitled forever.

The Abkhazetins did not accept losing their independence without battle, and in 1866, they went on rebellion, which calmed down as soon as the strong Russian army engaged into battle. However, during the war in 1877-78, another rebellion started in Abkhazeti.

It was Tsibelda showing the strongest and steadiest opposition to Russian dominance in Abkhazeti. Since the 1830s, the Russian government used to send punitive forces to this region, what ultimately resulted in the expatriation and expel of the local people from the region [Maevskiy, 1896. p. 54].

Due to the riot in 1840, the Russians expatriated all households in the highlands and Dali Gorge [Maevskiy, 1896. p. 56], and following the riot of Abkhazeti of 1867, all the residents of Tsibelda, including minors and adults, together with their families, were expelled to the Ottoman Empire [Maevskiy, 1896. p. 57]. As far back as in 1850, there were 14.000 households here, while in 1867, owing to the Russians, their number reduced to 27 families [Ivanenko, 1901. pp. 430]. From

this time onward, Kodori Gorge and the gorges of its tributaries were totally devastated. Thereafter, the government of Russia followed the policy against the locals on the Black Sea coastline and particularly, against the Georgians. The Georgians were forbidden to settle or buy real estate there, while the Russians, particularly, the officials and military people were given the wonderful and spectacular places in this paradise-like region for a song. It was only due the policy of the Russian government that other nations appeared in this region side by side of the Georgians.

Despite such a policy and attempts of the government of Russia to support new settlements in Georgia, the census of 1916 suggested that of 141.000 residents of Samurzakano and Abkhazeti and small area south of Jiketi, i.e. in Sokhumi and Sochi regions, there were 71.000 Georgians and 43.000 Abkhazetins, 6.000 Armenians and 21.000 people of different nationalities.

§2. Northern line

Dvaleti

After Abkhazeti, the northern border of Georgia is bordered by the northern line of Svaneti, and in this region too, this line follows the natural border of our country, the Main Ridge of the Great Caucasus with eternal snow up to the border of Racha. Then, there starts Racha, the extreme northern region of Georgia, with its borderline in the north running along the main ridge of the same Main Ridge up to Dvaleti.

As for Dvaleti, it is particularly worthwhile that this region is located between two ridges of the Great Caucasus – the Main Ridge and Pirikita Ridge. This region is bordered by the mountains with eternal snow so that the northern ridge, i.e. Pirikita Ridge is higher than the southern ridge and is absolutely impassable at one place. On this location, Dvaleti is the extreme northern bordering region of Georgia.

Dvaleti had been the part of Georgia since the ancient times, but this border was paid a particular attention from the XII century, and the Georgians' political positions were made strong there during the reign of David the Builder [The Life of King David, p. 301, Javakhisvili, 1914. pp. 515]. Even later, during the political decline of Georgia, at the beginning of the XVIII century, Dvaleti was owned by the Georgians and as Vakhushti states, "They pay tribute to the king of the Georgians to date" [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 460]. Vakhtang VI was the king to travel round this boundary zone of the northern border of Georgia with its army in 1711, enter it, "traveled down Zramaga, went round Jgelis-Khevi, went across Kedela to reach Kudaro and returned with a victory". It was him "to conquer Dvaleti and laid it under tribute" [(Vakhushti, 1913. pp. 118].

In the east, it is bordered by "Truso and Khevi border, then by the Great Caucasus of Mkinvari and Akhoti, which are stretched from south to north and are cut at the river Lomeki at the end of the gorge and then, the river Lomeki runs to Cherkez Mountain. In the south, the border is the Great Caucasus stretching from the mouth of the gorge westwards, which spreads up to Brutsabdzeli and Great Caucasus between Zekar-Kedela and Racha-Digori-Basiani, while in the north, there is a high mountain between it and north Cherkezi... in the west, the border is the Great Caucasus again between Racha and Jgele and then, between Basiani and Svaneti" (ibid. 428-430). If using the names of the present-day Russian geographical maps, the border of then-time Dvaleti look as follows: the borderline from Adai-Kokhi (equaling to Georgian Khokhi Mountain) in the north runs east-south, up to Arkhona (equaling to Georgian Akhoti), while in the west, the line runs south from Adai-Khokhi peak, along the ridges and reaches Kazi-Khokhi. Then, the southern border starts from this point and runs across Saukhokhi, Khalitsa, Zekari, Brutsabdzeli and Khokhi along the ridges and reaches Arkhona on Roki.

Dvaleti was divided into several gorges (in the past and now): Kasris Khevi, Zramaga, Jgele, Nari, Zrogo and Zakhi [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 428].

„The roads to Digori... roads to Valakiri and Paikomi run across” Dvaleti [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 444]. At the point where Kasri gorge “narrows with the descending cliff of Khokhi mountain”, “with Glola cliff and descending Great Caucasus cliff between them”, there was “a gate cut in the cliff and built with mortared stone, a large-arched one, across the river”. As they say, this gate was made by the kings of Georgia “to prevent the Osetians to travel on their own”. So, both, naturally and artificially, “this gorge is quite strong and inaccessible” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 444].

In the past, in addition to the political bonds, this gorge had religious and cultural links with Georgia: The Christianity was spread by the Georgian preachers here and even the ruins of the church, e.g. in Roki Gorge, preserve Georgian Asomtavruli inscriptions to date. As Vakhushti says, the people of this region were “the flock of Nikozli” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 434]. At the beginning of the XVIII century, there were great many “fortresses, towers and churches here built with mortared stone by the kings of Georgia”. People told legends about these monuments, and as Vakhushti says, “they are mostly known as built by King Tamar” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 438].

In the XVIII century, this region also had economic ties with Georgia: its residents used to take salt, sheep skin, hops and other goods they lacked in their cold country, from Kartli and Racha [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 438].

Dvaleti was naturally rich in ore deposits, and in Vakhushti’s words, “they extracted lead, saltpeter and sulfur from earth” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 438]. In addition, Dvaleti had “rich deposits of lead”, “quite much sulfur”, and “some silver ore” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 444].

Presently, this region is called Ardoni, or Nardoni gorge. Nardoni gorge, which is bordered from all sides, but has only one way in the

north across the above-mentioned gorge and is linked to Georgia with 11 passes in the south, was located within the borders of Tiflis Governorate (guberniya) even at the beginning of the XIX century and was a part of Mtiuleti Region (oblast) of this governorate [Filipov, 1872. pp. 7-8]. Its territory was no more than 497 square Versts. Later, the government of Russia isolated Dvaleti, or Ardoni Gorge from Georgia and appended it to Tergi Oblast.

For centuries, as we have seen, the Georgian government considered this region quite important for Georgia and was a sober guard of it. It even built a boundary at the mouth of Ardoni to easily block this perilous way for enemies. If considering the natural structure and property of this region, it is clear that it had numerous links with Georgia and was connected both, to East and West Georgia more closely with eleven passes of different directions. It had only one link from the north. Owing to these considerations, it is reasonable to restore the original state, correct the mistake made by the Russian government and return Dvaleti, or Ardoni Gorge to East Georgia, Tiflis Governorate (guberniya). In this case, the state border of Georgia will follow the line running between Khokhi Ridge (Adai Khokh) and Akhoti Mountain (Arkhon).

§3. Northern line. Darialani and Gate to Georgia

The northern border of Georgia in the east of Dvaleti again runs along the Main Ridge of Great Caucasus, but at Dariali Gorge, it ran across the ridge to the other side and was moved further north. As an adjoining fortress, it had “Gori Fortress, quite an old fortress built with old methods and adorned with towers is found in the mountains in the environs of the Tergi River”. This fortress had quite a solid position” [Burnashev, 1896. pp. 9]. Modern maps do not show its geographical name and therefore, the location of this fortress is unclear.

More detailed and clear data about the northern border of Georgia are given by Prince Vakhushti. In his words, “The Tergi River is joined by a gully past Gveleti”, which “runs from south-east, from Gudamakari and Greta Caucasus of Dzurdzuki... Past this gorge, the gully narrows with this cliff and it is where David’s Fortress built by David the Builder is. There is Dariela past this point, on the eastern edge of the Tergi, built by King Mirian. It was him “to make its gate and make it a fortress to prevent the Khazars and Osetians from moving on their own...”, while “past it, there is a former royal residence. Whenever the Georgian kings used to march to Osetia, they used to stay at that place” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 228].

The description given by the famous Georgian geographer is so typical that it is not difficult to find any of the locations named by him in the present-day 5-Verst map. The map compiled by him is of a great help in this respect. Indeed, north of Gveleti, the Tergi River is flown by a small watercourse from the south-east called Kistura (Kistinka in Russian). The fortress built by David the Builder was located here, in a narrow gorge. This must be the place in the Georgian Military Road called Dariali station (Darialscoe in Russian) by the Russians. Indeed, the map shows it as a “former fortress” (Bivshee Ukreplenie in Russian). North of it, there was Dariali Kari (“door”) built by King Mirian destined for blocking the way to the Khazars and Osetians. This is the place where Larsi station is located at present. North of this place, there was the last foothold of the Georgian Kingdom – “the former royal residence”, which must have been within the environs of present-day “Jerahovskoye”. In this case too, the 5-Verst map shows it as a “former fortress”. As for the thorough map by Prince Vakhushti [See Brosset publication #3 Karthliou N. du Kour) (Résidence royale), it really fixes it near “Jariekhi” (equaling to present-day “Jerahovskoye”), a little south of it, and it is the northern state border of Georgia running in front of this point, southwards, approximately one Verst from Jariekhi [See the same Map].

The border from the bordering location mentioned above retreated south-east along the Kisturi River gorge and again reached the main pass of the Great Caucasus. Then, the border of Georgia ran from ridge to ridge of the Main Ridge repeating the shape of the border of Tiflis governorate in East Georgia of the XIX century, during the reign of the Russians.

Chapter II Eastern Border

§ 1. Eastern Line. Hereti

The north-eastern and south-eastern regions of Georgia up to the Mtkvari River was called Hereti in the ancient times. The north-eastern part of this region had the Dagestan Mountains as its border in the north-east, in particular, the dividing ridge of the tributaries of the Alazani River on the Main Ridge of Great Caucasus. The border of Hereti from the north was the Arishistskali River and its southern border was the tributary of the Iori River. Then, the border ran northwards along the Alazani River, up to the point where the Gishistskali River joins the Alazani River. Then, the borderline followed the Gishistskali River south, along the river, up to its mouth, which was located in Caucasioni Pass [Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 309; Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 304]. The Gishistskali border being located south, among other sources, is also proved by the map compiled by Burnashev in 1784 [See the map].

However, the location of this southern borderline will be known to us only after we identify the location of Gishistskali. Modern Russian maps do not show a river or fortress with this name; however, old Georgian Gishi is equivalent to the river Kishi (R. Kish in Russian) given in the 5-Verst map, and Gishi Fortress must have been at the location named Kish-Kishlag (Kish-Kishlakh in Russian) at present (J 9,64⁰30-41⁰15). Today, the names in the maps do not imply a confluence of the Gishistskali River with the Alazani River. It is a tributary of so called Agrichai River instead. It is clear that in the old times, the present-day Agrichai was called Gishistskali starting from the point where it is flown by the present-day Gishi (Kish in Russian). By considering this fact, the Gishistskali River turns out to be a tributary of the Alazani River with the Georgian border clearly seen at this location.

This region of Georgia had a great cultural value, and the Georgians used to exert their mental and religious influence on Dagestan and Shaki from this area. Even at the times when owing to the Mongol invasion and domination, Georgia was politically undermined, the Georgian nation had so great cultural power not to stop its enlightening actions and spread Christianity in Dagestan. As one of the historical sources suggests, at the end of the XIII century, a famous Georgian ecclesiastic figure Pimen the Fool for God, acting in Belakani, started to preach in Lezgistan and “converted pagan Lezgins to Christianity” [The Chronicles* 889, p. 731]. In addition to the written evidences, the monuments evidencing the enlightening work of the Georgians in Dagestan – the ruins of the churches – are survived, and there was a stone from the local church ruins adorned with a Georgian *Asomtavruli* (one of the three Georgian writing systems) survived even in Khunzakh [Takaishvili, 1905. pp. 63].

As a bordering region of the country, this corner of Georgia had been harmed and destroyed for many times. For the first time, as far back as in the XIII century, owing to the Mongols’ domination, Hereti, among other corners, was also badly damaged [The Chronicles* 875, p. 719]. However, it was Shah-Abbas to use his most destructive power in this region and badly devastated it, resettled its residents to Persia and gave this territory to one of his loyal Moslem tribes. Particularly, from the XVII century, owing to Persian Shahs and invasions and settlements of the Dagestani people, the Islam started to dominate the Christianity in Hereti, and the number of the Georgian population also decreased there; new geographical names appeared instead of the old ones. Under the influence of the foreign power, this region was divided into three units with the following names: “Alis-Sasultno”, “Eliseni” and “Chari”. The latter was the name of Pipineti Gorge. As Vakhushti says, this gorge “was called Chari after” King Archil’s reign [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 306].

A Russian 5-Verst map shows mountain Pipani (Big and Small Pipan in Russian) instead of Pipineti and shows “Jari” instead of “Chari”. In Vakhushti’s words, King Levan settled Lezgins here and charged them with the only duty “of delivering ice from the Great Caucasus in summer” as an annual tax [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 306]. So, Pipineti Gorge or Chari is the bordering region of Dagestan. Eliseni was the name of the land “between the river Belakanistskali and Gishistskali, up to the Alazani River and Great Caucasus” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 306], but in reality, the land between Eliseni and Great Caucasus, at least in the middle, was called Chari. Therefore, it is clear that in this area, Eliseni could not reach Great Caucasus in the north-east.

Vakhushti does not clearly specify the borders of Ali-Sultani region [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 306]. Anthon the Catholicos, in his work dated by 1757, said that Ali-Sultani was first called as “Kakhi Sultani” [Janashvili, 1910. pp. 14]. However, he does not name the borders, either.

Settlement of so called Tatars and Lezgins from Dagestan in Georgia facilitated the enemies’ invasions to our country from this region, as because of common religion, local Moslems used to help the army of the Persian Shah. The Georgian kings and statesmen of that time realized the great importance of this region of the country, as “because it is the land so difficult to access, covered with forest, having abundant water bodies and being tough” [Janashvili, 1910. pp. 15], it was a great cover for Georgia in the north-east. However, the Lezgins, who were settled in Chari not only showed disobedience, but even used to plunder the local people in Kakheti. Despite this, during the reign of King Erekle and by the moment of concluding the agreement with Russia in 1783, this region, as Burnashev, the then-time Russian Ambassador in Georgia, marked in the map, was within the borders of Georgia and was considered a part of Kakheti.

When the government of Russia abolished the independence of East Georgia and joined it to Russia, it did not immediately conquer Chari and Belakani Oblast, as the Russians called it, i.e. Saingilo, as the Georgians called it, but only in 1803, Saingilo charged itself with paying the tribute and declared obedience. Russia ultimately joined Saingilo in 1830.

In 1886, there were total 74449 residents in Zakatala Oblast, including 40225 Lezgins, 21090 Mundalos, 12430 Georgians and 521 Armenians [Janashvili, 1910. pp. 6].

In 1916, the total number of the residents in Zakatala Oblast was 76000, including 19000 Georgians, 45000 Lezgins and 12000 Turks, Persians and Kurds.

Chapter III South-Eastern border

§ 1. Hereti: Kiziki, Karaia

After Zakatala Oblast, there starts the south-eastern border of Georgia. In the ancient time, this south-eastern region of the country up to the Mtkvari River and Debeda watershed mountains was a part of Hereti. Its extreme eastern region, which adjoins Zakatala Oblast, is known as Kambechoani or Kiziki. The border of old Kiziki, which is now known as Signagi Uyezd (Mazra in Georgian), was “Upadari in the south and Tsinamindori up to Khoranta” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 310]. Tsinamindori was the name of the plain, which ended at the confluence of the Iori and Alazani Rivers in the south (See map #4 by Vakhushti). Presently, it nearly equals Eldari Field; as for Upadari, it was approximately at the location in the south, which is called Jeiran-Cheli now. So, the border starts at the point where the Gishi River joins the Alazani River and runs southwards along the Alazani up to its confluence with the Iori River. From this point, the border directly crossed the Mtkvari River [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 310-312; Burnashev, 1901. Map] and then, the southern border of Georgia followed the riverbank north-west, approximately to the point where the river Agstapura joins the Mtkvari. In the past, this southern region of Georgia, as already mentioned, was a part of Hereti.

The eastern edge of the southern bordering region of Georgia, from the point where the borderline crossed the Mtkvari River through the Iori and Alazani confluence up to Karaia, was called Jeiran-Udureti Valley. After this point, there started Karaia. Vakhushti described Karaia Valley as follows: “There is Bostan-City east of Iagluji and on the other side of the Mtkvari River, which is the city of Rustavi, built recently”. So, “east and south of this recently built city, there is great Karaia Valley” [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 180]. This Valley, too, was a part of Hereti in the past, but later, in Vakhushti’s times, it

was called Karaia [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 182]. It has reserved this name to date.

The north-western border of this part of Hereti was mount Gareja to the Mtsaretskali River and its southern border was the Mtsaretskali River [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 180], i.e. it spread almost to the Agstapuri confluence.

This corner was a magnificent hearth of the Georgian culture at some time [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 182]. It is sufficient to see the wonderful monument of Georgian architecture and numerous surprising masterpieces of painting preserved in Davit-Gareja desert having survived all devastating foreign invasions for eight centuries, to have an idea about this corner as that of a leading arena of the Georgian cultural life.

The misfortunes of the military history, owing to the Mongols' invasions and command, devastated this region and converted it into a desert. Later, as per the plans of Persian Shahs, nomadic Eli Demurchiasanlu from Tarakam tribe, engaged in cattle-breeding, settled there [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 182].

The part of Hereti called Karaia recently, was bordered by Kvemo Kartli in the south-west, and from this point, this region served as the south-eastern border and frontier region of Georgia.

§ 2. South-eastern line of the state border of Georgia

The eastern part and border of Kvemo Kartli was a part and border of Gardabani Vicariate (Saeristavo) at the same time, and it was bordered by "the Mtkvari from the east and a small mountain east of Berduji across Khunani" [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 178]. So, the border east of Kvemo Kartli or present-day Borchalo Uyezd starts with the river Mtkvari a bit to south-east of Kizkala Fortress ruins, continues

with ridge in Kurd-Vachari Gorge located east of the Debeda River being a dividing mountain of the tributaries of the Debeda River.

However, the state border of Georgia in south-east even at the times of the political decline of Georgia, e.g. in the XVIII century, did not end at the point where there was a south-eastern border of Kvemo Kartli, but ran further. Even if leaving Ganja and Yerevan Khanates alone, which were vassals of Erekle, the King of East Georgia, voluntarily paid tributes every year, with their rulers appointed as Khans by the King [Burnashev, 1901. pp. 13,14; The Acts collected..., 1866], Kazakh, Shamshadili and Shamkori were closely associated with Georgia and were very loyal to the Georgians. During the wars, both regions sent the armies of the best 6000 horse-riders to help the Georgians [The Acts collected..., 1866, pp. 6, 16]. Particularly worthwhile is the fact that these Moslem Khans had closer links with Georgia and were more loyal to the Georgians than to the Persian Shahs, who were of the same religion and their relatives. In this respect, it is very important to note that Yerevan and Karabach Khans did not support Agha Mohammad Khan, the Shah of Persia, but concluded a special agreement against the Shah with King Erekle and even helped the King with money to accomplish his deed under the agreement [The Acts collected..., 1866. pp. 118). This is why, the map of Georgia compiled by Burnashev in 1784, shows Kazakh, Shamshadili and Shamkori together with Ganja in red as the borders of Kartli.

Chapter 4 Southern Border Kvemo Kartli. A dividing line between Georgia and Armenia.

§ 1. Eastern Line. Hereti

The southern edge line of Kvemo Kartli had been a dividing line between the domains of Georgians and Armenians since the ancient times.

§ 1. Historical Overview. Battle for the border in the II c. BC- X c. AD

As far back as before Christ, Georgia and Armenia were neighboring countries, but Armenia had a much less land at the beginning, and only after Artax and Zariadres, the commanders of Antiochus the Great, established two separate Armenian kingdoms, the borders of Armenia, as those of a political unit, extended [Javakhisvili, 1913. pp. 59; Adonts, 1908. pp. 395]. Such an extension was not the result of the natural development or propagation of the Armenian nation. As Strabo says, the kings of Armenia captured their neighbors' lands, and by the way, they took away Pardiadri lands, including Tao and Speri, Khorzeni and Gugareti (Gugareni), from the Georgian tribes too, while Karin and Derxin were taken away by Chalybes and Mossynoeci [Adonts, 1908. pp. 395]. This happened in 191 AD and was the first attack of the Armenians to conquer the Georgian land. However, the fate of the lands conquered in this way was not ultimately decided with these raids.

As per Strabo, Gugarena or Gubareti equaling to the southern part of Borchalo Uyezd, which included approximately Chochkana, Bolnisi, Dbanisi and Loki gorges, Tashiri, Abotsi and southern part of

Trialeti, Abots and Trialeti, with Gugareti given more importance and drawn with more extensive borders due to certain political reasons. The trace of the former name of this country has survived in the present geographical name of Gujareti [Adonts, 1908. pp. 426]. In Georgian geographical terms, Gugareti is often referred to as Kvemo Kartli, while since the Russian's rule, it has been known as Borchalo Uyezd.

In topographic terms, Gugareti or Kvemo Kartli has natural borders from the south, east and west. In the south, it is guarded by high (800 ft), steep Yerevan Mountains, covered with forest, which are impassable except two locations and which, as Russian geographical term suggests, are referred to as Bambak Ridge. Along these Mountains, northwards, there are so called Armenian Mountains, which are also high with some of their peaks reaching even 8000 ft. All this land is so closely associated with Georgia in a geographical respect that like the country itself, all its rivers and roads naturally, are directed northwards, towards the Mtkvari River and Tiflis.

Even in Strabo's times, at the end of the I c. BC and at the beginning of the I c. AD, this corner was still ruled by the Armenians. However, from 35 AD, when, as Tacitus says, the kings of Iberia were so strong that they battled against the Persians invading Armenia and as a Georgian Prince ascended the throne in Armenia, it was clear that the surroundings should have been changed drastically.

Gugareti, appropriated by the Armenians, could also have been returned by the Georgians at that time [Javakhishvili, 1913. pp. 173-177]. This seems realistic if considering the amicable relationship between the kings of East Georgia and Roman Caesars [Javakhishvili, 1913. pp. 178-179].

Plinius' words evidence that at least Tezi and Trialeti, which were parts of vast Gugareti, were owned by the Iberians in the I c. AD [Natur, his. Cap. VI. §26, Javakhishvili, 1913. pp. 60].

However, immediate news about the Georgians having taken Gugareti back from the Armenians is dated by the period following IV c. AD. In 374, King Pap of Armenia was killed what was followed by a permanent decline of the Arshakuni Kingdom of Armenia. The political decline of this Kingdom was supported by the rivalry and battle raged between Princes Arshak and Khosro because of the royal throne of Armenia. This dispute ended in the division of Armenia into two kingdoms, and it was in that period when the Georgians took their lands of Gugareti, Gardabani and Kartsakhi back from the Armenians [Adontz, 1908. pp. 225-226].

Soon, these Armenian Kingdoms lost their independence and Armenia was divided between Persia and Byzantine Empire. Such a decline of the Armenians resulted in a steady fate of the lands listed above and their consolidation with Georgia (ibid. 230). In the period when Gugareti was ruled by the Armenians, the Armenians mixed with the local people and Armenian language spread side by side with the Georgian in this region (ibid.).

Even in the V century, e.g. during the rule of Vakhtang Gorgasali, Gugareti, as before, was a part of Iberian Kingdom [Adontz, 1908. pp. 222]. It was an inseparable part of Georgia not only politically, but also with its Church traditions: as the list of the bishops participating in the Church Council held in the VI century evidences, the episcopates of Bolnisi, Tsurtavi and Rustavi were subordinate to Mtskheta Catholicos [Գիրք Պատմության, pp. 183].

The strong links of Gugareti with Georgia and its affiliation with the country were made clear by the disaster of the later period when in 532, the royalty in East Georgia was destroyed violently by the Persians and the Persian Shahs took possession of the country [Javakhishvili, 1913. pp. 195-197]. Even in such hard times and in terms of political misfortune, Gugareti was a part of Georgia. Even at the beginning of the VII century, the period marked by a religious disagreement and hostility between the Georgians and the

Armenians, which was ended by an ultimate dissidence and isolation of the two Churches, Gugareti was still the property of the Georgian Church [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914]. Even in the times of such a political decline and peril, Gugareti was a part of Georgia and was closely associated with it both, in spiritual and political respects what is clearly evidenced by the Historical Geography, an Armenian source written in the VII century. This source contains a direct statement about this country being under the reign of Georgia in the period in question [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914].

In 643-645, Arabian army and commander marched Caucasus, and whole South Georgia, Eastern Caucasus and East Georgia were subordinate to the Arab reign. Armenia and East Georgia were subordinate to the Arabs. It is clear that it was impossible any changes to occur with the borders of either Georgia, or Armenia during that period. Without a doubt, in this period, Gugareti remained a property of the Georgians. The decline of the political power of the Arabs and permanent inclination to isolation was made clear by the fact that instead of a single state body, there were many semi-independent bodies established, and the conquered countries could now breathe freely. By the way, Tiflis and Kartli Emirates were established in that period. Insubordination of the Emirs of Tiflis weakened the Arabs' reign in the Caucasus and promoted the restoration of Georgia and Armenia. By the way, the part of Kvena Kartli called Gugareti, was a part of Tiflis and Kartli Emirate.

Since the IX century, Georgia's and Armenia's political power increased. Georgia was on its way of renaissance. First, some vicariates were established followed by the battles to consolidate Georgia and Armenia. In such surroundings, the battle together with Tiflis and Kartli Emirs and with each other was necessary: the lands of East Georgia conquered by the Arabs were to taken away from the conquerors, while the aim of the battle of the Georgian voevodes was the consolidation of Georgia. Every Georgian prince and King, either

on his own or together, with joint efforts, tried to reach this aim. By the way, Guaram Mampali (died in 882) also showed manly efforts to support the liberation of Georgia from the Arab's domination and owing to his steadfast battle., he even won Javakheti, Trialeti, Tashiri, Abots and Artaan [The Chronicles of Kartli* 445, p. 223; Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 378]. As it is known, Trialeti, Tashiri and Abots were parts of ancient Gugareti. So, at the dawn of the revitalization of Georgia, the Georgian princes restored this corner within the borders of Georgia.

However, quite soon, a foreign force interfered into the process of consolidation of Georgia. Ashot Bagratuni, an Armenian voevode, took an active part in this battle, and for his own benefit surely.

Armenian voevode Ashot Bagratuni, who restored the Kingdom of Armenia, headed northwards to expand the borders of his domain and tried to conquer Kartli [Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 379]. He rivaled with the King of Abkhazeti for this land. The King of Abkhazeti had long struggled for the consolidation of Georgia [Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 380]. The King of Armenia supported the Bagrationi dynasty of Tao-Klarjeti. On the other hand, Guaram Pampali "shared Abots with his brother-in-law, the King of Armenia" [The Chronicles of Kartli* 445, 6, p. 223. Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 380]. Thus, the King of Armenia was among those fighting for the independence of Georgia and became a member of the group opposing the King of Abkhazeti. Owing to this, the kings of Armenia managed to capture some locations in Kvemo Kartli, including Tashiri *inter alia* [Javakhishvili, 1914. pp. 380-381]. Such an association was so important for Ashot Bagratuni that he gave to himself a title of the voevode of the Armenians and Georgians [Asogik, History of the Georgian Nation, 380]. This fact evidences that he considered Gugareti as a part of Kartli and property of the Georgians and after capturing this land of the Georgians, he named himself a voevode of the Georgians. Perhaps, he well understood the value of the part of Kartli seized by him for the defense of Georgia.

Thus, this was the second attack of the Armenians to cross the southern borders of Georgia and conquer Kvena Kartli, former Gugareti. It is important that this time too, the political renovation of Georgia and Armenia started with an Armenian invasion.

“Torture of Gobron” written by Stephen of Tbeti in 814-918 [Javakhishvili. 1916. pp. 44] evidences that even in the following period, Tashiri and Kadpakari” were in the hands of king Subat [Georgian Paradise, 394]. They did not cede this territory even in the future. As from south and west they had powerful rivals, the Arabs and the Byzantines, and did not have any strong rival from north, as Georgia had not gained all its power yet, the Armenians’ effort was directed where the opposition seemed to be less.

Even at the end of the X century, Tashiri and “Georgians’ Valley” (“ქრულიყაჯუა”-gorges of Bolnisi and Dmanisi) were occupied by the Armenians and son of David Gurgen. He made the city of Samshvilde as his residence and conquered the city of Dmanisi. The owner of Gagi Castle, Demetre Marzpan, despite of being a Gregorian, got baptized and supported the Georgians. His son was Mampali of Tashiri. The son of David Gurgen drove him away from Gagi, but in 1001, David himself, was subordinated by his uncle Gagik, the King of Armenia [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 420-421].

§2. Situation in Kvemo Kartli and its importance in the XI-XII centuries

Even the second conquest of the Armenians did not change much the issue of possession of Kvemo Kartli, or Gugareti. Although it is true that during their reign, the Armenians created their religious monuments and cultural hearth at some locations having certain importance for the Armenians at some time, and owing to the temporal political reign, the Armenians must have been made

stronger than they were before, but this land was Georgian as before and it was a southern part of Kvemo Kartli.

This is why Leonti Mroveli, the Georgian historian of the XI century names “Eastern Hereti and river Berdaojisi... the southern mountain following the mouth of the Berdaojisi River” as “the border of Kartli” [Mroveli, *Life of the Kings** 97, p. 2; Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 283]. So, he considered Tashiri, Lore and Bolnisi and Dmanisi Gorges as the possession and part of Kartli as before.

Term “Somkhiti” is survived in the Historical Geography as a reminder of the political reign of the Armenians in this corner. This name was absolutely unknown in the past and has been in use since the X century only. “Somkhiti” was the name of only Bolnisi and Dmanisi gorges and Lore valley, and it is notable that as a geographical term, it was used only in the Georgian language and Georgian literature. Neither the Armenians, nor the Armenian literature referred to this land as “Somkhiti”. Just on the contrary, they called Lore-Tashiri Valley “Valley of the Georgians” [Brosset *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, 148p. 2]. This term contains true evidence that despite their political dominance, the Armenians, too considered this land as the property of the Georgians.

Since the first half of the XI century, the situation had changed gradually. After Bagrat III ultimately united East and West Georgia, the Georgians gained power and the kings of Georgia started to liberate the corner of our country from the enemy, which was still in the hands of the foreigners. The country had to join Tbilisi Emirate and lands conquered by the Armenians, and in the XI century, all effort of the Georgians was used to reach this aim.

In 1032, Liparit Eristavi and Ioane Abasasdze, with the consent of Bagrat IV, took away Birtvisi from Japar, Tbilisi Emir [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 433], and after some years, in 1037-8, took away Orbeti and Partskhisi Fortresses from him [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 434]. Thus, the Georgians were now behind Tiflis and cut the links

between the Moslem emirs of Tiflis with the remained Moslems in the south and blocked their ways.

Further south, there started the land occupied by the Armenians. In 1065, Kvirike reigned from the city of Samshvilde as the “king of Armenians”. His brother’s name was Sumbat, and two voevodes: Loki voevode and Kakvakari voevode were subordinate to him. They ruled Opreti, Koba(ir)i and Varzakari Fortresses. Bagrat IV had King Kvirike captured in Kueshi floodplain and although the voevodes of Armenians agreed to surrender all three Fortresses to him, King Bagrat “took pity of them” and took only Samshvilde Fortress from them. In return, “the Armenians were made slaves of the King of Georgia” [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 449].

Thus, the independence of “Somkhiti” ended with its kings becoming vassals of Georgia.

Since then, Tiflis too, was made subordinate to the king of Georgia, as before. In 1068, Bagrat IV presented an emir’s title to Arab Sital, but made him his vassal and took away other fortresses from him [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 455].

The invasion of Selchuk Turks to the Caucasus and Georgia in particular, temporarily hampered the process of joining Kvemo Kartli conquered by foreigners during the reign of Giorgi II: The Turks once again took possession of Tiflis, Samshvilde, Agara and Rustavi. They also conquered all the territory of Somkhiti [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 447-453]. Following this, the reign of the kings in Somkhiti in south Kartli ended. Therefore, when in 1110, David the Builder returned Dzerna and Samshvilde to Georgia [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 511], horror-stricken Turks vacated “most fortresses in Somkhiti” without any battle (ibid. 512) and in 1118, he took Lore and Agarani Fortresses from the enemy [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 514], it was not the liberation of the southern part of Kartli from the dominance and oppression of the Armenians (by then, Somkhiti was no more as a political unit), but snatching the territories from the hands of the

Selchuk Turks. Since then, this corner of Georgia – the southern part of the country and Somkhiti itself - was considered an inseparable part of Georgia and has never been the possession of the Armenians.

The Georgians understanding the great importance of so called Somkhiti, the southern part of Kvemo Kartli, and giving much value to it for the defense of Georgia as far back as in the ancient times, is evidenced by the decision of the Georgian kings to liberate this corner from foreigners in the first instance and make efforts to join the capital of Georgia later, when the land south of Tiflis was in the hands of the Georgians. Even after capturing Tiflis, Somkhiti did not lose its importance for the government of Georgia. One of the evidences is that “Lore Fortress in Somkhiti” was considered the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Georgian army and military minister of Georgia surely because the Fortress offered good opportunities to defend Georgia against the enemy heading southwards and to thoroughly control so much important state borders by the military minister.

§3. Importance and attractiveness of Georgia as a patron and asylum state for the Armenians

Since the reign of David the Builder (1089-1125), Georgia had become a strong state growing sustainably until the first quarter of the XIII century. As the only powerful Christian state in Asia Minor, Georgia was playing a role of a patron and salvation state for other Christian nations enslaved by the Moslems. Particularly helpless and suppressed was the Armenian nation, which was divided among several Moslem states in the Transcaucasia and was forced to obey the arbitrary rule of their sultans or rulers (Shirvanshah, Armenshah, royal emir, Rum sultan and others). In that period, the Armenians were oppressed personally as well, and their religious and national feelings were so much insulted that their best worshipping Catholic

church in Anisi was transformed into a mosque [Matteos, 1869. pp. 415-445 and Vardanes, 156-157; Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 526-527], while the Armenians had no right to ring liturgy bells.

It was why the Armenians were so happy at Georgia's powerful advance southwards. The Georgian dominance was the means of protection for them against the physical destruction and unbearable and insulting violence of Moslem Georgians.

It was in that period, i.e. during the reign of David the Builder, Dimitri I, Giorgi III and King Tamar, when Georgia subdued Azrum sultan in Asia Minor and reached the cities of Kazmen and Gurgan in Persia. The territory of Georgia spread from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. The Armenians breathed freely. Now, they had a strong patron. It is not casual that the early epoch of the cultural and civil prosperity of the city of Anisi took place during the political reign of the Georgians. Clearly, the powerful advance of Georgia to south gave the Armenians the best means to survive physically and gain power to stand perils in the future.

§4. Importance of Kvemo Kartli for Georgia and southern borders in the XVI-XVIII centuries

Later, when Georgia's political power declined and the country was divided into several kingdoms, its state borders diminished a lot since the XII century and the great importance of Kvemo Kartli or Lore-Tashiri-Somkhiti for the defence of Georgia against foreign enemies was made clearer and more evident. This is why this land south of Tiflis was called "a flagship" under the Georgian state law. It was this corner in the south where the Georgian army had to exert the first and decisive opposition to the enemy.

The enemies of Georgia too, realized the importance of this land quite well. They knew that conquering it was in fact the same as the seizure of the gates to Tiflis, as evidenced by the request of Shah

Abbas, the bitterest enemy of Georgia, to King Giorgi: “It is due for you to give me Lore with Berdurji River as an award”. At that time, the Berdurji River was the boundary of Kartli Kingdom and the King was much worried to hear these words: “I expected an award of my own from you, not taking away my borders”, - he said. But Shah Abbas knew what he was asking for and so, his wish was unwavering [Bagrationi, 1913. pp. 52]. Vakhushti of Kartli, a famous Georgian scientist was absolutely right when he described this situation as follows: “Shah Abbas wanted to have this land with the intention of having an access to and exit from Kartli” (Geography, 140-142). It was this fact making this corner so attractive and valuable for the enemies of Georgia.

The same circumstances made the ruling circles of Georgia and Georgian nation the guards of this flagship and the only defence of the south and although, both, the ruler of Persia and Ottoman Pashas tried to conquer this corner, the Georgians never spared their lives to protect this land.

It was why this land won and even in terms of the decline of Georgia, during the reign of Vakhtang VI and in the first half of the XVIII century, the border of Kartli Kingdom in the south still ran along the original borderline. (The written data are also supported by the map of Georgia of 1743 saved at the Military-Scientific Archives of the main headquarters of Russia with number 505 [“Iverskaya Zemlya” (“The Land of Iveria”¹]).

Even in times of King Erekle, e.g. by 1783, when an agreement was concluded between Georgia and Russia, the southern border of Georgia and whole of Kvena Kartli, i.e. Somkhiti-Lore-Pambaki-Borchalu, was an indisputable part of Georgia and as before, the border ran further south and the Armenian (Pambak) Mountains were

¹ The copy was done in Moscow in January, 1743 by Danica Gem...- a field artilleryist, capthenarmus. The surname is impossible to read fully. (New copy for the life-activity of S. D. Burnasheva.Saint Petersburg. 1901. p. IV

a dividing line between the two countries. This is clearly evidenced by the written description of Burnashev, a Russian ambassador visiting Georgia during that period (See *Картина Грузии, полн. описание, etc.*, p. 2) dated by 1786 and general map of Georgia drawn by him in 1784 with the border marked in red [Burnashev. 1896].

In the conclusion, it is particularly important to note that following the invasion of Agha Mohammad Khan in Georgia and at the time when Georgia was annexed by Russia, so called “Somkhiti”, Borchalo, Pambaki, Kazakh and Shamshadili were undeniable parts of Georgia and Shuragili was a part of this area, too [Dubrovin, 1871-1888. pp. 381-382].

Clear data about the identification of the border location are given by Vakhushti of Kartli. In his words, “A dividing border between Somkhiti-Yerevan and this place (i.e. Babiki) is the high and big mountain with eternal snow and with its slopes covered with forest reaching Artaan in the west and located between Rani and Gelakuni in the east until it reaches Rakhsi. South of this mountain is Somkhiti-Yerevan Ridge and Berduji and Rani are found north of it... As for Small Berduji Mountain, it is found north and south and reaches the above-mentioned Yerevan mountain with Rani mountain in the east and Berduji Ridge in the west [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 140].

These words evidence that Vakhushti names two mountains in the south of Georgia – one, which is big and high, ever-snowy reaching Artaan in the west and reaching Rakhsi in the east running between Rani and Gelakuni called Yerevan Mountain and the second, the small one, which was presumably divided into two branches so that it was located north and south at the same time ascending as the branch of Yerevan Mountain adjoining it. The name of this mountain is Berduji.

A remark by Academician M. Brosset in the French translation of this text refers to this mountain as Russian Bezobdali Mountain [Geographical Description, 1842.]. However, it was sufficient for

Brosset to take and look at the map drawn by Vakhushti and published by him showing the territory of Kvemo Kartli [N 2, Géorgie au N. du Kour] to realize his mistake. In the map, Yerevan Mountain is drawn south of Bambak River. So, it is clear that it is absolutely impossible for the Yerevan Mountains of Vakhushti having the geographical name of Bezobdali Mountains because the present-day Bezobdali Mountains are found north of the Bambak river. The same fact evidences that the Yerevan Mountains as per Vakhushti are the same as the Bambak Mountains in the present-day Russian map, whose direction eastwards is the same as Vakhushti had described, and they bypass Gelakuni or Gogcha Lake.

The same map by Vakhushti evidences that the Berduji Mountains must be meant to be located south of the Berduji or Debeda River called Kamenka by the Russians. If considering such state of affairs, it will become clear that Berduji Mountain as Vakhushti describes it, must be the same as the Bezobdali Mountains of the Russians.

Thus, it becomes clear that the dividing line in the south of Georgia (towards Armenia) with Yerevan Khanate was the Yerevan Mountains, which are now called the Bambak Mountains. The authenticity of this conclusion is also evidenced by the Russian-Georgian map drawn in 1743 in Moscow, as the southern border of Georgia in this map, too runs south of the Bambak River. The map of Georgia drafted by Burnashev in 1743 also evidences the same, showing this border quite southwards from the Bambak River. So, at the end of the XVII century, even when Georgia had concluded an agreement with Russia in 1783, the southern border of Georgia was the Yerevan Mountains, or present-day Bambak Mountains.

§5. Great economic importance of Kvelo Kartli for Georgia

Particularly worthwhile is the fact that right from the outset, Kvemo Kartli was associated with other parts of Georgia not only in a military respect, but with its location and roads as well. With its proprietary power and economics, it was also closely linked to the other parts of Georgia and East Georgia also had close links with it. The historical essay by Papuna Orbeliani shows that Tiflis received the necessary provision from Somkhiti-Borchalo located in the south. However, that is not all and East Georgia had gold, silver and mostly copper ore deposits at different locations. The richest deposits were found in the mountains bordering Georgia from Yerevan [Burnashev, Picture 2].

The importance of the ore deposits of gold, silver and copper in Kvemo Kartli, or in so called “Somkhiti” for the economic wellbeing and power of Georgia was well realized by Vakhtang VI and King Erekle, who did not spare efforts to revitalize and further develop the mining industry, which had been forgotten due to the hard times.

The metal needed to make the state money of Georgia was also extracted from the said deposits. The Georgian kings made Georgian money from it. Besides, they used the net income from the deposits to protect our country against the foreign enemies. N. Butkov notes that in his times, in 1778, King Erekle increased the annual state income at the expense of the gold, silver, copper and iron deposits discovered in Akhtala and at other locations; he invited the Greeks to work on these deposits and used the gained income to maintain the hired army for the defence of Georgia [Materials for the History of Caucasus, I, 337].

The efforts of the Georgian kings to develop the stone ore deposits in Georgia being wise is evidenced by the significant surroundings meaning that even in the last years of reign of King Erekle, at the end of the XVIII century, the net income from the ore deposits equaled

one-fourth of the total gold and silver monetary income of the state: about 100,000 maneti (Russian ruble) of 400,000 maneti (Russian ruble) were the net income of the ore deposits [Burnashev, Picture 5].

§6. Fate of the people living in this corner in the XVII-XVIII centuries and resettlement of the Armenians

The strategic state of Kvemo Kartli, as that of an extremely important unit for the country and flagship, often made this corner the arena of battle with the enemy. Consequently, the local people suffered from frequent damages and for many times, were even destroyed totally. If not talking about the older times, the invasion of Shah Abass alone inflicted a great harm to this corner. In addition, aiming at providing permanent leaders and allies for Persian Shahs, Shah Abass brought the Turkish tribes of Eli to this land and settled them there. Gradually, there appeared the Khans of Kazakh, Shamshadilo and Lore here [Vakhushti, 1904. pp. 70]. Due to frequent military actions, Kvemo Kartli, “Trialeti, Tashiri and Abots” were totally devastated, “with no men survived there”, with Vakhtang V having settled the people anew [Vakhushti, 1904. pp. 82].

If Georgia, which had its own state in the XVI-XVIII centuries, was so much disturbed by the foreign enemies, it is easy to imagine the hardship the Armenians had, who, had no statehood since the XI century and was a subordinate to the khanates since the XVI century. Due to the unbearable conditions, following the religious and national-political persecution, the Armenians used to migrate from their homeland, leave their ancient lands and sought asylum in more quiet countries and states. Georgia was the nearest country for the Armenians where they could live freely. There has never been either national, or religious persecution in Georgia and moreover, the Armenians having found shelters in Georgia had more hopes of

returning to their homelands more easily if the situation changed for better. For these reasons, the persecuted Armenians used to migrate to Georgia and seek and find a shelter in our country.

Naturally, they used to settle in the region adjoining their country with vacant places to live in. So, it is not surprising seeing the Armenians settling Kvemo Kartli adjoining the Yerevan Mountains in the north, in so called Somkhiti, Lore, Tashiri and other places. Vakhushti states that during the reign of Vakhtang VI, the “residents in Somkhiti are more Armenians by religion and less Georgians, but more Georgians with their customs and habits” [Vakhushti, 1904. pp. 146]. Regarding Tashiri, he also says that “people living in Tashiri are Armenians with their religion dressed in dirty and tallowy clothes, long Chokhas, obscene, but graceful and well-built, strong, but inexperienced in wars and domestic affairs” [Vakhushti, 1904. pp. 148].

However, even this Armenian population did not stay on this land for long. Since the times of the Turks’ invasions, in the second quarter of the XVIII century, this corner was damaged most by the Turks and Lezghins [Bagrationi, 1913. pp. 122, 137, 1.39, P. Orbeliani].

For this time, this southern region of Georgia was so much devastated and deserted that in his description sent to Russian Tsar in 1760, King Erekle by the way says that at most 1-2% of the population had survived in that corner.

In the second half of the XVIII century, due to such a devastation and resettlement of people, the number of Armenians reduced so much even on their own land that there were only 3000 homesteads in Yerevan Khanate, 500 homesteads in Nakhchavani, 7000 homesteads in Karabach, 300 homesteads in Karadag and 1500 homesteads in Ganja. As for the others, they did not live in their homeland. There were 1000 homesteads in Darubandi, 2000 homesteads in Maragha and 1000 homesteads in Khoi [Butkov, 1869.

pp. 142]. Thus, the total number of Armenians in Transcaucasia was 17000 homesteads.

§7. Particular nature of the Armenians' resettlement in the XVIII-XIX cc.

The nature of the Armenians' fleeing to Georgia during the reign of King Erekle, as it is presently becoming clear, changed drastically. If in the past, such a resettlement was spontaneous and had no political context or value, at the end of the XVIII century, it was given a kind of a political background. If in the past, the Armenians arriving in Georgia relied on the patronage of Georgia and subservience to the host country, now they sought the protection of foreign forces to reach their goals in Georgia with their help. When the Armenians learned that King Erekle was going to conclude an agreement with Russia and sought alliance and protection of Russia, the agreement was neither concluded, nor signed when Armenian bishops, Meliqs and other noblemen submitted an appeal to the Russian government dated by March 3, 1783, where the Armenians of Karabach and Karadagh expressed their devotion to the Russian royal family and asked for their assistance in liberating from foreign dominance. The Russian government surely liked this idea and decided to overthrow Khan of Shusha with the help of King Erekle and unite Karabakh and Karadagh into one Armenian district (oblast) to depend only on Russia. The oblast was to be governed by an Armenian countryman and was to be organized successfully so that other Armenian oblasts should follow the example of the Karabach Armenians and join them. By doing so, the government of Russia hoped to revitalize a Christian state in Asia [Butkov, 1869. pp. 142].

This was a certain political plan developed as if in favor of the Armenians, but would help Russia to gain a strong foothold in the Transcaucasia. Revitalization of an Armenian Christian state was a

strong wish of the Armenians and clearly, this idea was included in this plan by the Russian government to attract and inspire the Armenians.

Following this event, some strange surroundings were established. The Armenians established a dual alliance: on the one hand, they had relations with Georgia – King Erekle II or King Giorgi when they used to arrive as refugees in Georgia and found a relatively quiet asylum, and on the other hand, they used to secretly use Russia's patronage and do their deeds in Georgia with the help of the Russian government.

Like the Georgians, who gained bad experience of relying on Russia for more than once, the Armenians too, personally felt how dangerous it was to rely on Russia's support. When Russia countermanded all its rescue army from Georgia leaving the latter face to face to the raging enemy, not only by Georgia was damaged, but the Armenians as well and even Ibrahim Khan, the owner of Karabach. During the invasion of Agha Mohammad Khan, the Khan of Karabach was forced to allow all the Armenians, who could not use the arms, or for whom there was no place in the fortress, to find shelter in the neighboring countries such as Georgia hoping to take them back that after the storm abated. However, not only the migrated Armenians did not return to Karabach, but other Armenians followed their example and under the leadership of their Meliqs, some of them left their homeland and migrated to Ganja, while others migrated to Georgia [Kovalenski, 1866. p. 120].

While in 1795, Armenian Catholicos Luka, perhaps because of his fears, "gave 100.000 Manat to Persian Shah Agha Mohammad Khan to cover his military expenses..." who was heading to Georgia to devastate it, "on the other hand, wealthy Armenians from Karabach, Yerevan, Nakhchavan and other locations, together with Moslem residents, fled to Georgia and settled in Bambak gorge in the hope

that Agha Mohammad Khan would not dare to invade Georgia” [Butkov, Materials II, 337].

After Tiflis was devastated, Meliqs Abov and Mejlum together with their serfs, applied to King Erekle asking for his permit to live in Georgia [The acts gathered..., pp. 113, 134]. King Erekle hearkened to Meliq Abov’s supplication, gave him village Bolnisi and charged him with defending Kolpi road [The acts gathered..., pp. 116].

Other Armenian Meliqs made a different choice: under the leadership of Meliqs Jimshed and Pridon, they turned away from the king of Georgia and decided to conclude a deal with the government of Russia. With this thought in mind, they arrived in Russia and submitted their secret appeal to the Russian Tsar in the name of all five Meliqs asking for the Tsar’s patronage and for the title of the Trsar’s subordinates. At the same time, they asked for the permit of the Russian Tsar either to refuge to Russia, or settle in Georgia under the same terms [The acts gathered..., pp. 123, 124].

Surely, this was an intolerable action: owing to the independence of Georgia, the Armenians found shelters in Georgia to save themselves against an inevitable destruction, while in lieu of gratitude, they tried to help foreign forces to intervene in the domestic affairs of Georgia and by virtue of the patronage and status of a subordinate of Russia, wanted to gain lands in our country. Their actions undermined the independence of Georgia and helped Russia’s domination in our country.

As it seems, Armenian Meliqs did not give any importance to this fact, as they were sure of reaching their aim.

Indeed, Russia took them under the patronage and although, this was the violation of the terms of the agreement, the Russian Tsar allowed them to settle in a foreign country. This deed was done in this secret way. On the other hand, officially, the Russian Ambassador in Georgia had a duty to try and persuade the Georgian King to cede the lands to the Armenian Meliqs and their serfs with preferential

terms. The letter said that the Ambassador had to persuade the Georgian King of the kind intention of the Russian government in favor of Georgia in doing so [The acts gathered..., pp. 194].

As it is well known, an appeal of a big “patron” state to a small state has the power of a compulsion. Owing to this, the Armenians and Russian government reached their aim: the Armenians received the lands, while the Russians now had their secret subordinates in Georgia and a devoted leading squad supporting the Russian dominance in Georgia. King Erekle settled them in Telavi and Signagi.

In Kvemo Kartli, in so called Somkhiti and Lore, only Meliq Abo settled. Even when Georgia joined Russia, this territory was almost uninhabited, and only in 1827-9, when 100,000 people fled from the Ottoman Empire and 30,000 people fled from Persia, with some of them settling in Borchalo Uyezd and some of them settling in Yerevan Province, a relatively dense and numerous Armenian population appeared in Kvemo Kartli [Ivanenko, 1901. pp. 168-179].

§8. Question of affiliation of Kvemo Kartli in historical and modern respects

So, two facts are quite clear. First, the new Armenian settlers of this corner are not the descendants of the Armenians who appeared among the indigenous Georgian residents due to the above-described political seizure or dominance. Neither are they the descendants of the Armenians settling in this region in the following centuries from time to time under the permit of the government of Georgia (as those people used to resettle permanently for several times, or were destroyed together with the indigenous Georgians during the numerous enemy invasions). Second, the present large number of the Armenian dwellers along the southern border of Georgia was not a natural result of the established situation, but the

result of their artificial resettlement from a foreign country by virtue of the political plan of the Russian government.

Despite such artificial conditions supporting the Armenians' settlements, the Armenians had never been an absolute majority of the population, but a relative majority only. As the general census of 1897 suggests, Borchalo Uyezd had total of 128587 residents with 48609 Armenians, 37,609 Turks and Tartars, 21,347 Greeks and 6,685 Georgians [Shakhatunians, 1918. pp. 72].

It is noteworthy and typical that this time too, the political renovation and restoration of the independence of Georgia and Armenia started with the Armenians' attack and war to conquer Kvemo Kartli located on the southern border of Georgia, or Borchalo Uyezd, as the Russians called it.

Following the thorough review given above showing the surroundings in this corner of Georgia for centuries, it is not difficult to draw a correct conclusion. It is absolutely clear that the last settlement of the Armenians in Kvemo Kartli could not change the state of this inseparable part of Georgia. Moreover, by virtue of the agreement concluded with Russia in 1793 and by considering the factual property of Georgia by the moment of its joining with Russia, this region was a part of Georgia without a doubt, and the only goal of Georgia to conclude an alliance with Russia and to seek its protection was to protect the lands and independence of our country. This provision is incorporated in the agreement as well. In particular, article 2 states that King of Russia guarantees the protection of the territorial integrity of the existing realm, or Kingdom of King Erekle (E.V. gives his Imperial guarantee for the preservation of the integrity of existing ownerships of King Erekle).

So, when the government of Russia allowed the Armenians to settle in Kvemo Kartli, this could be only the fact of an ethnographic kind, and Georgia or the Georgians themselves would never consider these surroundings as the basis or reason to alter their state borders,

moreover when leaving their homelands by the Armenians to settle in Georgia was resulted by their persecution of the Ottoman Empire and Persia, and it was clear that they had to return to their mother land as soon as the situation changed for better.

As the settlement of the Armenians in Borchalo Uyezd, Kvemo Kartli, could not automatically change the geographical properties of that corner, the best roads, due to the topographic conditions, are directed towards Tiflis, and therefore, this corner is closely associated with the other parts of Georgia. Consequently, the economic relations between this corner and the rest of Georgia did not change, either. This corner is connected to Georgia as before, and even the representatives of local establishments of this region voiced this fact for more than once even at times when no political argument about this corner was ever contemplated, when Vorontsov-Dashkov, a benefactor of the Armenians, served as a Viceroy in the Caucasus. The Armenians seized occasion and under the support of Vorontsov-Dashkov, put an issue of separating Borchalo and Akhalkalaki Uyezds from Tiflis Province and joining them to Gyumbri to form Gyumbri (Alexandropol) Province by means of such a totally artificial method.

In order to make the Armenians' wish real, Vorontsov-Dashkov issued an order about studying this issue and drafting a relevant conclusion. So, on November 6 and December 18 of 1913, the Governor of Tiflis sent a letter to Borchalo Uyezd commission to employ experts and check if it was possible to unite Borchalo Uyezd with Gyumbri (Alexandropol) to form a single province. The Uyezd commission, made up of one Russian (magistrate Mitkevitch), 6 Armenians (tax inspector Zakharyantz, Eribekov and V. Mehrabov, the representatives of Shulaveri society, V. Saakov and M. Bakhshinov, the representatives of Jalaloghli society, V. Avetisov, the representative of Bolnisi-Khachini society), 4 Tartars (Mehti-Agha-Sultanov, Ahmed Mirzamamed-Oghli Shamil, Abbas-Oghli and

Abdurahman Gaibmov), 1 German (Jakobtausch) and 2 Georgians (Inalishvili, the deputy head of the Uyezd and Baratashvili, the tax inspector), established that it was not advisable to separate Borchalo Uyezd from Tiflis Province (“They unanimously voted for the undesirability of finding Borchalo Uyezd from the composition of Tiflis governorate”). The commission members grounded their conclusion on the consideration that this Uyezd was surrounded by the mountains from east and west and two cart roads (Bezobdaghi and Gulibulakhi roads) were made impassable in winter because of snowdrift with all other passes totally blocked in winter evidencing that this region was connected to Tiflis in an economic respect, selling all its harvest and buying all necessary goods in Tiflis.

This resolution of Borchalo Uyezd commission was approved and totally upheld by a Special Tiflis Provincial Council on January 24, 1914 with the following members: 11 different Russian officials (Cherniavskiy, S.P. Novyi, Smirnov, Korvin-Pavlovskiy, K. Slavinskiy, M. Shestakov, E. Tsigankov, M. Misenko, S. Pershke, Yuzumskiy and Zhdanov), 3 Georgians (K. Abkhazi, I. Abkhazi and T. Kikodze) and 2 Armenians (K. Iuzbashev and Elimizrov) [Report by Iv. Abkhazi, a member of the Council of Peasants’ Affairs of Tiflis Governorate].

Upholding this unilateral decision denying the isolation of Borchalo Uyezd from Tiflis Province and joining it to Gyumbri by both councils is even more important as the members of the councils well knew how much the Viceroy and his assistant sympathized with this idea, and therefore, it was expected them to say ditto to the high authority of the Caucasus and to agree with the Armenians’ wish. If, despite this, this idea was unilaterally considered ungrounded by both councils, it is clear that isolating Borchalo Uyezd from Tiflis Province and joining it to Gyumbri would be absolutely inadmissible and a serious violation of the natural conditions.

Chapter 5

Southwestern Border Meskheti or Zemo Kartli

The south-western part of Georgia was generally referred to as Zemo Kartli, but more frequently was called Meskheti. This is the name to be used elsewhere in the text below.

Meskheti incorporated the communities with many different names. The marginal communities of Meskheti from east to west were as follows: Javakhet-Abots, Artahan-Kola, Klarjeti, Tao-Oltisi and Tortoum-Ispiri. Lazistan, or Chaneti covered the territory on the sea coastline south-west of Klarjeti, up to Trabzon.

§ 1. Palakatsio, or Abots and this borderline of Georgia

Abots was found south of Javakheti and as the community between Meskheti and Kvemo Kartli, belonged to Meskheti at some times. However, quite often, in the VII-XVIII cc., it was a part of Kvemo Kartli.

In the past, Abots was also called Palakatsio, but later, say, in the times of King Vakhtang VI, it was called Kaikuli. It “is surrounded with mountains from all sides and has a plain in the middle.” [Vakhushti, *The Geography*, 148-150] “Abots is isolated from Tashiri, like Berduji or Debeda is isolated from Bambak, by mount Irjanisa called Karagaja at present” [ibid, 148]. This mountain is known by the latter name to date. Its direction is from south to north (“is directed from south towards north” (ibid)). It is high and “is covered with eternal snow, without forests and has grassy slopes” [ibid].

The west-southern border of Abots was mount Aghab, which on the one hand, was located between lake “Palakatsio (Lake Chaldirskoe) and “Abots” and at the same time, was “the border of

Kartli and Karsi reaching Tetrtsikhe and lake Tashaghani” [Vakhushti, *The Geography*, 150].

“Kazanchi”, “a small town” (ibid) was found in Abots. Both names, Kaikuli and Kazanchi, as a remainder, still survive on the map as geographical names of “Kaikuli-Kazanchi” on the elevated plain located between Karaghaji Ridge and Aghababi mount.

So, the southern border of Abots starts where Irjini or Kara-Daji and Berduji (Bezobdali) mountains meet. The line from here runs over the ridges of Baba Mountain to reach Didi Aghbabi peak. Then, there is Meskhети border itself following the mountain ridge of the main watershed known as Karsi Mountains in the past isolating the Mtkvari and Chorokhi tributaries from Arezi basin and at present, form the southeastern border of Artaan region of Karsi Province and then, of Oltisi region. Then, the border runs along the ridge of the watershed mountains of the Chorokhi and Arezi tributaries known as Irijlu Mountains in the past and turns north-west to reach the border of Lazistan.

§ 2. People of Tao-Ispiri in ancient times and in the VIII-XII cc.

In ancient times, like Lazistan, Tao and Ispiri belonged to the Lazis (Chalybes), a Georgian tribe, but in the II c. AD, the Armenians took away Tao from them what resulted in the appearance of mixed population here. By the time of introduction of the Christianity, this land seems to have still belonged to the Armenians. Due to the long and severe wars between Persia and Byzantine Empire in the VI century and raging horrible disease like cholera, almost all people almost all over Zemo Kartli or Meskhети, particularly in Samskhte, Shavshet-Klarjeti and Tao were destroyed [Javakhishvili, 1913-1914. pp. 320, 327, 333]. By the way, the mixed population in Tao also died and almost the whole Tao was covered with a wild forest. As late as

in the IX century, Georgian people started to settle Tao. Hermits and nuns from Shida Kartli were the first to appear and settle the area; later, they were followed by common people. The territory was cleared off the dense forests and got populated, and owing to the tireless work of monks and new-settlers, these lands became a fruitful arena of the Georgian ecclesiastical and civil culture. Many remarkable monuments of Georgian art of the IX-XIV cc. with their remnants having survived in bulk all over Meskheta, and the clearest and true evidence of these surroundings is that the language of the Meskhi public figures and writers was considered the best Georgian language.

§3. The state and political fate of Meskheta in the XIII-XVIII cc. and its Islamization

Zemo Kartli or Meskheta, starting from Samtskhe-Javakheti to Tao border, was a single governed unit, the principal vicariate and principality. In the second half of the XIII century, the territory under the government of Meskheta Prince started in Borjomi gorge and Tashiskari and reached Karnukalaki [*The Chronicler of Kartli** 875, p. 719]. At the beginning of the XIII century, Lazistan or Chaneti was made a part of Trabzon Empire founded by Queen Tamar, and later was made a part of Georgia and was occupied by Meskheta Prince first and then, by Gurieli. In 1511, it was handed down to Samtskhe Prince, the grandee [Vakhushti, 1913. pp. 241].

The supremacy of the Ottomans in Asia Minor and Constantinople put all west and south-west Georgia (particularly, its extreme part) to a great danger. For centuries, the Ottoman Empire, with indomitable firmness, tried to capture this precious and beautiful region of Georgia by using all possible means, including political and religious persecution and economic oppression, trying to abolish the Christianity among the local Georgians and Islamize the country. It

started from the high layers of the society and spread Islam among the common people later through a long battle. In the first quarter of the XVII century, the process of Islamization started [Vakhushti, *The Life of Georgia*, 254-247] and continued through the XVIII century and beginning the XIX century. In order to eradicate even the memory of the past independence and Georgianness, the Ottomans gave the owners of Samtskhe the title of “*Phasha of Akhaltsikhe*”, but retained this title as a hereditary title of the same family. Through this measure, the Ottoman Empire could detach this wonderful land from Georgia and devoured it. In the Ottoman times, Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik* (Ottoman province) incorporated the whole of Chorokhi region and was divided into 24 communities or *Sancaks*. Each community or *Sancak* was headed by a *Sancak-Bey*, a hereditary owner.

§4. Legal relationships between the Georgian government and Meskheti in the XVIII century

Naturally, Georgia would never accept losing this wonderful corner and destroying so many of its native brothers. If not even going back to the ancient past, let us recall the XVIII century when during the reign of King Teimuraz II and King Ekerle, the government of Georgia tried to keep good neighborhood relations with the *Pashas* of Akhaltsikhe, who, despite their Islamic religion, did remember their Georgianness (and this attempt was not vain, by the way) [Burnashev, 1896. pp. 14; Butkov, 1869. pp. 141-142), and seized all good opportunities to demonstrate their right to Meskheti or Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik* on the other hand. It was why the kings of Georgia declared themselves as hereditary owners of the country in their royal titles (S.N. Burnashev, op. cit. 14, and N. Butkov, *The Materials II*, 130) [Burnashev, 1896. pp. 14; Butkov, 1869. pp. 130]. By the way, the agreement of 1783 concluded between King Erekle and Queen Catherine II served the same purpose by creating the

conditions to help unite all Georgia, and particularly, to consolidate Kvemo Kartli, Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik* with Georgia. The representatives of King Erekle managed to include the clause in the agreement [The Treaty..., 1783, article 2] about the King of Russia guaranteeing the territorial integrity of the present realm of King Erekle, proposing to extend such guarantee also to such territories, which may in the course of time and by circumstances come to be acquired and, by firm means, secured for him. The purpose of incorporating this clause in the agreement, as confirmed by the words of N. Butkov *inter alia*, one of the representatives of then-time Russia, “The article two was about the ancient possessions of Georgian kings, Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik*, or Samtskhe-Saatabago” (N. Butkov, *The Materials II*, 142¹) [Butkov, 1869. pp. 142]. This was swiftly realized by then-time *Pasha* of Akhaltsikhe and as he got sure that his reign was threatened by the king of Georgia, he persecuted and got at enmity with him [Butkov, 1869, pp. 1].

§5. Annexation of Samtskhe-Javakheti by Russia and the outcomes. Settlement of the Armenians in this region

When Russia annexed Georgia, Meskheta or Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik* remained a part of the *Ottoman* Empire, and only in 1828, one part of the *Pashalik* was annexed. By virtue of Treaty of Adrianople, Russia appended 10 *Sancaks* out of 24: Kobliani, Odzrkhi (Abastumani), Akhaltsikhe, Atskveri, Aspindza, Khertvisi, Akhalkalaki, Jaraki, Potskhov and Palakatsio (Chaldir) equaling to old Samtskhe, Javakheti, Palakatsio and Erusheti. Later, this region was named as Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki Uyezds and Potskhov District by the Russians.

¹ “Article 2 of the Treaty... pointed immediately to Akhaltsikhe *Pashalik*, or Samtskhe-Saatabago, the ancient possessions of Georgian kings.”

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, Russia annexed the remained part of Meskheta, in particular, Ajada and Kobuleti, Shavsheti, Klarjeti, Kola-Artan and northern part of Tao, Oltisi. The first three communities of them, or *Sancaks*, were called Batumi Oblast, while Erusheti, Artan and Oltisi were confined to the borders of Karsi Oblast by the Russian government. However, Erusheti (the same as Potskhov District) was detached from Karsi region for 7 or 8 months, and consequently, the police officer of Potskhov was forced to live in Akhaltsikhe.

The majority of population in this corner was Georgian Moslems [Ivanenko, 1901. pp. 260, 265]. Russia's invasion of the region in 1828 was followed by the migration of the indigenous Georgians, particularly from Javakheti (present Akhalkalaki Uyezd) and, with fewer scales, from Samtskhe (equaling Akhaltsikhe Uyezd). When the Russians occupied Akhaltsikhe, the Georgian princes and nobles visited then-time principal governor of the Caucasus bringing with them the Georgian Kings' Books of Grant certifying their proprietary rights in Samtskhe-Javakheti and asked for restoring their title by virtue of these documents. However, Paskevitch got furious, say nothing of deigning to concede their request [The Acts collected..., 1866. VIII, # 291; Ivanenko, 1901. pp 199]. At that time, the local Armenians fled from Ottoman Empire, Karsi and Arzum Pashaliks seeking shelter in Georgia. The Russian government gave them patronage: gave each of them 25 roubles and exempted them from the state tax for 6 years. As a result, 90,000 Armenian refugees rushed to Georgia. A settlement committee was established to settle them and up to 30,000 Armenians were settled in Akhaltsikhe Uyezd, with the major proportion settled in Akhalkalaki Uyezd [Ivanenko, 1901. pp. 265-266].

Owing to such circumstances, the population background in Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki Uyezds changed drastically. The population density in these areas was greater in the past years, while

the census of 1832 evidenced that the total number of men and women living in the two newly appended countries hardly reached 50,000. In the past, e.g. in 1828, only the city of Akhaltsikhe had this number of residents. The ethnic background in Javakheti, or Akhalkalaki Uyezd, also changed essentially. If only Georgians lived here earlier, in 1832, the majority of the residents were Armenians instead of the Georgians, with Georgian Moslems ranging only the second with their number [Ivanenko, 1901. pp. 267].

It was this accidental way the Armenians came to Javakheti, to the ancient hearth of the Georgian culture.

§6. The Armenians dispute about joining Javakheti to Armenia and the near past of this issue

The Armenians forgot that they had come to Javakheti from the Ottoman Empire as refugees and shortly after arrival, constituted the majority of the population in this ancient corner of Georgia by chance and despite such state of affairs, they declared Akhalkalaki Uyezd as the land of Armenia [Shakhatunian, 1918. pp. 70-72, 132-133]. In order to do so, they required the isolation of this Uyezd from Tiflis province, i.e. from the borders of east Georgia to append it to other Armenian Uyezds and form a single Armenian national self-governing region. This idea was put forward by the Armenians in 1913 when Graph II. Vorontsov-Dashkov, a benefactor of the Armenians, was appointed a Viceroy in the Caucasus. In order to show the fairness and impartiality of their wish, the Armenians claimed that economically, Javakheti or Akhalkalaki Uyezd had close economic ties with Gyumbri (Alexandropol), rather than Tiflis province.

According to Vorontsov's wish, an order was issued in the same year to establish Akhalkalaki Uyezd commission of Tiflis province to clarify if it was feasible to isolate Akhalkalaki Uyezd from Tiflis province and append it to Gyumbri (Alexandropol) to form an

individual province settled mostly with the Armenians. Total 14 men including the chairman were the members of the commission, including eight Russians (lieutenant colonel Kalinin, the head of the Uyezd, the chairman of the commission; magistrate Mitkevitch; Delibash, the head of postal and telegraph office; Uyezd veterinary Toropov; district police officers Chaplugin and Lazarev; representatives of Dukhobors Alex Uglov and Vas. Gremyakin), four Georgians (Prince Makashvili, a tax inspector; representatives of landlords, Moslem Georgian Mamed-Ali-Beg and Mustapha-Beg Palavandishvilis and Murjikneli, a representative of the residents of Baraleti district) and two Armenians (city elder Metsatunyants and representative of the residents of Bogdanovka district, Karoyants).

Following the discussion, the Uyezd commission unilaterally refused the possibility to isolate Javakheti or Akhalkalaki Uyezd from Tiflis province and unite it with Gyumbri (Alexandropol) or Yerevan. It should be noted that one of the grounds of the commission's decision was the economic and traveling considerations. The commission decided that the opinion as if Akhalkalaki Uyezd was connected to the city of Gyumbri (Alexandropol) was false. Rather, all trade and critical interests linked its residents to Tiflis, where they sell their goods, victuals and local produce and from where they take goods needed for the Uyezd. In addition, people take goods along Akhaltsikhe-Borjomi-Bakuriani road all year long, in winter and summer. Besides, there is a short direct cart road across Rodionovka-Tsalka-Manglisi, which functions even in winter. As for the communication with Gyumbri (Alexandropol), all of it, including postal communication, is cut due to snowdrift in winter and due to floods and mud in summer for months on end. Even in summer, when Gyumbri (Alexandropol) road is open, all the trading goods from Javakheti (Akhalkalaki Uyezd) is carried across Akhaltsikhe and Bakuriani and only the southern part of Bodganovka in this Uyezd receives some goods, primarily rice from Gyumbri (Alexandropol).

The unilateral decision of Akhalkalaki Uyezd commission was unilaterally upheld by the Special Council of Tiflis with the same membership on January 24, 1914, gathered to consider the resolution about the issue similar to the one considered by Akhalkalaki Uyezd commission [*The Report of the member of Tiflis Province considering the peasants' affairs*. Presence of I. Abkhazi, the Chairman of Special Trans-Caucasian Committee, #2651]. (Report of a member of the Tiflis governorate on peasant affairs with presence of I. Abhazi – a Chairman of the Special Transcaucasian Committee, # 2651).

§7. Close economic links of Javakheti and Samtskhe with Georgia in the past and at present

If, despite the fact that the members of both councils, including the Russian officials, were aware of the wish of the Viceroy and knew that he sympathized with the detachment of Javakheti from Tiflis Province, but refused this idea unilaterally, it is clear that such a detachment of Javakheti and its incorporation with Gyumbri (Alexandropol) was an intolerable and coercive plan. Indeed, it is sufficient to look at the geographical conditions of Akhalkalaki to clearly see how much the natural structure of this land contradicts the idea of its conjunction to Gyumbri (Alexandropol). Javakheti and Samtskhe-Erusheti or Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe Uyezds and Potskhov district of Karsi Region are isolated from Yerevan Province and Gyumbri, first, with a western part of Berduji mountains (Bezobgag Range), then, with the ridges known as Abotsi mountains (Madatap Range), eastern part of Nialiskure mountain (Chaldir and Ulgari Ranges) and finally, Erusheti Mountain (Ulgari Range), which are high, covered with snow for 7 to 8 months a year and are impassable. Due to such orographic features, these mountains are the watershed ridge of the tributaries of the Mtkavri and the roads are naturally directed towards the Mtkvari gorge, i.e. northwards rather than southwards. This is why, this region

could have economic links only with Georgia, and it was always the case in the past. For example, the words of historian Papuna Orbeliani evidence that even in the XVIII century, when Meskhети, as a pashalik, belonged to the Ottoman Empire and was politically detached from Georgia, all Meskhети, and Javakheti and Samtskhe in the first instance, had close economic relations with Georgia and people from these regions took their agricultural produce and victuals, particularly bread, to Tiflis and Gori to sell [Geographical Description..., 1842].

The above-mentioned resolution of Javakheti (Akhalkalaki) Uyezd commission evidences that the state of affairs with the economic relations and trends has not changed and the goods are taken from the said region to Tiflis. However, a more notable is the fact that as it can be seen from the annual reports of the railway commercial department, Javakheti and Samtskhe, i.e. Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe Uyezds had economic relations not only with east Georgia (the goods were transported not only through the railway, but along the cart-roads and main roads), but also with west Georgia, Kutaisi Province in particular. For instance, the report shows how much bread and cereals was taken from this corner to east and west Georgia every year and how much of them was taken to the rest of Transcaucasia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (Karsi, Yerevan, Kamarauli, Baku, etc.):

	To Georgia:	To the rest of Transcaucasia:
1910	60557 ft.	462 ft.
1911	152858 ft.	1800 ft.
1912	207752 ft.	3588 ft.
1913	96074 ft.	1312 ft.
1914	17144 ft.	1238 ft.

However, not only the agriculture linked this region to other regions of Georgia. It can be said that the whole economy of cattle- and

sheep-breeding in Georgia is closely linked to this corner and summer pastures of Borchalo Uyezd. It was the case in the past, even when Meskhethi was ruled by the Ottomans and this is the case now. As for centuries, the techniques developed by considering the local climate proved the necessity for summer pastures, the cattle of Georgia was driven to these summer pastures created naturally. This corner was so much vital for Georgian cattle-breeders that at the times when Meskhethi was in the hands of the Ottomans, those who owned cattle and shepherds in the first place, were forced to drive the cattle to some other state and spend summer there [Bagrationi, 1904. pp. 182].

In respect of cattle-breeding, the situation has not changed since the past times. There are total 857000 desiatinas of pastures in east Georgia, with the best pastures found in Kvemo Kratli and Javakheti, i.e. in Borchalo and Akhalkalaki Uyezds with total 291000 desiatinas of pastures.

At present, the total number of cattle in Georgia is 3 683 000, while the total number of cattle in Armenia (the plateaus in Yerevan Province, Karsi Region and Ganja) is 3 561 000. The Armenians have their best pastures on these plateaus totaling to 2 000 000 desiatinas so that all of their cattle cannot graze all the grass they have. Therefore, it is clear that the Armenians do not further need the summer pastures. Consequently, Akhalkalaki and Borchalo Uyezds are useless for them in an economic respect, and they do not need them. The situation is absolutely different in east Georgia: without these Uyezds, the total field of cattle-breeding would find itself in a critical state and danger and the cattle would perish, primarily sheep.

The residents of Akhalkalaki and Borchalo Uyezds do not have so much cattle to graze all the grass on these vast and rich summer pastures (the total number of cattle in the two communities is 515 772). For example, the summer pastures for rent in Borchalo Uyezd is 46 000 desiatinas, with 10 000 desiatinas used by the Armenians'

village and the rest 36 000 desiatinas is used by the cattle-breeders from other Uyezds of east Georgia. Like in the past centuries, today the cattle-breeders from East Georgia drive large herds to this area for grazing. So, it is absolutely clear that though in the XIX century, quite by chance, Armenian refugees settled in Borchalo and Akhalkalaki Uyezds and the number of Georgian population was few there, but the people from East Georgia not only maintained economic relations with these Uyezds, but are also closely linked to them like before.¹

§8. What our position should be in relation to the Armenians' wish to take possession of Javakheti?

Following the above-mentioned, it becomes clear how every Georgian must approach the Armenians' wish to take possession of Javakheti (Akhalkalaki Uyezd). Surely, King Erekle did not conclude the Treaty with the Russians in 1783 to allow Meskheta, the land belonging to Georgia from times immemorial and one of the strongest hearths of the Georgian culture, to the Armenians, after it was taken away from the Ottomans. Settlement of the Armenians in this corner could be viewed by the Georgians as a temporary event of giving a temporal shelter to the people persecuted by the Ottomans. As soon as there are favorable political conditions for the Armenians, and it is the case right now, these Armenians having found a shelter here to escape the Ottoman persecution, must return to their homeland, their hereditary hearth to give the way the past owners of this land to come back here. In the XIX century, the Georgian Moslems exiled to the Ottoman Empire always longed for returning to their homeland and

¹ For the detailed data about this subject, see paper by agronomist Kazakhshvili "Requirements of the National Economy of Georgia Regarding the Issue of Demarcation".

settling their ancient land in Javakheti and Meskheta, but their place was occupied by others. Now, as the Armenians will leave for their country, the justice will be restored and both nations will be given their ancient lands back.

VI Chapter

Extreme south-western line of the Georgian border

§1. Kola-Artan, Tao- Tortoum-Ispiri

As the question of Javakheti (Akhalkalaki Uyzed) has been thoroughly clarified by now, we must give some additional information about the marginal regions of Georgia.

As mentioned above, Artan and Oltisi regions of present-day Karsi Province equaling to former Kola-Artan and northern part of Tao, belonged to the Georgian population and Georgian nation for centuries. Only since the XVII century, owing to the 200-year-long rule of the Turks in Artan and Oltisi regions and Islam, the Georgian Moslems have forgotten their native language. The population is sparse here, with 65 763 people in Artan region in 1889, including 1923 Armenians only. 3130 residents of total 31519 residents in Oltisi region were Armenians.

So, it is clear that the Armenians constituted a minor part of the population in Artan and Oltisi regions. Until last year, even the Armenians did not deny this fact. For instance, A. Shahtunian said: *“The Armenians here constitute an insignificant minority”*, and justified the fact of leaving these regions beyond the borders of Armenia in the process of the demarcation of Transcaucasia with this reason [Shakhatunians, 1918. pp. 73-74, 75]. The Armenians seem to have forgotten this state of affairs and want to include both, Artan and Oltisi within the state borders of Armenia, while these regions do not belong to them either historically, or with the present-day number of Armenian population in them.

As for the residents of Tortoumi gorge in Zemo Tao of Meskheta within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, all 1400 people are Moslem Georgians, but they have forgotten the Georgian language, while in Ispah, in the gorges of Parkhali, Kheveki, Gudakhevi and Chirchimi, there live Islamic Georgians everywhere, but they speak Georgian.

§2. Lazistan

The extreme south-western region of the Georgian population is settled by Chanis, or Lazis, and this was the case in the past. Their dialect is more close to the Megrelian one. At one time, the population of the Lazis or Chanis spread even beyond Trabzon and this city and country belonged to them. As early as in the past century, in 1868 for instance, the number of Lazis, as V. Gifford Palher, the Council of England stated, exceeded several hundreds of thousands [News of Caucasian..., Society, 1881, book VII, # 1. Annex, pp. 15, 17, 59-60, 68].

The local observations by Prof. N. Marr made it clear that owing to Islam, the process of Turkification of the Lazis was quite swift.

At present, the Lazi and Chani population is confined to Rize *Sancak*, which is also called Lazistan *Sancak*. However, this land too, is to be divided into two main parts: Rize and Atina regions. The people in the former region have forgotten their mother language and have adopted Turkish, while the native language of the people in the latter region is the Chani or Lazi language. Atina region is made up of Atina and Khopa *Qazars*. Its border in south-west starts at Kemer Cape (Kemerburun), follows up the river Kinlidere, crosses the heads of the rivers Atinastskali and Bejuk-Dere and reaches the peak of Ponto Ridge called Varsambek (Vershembek). From this point, the land of Chaneti spreads north-eastwards and is confined between Ponto Ridge and the Black Sea. This strip narrows gradually and ends at Sarpi in Batumi district.

Atina region is divided into six districts: Khopa, Arkabe, Vitse, Artasheni, Atina and Khemshini. There are total 178 villages here, with 39 villages belonging to Khemshini district with 12 778 inhabitants. The population of Khemsheni is presented by Islamized and Turkified Armenians. No thorough data about the number of the Lazis, like about other nations living in the Ottoman

Empire are available. General Averianov, in his monograph published in the Russian General Staff secret issue [The Ethnographic..., 1912, pp. 20], states that the number of the Lazis is 200,000. When the Russian army occupied Lazistan during this World War, most of its residents retreated together with the Ottoman army, with only 35,000 Lazis remained in the area. As the data gathered locally by untimely deceased Prof. Ios. Kipshidze suggest, the number of indigenous Lazis in Atina region was at least 80,000. As he wrote, the exact number of the Lazis is possible to fix now, when the residents have returned to their homes, but by means of the population census only.

Afterword

The above-described material will certainly show the readers the real borders of Georgia and the great efforts of our people to defend them. The land and the people within these borders were one unity limited by natural borders (mountains and rivers) and moreover, as the unit with the basins of the rivers Mtkvari, Rioni and Chorokhi, were strongly united with one another, in geographical and economic respects. However, by virtue of the historical and international laws, the real borders of Georgia must be the ones described above, but at some locations, Georgia can cede its territories to its neighbors without harming its independence, to restore the historically kind neighborhood with them peacefully and in agreement.

Any state unit has peculiar requirements and terms to survive, with borders playing a significant role. When identifying the final contours of the Georgian borders, the Georgian nation and government can be guided by the principle of statehood. It is true that the Armenian authorities and government of the Republic of Armenia advises our nation and government to be guided by an ethnographic principle only, but one can judge the sincerity and usefulness of their advice by considering the fact that they themselves have never used that principle for their political plans. The state border of great Armenia to be presented by them to the initial conference spread from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, incorporating Tiflis, Batumi and Trabzon and Sinopi is clear evidence that in drafting their state borders, they never used any conditions of modern ethnographic population, but compiled the map of their country based on too old historical documents, but mostly on their own wishes. Following this, it is really surprising to see the Armenian political and influential circles blaming our members of government, N. Zhordania and E. Gegechkori and representatives of the Peace Delegation of Georgia, N. Chkheidze and Ir. Tsereteli with betraying the principles and

imperialism in their Armenian press of Istanbul only because they were guided by the statehood rather than ethnographic principles when drawing the borders of Georgia. When a national unit is concerned, such a view is more or less acceptable, but with drawing the state borders, the statehood principle must be the basic grounds.

Why don't Armenian politicians ever use the ethnographic principles when drafting their state borders? Because this principle is most unprofitable for the Armenians, and if despite this, they advise our government and national representatives to use this principle, they must be thinking that this view is obligatory for Georgia only, while Armenia has the right to use a principle of its choice, even when they tried to seize the territory for Armenia wider than the territory of France and dreamt of confining numerous foreign peoples to their borders, considering such actions not a bit imperialistic, but highly democratic.

A state needs the means of defense against foreign invaders, and it must have peaceful civil life for its people. This is why the conscious circles of the Georgian people, the country leaders and government of the Republic must necessarily consider their state borders in a military view. The Armenians and government of Ararat Republic on their turn, have unwittingly "helped" the Georgians in this respect, by making them get real and leading them out of their sweet dreams of kind neighborhood, brotherhood and unity, when following a secret military preparation crossed the southern borders of Georgia and started ruthless military actions against our country. A piece of news published in a Russian-Armenian newspaper of Rostov by Mr. Chalkhusian one month ahead of the Armenians' attack saying that there is a war waged between the Armenians and the Georgians, powerful Armenians have reached Tiflis and it will take the Armenian army a few days only to capture it, is worthwhile in this respect. It is also worthwhile to consider the contours of the borders of Armenia the representatives of Armenia asked for in the letter printed in an

English newspaper and two maps of Armenia published in Istanbul showing Tiflis, Mtskheta, Gori and Batumi as the territories within the state borders of Armenia. Finally, the whole course of the military actions of the Armenians sheds light to the wide-scale plan of the Armenian government and leaders. Their goal was to capture and seize Tiflis and capture the territories they had plotted on their Armenian map, in case of some good military luck. It is easy to imagine the kind of brotherhood and unity the Dashnakyan's leaders would have with Georgia and the place they would put Georgia on their map, if their thoughtless action did not agitate the whole Georgian nation, who steadfastly repulsed the invaders. If, following the present terrible danger and peril, despite many historical or present lessons, the influential circles of Armenia dared to cross the borders of Georgia and wished to seize our capital, it is easy to imagine how their appetite will improve in the future, when they forget the grave days of the past and present. Therefore, the Georgian nation and its government is obliged before its future generation and history to pay due attention to the contours of its state borders and be a sober guard of them. This will not prevent them from having brotherhood and unity or good neighborhood with the countries really caring about the brotherhood and neighborhood, and will protect the Georgian nation against any expected danger. For the sake of establishing and consolidating such brotherhood and good neighborhood, Georgia may resign its right where such a concession will not significantly harm the self-defense of Georgia, e.g. in the east, it can fix Kashka-Chai instead of the Gishis Tskali as a border, choose the mountain, which is the watershed for the tributaries of the Debeda river instead of a historical border in south-east and choose Berduji mountains (Bezobdal for Russian) as a southern border instead of Yerevan mountains (the same as Bambak mountains), the historical borders. In such a case, Georgia will own Berduji mountains, while Yerevan mountains will be the border of Armenia.

The present monograph is enclosed by the map drafted by the Department of Topography of the Military Ministry and I thank Professor An. Benashvili, the General and head of the Ministry and Department of Topography for this.

Batumi – Constantinople
January-March, 1919

Explanation of the abbreviated titles¹

The acts gathered by the Caucasian Archeographic Commission.

S.D. Burnashev. The Picture of Georgia or Description of the Political State of the Kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, Tiflis, Begichev's Publishing House, 1896.

The New Materials of Biography by S.D. Burnashev, having visited Georgia from 1783 through 1787, gathered and published with the annexes made up of the map, portraits and facsimile, S.D. Burnashev, СПб, 1901.

N. Butkov, P.G. Butkov. The Materials of the New History of the Caucasus from 1722 through 1803, I and II years, Saint-Peterburg, 1869.

¹ These sources are done by Iv. Javakhishvili.

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The monograph presents the studies analyzing the issue of border formation of Georgia following the studies of Ivane Javakhishvili. The borders of Georgia are presented in a historical respect: the shape of the state borders in the past, ways the Georgian nation defended them for centuries and relevant location of the contemporary state borders of Georgian Republic considering the contemporary situation so that the political rights of the Georgian nation stipulated by the international law, agreement concluded with Russia in 1783 and right of self-determination should not be violated and the justice should be restored. The beginning of the XX century was marked by great political battles: The I World War, gaining the independence by the countries of the South Caucasus and their further Sovietization. All these processes have resulted in significant political and social-economic changes, first of all seen in the changed political and administrative borders of these countries. The forces of the allies started their preparations for the new political formation of the world, Paris Peace Conference. Ivane Javakhishvili had to solve a very complex and strategic problem – by drawing the



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